

National Japanese American Student Relocation Council [Miscellany]

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Gift of Thomas Bodine April 30, 1982

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Written by The Bodine  
in April 1945

# FROM CAMP TO COLLEGE

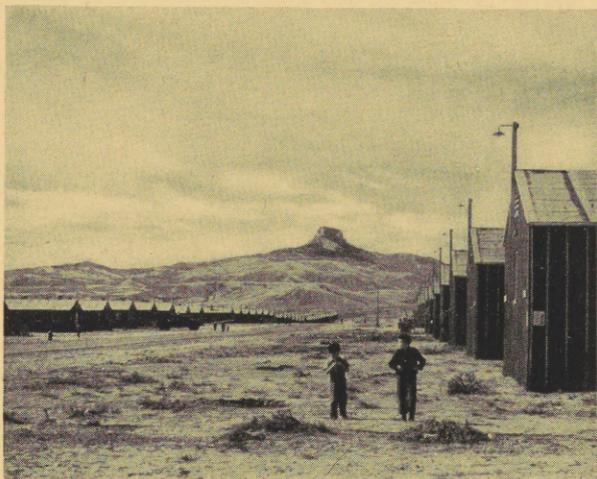
*The Story of*  
**Japanese American Student Relocation**

"When the story of relocation is written and WRA's objective of emptying the relocation centers is achieved, we will be able to look back and say that the first impetus to resettlement out of the centers was provided by student relocation."

DILLON S. MYER, *Director,*

*War Relocation Authority*

NATIONAL JAPANESE AMERICAN  
STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL  
1201 CHESTNUT STREET ♣ Philadelphia 7, Pa.



*Heart Mountain, the third largest city in Wyoming.*

### **PIONEERING—AND REBUILT FAITH**

The story of student relocation is a story of pioneering and of rebuilt faith. Most of the 3000 students who have gone from camp to college have gone to areas of the country where people of Japanese ancestry were almost unknown. As ambassadors for the entire Japanese American group, they have paved the way for others to follow. They have stimulated and encouraged their families to come and join them. Most important, perhaps, their pioneering has helped large sections of our population to acquire a new understanding of American principles and fair play. And in the process their faith in themselves and in their whole future in this country has been restored. Student relocation has given purpose to Japanese American valor on the battlefields of Italy and France, Burma and the Philippines. It has helped in a small way to redress the wrongs rising from a long history of racial discrimination and to bring closer the day when, in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, *"every loyal American citizen, regardless of his ancestry, shall have the opportunity to serve this country wherever his skills will make the greatest contribution."*

In the past two and a half years, some 3000 students of Japanese ancestry have found their way out of Assembly and Relocation Centers into more than 500 institutions of higher education all the way across the country. Except for the oncoming high school graduates, there are relatively few students of college calibre left in the Relocation Centers. Almost all of the 2500 students of Japanese ancestry enrolled on West Coast campuses at the time of Pearl Harbor have had an opportunity to continue their education. The fact, however, that 3000 have enrolled in the past two and a half years as compared with 2500 attending at the time of Pearl Harbor does not mean that more Japanese Americans are attending college during war time than were in college before the war, because many of the 3000 have volunteered for or have been drafted into the Armed Forces, have accepted jobs in war industries, have graduated, have married, or have left college for other reasons.

Of the 2000 boys and girls who graduated from the camp high schools in 1944, approximately 400 went to college, many of the boys among them squeezing in a

few months of higher education before their induction into the Army. Thus the percentage of Japanese Americans continuing their education in war time is about the same as the national percentage. Thanks to the efforts of colleges, churches, government agencies, student groups and a host of others, the Japanese Americans have not been permanently deprived by evacuation of an equal opportunity for higher education.

### STUDENT RELOCATION BEGINS

In March of 1942, following the announcement of the Government's plans for evacuating all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast war zones, many college people up and down the Coast became concerned about the 2500 young men and women of Japanese ancestry enrolled in colleges and universities in the military areas. Under the leadership of the YMCA-YWCA, the Pacific College Association, and such West Coast college presidents as Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California, Lee Paul Sieg of the University of Washington, and Remsen Bird of Occidental, groups of educators, students, and church people quickly formed to try to arrange for the immediate transfer of as many nisei as possible to campuses east of the military areas. Letters were written to colleges and friends all over the country. Questionnaires were sent out. Students were interviewed. To co-ordinate this activity, a Student Relocation Committee was organized in Berkeley on March 21 and met weekly during the months of April and May. An appropriation was secured from the National YMCA-YWCA and an executive secretary hired.

At its first meeting the consensus of this West Coast committee was that evacuation was neither necessary nor expedient and that an appeal should be addressed to the authorities to alter its character from a wholesale removal of *all* persons of Japanese ancestry to a discriminating removal of potentially dangerous individuals. When this appeal failed, the committee began the work of determining which students would want to continue their education, what their needs were, and where in the east and midwest they might go. In all, about 75 students found their way east in those first frantic days of March and April 1942 before the *National Student Relocation Council* was organized.

### THE STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL IS BORN

In early May, the director of the newly organized War Relocation Authority addressed a letter to the executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia, inviting him to call together all the various groups at work on the problem of student relocation and organize a national council to carry out the program. The Assistant Secretary of War, John J. McCloy, expressed his approval of the program: "*Anything that can legitimately be done to compensate loyal citizens of Japanese ancestry for the dislocation to which they have been subjected, by reason of military necessity, has our full approval.*"

Thus on May 29, 1942, in Chicago, the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council was born, with offices in Philadelphia, Seattle, Portland, Berkeley, and Los Angeles (later centralized in one office in Philadelphia). Its membership includes college presidents and deans, officers of college associations, representatives of leading

Protestant churches, Jews, Catholics, Quakers, and the Student YMCA and YWCA. Its costs of operation have been met by generous grants from the church boards and from two philanthropic foundations, one in New York and one in San Francisco.

### *THE FIRST YEAR'S WORK*

Staffs of volunteers numbering as many as twenty or thirty persons went to work in the Council's various offices in 1942 and by the end of the summer could report 2,321 applications from students in Assembly and Relocation Centers and 152 students enrolled on new campuses. Some of the same factors that led to the removal of the nisei students from the West Coast tended at first to limit the number of colleges available to them in the east and midwest and to necessitate complicated procedures for leave clearance. It was not until the end of the year 1942 that the government procedures for clearing colleges and students became sufficiently well organized to permit any great flow of students from camp to college. Even in March of 1943, at the time the Council centralized all its offices in Philadelphia, there was a logjam in Washington of some 300 Student Relocation Council requests for leave clearance. By midsummer of 1943 the WRA part of the clearance procedures for students was functioning smoothly and has run smoothly ever since. On July 5, 1943, at the end of its first thirteen months of operation, the Council could report applications from 3,264 students in Assembly and Relocation Centers with more than 1000 students relocated on college campuses east of the West Coast military areas.

### *THE SECOND YEAR*

During the Council's second year, not only were large numbers of former West Coast college students helped to relocate, but boys and girls graduating from the Project High Schools were encouraged to make and carry out plans for continuing their education. In each case the Council found a sizable volume of correspondence necessary—twenty-five letters per student on the average—as it stimulated students not to "lose-fight," counseled them as to their choice of school, secured their transcripts and letters of reference, made formal applications to the school finally chosen by the student, arranged with the governmental authorities for the clearance of the school and of the student, channeled the student's request for financial aid to sources of scholarship funds, helped the student to find part-time and between-term employment, and helped to arrange for his warm welcome on the campus and in the new community. Only in war time would so complex a procedure be necessary or tolerated.

By December 31, 1944, at the end of its first two and a half years the Council had received applications from a total of 4,594 students. Of these, the Council has found college acceptances for 3,597, the other thousand having lost interest as they went into the Army, married, found suitable permanent employment, or were taken care of otherwise. Acceptance at some school has been found for about 500 students who never actually enrolled, again because of the draft, employment, marriage, or because the college which had accepted them was prevented by military regulations from enrolling them. All this was accomplished at an administrative cost of only \$34 per student enrolled, or \$29 per student accepted.

During this second year, hospital schools of nursing began to welcome nisei in numbers, having learned from the pioneering of a few prominent schools in New

York, Philadelphia, and Chicago that the Japanese American girls make excellent nurses and that patient reaction is uniformly good. The Council knows definitely of 215 nisei enrolled as student nurses, 194 of them members of the United States Cadet Nurse Corps. It estimates that there are another 100 girls who have relocated into nursing training independently of the Council.

### *MILITARY REGULATIONS*

As the months have gone by, the military regulations under which the Council has operated have become steadily more liberal. In the summer of 1942, the Council had difficulty securing from the Western Defense Command permission to enter the Assembly Centers for the purpose of distributing Student Relocation Questionnaires and interviewing prospective students. In the early summer of 1942 the military authorities in Washington felt that for security reasons no evacuee student should attend any college within twenty-five miles of a railroad terminus. This decision seemed so restrictive that there was some question as to whether it was worthwhile to go forward with the program at all. Fortunately, it was modified later in the summer to provide that the names of colleges which had accepted an evacuee could be submitted to the War Department for clearance. Clearances came through slowly even for the smaller schools not engaged in war work. The program was handicapped by the delays involved and by the fact that a college had first to accept an evacuee before it could be determined whether the War Department would approve its enrolling such students.

In January of 1944 the military authorities lowered the restrictions further by announcing that henceforth clearance of institutions would not be necessary and that except for certain "proscribed" colleges and universities engaged in work important to the war effort, evacuees could attend on an ordinary WRA clearance the schools which accepted them; for attendance at the "proscribed" institutions, the student would be required to secure a special Provost Marshal General's clearance.

On August 31, 1944, the War Department removed all restrictions on the attendance of students of Japanese ancestry at educational institutions. In the words of the telegram from the War Relocation Authority announcing the change in policy: "Students to be accepted at all schools on same basis as any others." Finally, on December 17, 1944, the War Department announced that all persons of Japanese ancestry not individually excluded were free as of January 2, 1945, to return to the West Coast. With the complete lifting of the military restrictions, there is now no security reason for any college or university rejecting the application of a student of Japanese ancestry.

### *WHAT COLLEGES HAVE ACCEPTED NISEI*

Among the 550 institutions known to the Council to have accepted Japanese Americans during the past two and a half years are roughly one quarter of the accredited colleges and universities of the country, approximately one hundred hospital schools of nursing, a good many accredited small colleges, and some trade and vocational schools. Not many nisei have entered southern schools, although all but two of the southern states have accepted a few. Until recently none had relocated to West Coast institutions, except in the non-military areas of eastern Oregon and Washington. The majority have gone to the Rocky Mountain region, the middle west, and the northeast.

Among the large institutions which have welcomed nisei recently are Yale, Columbia, Harvard, Cornell, New York University, Vassar, Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley, the Uni-

versities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Chicago, Illinois, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Utah, Texas, Iowa State, and Ohio State. Most of the smaller colleges throughout the east and midwest have cooperated warmly. Some of those which have been very popular with the nisei have had to set quotas, to be fair to all groups, but their quotas for Japanese Americans have been uniformly generous. At the present time there are more openings in all types of schools than there are students to fill them.

There is a tendency amongst the evacuees to prefer the large university to the small. On the West Coast they had ordinarily flocked to the state universities and sidestepped the smaller colleges. They often feel that for a member of a minority group, a degree from a university that is widely known has greater value. It has not been easy to persuade them that the eastern and midwestern small college has a great deal to offer a member of a minority group, that the warmth and compactness of the small campus provide greater possibilities for assimilation, and that standards in most such places are high. In a way it was fortunate that the military restrictions forced the first of the relocating students to attend small schools. Their success and happiness will help overcome the natural tendency of the oncoming nisei high school graduates to aim for the large state universities, now that they are available.

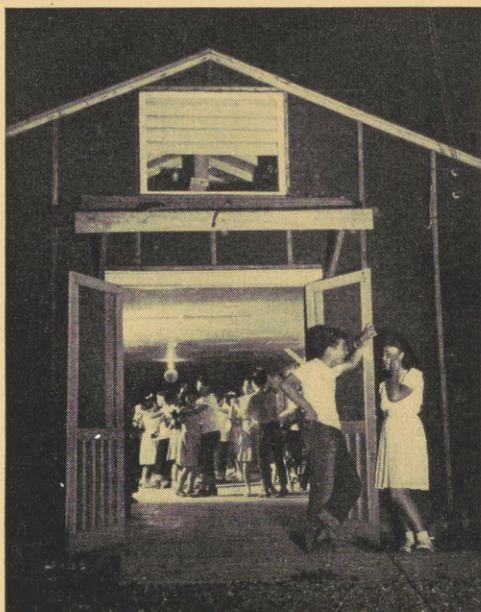
#### *RELOCATED STUDENTS SUCCESSFUL*

Almost all of the 3000 students who have relocated during the past two and a half years have done well as students and as ambassadors for Japanese Americans as a whole. Their scholastic abilities are indicated by a survey made among the first 500 to relocate which gave them a grade point average of 2.3 (B+) in their first year's work on the new campus. There have been many outstanding individual achievements. Lillian Ota, for example, while a senior at Wellesley, competed for graduate fellowships at Michigan, Yale, Rochester, Bryn Mawr and Smith and won all five of them. She is now working toward her Ph.D. at Yale and was recently awarded a prize of \$100 in books for being the best first-year graduate student in the department of history.

The number of elective honors won by nisei is a sign not only of their popularity and ability, but also of the warm welcome that has been shown them. An informal and incomplete list includes five presidents of student governments, seventeen class officers, five athletic offices, and many miscellaneous honors such as fraternity memberships and one "Most Charming Girl" and one "Most Popular Boy."

#### *THE COUNCIL'S RELATIONSHIP TO WRA*

The Council is a private and independent agency. It receives no funds from the Government. It does, however, cooperate closely with the War Relocation Authority, having come into existence at the request of that authority. One instance of this cooperation lies in the field of leave clearance. Until March, 1944, the Council maintained a Leave Department to assist the WRA and the students by collecting and transmitting the documents required for educational leave and for Provost Marshal General's clearance. As more and more of the students left the Centers on employment leaves to earn money in advance of registration and as the entire leave procedure came to function more and more smoothly, the Council dropped its Leave Department and now refers all departure problems to the Leave Officers in the Centers and in Washington.



*"From camp . . .*

At each Relocation Center, the Project Director designates some individual on the high school staff to act as Student Relocation Counselor. In her office are housed college catalogues and information about the work of student relocation which can be used in counseling and advising students. The Council has supplied each Counselor with informal and confidential notations about the status of all the institutions with which it has had correspondence—whether they welcome Japanese Americans, whether they report their communities friendly, and whether they now have nisei enrolled. This information is kept up to date through the circulation of a weekly NEWSHEET listing acceptances and rejections of students, offers of part-time employment and scholarships, and general admissions policies as they affect Japanese Americans.

Colleges and others interested in welcoming students can ask the Council to include an item in its NEWSHEET or can correspond directly with the Counselors by addressing the Student Relocation Counselor at the following high schools:

**AMACHE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL**

Granada Relocation Center  
Amache, Colorado

**MILES E. CARY HIGH SCHOOL**

Colorado River Relocation Center  
Poston II, Arizona

**BUTTE HIGH SCHOOL**

Gila River Relocation Center  
Rivers, Arizona

**PARKER VALLEY HIGH SCHOOL**

Colorado River Relocation Center  
Poston III, Arizona

**CANAL HIGH SCHOOL**

Gila River Relocation Center  
Rivers, Arizona

**POSTON I HIGH SCHOOL**

Colorado River Relocation Center  
Poston, Arizona

**HEART MOUNTAIN HIGH SCHOOL**

Heart Mountain Relocation Center  
Heart Mountain, Wyoming

**ROHWER CENTER HIGH SCHOOL**

Rohwer Relocation Center  
McGehee, Arkansas

**HUNT HIGH SCHOOL**

Minidoka Relocation Center  
Hunt, Idaho

**TOPAZ HIGH SCHOOL**

Central Utah Relocation Center  
Topaz, Utah

**MANZANAR HIGH SCHOOL**

Manzanar Relocation Center  
Manzanar, California

**TRI STATE HIGH SCHOOL**

Tule Lake Relocation Center  
Newell, California

## OVERCOMING RELOCATION CENTER PSYCHOLOGY

The Council's most time-consuming and challenging task has been to try to overcome the apathy, apprehensiveness and misconceptions that are so often a part of Relocation Center life. In its correspondence with students it has therefore tried to be warm and human. Each boy and girl has been thought of as an individual person, worthy of careful thought and consideration. Qualified nisei have been brought from the Relocation Centers to serve on the Council's executive staff, counseling students by mail as to their choice of school and often as to their vocation. Colleges have been selected not *for* the student but *by* the student. The Council's Field Director has made four trips to the camps to meet with students individually and personally.

In the summer of 1944 the churches and agencies which make up the Council arranged for thirteen nisei college leaders to return to their home camps during their summer vacations. They made a real impact on Relocation Center psychology, stimulating not only student relocation but family relocation as well. They interviewed over 1200 people individually in their barrack rooms, both students and parents; they made speeches before 200 different groups; they joined in community activities of all kinds and talked with people informally. In the course of summarizing their work, they reported a growing apathy among young people still in the Centers, an increasing discounting of the value of a college education, and a paramount need among the oncoming high school graduates for financial aid and advice.



... to college."

## REGARDING HIGH SCHOOL UNDERGRADUATES

The Council has thought long and deeply on its responsibility for assisting in the relocation of students still in high school. The Relocation Center high schools do well with wartime staffs and equipment, but, isolated as they are in huge all-Japanese camps, they can never offer the evacuees the kind of American education they need. It is the Council's judgment, however, that most evacuees of high school age should not relocate except to join or accompany members of their own families. To be sure, the Council has helped to place a number of outstanding high school undergraduates as scholarship students in eastern private boarding schools. These students have adjusted easily and have served as "ambassadors" to groups of American youngsters who might never have known Japanese Americans. But in general it has been the policy of the Council to avoid responsibility for relocating students of high school age. High school students who have come out with their own families have been cordially welcomed in almost all city high schools. There has been no particular difficulty about securing

acceptance in the public schools, and, where the relocating family is establishing a more or less permanent residence in the new community, there has been no problem of out-of-city fees.

### *THE COUNCIL'S PRESENT FUNCTIONS*

By the fall of 1944, so many colleges were available to the evacuees and so many students had successfully relocated, that it seemed to the Council that the time had come for it to transfer to the Relocation Center high schools most of its responsibility for counseling students as to their choice of schools and assisting them to make applications to the schools of their choice. This transfer, which took effect in November, 1944, relieved the Council of much of its correspondence with students still in the camps and has made possible a drastic reduction in the size of its staff. The Council does, however, carry on a number of its former functions, and will continue to do so throughout 1945 at least, assuming that it receives continued financial support. Correspondence continues to flow in, at better than 150 letters a week, from students both in camp and outside, more than half of it from students seeking financial aid and advice. In answer to this stream of mail, the Council tries to help all students who are not now in Relocation Centers who ask its assistance and advice. It provides financial advice, allocates funds turned over to it by the World Student Service Fund and others, and channels requests for scholarship aid for all students, both those in the camps and those now relocated. It acts as a clearinghouse for information about colleges and issues its weekly *NEWS SHEET* to the Counselors in the Relocation Center high schools and elsewhere. It continues as a symbol of the nisei's rebuilt faith, in themselves and in their future in this country.

### *FINANCIAL ADVICE AND SCHOLARSHIP AID*

Most of the relocated students have earned a large part of their expenses through part-time employment. Many have worked before enrolling at school. Of the 3000 relocated, only 741 have received grants through the Council. Some others have received aid direct from college, church and other sources independently of the Council, but the large majority have financed their continued education through self-help and family resources. Up to December 31, 1944, a total of \$188,972 in scholarship aid had been channeled through the Council, of which \$140,361 came from thirteen national church boards, \$34,971 from the World Student Service Fund, and \$13,640 from other sources. A few of the church boards have set aside a certain percentage of their funds for grants to Buddhists and students who are not members of any church. The funds from the World Student Service Fund and various miscellaneous sources which the Council itself has had the responsibility of disbursing have been the principal source of help to students who are not members of a Christian church.

Most requests from Japanese Americans for financial aid seek merely to meet the higher tuition costs evacuees have had to face as they came east to college. As a matter of fact, the average scholarship grant arranged through the Council—\$200 for one year—approximates the average cost of tuition in eastern and midwestern institutions. Seldom are the families of the students able to help very much. Their savings and former means of livelihood were hard hit by evacuation. Even when the head of the family relocates, it is usually some little time before he is in a position to help his children to finance their higher education. The position of most of the Japanese

Americans after graduation is such that the Student Relocation Council has opposed their borrowing money to finance their education and has suggested that all allocations to them be outright grants. Many evacuees after graduation will have to support parents whose economic security has been destroyed by evacuation. Many will be handicapped economically by their racial origin. In a very small and inadequate way, the scholarship funds channeled through the Council represent a partial repayment for the economic losses suffered through evacuation.

Aid for Japanese American students has come not only from the sources mentioned above, but also from funds raised in the Relocation Centers from the evacuee community itself. At Topaz, for example, \$3,196 was raised in 1943 and used to aid 31 graduates of the Topaz High School. In the words of the chairman of the fund, "We gave \$100 to each student to get started. It was not the amount of money they received, but it was the spirit of encouragement which was given to them that caused them to fight for higher education." For the camp high school graduates of 1945, five scholarship funds of more than \$1000 each are being raised at Heart Mountain, Topaz, Poston I, Poston III, and Amache. Relocated students themselves, as a gesture of appreciation and as an endorsement of the Council's continuing its service, organized a campaign in 1944, several hundred of them sending a dollar or two for the operating fund. These gifts serve to symbolize that the program is a joint enterprise of Americans of Japanese and Caucasian ancestry working together on a common problem.

The financial needs of the students now relocated and of the oncoming high school graduates will continue great in the foreseeable future. The students are willing to do their part, working three or four hours a day for room and board, dropping out in the summer months to earn money full time, and often winning competitive scholarships from the colleges where they have enrolled, but with the closing of the camps in 1945 and the inability of most families to provide any further financial support as the parents leave camp to make their way as best they can, many of the students will have to have cash grants if they are to start or continue their college education.



*High school classroom in a Center.*

## *RETURNING TO THE WEST COAST*

In December of 1944 the War Department announced the lifting of the ban excluding all persons of Japanese ancestry from the military areas of the West Coast. For some time prior to that announcement it had been possible for individuals to return if they were able to secure special permission from the Western Defense Command. It was on one of these individual permits that Esther Takei, the first civilian student to return, reached Pasadena Junior College in September. Her arrival was heralded by press and radio up and down the Coast. The professional Jap haters shouted their protests. But the good people of Pasadena quietly accepted her, and the storm passed by. When the Council's Field Director visited Esther in December, he reported that she was as happy as any student he knew in the east or midwest, having experienced no personal hostility or discrimination but only friendliness and fair play.

While the Council believes that attitudes on the Coast are healthier now than they were at the time of evacuation, with many of the most outspoken Jap haters quieted and the friends of American principles and fair play far more articulate, still it hopes, for the sake of dispersal and better assimilation, that relatively few of the evacuees will return to the Coast. Those who still own income-producing property will presumably go back, but the others who must begin life over may find it wiser to begin in the east and middle west where prejudice against the Oriental is less pronounced. The Council therefore has not encouraged students to seek admission to West Coast colleges, although it has tried to spread word of the warm welcome an evacuee will find on almost every West Coast campus. With the opening of the spring terms, about 50 evacuee students are known to have returned, and all reports from and about them are favorable.

## *THE CLOSING OF THE CAMPS*

The Government's decision to close all the camps during 1945 creates new problems for the Japanese American college students. As of March, 1945, more than 60,000 people remain in the Relocation Centers. Most of them are old people and children under age 18. Those in the middle age brackets have gone. The average age of the first generation men who remain in camp is 58 years. A 58 year old man, whose property and means of livelihood have disappeared in the evacuation, is faced with many difficulties as he prepares to leave the relative security of camp and goes out to face the storms of prejudice once more. He is generally without cash, except for the \$25 grant made to each evacuee who needs it on departure. He has no definite job, but will seek employment with the help of various government offices in the region to which he goes. He must find a place to live in a time of great housing shortages. He is old. He doesn't speak much English. He doesn't know much about America outside of California. His older sons are in the Army.

In circumstances like these—and they are typical—the head of the family often finds he must call his boy or girl home from college to help the family relocate. But the belief in education is strong. Many parents feel their children can help them more by remaining in school. The parents often tell their children that if they can finance their college expenses with no help from home, they will not be called away from college, but, instead, in many cases, the family will relocate to the neighborhood of the college, but, instead, in many cases, the family will relocate to the neighborhood of the college to be near the student and near the student's contacts. It is these students

who are appealing to the Council for help. On the average they are able to earn all but \$100 to \$200 of the money they need. In order to have additional scholarship funds to help them, the Council, for the first time, is making a general appeal for funds, through the issuance of this booklet. It hopes that the friends of the students and the friends of their cause will find it possible to respond. Contributions can be directed to the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council at 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

"One may say if we struggle through this interlude, we will find haven in the fact that we will emerge a stronger and wiser people. Strength, courage, and wisdom will not alone be enough for us to lead our fellow Japanese Americans through the dark days ahead, during which time many will become destitute and many without fortitude will degenerate into uselessness. What the outlook of the younger generation will be—Heaven only knows. Those of us who are able must seek the wisdom of education—education to lead, to enlighten, and to carve for ourselves, at this time, an impregnable niche in our America. In the future years, it must never be said that we have contributed nothing to the betterment of America. Action speaks louder than words; all I ask is a chance to play a part in the destiny of our country."

YUZURU SATO (while still in a Relocation Center).



*All photo's courtesy of the War Relocation Authority*

DUPLICATE

NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL

REPORT OF PROGRESS  
West Coast Section, Berkeley Office

up to July 25, 1942

Confidential: NOT TO BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS OR PUBLIC IN ANY MANNER

HISTORY

During late March and throughout April, after the freezing orders were issued and prior to the evacuation of the Japanese into Assembly Centers, the Student Relocation Committee, predecessor of the NSRC, helped approximately 75 students to relocate themselves in colleges and universities to the east. Particularly active was the Northwest office under Robert W. O'Brien, Assistant to the Dean at the University of Washington, with the enthusiastic and effective support of Ruth Haines and M. D. Woodbury, secretaries respectively of the University Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. in Seattle. Of the 458 nisei enrolled at the University of Washington December 7th, 58 were relocated prior to the Evacuation.

May 5. Milton S. Eisenhower of the War Relocation Authority requested Clarence S. Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee to form a Council of distinguished educators which would bring together those persons and agencies who had been working to relocate evacuee students from the West Coast.

May 21. Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy wrote to express his hearty approval of the student relocation idea and the establishment of a Council to carry it out.

May 29. Educators, representatives of organizations dealing with student placement, and officials from the interested government agencies met in Chicago and established the NSRC. Dr. Robbins W. Barstow, President

of Hartford Theological Seminary, was named National Director. The Council was divided into two sections, the eastern with offices in Philadelphia to find college openings and raise scholarship money, the western with offices in Berkeley, Los Angeles, Seattle and Portland to assemble information about the students. Executive Secretary of the West Coast section is Joseph Conard in Berkeley.

During the month of June a questionnaire was prepared, arrangements were made with the Wartime Civil Control Administration for carrying on the work of the Council in the Assembly Centers, offices were found and staffs assembled, procedures worked out in detail, not only for distributing and collecting questionnaires and interviewing individual students in Assembly Centers in keeping with the Directive issued to us by order of Colonel Karl R. Bendetsen; but also for trying to arrange for the immediate release and travel permits of students already accepted, many of them for summer sessions, and for the tabulating, handling, analysis and rating of questionnaires when received at the various offices. Priceless help was provided at this stage by Marjorie Page Schauffler, on vacation (!) from her work in the Refugee Section of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia.

During the first two weeks of July every Assembly and Relocation Center was visited and questionnaires distributed and collected. In most of them, general meetings open to all interested students were held, at which the program of NSRC was described in detail and questions pertaining to it answered.

July 4. The first student to receive a release and travel permit under the auspices of the NSRC left Tule Lake Relocation Center for

St. Louis. He is Harvey Itano, medalist from the University of California, A grades in all his undergraduate work, now studying at the Medical School of St. Louis University.

July 4. The Berkeley office moved from the attic of Stiles Hall (University Y.M.C.A.) into the Anna Head School (4 large classrooms for offices downstairs, 6 bedrooms and a sleeping porch for out of town staff workers upstairs).

July 4. First large batch of questionnaires arrived at Berkeley office from Tanforan.

July 12. (Sunday) Peak day in the arrival of questionnaires at the Berkeley office -- 153 from Turlock, Stockton, Pinedale and Fresno Assembly Centers.

July 21. First questionnaires ready for analysis by counselors and raters (all documents received: college and high school transcripts, letters of reference from persons named by student, from employers, and from college or high school personnel office).

July 24. Word from the Los Angeles office that a total of 600 questionnaires had arrived there. Seattle reported 350. Together with Berkeley's 800, grand total is now 1750.

Meeting of the West Coast Committee to report progress and make decisions.

#### STAFF

The staff suffers from a disturbingly high turnover. At the moment there seem to be nineteen people working more or less full time in Berkeley, five in Los Angeles, two or more in Seattle, and two or more in Portland.

In Berkeley, in the office:

Full time workers:

Joseph Conard, Executive Secretary

Marydel Balderston	Jean McKay
Walter Balderston	Edna Morris
Thomas R. Bodine	Homer Morris
Calvin Cope	Murray Rich
Grace Cope	Claude N. Settles
Margaret Cosgrave	Mrs. Walter Steilberg
Trudy King	Wilma Wight

Secretaries:

Ruth Sample  
 Murial Bullard  
 Peggy Hatch  
 Vivian Urwand

Part time workers:

Leila Anderson	Ruth Mendenhall
Frances Bailey	Ruth Price
Medra Bartlett	Lillie Margaret Sherman
Margaret Campbell	Ethel Swain
Clive Greenlee	Arvine Wales

(Some of these staff workers come to us on loan from the American Friends Service Committee. Others are high school and college registrars and teachers. Almost all of them are volunteering their time.)

In Los Angeles:

Mrs. Marion Brown Reith, who headed the southern office from pre-Council days, is now on vacation. In her place, David Henley and Esther B. Rhoads are serving as co-executive secretaries with Clare Brown Harris as administrative assistant and Miss Matlack, Mrs. Engberg, and many other volunteers assisting them.

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Dr. Robert G. Sproul, Chairman

Anderson Advisers Morris  
Deutsch Greene Tyler  
DeVoss Homan Stebbins  
Hoyt

Liaison with WCCA & WRA  
Conard  
Morris  
Bodine

Executive Secretary  
Joseph Conard

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA OFFICE

W. O. Mendenhall, Chairman

Distribution, processing & analysis  
of questionnaires from Santa Anita,  
Pomona, Manzanar & Poston (Parker)

Staff similar to that in Northern  
California Office, though smaller.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA OFFICE

Joseph Conard

General Oversight  
Coordinate Departments  
T. R. Bodine  
C. C. Cope

PACIFIC NORTHWEST OFFICE

Robert W. O'Brien, Chairman

Distribution, processing & analysis  
questionnaires, Puyallup, Portland

Portland Office  
George Allan Odgers

OFFICE STAFF

Office Manager: Ruth Sample  
Receptionist  
Supervise Office Workers  
General Files  
Purchasing  
Dictation for Conard

<u>Hatch</u>	<u>Bullard</u>	<u>Urwandt</u>
Mail	Mimeo-	Dicta-
Dicta-	graph	tion
tion	Misc.	for
for	Dict.	King
King	Assist	

Volunteer Typists

RECORDS

Supervisor: Wilma Wight  
Troubleshooters: McKay & Balderston, M.

Recording  
Mendenhall,  
Supervisor  
Cope, G.

Filing  
McKay,  
Supervisor  
Greenlee

Readers  
Preliminary:  
Campbell  
Sherman  
"C" Students:  
Hoyt  
Swain  
Final Check:  
Mendenhall

Processing  
Rich, Chief  
Worker  
Morris, E.  
Price  
Wales  
Cards for Analy-  
sis & Matching  
Bailey, F.,  
Supervisor

ANALYSTS

Supervisor:  
Leila Anderson

Bailey, E.	Jones, M.
Baker	Keene
Brown, M.	Minard
Corson	Phillips
Cosgrave	Stebbins
DeVoss	Spindt
Eckert	Swain
Coleman	Tyler
Greene	Voorhies
Homan	Wagoner
Hoyt	Zelhart

STUDENT CORRESPONDENCE  
Walter Balderston

PERMITS AND RELEASES  
Supervisor: Trudy King  
Correspondence: Steilberg

As of July 31, 1942

In Seattle:

Robert W. O'Brien with Joan Hatton as office assistant and secretary seem to hold down the fort. They are supported by many others volunteering part time.

In Portland:

George Allen Odgers with Jo Anne Russell as office assistant and secretary and behind them a really active committee.

Supporting the office staff in Berkeley (as in all the West Coast offices) is a large group of volunteer counselors and raters. These will have responsibility for analyzing the record of each student and determining where each stands in respect to scholarship, character, adaptability, leadership and so on. In some cases where there are specific matters that need checking, they may consult personally with students in the Centers:

Dr. Edna Bailey, University of California  
 Miss Mary Baker, Dean of Women, Fresno State College, Fresno.  
 Mr. James Corson, Dean of Men, College of the Pacific, Stockton.  
 Dr. Marian Brown, Dean, University High School, Oakland.  
 Miss Margaret Cosgrave, Registrar, Fresno State College, Fresno.  
 Dr. James DeVoss, Dean, Upper Division, San Jose State College.  
 Dr. Ralph Eckert, Stockton Junior College, Stockton.  
 Dr. Irving Goleman, College of the Pacific, Stockton.  
 Dr. Catherine Greene, Asst. Dean of Women, University of California.  
 Dr. Walter Homan, Dean Lower Division, San Francisco State College.  
 Miss Alice Hoyt, Assoc. Dean of Women, University of California.  
 Dr. Mary Jones, University of California.  
 Mr. C. M. Keene, Sacramento Junior College, Sacramento.  
 Miss Jeannette Minard, Sacramento Junior College, Sacramento.  
 Dr. Hubert Phillips, Dean Upper Division, Fresno State College.  
 Mr. Herman Spindt, Placement Bureau, University of California.  
 Miss Lucy Stebbins, Dean of Women, University of California.  
 Dr. Henry Tyler, Sacramento Junior College, Sacramento.  
 Dr. Edwin Voorhies, Dean of Students, University of California.  
 Dr. Lovisa Wagoner, Mills College.  
 Mrs. Marjorie Zelhart, Fresno State College, Fresno.

Behind the staff and counseling group are the West Coast Committee. Their names appear on the Council's letterhead, and include six college presidents and six college deans.

FINANCES

The approximate expenditures for July run to \$2000.

Salaries (2 staff workers, 7 secretaries)	\$1082.00
Travel	75.00
Office Expense (including expenses of office volunteers)	330.00
Printing	150.00
Telephone and Telegraph	100.00
Postage	230.00
	<hr/>
(Approximate)	\$1967.00

STATUS OF QUESTIONNAIRES RECEIVED

Approximately 1750 questionnaires had been received in the three offices up to July 25th. Of these 600 are being processed in Los Angeles, 800 in Berkeley, 350 in Seattle. The number of questionnaires received from each Center known to the Berkeley office as of noon July 24th:

<u>Assembly or Relocation Center</u>	<u>Number Questionnaires Received</u>
Puyallup	254
North Portland	81
Tulelake	106
Tanforan	193
Stockton	35
Turlock	29
Merced	95
Pinedale	70
Fresno	71
Tulare	98
Santa Anita	19*
Pomona	10*
Manzanar	4*
Poston	88
California Free Zone	14
F.S.A. Camp, Nyssa, Oregon	<hr/> 2
	TOTAL 1169*

\* In the Los Angeles office are some 600 questionnaires from Santa Anita, Pomona, and Manzanar not yet recorded at the Berkeley office. Grand total received to date is therefore approximately 1750.

Less than three weeks have passed since the first questionnaires arrived in the Berkeley office. There are now (7/24/42) roughly 800 questionnaires being processed here. Their status is as follows:

Received today and in process of being recorded, numbered, indexed, sifted, and sent to other offices. . . 97

Temporarily postponed until sifted by a committee of deans and registrars:

(a) Kibei who have received some education in Japan. 48

(b) College undergraduates with a "C" scholastic average. (These are carefully studied and some selected for active consideration.) . . . 53

Postponed after sifting:

(a) Students not wishing to continue their university education at present, high school graduates with scholastic averages below B, and others not considered promising . . . . . 77

Approved after sifting and waiting for transcripts and letters of reference to be sent for. (References are asked not only from persons named by the student but also from the personnel office of the student's college or high school and from the student's employer, if any.) . . . . 60

Approved after sifting and waiting return of transcripts and letters of reference . . . . . 358

Transcripts and at least two letters of reference received: ready for appraisal and analysis by counselors and raters . . . . . 50

Students who on their own initiative have already been accepted by some college or university to the east. (For details see report of Immediate Release and Travel Permit Department). . . . . 169\*

\*Because about 100 of these students are included in the processing listed above, the total number mentioned here exceeds the 800 actually on hand in the Berkeley office.

TABULATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES RECEIVED

There follows a preliminary tabulation of some of the more interesting things about the first thousand students whose questionnaires were received or recorded at the Berkeley office. Of particular interest is the fact that almost half those who have already attended some college have a scholastic average of either A or B, and that 87% of the high school graduates have averages of A or B. It is also interesting to note that about 20% of the students have more than \$1000 with which to continue their education, and that 25% of them wish to study medicine, nursing, pharmacy, dentistry, optometry, and allied subjects. In the final tabulation the latter category will be further broken down.

TABULATION OF 994 QUESTIONNAIRES  
on hand in Berkeley Office  
as of Friday noon 7/24/42

	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Course of Study:</u>	
Males	67%	Medicine (including Nursing, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Opto- metry, and allied subjects	25%
Females	33	General	19
Class:		Business	17
		Engineering	17
High School	23	Fine Arts	07
College	67	Social Science	05
Post Graduate	10	Agriculture	05
		Home Economics	04
		Theology	01
Grade Points: College Students		Grade Points: High School Students	
2.5 - 3	14%	High School A average	30%
2.0 - 2.4	34	High School B average	57
1.5 - 1.9	25	Low and unstated	13
1.0 - 1.4	20		
Below 1 and unstated	7		
Religious Preference:		Want to continue education:	
Protestant	69%	Now	90%
Buddhist	17	Later	10
None	11	Not at all	-
Catholic	03		
Financial Resources:		Have already applied to some College	
\$0 - \$250	38%	Yes	34%
\$250 - \$500	21	No	66
\$500 - \$1,000	18		
\$1,000 and up	20		
Unstated	03		

STUDENTS ALREADY ACCEPTED

Approximately ten per cent, perhaps more, of the evacuee students have already on their own initiative and with the help of friends won acceptance at colleges in the Middle West and East. The Council is helping them by assembling for each the documentary evidence required by the various government agencies before release and travel permits are granted.

As of July 25, 169 such students were known to the Berkeley office, each requiring individual attention and almost constant correspondence. In order to give some concept of the complexity of the release and travel permit problem, we quote in full the letter we are currently sending to students who indicate that they have been accepted by some college or university:

Dear -

We would like to help you secure a travel permit to go to the college which has accepted you. Because conditions change constantly and because recent regulations require that student travel permits to specific colleges be cleared through the authorities in Washington, D.C., no one can be absolutely sure of getting a permit to any specific college. We shall be glad to start collecting the necessary documents, however, so that we can be ready to present them with a request for your release as soon as possible. Will you therefore please send or have sent to us the items checked below:

ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL (Items I, II, III are required by the Government authorities).

I) Evidence that you have been accepted by a college or university.

Satisfactory evidence would be the official letter or telegram from the college accepting you.

II) Evidence that you have sufficient financial resources to pay your travel expenses and support yourself for at least a year.

Satisfactory evidence would be any one or any combination of items A, B, C, or D. If you have less than \$1000, please send the data asked for in Item E.\*

A. A letter to us from your Bank stating the amount on deposit in your account. You may wish to use the enclosed form in writing to your Bank.

- or B. A letter to us from a Bank stating the amount on deposit in the account of a friend or relative plus a statement from that friend or relative certifying that he or she intends to provide you with whatever funds you need to continue your education.
- or C. If your financial resources consist of an income from property, a statement from the tenant or person who is paying that income to you (or to your friend or relative) or a statement from a Bank or Trustee describing the income and the terms of the lease. (Something to show the authorities that the income will be forthcoming over the next year or so.)
- or D. A notarized statement from someone in authority indicating the amount of cash you have on hand in the Assembly or Relocation Center.
- \*E. If your financial resources are less than \$1000, we may need to demonstrate to the authorities that what you have is adequate. Therefore, please send what you know about the total annual cost at the college to which you have been admitted, quoting from the catalogue if you have one, and the approximate cost of travel to the new community. (At present the Government does not pay travel costs.) If you have a job or a place to room or board free of charge or a scholarship or some other supplement to your financial resources, please send the evidence so that if necessary we can present it to the authorities. This could be in the form of a letter from the person offering you the job, home, or other financial supplement.

III) A statement from you giving the date you would like to leave the Assembly or Relocation Center and your means of travel (bus or train) in case it does prove possible to secure a release and travel permit.

NOT ESSENTIAL BUT IMPORTANT (Items IV and V are for the National Student Relocation Council in order that we may better help you.)

- IV) A statement from you telling us where you plan to live in the new community.
- V) The name of a friend or sponsor at the college or in the new community.

Upon receipt of the evidence mentioned under I and II, we shall work on a fourth Government requirement: evidence that the local authorities in the new community are not opposed to your coming.

Yours very sincerely,

JOSEPH CONARD, Executive Secretary

22:7  
JC:ph

STATUS OF THE 169 STUDENTS ALREADY ACCEPTED

Relocated in St. Louis, Missouri July 4th	1
Travel Permit issued July 25th	1
All documents including community acceptance and clearance of college through Washington, D.C. (These are held up pending a complex clearance with the governor of Colorado and the WCCA in San Francisco)	2
All documents in order (Only thing that holds these students back is that the college at which they have been accepted has yet to be approved by the War Department and other authorities in Washington D.C.)	30
All documents except community acceptance and Washington, D.C. approval	28
In process or temporarily postponed	107

THE 72 COLLEGES THAT ACCEPTED THE 169 STUDENTSApproved by the Navy and War Department in Washington, D.C.

Colorado State College of Education at Greeley, Colorado	3 students
Colorado State College of A & M at Fort Collins, Colorado	3
University of Wyoming	2
Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn.	1

Not yet approved by the Washington authorities:

University of Colorado	19 (will accept 60)
University of Nebraska	13 (will accept 45)
Union College, Lincoln, Neb.	13
Park College, Parkville, Mo.	12
University of Denver	9
University of Wisconsin	7
Washington University (St. Louis)	9
Oberlin Conservatory of Music	5
University of Texas	4
Oberlin	3
Earlham	3
McAllister (St. Paul, Minn.)	3
Abilene Christian, Texas	3
Columbia University (NY)	2
Drake University (Des Moines)	2
Kansas City Western Dental College	2
Northern Illinois College of Optometry	2
Milwaukee School of Engineering	2
University of Michigan	2
Wayne University	2
Bowling Green State University, Ohio	1
Bradley Polytechnical Institute, Peoria	1
Case School of Applied Science	1
Chicago School of Design	1
Chicago Theological Seminary	1
Colorado Women's College	1
Cornell College, Iowa	1
Emanuel Missionary College, Berrien Springs, Michigan	1

Finlay School of Engineering, Kansas City	1
G. L. Wenzel Restaurant School, Chicago	1
Haverford College	1
Illiff School of Theology, Denver	1
Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Indiana	1
Johnson Bible College, Tennessee	1
Knox College, Galesburg	1
Lamont School of Music, Denver	1
Monroe College of Optometry	1
New York School of Social Work	1
New York University	1
North Carolina State, Raleigh	1
Ohio State College of Optometry	1
Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago	1
President's School of Union Theological Seminary	1
St. Elizabeth School of Nursing, Lincoln, Neb.	1
St. Louis School of Pharmacy	1
St. Louis University	1
St. Mary's School of Nursing, Rochester, Minn.	1
Souther College of Optometry, Memphis	1
Tasope School of Photographic Engraving, Aurora, Mo.	1
Tennessee School of Optometry	1
University of Illinois Medical School	1
University of Minnesota	1
University of North Dakota	1
University of Ohio	1
University of Pennsylvania Medical School	1
University of Rochester, N. Y.	1
Walther Memorial Hospital	1
Washington Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C.	1
Wellesley College	1
Wheaton College, Illinois	1
William Jewell College	1
Yale University	1

Colleges within Western Defense Command and therefore not likely to be approved:

University of Utah	5 students
Washington State	2
Gonzaga University, Washington	1
Whitworth, Spokane, Washington	1
University of Idaho	1
Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah	1

ASSEMBLY AND RELOCATION CENTERS WHERE THE 169 STUDENTS NOW ARE

Puyallup	21 students	N. Portland	9
Santa Anita	21	California Free Zone	6
Merced	20	Fresno	5
Tulare	18	Manzanar	4
Tanforan	16	Address uncertain	4
Poston	10	Stockton	2
Pomona	10	Turlock	2
Pinedale	10	F.S.A. Camp, Oregon	1
Tulelake	9	Relocated, St. Louis	1

It is obvious that if we are successful in our attempts to meet the government requirements on behalf of these students and can secure their immediate release and travel permits, morale throughout the centers (and in the offices of the National Student Relocation Council!) will be considerably enhanced.

#### COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE

The community acceptance requirement for a release and travel permit depends on whether the student is now in an Assembly or a Relocation center.

If the student is in an Assembly Center under the jurisdiction of the Wartime Civil Control Administration a statement from some public official, such as the Mayor, Chief of Police, District Attorney, public welfare agency, Sheriff or other responsible town or county Peace Officer, to this general effect is required:

"We are not aware of any local condition which would make it inadvisable for .....(name of student), who is an American citizen of Japanese ancestry and who is fully accepted for admission by .....University, to live as a student in this community."

If the student is in a Relocation Center under the jurisdiction of the War Relocation Authority, a statement from some official from the receiving college or university to this general effect is sufficient:

"We believe the attitude of this university community is such that American citizens of Japanese ancestry, fully accepted for admission at this university, may reside here without being molested. The University, therefore, sees no objection to the residence here of .....(number) American citizens of Japanese ancestry who prove to be fully qualified and accepted for admission."

Community acceptances have thus far been received from Wellesley, Mass; New York, N. Y.; Richmond, Indiana; Madison, Wisconsin; Parkville, Libert, Aurora and St. Louis, Missouri; Austin, Texas; Lincoln, Nebraska; Boulder, Greeley, Fort Collins, and Denver, Colorado. These are typical acceptances:

FROM THE PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENT NEW YORK, N.Y.:

"Have consulted Mayor's office and FBI who refer to District Attorney. Latter, Mathias Correa, advises approval not in his jurisdiction, but is not adverse if Okuda is American citizen."

FROM THE MAYOR OF RICHMOND, INDIANA:

"Two Japanese students have already been transplanted from Whittier College to Earlham last April, and have been successfully assimilated by the college and this community. Under these circumstances, I feel justified in thinking that a similar acceptance would be given to other properly certified students who are American citizens of Japanese descent; and in particular, it would be acceptable to our community if the Uyesugi brothers were permitted to come to Earlham to complete their education."

FROM THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF LIBERTY, MISSOURI TO THE STUDENT:

"I have learned through the Faculty of William Jewell College that you are anxious to attend school here in Liberty next year. As Mayor of the City of Liberty I am inviting you to come as a student in William Jewell College. I assure you that you will be welcome in our community and that we will extend every courtesy to you."

#### CONCLUSION

We hope that this report gives some idea of the magnitude of the student relocation job and the vast quantities of red tape that must be unwound for each individual student.

THOMAS R. BODINE  
assisting Joseph Conard

*duplicate*

May 27, 1943

## NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL

### Its Purpose and Functions

The National Student Relocation Council was organized in May of 1942 at the request of the WRA and with the approval of the War Department. In the months of March, April, and May during the time of evacuation, the Deans and Presidents of colleges and universities on the West Coast became concerned to see the Japanese American students given an opportunity to continue their education in Eastern and Mid-western schools, a number of students were placed before the freezing orders went into effect. Considerable confusion resulted from having individual students and interested persons on West Coast campuses writing to various schools and college in the East and Mid-west; and therefore, it was felt advisable to set up a Council to serve as a clearing house for the students, the colleges, and the government.

In December, 1942, the WRA defined the function of the Student Relocation Council in the following words taken from Administrative Procedure 22, Revised Supplement 1, dated 12/1/42. "The National Student Relocation Council has been organized to perform for the WRA the following functions with respect to the attendance of evacuees at educational institutions outside the relocation centers:

- It assists students in selecting a school to attend;
- To examine and appraise the students academic records;
- To arrange with educational institutions for the admission of students;
- To determine community sentiment with respect to the relocation of students in that community; and
- To determine the adequacy of the students' financial arrangements"

During the summer months of 1942, the Student Relocation Council received questionnaires from some 2,000 students. It secured for these students copies of their high school and college transcripts, letters of reference, and other materials pertinent to their relocation. A Board of College Deans and Registrars on the West Coast volunteered their time to analyze each student's folder and gave him or her a ranking similar to that used by the University of California in awarding its scholarships. During the summer months also the Council worked out with the War Department an agreement for the release of students from the assembly centers. This agreement included a clause which said that before a student would be permitted to

attend an educational institution, that institution would have to be cleared by the War and Navy Departments in Washington for the purpose of student relocation. This clearance was very slow; and in September, only a handful of colleges could be cleared. Consequently, the number of students placed for Fall entrance was not large. During the Fall months, clearance of institutions became much more rapid so that it was possible to relocate some 900 students by mid-winter. At the present time, the War and Navy Departments are willing to clear most colleges and universities in the country which are willing to accept Nisei students, except the large private and State institutions such as Colorado, Chicago, Illinois, Minnesota, Columbia, N.Y. U., etc. The Council hopes that it will be possible to have these types of institutions cleared soon, but it has had the same hope unsuccessfully for many months.

The 900 or so students who have been relocated are out in approximately 175 different institutions in 37 different states. They have met with a very cordial welcome wherever they have gone and won many honors. Kenji Okuda, for example, was elected president of the student government at Oberlin. Lillian Ota received five graduate fellowships at Michigan, Yale, Smith, and Bryn Mawr. A student in Tully, New York, was elected vice-president of his class and a non-evacuee Nisei at the University of Pennsylvania was elected vice-president of her class during the past year. The letters which have come into the Student Relocation Council Office from these relocated students have almost invariably told a story of good and tremendous happiness at being out and finding friendliness and helpfulness on the outside.

Because the United States Government is not in a position to assist evacuees to continue their education of college level, the Student Relocation Council has been entirely privately financed. One of the large foundations in New York, a foundation in San Francisco, and several of the national church organizations have been responsible for the administrative cost of operating the program. Many of the staff workers have given their time on a voluntary basis and have worked unusually long hours in behalf of the students. Because of manpower shortages and a high turnover in personnel, the Council has not always been able to do its job as efficiently as it might have wished; and yet, the fact that 900 or more students are now successfully relocated indicates some progress. Scholarship help for the students has come from a number of sources. The colleges that have been cooperating by receiving students have made available a total of more than \$100,000.00 in tuition scholarships, remission of fees, and college work opportunities. Various church boards, the World Students Service Fund, and many individuals and others made available \$50,000.00 for cash allocations. At the present time, most of these funds have been exhausted, but in early May, the

church boards began to inform the Council of their plans for the coming year. Most of them are doubling or tripling the amount of money they made available last year and are indicating that they do not wish the money used purely for the members of their denomination but that they want the money used for any student worthy of financial aid, regardless of his religious inclination. The World Students Service Fund, which last year made available \$9,000.00 this year has indicated that it will probably have available for Nisei scholarships, \$52,000.00. In other words, if a student has reasonably good grades in high school or in his work in college thus far, he can look forward to some financial help if he does not have sufficient funds of his own. There are some 400 institutions which are available to evacuee students; and, in many of them, costs are not high and part-time employment possibilities are many and varied. While these institutions do not include the large private and State universities, they do include numerous places where a student can get an excellent education and a degree which carries real weight.

The Student Relocation Council is happy to see students go out on work leaves before going to college and it will continue to work for each student just as arduously whether he is on the Project or out on private employment. In fact, there are many advantages to a student's leaving the Project for employment. The more money he can accumulate on his own, the better off he will be after he gets in school. A person going out on indefinite educational leave does not receive the WRA travel grant whereas a person going out on work leave can receive the WRA travel grant. In general, it is important that the student keep writing letters in to the Student Relocation Council Office in Philadelphia. It keeps the Council informed of his present status, his present interest, hopes, and dreams. Although the Council tries to take the initiative for every student, it does no harm when the Student carries the ball by writing fairly frequent letters to the Philadelphia office.

#### How the Student Relocation Council Functions

There are three large divisions in the office in Philadelphia: the Records Department, the Placement Department, and the Leave Department. The student files with the Council three copies of a detailed questionnaire. When this arrives in Philadelphia, the Records Department sends for 3 copies of the student's transcript from his West Coast institution and from his Project high school if he is a graduate. It also sends for letters from the persons named as references by the student. It collects materials from the college or high school personnel offices and from the student's former employers and from interested individuals

on the relocation projects and others who might have a line on the student. When this material has been accumulated (after a 3 to 5 weeks interval), it is analyzed by a Board of College Deans and Registrars and the student is ranked according to his scholastic and all-around abilities.

The Placement Department serves to suggest schools to students and to recommend students to schools. There are two methods; either the student takes the initiative and writes in to name a specific school he wishes to attend or writes in to ask for suggestions of possible schools which are available to him, or the student waits until the Council takes the initiative and suggests schools which the student might attend. If the Council takes the initiative, it naturally works on the student with the highest rank first. When the student takes the initiative, it makes no difference what his rank, the Council stands ready to help him. The procedure then is this. In response to a student's letter or on its own initiative, the Council writes to the student and suggests colleges or universities which offer him the courses he wishes and which approximate in cost, his financial resources. These schools are available to evacuees, in that their quotas are not yet filled, that they are cleared by the Army and Navy and are eager to accept Niseis. The student then goes to the Student Relocation Office in his Project, looks in the catalogs that are available there, and discusses with the Counselor which college is the best choice for him. He then writes back to the Student Relocation Council in Philadelphia naming his choice. The Council then writes to the school in question, recommends the student, sends copies of his transcript and letters of reference, and asks for his acceptance. In general it is wiser if the student and his friends in the Project do not try to work on their own in attempting to secure admission to colleges. The Council exists in order to serve as a clearing house of information, about both students and colleges and to alleviate the confusion that arises when colleges are flooded with applications and requests for information.

The Financial Aid Department usually comes into the picture after the student has been accepted by some institution. Since the costs vary so widely amongst the schools, the amount of money a student needs will therefore depend very largely on what school accepts him. If the Financial Aid Department finds that the student's own financial resources as discussed in his National Student Relocation questionnaire are not adequate to cover the costs for one year's study at the institution which has accepted him, then it considers the student as applicant for financial aid. It attempts to find part-time employment for him and looks into the possibilities of scholarship help from the college. If these sources of financial help are not adequate, it starts negotiations with the donors of scholarship cash on behalf of the student.

When the student has been accepted by an institution and when his financial situation has become clarified, the Leave Department then begins negotiations for his indefinite educational leave. During the winter months, there were many long delays in securing student leaves. The WRA offices in Washington became utterly swamped with the work of registration in February. The manpower shortage in Washington hit the WRA hard and it was not until well into March that the Leave Division in Washington was able to begin to give the services which it wished to perform. After the Student Relocation Council moved its offices East to Philadelphia, it became possible for Miss Trudy King, Supervisor of the Leave Department, to make regular trips to Washington, D.C. to follow requests for student leaves through the various channels in Washington and to see that they are not unduly delayed. Therefore, any person on the Project who wishes to see student leaves expedited is urged to wire or write Miss King. In the case of student leaves, the Washington WRA prefers that such speed-up wires be directed to her in Philadelphia rather than to them in Washington since she does make regular trips. There are five conditions which must be met before a student's leave will be authorized from Washington. (1) The original (not a copy) letter from the college accepting the student must be filed in Washington by the Student Relocation Council. (2) The Council must submit to the government evidence that the student has sufficient financial resources in the form of cash or a job or a scholarship to cover his college expenses for one full year. Such evidence must be in written form. In the case of cash, it may take the form of a letter from someone in authority on the Project who has seen the cash in the student's possession and can say that the student has told him that this particular cash is available for his education. If the money is in a bank account, it is necessary to have a statement from the bank describing the amount on deposit. Forms for securing such bank statements can be obtained from the Council's office in Philadelphia. In case a student's friend or relative is helping to finance him, it is necessary to have a letter from that friend or relative expressing his intention to help the student as well as information about the financial resources is represented by a job on the campus, some sort of written evidence that that job exists is required. (3) The student must be cleared through the FBI, which clearance is automatic, if he registered in the general registration last February. If he were too young to register at that time, WRA form 26 should be sent in promptly. If the student is a non-citizen or has spent some time in Japan, he will have to be submitted for special clearance through the War Department. This special clearance involves a delay ranging from 4 to 10 weeks. It should be noted, however, that non-citizens and persons who might be Kibei are eligible for student relocation if they can demonstrate to the War Department that they are thoroughly American. (4) The college or institution at which the student has been accepted must have been cleared by the War and Navy Departments for student relocation. If a student is accepted at a college which does not yet appear on the list of cleared insti-

tutions, that college will be submitted clearance by the Council. Such clearances often involve a delay of 4 to 10 weeks. (5) The Council has to demonstrate to the authorities in Washington that the attitude in the community where the college is located is such that no public disturbance is likely as a result of the student's being there.

One of the questions which many students often ask is whether or not it is worthwhile to go to school or college for 6 to 8 months in view of the fact that the draft may come along at any time and sweep them out of college. The Council feels that the student should face this problem in much the same way that the other American young men are facing it. It is certainly desirable to get as much of one's education as possible. The experience of living on a college campus, even for as short a time as 6 months, is valuable. It is well to get started in college before the draft hits in order to have a college to return to after the war is over. If a student is in college at the time he is drafted, he is more likely to be accepted into one of the various training units which the Army is establishing on college campuses across the country. The Council has no inside dope on how the draft is going to hit the Nisei. It hopes that they will be considered in the same category as other Americans and those eligible for the Army training units on the various campuses.

Sometime during June, the Council intends to publish a Directory of all the students who have thus far been evacuated and of all the Nise students, both evacuee and non-evacuee, who are enrolled in the various colleges and universities of the United States. When this Directory comes out, it will be of value to the student in him information as to what other students are already in the colleges they are thinking of attending so that they may write to these students and secure first-hand information on conditions there. The evacuee student should realize, however, that whereas the large State and private universities are closed to him by Army and Navy rules, they are open to students who are not residents of evacuee centers. Therefore, if he sees that there are Japanese American students at Michigan, for example, he should not jump to the conclusion that Michigan is available to him. The WRA and the National Student Relocation Council have been active for many months in trying to secure a change in the rulings which permit non-evacuee students to attend certain institutions but which exclude evacuees. Another curious aspect to this situation is that it is possible for these uncleared institutions to hire evacuees as employees and as professors although they are not permitted to enroll them as students.

On many of the Projects, student evacuee offices have been developed, the most outstanding being the one at Topaz. There, the work is under the leadership of the Community Welfare

Section. A wife of one of the appointed personnel serves as head of the student relocation office. Under her are two evacuee councilors assisted by a clerk and a part-time typist. They have built up a splendid library of catalogs from the list of cleared institutions. They have also subscribed to some college newspapers and magazines. They have acquired several books on American colleges such as the book called "So You're Going to College" by Clarence Lovejoy. They also have on hand the bulletin of the United States Office of Education entitled "Part III, Colleges and Universities Including All Institutions of Higher Education". They have set up files on each of the students who has applied to the Student Relocation Council. In each student folder is a copy of his Student Relocation Council questionnaire. When carbon copies of letters written by the Council to the students arrive on the Project, they are routed to the Student Relocation Office and are placed in the student's folder. When such a carbon copy arrives, the student evacuee office calls the student in and asks him what he is going to do about this letter he has received from Philadelphia. If a student has been inactive for quite a while, the office calls him in and asks him what is happening. If he has not received a reply to some letter he has sent into Philadelphia, the office urges him to write again and call Philadelphia's attention to the matter.

The student evacuee office at Topaz has analyzed the colleges which are available and has made lists and which are available in music, in architecture, in engineering, etc. They have also arranged the colleges by states so that students can quickly locate the institutions in a given neighborhood.

At Topaz there has been organized a Student Aid Committee with representatives from the Block Managers, from the Community Council, from the Co-op Store, and from the High School. This committee has launched a drive within the center for a \$2500.00 scholarship fund. It plans to distribute this fund among 15 or 20 of this year's high school seniors who are eligible for college work and who do not have sufficient funds of their own. It will divide the sum it receives evenly among all of the students whom it desires to help so that each will receive \$100.00 or \$125.00. The Student Relocation Council will then try to find the balance needed by each of these students. Thus the Project high school seniors are given an incentive to go on with their education on the college level and the whole program of student relocation receives Project approval and enthusiasm.

At the present time, Mr. Thomas R. Bodine, Field Director of the National Student Relocation Council, is on a tour of the ten Projects to exchange information with the people on the Projects who are interested in student relocation, to meet with some of the high school seniors, and to interview as many as possible of the students who have applied to the Council but who have not yet been placed. He is remaining for 5 or 6 days on each Project.

He has already visited Amache, Topaz, and Gila. His remaining stops come in the following order: Poston, Manzanar, Tule Lake, Minidoka, Heart Mountain, and the Arkansas Centers. He will be at Poston approximately June 1; at Minidoka, July 1; completing his trip August 1.

NOTE: Ethel Otomo and I have sat up very late tonight dictating this brief survey of the work of the National Student Relocation Council. We have tried, without organizing our thoughts, to put on paper the answers to some of the questions which may be on your minds. If we have not answered everything, please feel free to write to the Student Relocation Council at 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I am hoping at my later stops to dictate quotations from the exuberant letters we have received from relocated students, in order that you might have a convincing picture of the warm welcome the students at least have met on the outside. Until then, good luck and morepower to you.

THOMAS R. BODINE  
Field Director

TRB:eo  
S-#899

# Outcasts!

October(?) 1943

The Story of America's Treatment  
of Her Japanese-American Minority

BY CALEB FOOTE



15c

# Foreword

THE question naturally arises, Why is this booklet worth printing, when paper and time are both so precious? The answer is, Because it strikes a body blow to keep the Constitution valid for all, and takes square issue with those who would expurgate it for persons of Japanese descent. It is not an appeal for sympathy for the evacuees, but an argument for justice, and that is what the evacuees themselves want. Facts are arrayed about the whole gamut of evacuation and resettlement, but the emphasis on the deeper issues affecting our American democracy is the core of the booklet. Not the least impressive point about it is that it was written by a descendant of immigrants of three hundred years ago on behalf of immigrants of thirty or forty years ago. That it goes to press while the writer is serving a term in prison as a conscientious objector has no bearing on the validity of his argument, but it does show that he is ready to suffer for constitutional principles as he understands them.

These lines may be read by some citizens who think the Western Defense Command was fully justified in uprooting all West Coast residents of one racial group, without hearings or other due process, and by other citizens who think that, even if the action was unnecessary and legally questionable, nevertheless, it is treasonable to press the issue during a desperate war. But as Mr. Foote makes clear, it is because we profess to be fighting for the American Way that it would be hampering the war effort not to criticize a violation of that Way. For he quotes the Japanese propaganda as broadcasting to all Asia the stinging charge that the evacuation was "the most dastardly act ever carried out by a so-called Christian nation." That this charge is false does not erase the fact that the indiscriminate mass evacuation does give the Axis plausible ground for undermining the confidence of our colored allies in America's sincerity.

We have been hearing so much from the Dies Committee and others about subversive activities that it is in place to ask what "subversive" means. All would agree that it means to try to upset our government or the American Way. But if the American Way rests upon the hard-won rights proclaimed in the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, then are not those who would deny those rights to fellow citizens of whatever race the real subversives? The "patriots" who are trying to disfranchise or to keep in concentration camps some 100,000 persons who are as much entitled as the patriots themselves to the privileges of the American Way must be either ignorant of that Way or traitors to it. It is to be hoped that they, and many others, will read these pages with open mind and sensitive civic conscience.

GALEN M. FISHER.

## PHOTO CREDITS

Most of the photographs used in this booklet are published through the courtesy of the War Relocation Authority, and were made by the following photographers: *Dorothea Lange*: pages 1, 3, 5, 6; *Clem Albers*: page 7; *Francis Stewart*: pages 5, 9, 13, 14, 17; *Joe McClelland*: page 8; *Tom Parker*: cover and pages 10, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22. The photograph on page 23 is by courtesy of the *Los Angeles Times*.



# The TYRANNY of a WORD

SHORTLY after Pearl Harbor, the *San Francisco Chronicle* said of the persons of Japanese ancestry in the state, "Americans called them Japanese, though the great majority of them had every right to be called Americans."

Here was a peculiar thing. American citizens were labeling certain other American citizens with the name that they also applied to their enemies. No newspaper or politician referred to citizens of German ancestry as "Germans," but almost every newspaper or politician used the word "Japs" when speaking of American citizens whose ancestors came from Japan.

The President of the University of Arizona, speaking of these American citizens, said, "We are at war, and these people are our enemies." A United States district attorney talked about loading up "our 127,000 Japs and shipping them back to Japan." Since Pearl Harbor, in the public mind, the word "Jap" had become synonymous with "enemy." Thus American citizens of Japanese ancestry had two strikes against them from the start. People no longer thought of them as the Americans they are. They have been victims of the tyranny of a word.

# EVACUATION

## Biography of a People

PERSONS of Japanese ancestry in the United States form a tiny minority. There are about a thousand of the rest of us to each one of them. Most of them were concentrated on the Pacific Coast, where some 112,000 had been living before the war, but even there they formed only about one per cent. of the Pacific Coast states' population. About two-thirds of them were American citizens, and of the Japanese aliens, who are aliens because we have denied them citizenship, two-thirds have been here at least seventeen years. One-quarter of the entire group are children under fifteen years of age. On the West Coast they had an extremely low delinquency rate, very few persons on relief, and a birth rate slightly lower than the average for the population as a whole.

The first Japanese to come to our shores, in the middle of the last century, were shipwrecked sailors or occasional stowaways. Aside from them, almost none came prior to 1884, as emigration from Japan was prohibited before that year. Hawaiian sugar interests were instrumental in starting the stream of Japanese across the Pacific, and between 1890 and 1910 their number in the United States rose from 2,039 to 72,157.

Arriving in California, these immigrants stepped almost immediately into anti-Oriental prejudice. The Chinese had preceded them, and had been subject to violent persecution both before and after passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, in 1882. An attack upon fifteen Japanese cobblers in San Francisco in 1890 marked the beginning of an anti-Japanese prejudice that has been present in the life of the West ever since. By 1900 mass meetings were urging their exclusion and an attempt was made to segregate Japanese-American school children in San Francisco. The California legislature had before it

seventeen anti-Japanese bills in 1909, some of which failed only after Theodore Roosevelt's direct intervention. The Japanese Exclusion League and the economically motivated Anti-Jap Laundry League fanned race prejudice and obtained discriminatory "alien land laws" that prevented alien Japanese from owning or operating agricultural land. Although only 185 Japanese a year would have been admitted under the quota system, race-conscious Americans forced passage in 1924 of a clause barring any Japanese immigrants. The ambassadors of both nations resigned in protest against this action.

Feeling against those of Japanese ancestry did not die after the exclusion. In the thirties, mobs in Oregon and Arizona forced them out of homes and jobs; a "Committee of 1,000" in Southern California worked to boycott all things Japanese; the Hearst press blamed the nation's slow recovery from the depression on the Orientals. Like the Negro, Chinese, and Jew, the young Japanese-American has always had to buck irrational race prejudice, and it is against this sordid background that the unprecedented discrimination of the last two years has been brought about.

## Reasons for the Evacuation

Four explanations have been advanced for the evacuation: military necessity, the protection of those evacuated, political and economic pressures, and racial prejudice. While the war continues, it will be impossible to give final evaluation of the relative significance of these explanations, for many of the facts necessary for such evaluation are either unavailable or have not been uncovered due to lack of adequate research. Nonetheless, there is already sufficient evidence to back up Roger Baldwin's assertion that "military necessity had less to do with their unprecedented treat-

### Evacuation's Timetable

- December 7, 1941—Pearl Harbor.
- December 8, 1941—Attorney-General Bidle calls for tolerance in dealings with many Japanese here "of unquestioned loyalty."
- December 27, 1941—Japanese-Filipino trouble in Stockton, Calif.
- January 22, 1942—Congressman Ford (Calif.) urges total evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry.
- February 13, 1942—Pacific Coast Congressional group recommends evacuation.
- February 15, 1942—Fall of Singapore.
- February 19, 1942—President Roosevelt authorizes evacuation from military zones.
- February 23, 1942—Submarine shells California coast.
- March 2, 1942—General DeWitt orders evacuation from most of California, western Oregon and Washington, and southern Arizona. A few Germans, Italians, and other Caucasians were evacuated, but only the people of Japanese ancestry were moved en masse.
- March 18, 1942—War Relocation Authority established.
- March 24, 1942—First exclusion order under which those of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from a specific locality. Followed by 108 subsequent orders.
- March 29, 1942—"Voluntary evacuation" of people of Japanese ancestry from Pacific Coast area prohibited. Before this date 10,231 moved out of restricted area on their own initiative after Army and newspapers requested this.
- June 5, 1942—First evacuation completed. Subsequently the remaining parts of California were evacuated, this being completed August 7, 1942.
- Summer-Fall, 1942—Transfer of people from temporary, Army-controlled Assembly Centers to ten permanent inland Relocation Centers in seven Western states, under control of the WRA.

ment than race prejudice" — *Asia*, September, 1942.

Briefly, the justification of the evacuation as military necessity is as follows: the Pacific Coast Congressional delegation on February 13, 1942, recommended to the President "the immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese lineage, and all others, aliens or citizens alike, whose presence shall be deemed dangerous or inimical to the defense of the United States, from all strategic areas." The wording is significant, suggesting immediate removal of those of Japanese lineage as a racial group, but asking treatment of others on the basis of danger. Six days later the President authorized military commanders designated by the secretary of war to establish military areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded." The result of this Executive Order was group exclusion of



*By their industry and skill the Japanese-Americans were able to supply a large part of the West Coast's fruits and vegetables. Evacuation left these fertile fields untilled when food was badly needed, so that farmhands had to be imported from Mexico to work them*

Americans of Japanese ancestry and, subsequently, a few Caucasian-American citizens, but the latter have been given individual hearings and have not been interned.

Protection against sabotage and fifth-columnism were the announced military reasons for the exclusion of those of Japanese ancestry. But there is cause to believe that these reasons did not give the total picture. Colonel Karl R. Bendetson,



*Under armed guard, like criminals, American-born citizens were marched to the trains that carried them from their homes to crowded "assembly centers"*

Western Defense Command assistant chief of staff, who directed the removal, in a San Francisco speech on May 20, 1942, said:

"The Japanese community presented a group with a high potential for action against the national interest." This statement shows the tendency of both Army and political groups incorrectly to label a group two-thirds of whom are American citizens as "Japanese," and to refer to a racial group as a "community," without regard for individual differences within that group. Such thinking is the basis of race prejudice. Furthermore, the statement itself is open to serious question. Bendetson never mentioned the experience in Hawaii, a more dangerous spot than the West Coast, with a far higher proportion of persons of Japanese ancestry. Instead of displaying a "high potential for action" against us, the Hawaiians of Japanese descent have, in the words of Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, Army commander there, "added materially to the strength of the Hawaiian area" and "have behaved themselves admirably under most trying conditions."

On April 13, 1943, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, the man who ordered the evacuation, told a House Committee: "It makes no difference whether the Japanese is theoretically a citizen. He is still a Japanese. Giving him a scrap of paper won't change him. I don't care what they do with the Japs so long as they don't send them back here. A Jap is a Jap."

Such statements lead clearly to the conclusion that racial prejudice played a large part in determining the "military necessity" of the evacuation. Racial thinking of this kind not only is inaccurate and unscientific, but it runs directly counter to President Roosevelt's statement, referring to Japanese-Americans, that "Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry."

No one denies the need to protect the West Coast against unlawful acts of sabotage and fifth-columnism. Nor does anyone deny that this is primarily the responsibility of the Army. But if, as the evidence indicates, the Army acted because of racial prejudice, democracy loving Americans have the right and obligation to challenge that action.

### **How the Demand for Evacuation Developed**

Two months before Pearl Harbor a significant statement was made by Jim Marshall in an article in the October 11, 1941, issue of *Collier's*. In case of war, he pointed out, there would be some demand in California for concentration camps for those of Japanese ancestry, but the Army, Navy, and FBI "opinion, based on intensive and continuous investigation, is that the situation is not dangerous and that, whatever happens, there is not likely to be any trouble. With this opinion

*Soldiers with fixed bayonets symbolized our tragic lack of faith in the processes of democracy*





*Fortunate, wrote Oliver Goldsmith, is he who crowns a "youth of labor with an age of ease." Many an evacuee watched with stricken eyes as a lifetime of labor was crowned with financial ruin*

West Coast newspapermen, in touch with the problem for years, agree almost unanimously."

Contrary to widely held beliefs, this attitude of calmness and tolerance dominated the early weeks of the war. The day after Pearl Harbor, Attorney-General Biddle declared:

"There are in the United States many persons of Japanese extraction whose loyalty to the country, even in the present emergency, is unquestioned. It would therefore be a serious mistake to take any action against these people"—*San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1941.

Such pleas for tolerance were echoed by Governor Olson of California, General David P. Barrows, the presidents of the University of California, Stanford University, and Mills College, defense authorities, national and local churchmen, state government officials, and San Francisco's police chief.

The feeling back of this tolerance was not complacency, but a confidence in the ability of public officials, especially the FBI, to handle the situation. Thus by December 21, 1941, the FBI had taken into custody 1,460 Japanese aliens, with a three-man board being set up to hear the cases. (They also arrested 1,204 Germans and twenty-two Italians in this period.) Restrictions on aliens were slowly tightened as time went on. Early in January, 1942, their right to travel was restricted, and about the middle of the month all Axis aliens were ordered to register. At the end of the month, the Department of Justice ordered Axis aliens

out of vital West Coast areas, the FBI to handle the removal. These early restrictions applied to *all Axis aliens*; none applied to citizens of American birth.

Thus during the first weeks of the war the dominant tenor of news stories was for fairness and tolerance, restrictions applied equally to all enemy aliens, and *there was no mention of total evacuation!* If the military had sound reasons for it, they were not apparent nor put forward in the weeks immediately following Pearl Harbor. The first vehicle of anti-Japanese-American propaganda was the fifth-column rumor. In late December evacuees from Pearl Harbor were quoted in the press, telling the familiar fifth-column stories. These were given apparent authenticity by Navy Secretary Frank Knox's statement on December 30 that the attack was aided by the "most effective fifth-column activity since Norway." Despite Hawaiian Delegate King's denial on January 27, these slanderous stories ran unchecked until after the evacuation was ordered. Then official denials were made. Why Knox helped circulate these untrue rumors and why the government did not officially deny them earlier has never been explained.

Stories about mainland Japanese-Americans were also widespread. One in particular, quoted in Herb Caen's *Chronicle* column early in January, described the Japanese gardener who "snarls" to his white employer: "After the war you'll be cutting the lawn for me." Variations of this story ran up and down the Coast, and, typical of such

*Many of the loved little possessions that make a home were heaped on the junk wagon when evacuation came*



tales, details and locations changed. (I heard it as a true incident occurring in Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Barbara, Beverly Hills, and Los Angeles.) But the basic story was always the same, and the Japanese always "snarled."

On January 22, 1942, Congressman Leland Ford of California launched the campaign "to move all Japanese, native born and alien, to concentration camps." It was quickly taken up, and pressures against these people increased. Los Angeles County dismissed its Japanese-American civil service employees, and the County Board of Supervisors urged evacuation. Hearst columnist Henry McLemore wrote on January 29:

"Why treat the Japs well here? They take the parking positions. They get ahead of you in the stamp line at the post office. They have their share of seats on the bus and streetcar lines. . . . I am for immediate removal of every Japanese on the West Coast to a point deep in the interior. I don't mean a nice part of the interior, either. . . . Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry, and dead up against it. . . . Personally I hate the Japanese. And that goes for all of them."

Following these leads, demands for evacuation of this tiny group of defenseless people spread like wildfire among political groups. During the last three days in January demands for evacuation came from the Los Angeles American Legion, the Alameda and Fresno County Boards of Supervisors, the Seattle American Legion, California "agricultural officials," and Pacific Coast congressmen. This continued in increasing volume until on February 16 the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported "a tidal wave of demands" for evacuation. But a *Chronicle* editorial also pointed out on February 6, 1942:

"The supposed 'hysteria' over enemy aliens and their descendants scarcely exists among the people themselves . . . the excitement is visible almost entirely in political and journalistic quarters. . . . They are seeking to capitalize on the supposed excitement of others, which is mostly a figment of their own imaginations."

Southern congressmen like Senator Stewart (Tenn.) and Representatives Rankin (Miss.) and Dies (Tex.) joined West Coast political groups

in this campaign. Thus the same coalition of Western and Southern political pressure which for more than sixty years has been violently anti-Oriental was responsible for the rising "demand" for evacuation. For them it was the logical culmination of decades of anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese agitation and legislation. With the willing help of some newspapers and radio commentators, they played upon the public fears that accompanied the fall of Bataan, Malaya, and Singapore by making the 112,000 Japanese-Americans their scapegoat.

### The "Protection" Reason for Evacuation

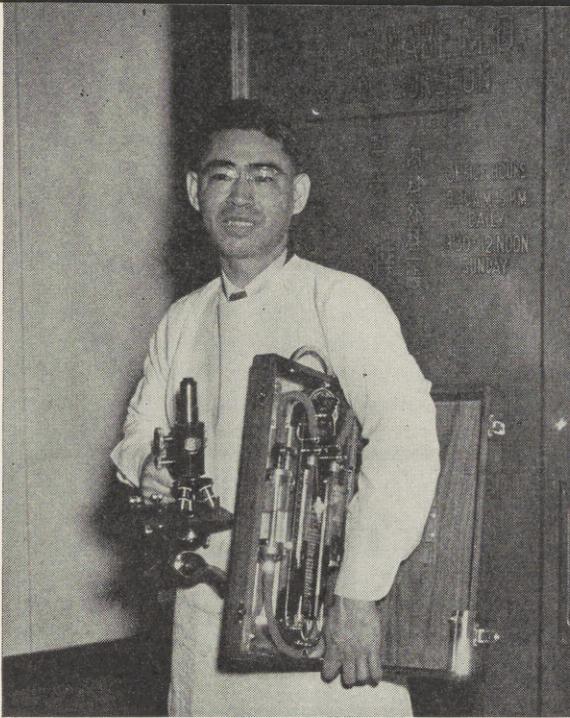
Floyd Schmoe, recently of the University of Washington, has pointed out the perversion of American justice involved in this idea of "protective custody":

"The reason for evacuation considered most valid by many persons is that of 'protective custody'—the Japanese must be taken into camps and guarded for their own protection. But what a breakdown of the Anglo-Saxon conception of justice in a democracy such thinking betokens. . . . The very words 'protective custody' (*Schutzhaft*) were 'made in Germany,' not here. How could it accord with American justice that if a man were dangerous to his neighbors they should be put into custody rather than he?"—*Fellowship*, July, 1942.

Moreover, the danger of violence to these people appears to have been greatly exaggerated. The

*"Treacherous . . . faithless . . . depraved. . . ." The little boy on the right is one of those thus described by a West Coast hate-group. One-fourth of the evacuees are children under fifteen years of age*





*The evacuees included many farmers, gardeners, and domestic workers . . . included also physicians and surgeons*

study of every story on the subject in two San Francisco newspapers reveals only seven instances of violence on the Pacific Coast between Pearl Harbor and the order for evacuation. Undoubtedly there were some unreported incidents, but the amount in any case is remarkably low considering a Japanese-American population of 112,000. The evidence indicates that most of the few murders were motivated by causes having nothing to do with the war.

### **Economic Pressures as a Cause of Evacuation**

Racial prejudice and political pressure were dominant causes of evacuation, and Carey McWilliams, an authority on California economics, says that the pressures for evacuation "cut across ordinary economic alignments." Nonetheless, economic greed played a part. The Japanese-American group in California alone controlled farm acreage valued at some \$72,000,000; played a part in fishing; owned and operated many hotels, laundries, and restaurants; dominated Los Angeles fresh fruit and vegetable distribution, and captured some of the best bazaar trade in San Francisco's Chinatown. Their commercial interests along the Coast were valued at from \$55,000,000 to \$75,000,000.

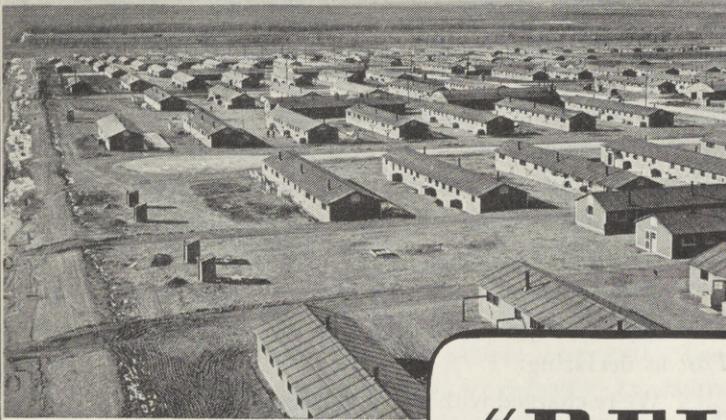
It is known that economic groups which would gain by removal of this Japanese-American competition urged evacuation, and they probably were back of much of the political pressure. The Salinas Vegetable Growers Association, for example, is composed of white farmers and shippers in a valley where there was much Japanese-American farming. Its managing secretary, Austin E. Anson, was quoted in the *Saturday Evening Post* as declaring:

"We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We might as well be honest. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown man . . . and we don't want them back when the war ends, either."

Reliable evidence on this phase of the evacuation is still not available. But it is estimated that the Japanese-Americans suffered a total loss of at least one-half of their resources on the Coast, and the total may be much higher. The groups who gained from their loss, and the individuals who have inherited their farms, homes, and businesses, create a special problem that will require careful handling as the urgent resettlement of Japanese-Americans outside the Centers progresses.

### **The Press and Evacuation**

Newspaper pressure for evacuation increased steadily after January 24. Inflammatory headlines aroused the public, but they did not put in an appearance until more than six weeks after Pearl Harbor. A study of the demands for evacuation appearing in two San Francisco papers shows the significant fact that there was no mention of evacuation in December, and only two demands (both letters to the editor) before January 22. The real pressure came in February, most of it from political groups that have always been anti-Oriental. According to the San Francisco *Chronicle* and trained observers like Louis Fischer and Richard Neuberger, ace West Coast newspapermen, the public at large was not aroused. From church and school quarters, where the Japanese-Americans were known best, not one demand for evacuation was recorded by these newspapers.



*Granada Relocation Center,  
Amache, Colorado*

# “RELOCATION”

## **What Are the Relocation Centers Like?**

**T**HE Granada Relocation Center at Amache, Colo., is typical of the ten camps in seven Western states in which evacuated Japanese-Americans are living. The Centers are managed by a civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority, appointed by the President for this job. A company of military police is stationed at each Center to control entrance and exits. The total cost of maintenance of the evacuees in the Centers and administration of the Centers is borne by the Federal Government.

The buildings are of a temporary type of construction described as “so very cheap that, frankly, if it stands up for the duration we are going to be lucky.” They are grouped in blocks, each composed of twelve residential barracks, a recreation hall (usually used for offices), and two large community buildings containing latrines, laundry, showers, kitchen, and mess hall. Thirty or more such blocks make up a Center, usually surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, with military guard towers at intervals.

Residential barracks are 120 by 20 feet, divided up into six one-room apartments, ranging in size from 16 by 20 feet to 20 by 24 feet, with from two to seven people housed in each room. They come equipped only with bed, blankets, and stove. Population at the Granada Center, smallest of the ten, was 7,620 in April, 1943, of whom more than two-thirds are American citizens—born and reared in this country. Most of the 2,123 aliens

came here as laborers and merchants in the early 1900's, and have not been allowed to become citizens. About half the population came from rural areas, the other half is urban, and their occupations before evacuation embraced practically every phase of American life.

School children make up one-quarter of the population, with 1,909 persons registered from nursery school through high school. Classes taught by both Caucasian and Japanese-American teachers are held in barracks, with meager equipment. School buildings are now going up at some Centers.

Food is served in community mess halls, cafeteria style. Cost of meals for all Relocation Centers has averaged not more than forty-five cents per person, and there is rationing just as there is outside. Describing the food in one Center, a California newsman wrote: “It is substantial, healthy, and not very appetizing. It is a combination of American and Japanese dishes, and tastes like something bought for about thirty-eight cents a day—which is what it happens to cost. They have no butter, but apparently plenty of margarine, and enough tea to serve it twice a day. Meatless days come at least three times a week.”

Employment is offered about half of Granada's population in twenty-five different departments, and the pay ranges from \$12 to \$19 a month even for the highest skills, with the government bearing the brunt of maintenance. There are farms at all the Centers, employing many people. This typical Relocation Center has a 150-bed hospital, a biweekly newspaper, fire and police departments, and an elected community council to han-

dle minor governmental functions. Cooperative stores, with 2,387 members, gross more than \$40,000 per month.

### **For What Are These Centers Planned?**

Set up to receive people evacuated from Pacific Coast areas, the ten Relocation Centers were to have been self-supporting paternalistic democracies. As nearly half of the evacuees of working age had agricultural experience, it was hoped that they would raise all their own food and a surplus as well, with some industries thrown in to make the communities as self-sufficient as possible. Plans were formulated for limited self-government, for schools under advanced educational methods, for stores cooperatively operated by and for the community. In short, far-sighted War Relocation Authority policy sought to undo as much of the harm caused by the evacuation as possible.

Actual practice has fallen short of these ideals. The inhospitable locations of the Relocation Centers, the low wage scale, the rising demand for resettlement outside the Centers, the paradox of a theoretical liberty denied in practice, political pressures against the WRA, and deep psychological factors have all worked to modify original plans and ideals. It is now realized that no matter how well planned and administered, a camp in which one racial group is segregated is an un-American and unhealthy thing. Thus the WRA is now bending its policy toward resettlement outside the Centers.

### **Location of the Centers**

The location of the Centers alone has been enough to deny any possibility that they might speedily become self-supporting. The Hearst columnist who in the early days of the war wanted these people moved into the interior—"and I don't mean a nice part of the interior, either"—certainly got his wish. At Poston, Ariz., site of the largest Center (population 20,000), the three sections of the camp were nicknamed Roaston, Toaston, and Duston, and the names tell the truth about most of the Centers, where desert heat and dust are bywords in summer. The camps have the hardships of the typical frontier community—mud, inadequate housing, physical hardship, and subjugation of desert land, but without the zest and self-interest of voluntary pioneering.

Factors beyond control of the War Relocation Authority probably forced these locations, for a Center had to be away from military zones but near adequate transportation and power, had to have agricultural possibilities on land owned or controlled by the government (to prevent specu-

lation), but could not displace already existing white settlers. Coupled with these restrictions was vigorous local opposition wherever the War Relocation Authority went. Typical of the ignorant prejudice of every Western state was Idaho Governor Clark's statement: "Japs live like rats, breed like rats, and act like rats. We don't want them buying or leasing land and becoming permanently located in our state." The result was that with limited exceptions the Relocation Centers were established where nobody else wanted to live: Western desert, arid Great Plains, or cut-over parts of Arkansas.

### **What About Low Wage Standards?**

Resentment at the low wage scales is another factor that has disrupted Relocation Center life. The evacuees employed at the Centers receive \$19 a month for skilled or professional labor, \$12 for "apprentices," with the great majority getting \$16 a month. In addition, all those in the Centers receive meals costing not over forty-five cents a day and minimum housing. It is natural that American citizens and aliens convicted of no crime should resent such sub-standard pay. This feeling is accentuated because Caucasians working within the Centers receive standard pay. Thus many white school teachers receive in the neighborhood of \$2,000 a year, but an accredited Japanese-American teacher, doing the same job, will get but \$19 a month. These low wage scales mean that many families are using up their reserves and that many others face destitution. The drabness of much of the work, coupled with these small allow-

*Housing quarters in Relocation Centers are cheap, crowded, bare. They are equipped only with stove, bed, and blankets*



ances, offers no individual incentive, and many persons find time hanging heavily on their hands.

### **What Are These Outcasts Thinking?**

In the early days of detention, a little girl saw a dog trying to climb through the barbed-wire fence into an Assembly Center. "Don't come in here, little dog," she cried. "You won't be able to go back to America." That thought more than anything else explains the failure of the Relocation Center as a way of life. Evacuation has created or accentuated psychological and mental attitudes that do far more harm than physical suffering or hardship. "It seems that we are alone against a world of persecution," a Japanese-American student wrote. "It is evident that the average American has such prejudice against those of yellow skin that we can never hope to be placed on a parity with the so-called fellow Americans. But we are loyal in spite of being deprived of friendship and tolerance."

Evacuation effectively smashed the hopes and dreams of both old and young. The older, alien Japanese, although themselves denied the right to become American citizens, have helped build America and have sacrificed their lives so that their children might enjoy the fruits of American citizenship. Evacuation has meant for them a bitter realization of failure. The discrimination against their children has caused them intense suffering; and for themselves, separated from the homes and jobs of a lifetime, they know they are too old to start again.

For the younger American citizen of Japanese ancestry the disappointment has been as sharp.

*Relocation high school students, thoroughly Americanized in West Coast schools, become disillusioned and cynical at evacuation's denial of democracy*



*Is this the American Way? Does this crowded dining-hall represent our future treatment of racial minorities? America must decide this burning question*

These Nisei had the lowest delinquency of any racial group, oversubscribed their quotas to community chests, made outstanding records in both school and college, and formed a Japanese-American Citizens League to ease their participation in normal American life. In the evacuation they see the negation of much of this effort. As Rep. Clifton A. Woodrum of Virginia observed, "there has been a terrific dislocation for those who are American citizens. They were picked up body and baggage and moved out, and I imagine it would have a severe psychological effect upon a man who was really a loyal American citizen."

### **"What Will Happen to Us?"**

The insecurity of not knowing what will happen next is the most pronounced characteristic of both aliens and citizens in the Relocation Centers. Property losses before and during the evacuation, the sense of constantly being pushed about, changes of official policy, government promises freely given and freely broken — all these have bred a fear and a cynicism that bodes no good for the future. There is ample basis for this insecurity. A young American-born farmer who lived on the California coast was urged by the Army to move voluntarily out of the zone that was to be evacuated. He moved to an inland part of the state, bought a farm, put in his crops, and sent for his family. Then the Army changed its mind, the remaining part of California was frozen, and he was evacuated. "I figure we've lost that boy," a War Relocation Authority official observed. "He was a good American when the war started. He hated Japan. Now he still hates Japan, but he hates us, too." Many thousands like this young man moved

in accordance with requests only to be caught by later changes of policy.

Scores of American citizens received a form letter from the Western Defense Command beginning: "Certain Japanese persons are currently being considered for repatriation to Japan. You, and those members of your family listed above, are being so considered." The recipients of this letter, many of them boys and girls born here who had never set foot in Japan, were justly perplexed. "What do they mean, Japanese persons?" they asked. "Doesn't being born and brought up here make us Americans? And that phrase, 'repatriation to Japan.' The only country we could be repatriated to is the United States of America! To send us to Japan would be to expatriate us!" These Americans wondered if the government were deliberately trying to force them into the arms of Japan, and their minds ran again on that thing they most fear: deportation to Japan after the war.

### **What About the Future of the Camps?**

"I don't like Relocation Centers." That statement came from Dillon S. Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority, in a speech in which he also said that "the major emphasis now in the War Relocation Authority is the relocation of people outside of the Centers." Thus the best future for the Relocation Centers would be their abolition. Myer points out that "serious damage could be done if they went on for very long," and thus the faster these innocent people can be brought back into normal life the better. Two programs are now under way to effect this. One is enlistment in the Army; the other releasing indi-

viduals on "indefinite leave," which amounts to permanent resettlement in everyday life. While difficulties are being encountered, owing to the segregation of the men into "combat units" of the Army and difficulties in the housing and job situations in many cities, considerable progress is being made, although a great deal depends on the public's response and action.

The alternative to such resettlement is the continuation of these camps into the indefinite future. An observer in one Center points out that they are "far from being typical American communities. The children hear more Japanese and less English than they ever have in their lives before, and with every month their Japanese improves and their English deteriorates. The tide in the Centers inevitably will turn increasingly toward the older cultural pattern. For the first time in their lives these independent people are learning to accept government aid. This is a habit easily acquired and not easily lost. Thirty thousand boys and girls are growing up in a situation of government dependency which undermines family solidarity and destroys initiative, ambition, and self-respect. To call the Centers de-Americanizing institutions is not criticism of the very excellent work of the WRA. It is simply to point out the end inherent in the system of mass segregation and dependency."

The cry of one of the children in the camps, "Mother, I don't like Japan. Let's go back to America," needs to be answered. The following pages show why it should be answered, because of the loyalty and assimilation of the people, and because of the future well-being of American democracy and the relations between the white and colored peoples.

**A**FTER watching thousands of Americans of Japanese ancestry who were uprooted from their homes adapt themselves to crowded life behind barbed wire, the manager of the Tulare Assembly Center paid them this remarkable tribute:

"It has been a revelation to me to see how you have adapted yourselves to this strange and difficult life, and to watch the many ingenious ways in which you have found outlet for your energies. I have admired your willingness to do the menial tasks as well as those that brought ready recognition. I have marveled at the educational system you have developed in the face of innumerable obstacles so that you might make yourselves more useful. Through it all, in your work and in your play, you have maintained your dignity and your happy disposition.

"In this way I have learned from you how to become a better American, and for that I shall remember you always in humble gratitude."

# LOYALTY

## Are Japanese-Americans Racially Different?

PEOPLE are divided into many races by their physical differences. Some have white skins, some black; more brown or yellow. Americans of Oriental ancestry, though with different skin, different noses, different eyes from most Americans, think, feel, and act about the same way. Scientists have proved beyond question that underneath these physical differences all humans are basically the same. Yet the myth that Japanese-Americans, because they look different, *are* different, is believed by many people. They are, according to Rodney Brink, *Christian Science Monitor* reporter, "members of a race whose loyalties to the United States have not been fully established." Al Dingeman, campaigning for Congress in California, told his constituents that Japanese-Americans "have proved to be treacherous and untrustworthy as a race." The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco was told early this year that "dishonesty, deceit, and hypocrisy are racial characteristics." This was given as a reason why residents of Japanese ancestry should be denied United States citizenship.

Adolf Hitler also believes that people are basically different according to race. Much of the horror he has inflicted on the world is because of his ignorance on this question. In 1932 he told the Dusseldorf Industry Club: "It is beyond question that certain traits of character, certain virtues, and certain vices always recur in people so long as their inner nature—their blood-conditioned composition—has not essentially altered."

Hitler and those Americans who have adopted similar race doctrines are wrong. Men inherit physical characteristics from their parents, but cultural traits such as honesty, loyalty, integrity, and bravery are not inherited. They are acquired through environment and education. Thus many whites brought up in American homes and educated in our schools are honest, love democracy,

and hate war. But other people brought up in Germany—or America—who are also white, may think dishonesty necessary, despise democracy, and call war noble.

Ruth Benedict, of Columbia University, points out that "all over the world, since the beginning of human history, it can be shown that peoples have been able to adopt the culture of people of another blood. There is nothing in the biological structure of man that makes it even difficult." And Lawrence Guy Brown, in his exhaustive study, *Immigration*, says, "An individual of any race has the capacity to acquire the culture of any group if the process of socialization begins early enough."

In times of stress and crisis, it is easy to be swept away by the delusion that people are different because they look different. But this ignorance is our greatest danger. As Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes said in 1942, Americans must avoid this "Hitler-like contempt for other groups and creeds and races." A Naval Intelligence officer who studied the whole question of Americans of Japanese ancestry reported: "The entire 'Japanese problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people. It should be handled on

*Sunday afternoon at Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colorado. Furniture and decorations were made by the girls from scrap lumber and wallboard*



the basis of the *individual*, regardless of citizenship, and *not* on a racial basis."

### **Have the Japanese-Americans Been Assimilated?**

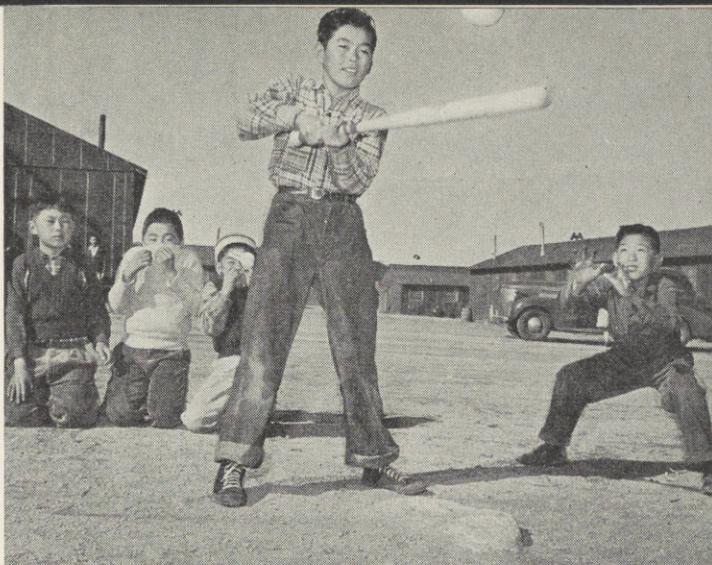
The strongest practical evidence that Japanese are not different as a race is the remarkable degree to which children born in this country have been assimilated into the American way of life. That this is so true is convincing evidence of the strength of American democracy. Milton S. Eisenhower, as first director of the War Relocation Authority, had access to information that makes him uniquely able to judge how well they have been assimilated. He told a Congressional committee that the second generation born in this country "have attended only American schools with other American children. They have learned the democratic way. They know no other way. Many of them are in the American Army. . . . Most of them can speak no other language but ours. They are thoroughly Americanized."

Paying tribute to the degree of social assimilation that had taken place, Carey McWilliams, in his new book, *Brothers Under the Skin*, points out that "they showed, from the outset, great eagerness to adopt American ways. . . . In every way they tried to deport themselves in a creditable manner. There was no crime problem among them (nor has there ever been one); and they paid their debts. Even during depressions, they were never dependent upon public relief or assistance."

Ignorance of this fact has been in good measure responsible for the evacuation. There have been many statements, some from high government sources, asserting that Japanese-Americans have not been assimilated. Colonel Bendetsen, for example, in outlining the reasons for the military necessity of the evacuation, included Japanese-Americans as part of a "national group almost wholly unassimilated and which has preserved in large measure to itself its customs and traditions." Colonel Bendetsen, like the many others who make such assertions, must be unaware of the facts.

Research on this problem was carried on for many years at Stanford University under Professor E. K. Strong, following a Carnegie grant in 1929. Here are a few of his findings:

"Mentally and morally the Japanese-Americans are similar to whites. . . . Morally, the Japanese-Americans are possibly superior to the whites; at least their record in delinquency and crime is better. . . .



*LIFE asserted that you can tell "Japs" because they "show humorless intensity of ruthless mystics." These youngsters, typical sixth-graders, belie such nonsense*

"The vocational interests of Japanese and whites are very similar:

"There is little or nothing in the data in this section to warrant the statement that Japanese as a class are tricky, deceitful, and dishonest. Their credit ratings are so nearly equal to those of the whites as to warrant the belief that they behave in practically the same way as their white competitors.

"On the basis of an adaptation of Voelker's honesty test, twelve-year-old Japanese children obtained an almost perfect score (99.9), with Chinese second (87), in comparison with the score of 50 for Anglo-Saxons."

Assimilation is a process of give and take. Thus many Japanese-Americans have adopted our main religious pattern, the Stanford study finding that "the United States born second generation are predominantly Christian." Those who remained Buddhists have westernized that religion. And like other national groups new to America, they have contributed much to our way of life. In agriculture their industry, thrift, and efficiency helped make possible a continuous supply of fresh vegetables; they improved or introduced our techniques of cultivation, drainage, fertilization, and cooperative marketing. Their methods resulted in higher standards for our vegetable markets, in improved quality and artistic display of merchandise, in courtesy, and in sanitary precautions.

So strong was their Americanization that when members of the American born and raised second generation visited Japan, they found themselves in a strange land, unhappy and unwelcome. A



*Miss May Kumasaka, chief laboratory technician at Minidoka, was a laboratory technician in Seattle before the evacuation*

Japanese manufacturer indicated his disgust for them in these words:

“They’re too individualistic. They can’t learn filial piety and loyalty to the Emperor. I do not hire Nisei. The food doesn’t suit them. The winter doesn’t suit them, they expect central heating. And they don’t suit me. My employees must do only what they’re literally told to do. Nisei want to learn everything that’s going on and make suggestions about what they think they’ve learned in the States. They may look Japanese to you. They don’t to me”—Randau and Zugsmith, *The Setting Sun of Japan*, Random House, 1942, p. 99.

The feeling was mutual. Japanese-Americans in Japan wrote back to America that “the customs and manners of these people are very peculiar,” or, “I feel out of place in Japan. Everything seems too strange to me.” This deep chasm between Japan and Americans of Japanese ancestry shows how far the latter had been Americanized.

Assimilation was not complete. It never is with any second generation. Children of immigrants have to be the bridge between their parents and America, an experience not only of the Japanese-

Americans but common to second-generation Americans of Italian, French, Irish and many other backgrounds. Thus Japanese-Americans lived with their parents, adding the best of that culture to our rich life, and taking American life and ideas into the Japanese environment.

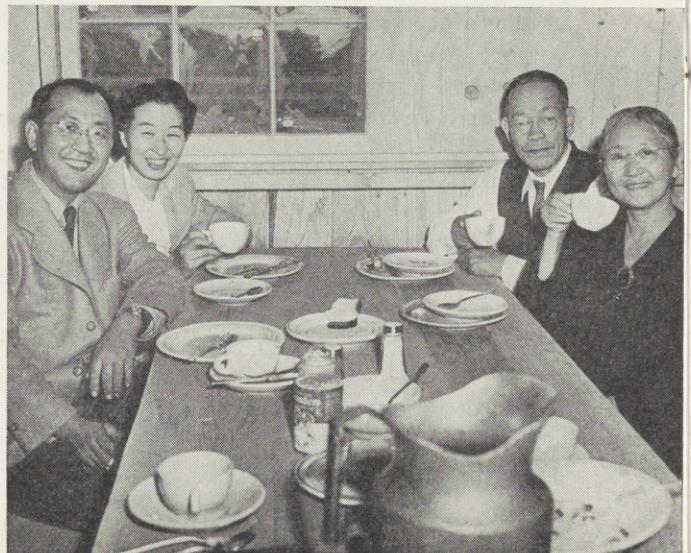
But the most powerful force slowing up the Americanization of these people stemmed from us; it was the economic and social discrimination to which the Japanese-Americans were subjected on the Pacific Coast. Because many jobs, many residential areas, many social contacts were denied them, they were forced back again and again into the first-generation environment. But despite home environment and outside discrimination, assimilation had proceeded so rapidly that, in the words of the Naval Intelligence officer mentioned above, “in another ten or fifteen years there would have been no Japanese problem, for the Issei (Japanese-born first generation) would have passed on, and the Nisei (American-born second generation) taken their place naturally in American community and national life.”

### **Are Japanese-Americans Loyal?**

Pick at random any cross section of 110,000 people in the United States. You will find men, women, and children of varying kinds and occupations, some aliens, most citizens, the greatest majority loyal, some lukewarm, a few actively disloyal. Those of Japanese ancestry in the United States are such a group. No one doubts some of them may be passively or actively pro-Japanese. The Department of Justice has interned 1,974 such suspected individuals for the duration, along with 1,448 Germans and 210 Italians.

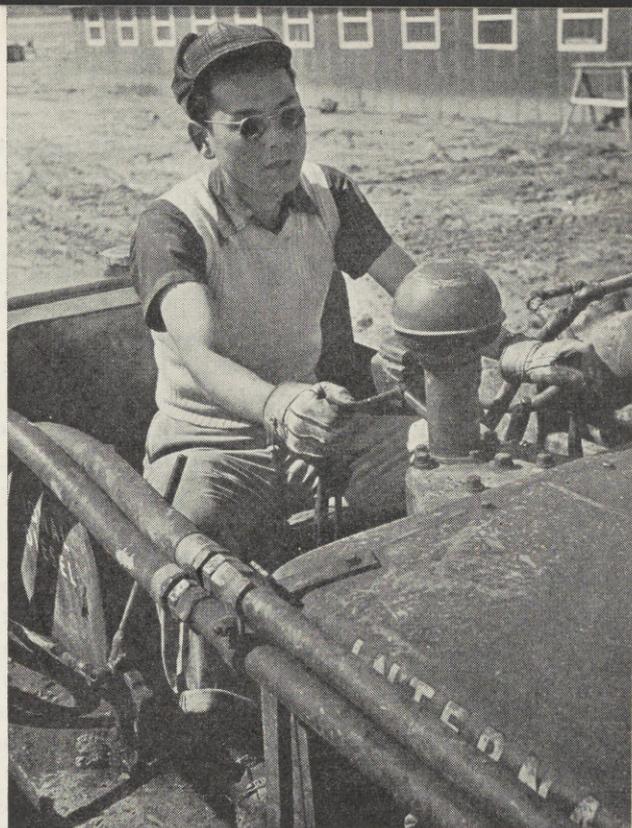
But for the group as a whole, “the loyalty of the overwhelming majority . . . has not been seri-

*Fiction: Evacuees eat better food than the rest of us, blared press and hate-groups; Fact: Food is “adequate but plain,” averages forty cents per day per person*



ously questioned by informed persons." So stated the director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Department of Justice. The Congressional Committee Investigating National Defense Migrations, chaired by Rep. John Tolan, after hearing all sides, corroborated this: "We cannot doubt, and everyone is agreed, that the majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal to this country." The War Relocation Authority's former director, Milton S. Eisenhower, brother of the United Nations' commander in North Africa, reported on June 15, 1942: "I would say that from 80 to 85 per cent. of the Nisei, who are American-born citizens of Japanese descent and who have never been out of the United States, are loyal to the United States." Of course, persons such as Congressmen Martin Dies, Leland Ford, and John Rankin have questioned the loyalty of the Americans of Japanese descent. So have many sincere citizens misled by racial propaganda. But against this ill-informed opinion is the word of President Roosevelt, Secretary of War Stimson, the War Relocation Authority's present director, Dillon S. Myer; James C. Baker, bishop of the Methodist Church for the California area; Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, commanding general, Hawaiian Department, United States Army; Ray Lyman Wilbur, chancellor of Stanford University; W. C. Sawyer, former national vice-commander of the American Legion; August Vollmer, noted criminologist and professor of police administration at the Universities of Chicago and California; Monroe E. Deutsch, vice-president and provost of the University of California; John Dewey, philosopher; Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary; Chester Rowell, distinguished San Francisco newspaperman; Frederick J. Koster, chairman, San Francisco Chapter of the Red Cross. All these and many more testify to the loyalty of the typical Japanese-American.

A number of these Japanese-Americans are working in war industries, including two in factories making bombsights and others in airplane plants. As volunteer farm workers last fall, nine thousand of them harvested enough sugar beets for some 260,000,000 pounds of sugar. Thousands are in the armed forces, the commander of a battalion of Japanese-Americans reporting, "I've never had more whole-hearted, serious-minded cooperation from any troops." This statement is typical, according to a War Department release, which adds: "Americans of Japanese blood . . . are wanted because the government and the Army are convinced of their loyalty."



*Maintaining Jerome Relocation Center roadways in Denson, Arkansas, is a man-sized job. A former Californian of Japanese ancestry operates a bulldozer*

### **Can We Separate the Loyal from the Disloyal?**

In most cases we certainly can, but only if we give up the misleading habit of judging men wholesale on the basis of race or color. Instead, we must deal with them individually on the basis of their past records and by means of objective, carefully prepared tests. It is not the American way to assume that a man is guilty until he is so proved beyond reasonable doubt. The alleged danger of subversive activity does not stand up against the statement of the director of WRA that not a single act of sabotage or other subversive conduct has been charged against any of the 14,000 evacuees so far released from the Centers to resettle or take short-term jobs (June 1, 1943). The United States Army has accepted some thousands of Japanese-Americans and the FBI has been engaged for months in checking up the records of the evacuees. The present WRA program calls for the removal from all the camps to a single center of all evacuees whose loyalty is questioned by the governmental authorities. Such a plan will need to be administered very carefully to guard

against injustice to individuals, but the authorities are confident that such separation is feasible.

The War Relocation Authority has discovered how difficult it is to undo a great wrong or to make good come out of evil. It is honestly and intelligently trying, against the opposition of crackpots, sensationalists, racists, and the Dies Committee school of patriots, to resettle Japanese-Americans as normal citizens anywhere in this country except on the Pacific Coast from which they have come. It is making some progress, about 9,000 persons having been more or less permanently resettled, but rapid progress is blocked in part by the argument, "If these people are dangerous in California, why aren't they dangerous in Iowa or Illinois?" It has also been blocked by the attitude of many of the evacuees themselves who, under the impact of fear and discouragement, are willing to accept the low order of security of the Relocation Centers. Their fears are exaggerated, but not groundless, because of the discriminatory laws enacted in some states against them and the constant talk, especially on the Pacific Coast, of their deportation to Japan, or at least of the complete and permanent removal of the rights of citizens from them.

There has been a great deal of deliberate falsehood told about the number of Japanese-Americans who are "disloyal," and who proved disloyalty by their answers to the WRA questionnaire asking if they would forswear allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. Some thought the question an insult. Some were afraid that to answer in the affirmative might mean death for them after their deportation to Japan. Some may be actively disloyal. It is profoundly to be hoped that any tests of disloyalty will be much more fair and far more searching than those of the Dies Committee and the Hearst press, and that every individual will receive a careful hearing *as an individual*.

Treatment of enemy aliens on an individual rather than a group basis is an American tradition. To treat the whole group as disloyal because of a few disloyal ones does tremendous injustice, and is inconsistent with democracy. Justice Hugo L. Black, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court decision, said:

"The policy of severity toward alien enemies was clearly impossible for a country whose life blood came from an immigrant stream. . . . Harshness toward immigrants was inconsistent with that national knowledge, present then as now, of the contributions made in



*Old-timers pit their wits in the game of "Goh" at Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Wyoming*

peace and war of immigrants who have learned to love the country of their adoption more than the country of their birth" — Kawato Case, 1942.

### **Did Japanese-Americans Engage in Fifth-Column Activities?**

Three days after Pearl Harbor, Attorney-General Biddle declared that "there has been absolutely no evidence of fifth-column or sabotage activities." A month later Hawaiian Delegate King reported that "despite statements to the contrary, I am assured . . . that no fifth-column activities have taken place." This statement was given nation-wide coverage in the Washington Merry-Go-Round column.

Nonetheless, the untruth, first started by returning civilians from Honolulu, that there had been fifth columnism and sabotage gained such wide credence that *Time* reported early in January, "The Jap fifth column had done its job fiendishly well—and had not yet been stamped out." Even the liberal *Nation* was sucked in, an article by Howard Costigan in the February 14 issue carrying the two most popular stories: that roads were blocked by stalled trucks and that "directing arrows were discovered cut in the sugar cane."

How these tales got going will be one of the best stories of the post-war era. Robert J. Casey, of the *Chicago Daily News*, arriving in Honolulu with other reporters a week after the attack, was still on the dock when he heard the one about the Japanese pilots who were shot down wearing Hawaiian high-school rings and carrying Honolulu streetcar tokens. The reporters were skepti-

cal. "What did they want the tokens for?" one wanted to know. "Did they figure on taking the bus in from Pearl Harbor?" So they looked up the Navy surgeon in charge of all enemy wounded and who had examined some eight Japanese corpses taken from plane wreckage. "I've heard that story," he said. "But I never saw any rings. I never saw any streetcar tokens. None of the pilots had much of anything in his pockets. None wore any jewelry. Only one had a watch."

The tales of radio transmitters in milk cans, of maids and cooks who failed to show up for work the morning of December 7 (it was always somebody else's maid, the reporters found) were equally baseless. Here is some of the unpublicized truth:

"You can say without fear of contradiction that there has not been a single act of sabotage" — Hawaii Chief Agent of the FBI to Blake Clark, summer of 1942.

"Mr. John Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has informed me that there was no sabotage committed there (Hawaii) prior to December 7, on December 7, or subsequent to that time" — Assistant Attorney-General Rowe, April 20, 1942.

"... We have had no sabotage and no fifth-column activities in this state (California) since the beginning of the war" — California Attorney-General Warren, February 21, 1942.

### **Why Were People of Japanese Ancestry Living Near West Coast Defense Areas?**

"Many Japanese had taken up residence adjacent to highly important defense plants," the Dies

*Radio Repair Shop, Minidoka Center, Hunt, Idaho. These Americans have skills for which the country is pleading*



Committee reported, reflecting the sentiment of many people. The statement is correct except for its order; it should read: "Many important defense plants were established in areas where Japanese already were living. Most major defense installations on the Pacific Coast are comparatively new; the Japanese settlement dates back over decades."

The major reason for the coincidence is economic. Because of discrimination, first-generation Japanese were driven into agriculture, and many of them took up truck gardening. Truck gardening in turn meant that they came as close to city markets as possible. The defense industries that usually followed them also were drawn to the city to get labor supply, so the conjunction of the two was natural.

### **What About Other Minority Groups?**

The same type of political and newspaper pressure groups that trumpeted for evacuation and now oppose resettlement outside the Centers have in the past led the fight for discriminatory legislation against all Orientals. They used every kind of illegal and violent methods to frighten "Dust Bowl migrants" out of California in the middle of the last decade. They are the same people who lead in maintaining an elaborate caste system to keep Mexican-Americans "in their place." They use the adjective "alarming" as they view the rapidly increasing Negro population in California. In large part they are opposing present efforts to repeal Chinese exclusion legislation.

The most vocal of these groups, the Joint Immigration Committee, has stated openly that its purpose is "the determination of the Caucasians to keep their blood white." This group feels that "a grave mistake was the granting of citizenship to the Negroes after the Civil War." In *Brothers Under the Skin*, Carey McWilliams shows that anti-Japanese feeling on the Pacific Coast was but one part of a racial prejudice that opposed every non-white group that tried to come into the area. McWilliams links this prejudice with discrimination against the Negro in the South, and points out that "without exception these (anti-Chinese) measures were passed by the vote of representatives from the Pacific Coast and the Deep South. Again and again, Southern senators and congressmen lined up with representatives of the Pacific Coast..."

The implication of what is happening has not been lost upon Negroes. George Schuyler, out-

standing Negro newspaperman, writing in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, said:

"The drive to take away the citizenship of native-born Americans simply because of 'race' is in full swing. . . . There is talk of sending these citizens back to Japan (where most of them have never been) after the war. This is exactly what Senator Bilbo has been contending for the Afro-American citizens. We should get out of our heads immediately the idea that this program cannot and will not be carried out. . . . Once the precedent is established with 70,000 Japanese-American citizens, it will be easy to denationalize millions of Afro-American citizens. So whether or not we care anything about the fate of the Japanese-American citizens, we must champion their cause as ours."

### **The Cost Is Too High**

The cost in money and manpower has been high. The first year of evacuation cost some \$210,000,000, plus the services of many soldiers and thousands of workers, including skilled administrators, needed elsewhere in a time of manpower shortage. In addition, close to 50,000 of those evacuated had been employed at useful labor, nearly half of them in agriculture, where they are so desperately needed today.

But more serious is the long-run cost of this policy; its effect on the ideals for which America stands. On January 2, 1942, President Roosevelt said that discrimination against aliens "engenders the very distrust and disunity on which our enemies are counting to defeat us. Remember the Nazi technique: 'pit race against race, religion against religion, prejudice against prejudice. Divide and conquer.' We must not let that happen here. We must remember what we are defending: liberty, decency, justice."

Continued discrimination against Japanese-Americans by holding them in Relocation Centers or keeping them off the Pacific Coast or out of other states *does* pit race against race, and *does* divide by creating suspicions among Negroes, Chinese, and Jews that treatment like this may one day be meted out to them. Liberty and justice are menaced for all of us in imprisoning American citizens without trial or charge of misconduct, and in denying them the right to live in any state they choose!

Prof. Paul Taylor, of the University of California, noted that "we may wish to resolve our attitudes . . . with some long thoughts for our grandchildren." He was referring to the plain common sense that says that discrimination against colored peoples is a luxury we cannot afford. In the United States, colored minorities number about 17,000,000; in the Western Hemisphere, where we talk so much about being "good neighbors," colored and "mixed breed" peoples probably outnumber the whites, and in the world as a whole there is no doubt whatever that the whites are in the minority, comprising not more than thirty-five per cent. (probably less) of the total world population.

Will China, Burma, Africa, Latin America—all watching our attitude toward colored people—believe our lofty statements about democracy and freedom if actions like discrimination against Japanese-American belie them? For the sake of the future we had best mend our ways. Besides, at this moment the Axis war propaganda is using our discrimination to try to show other races that America's talk of racial justice (as in the Atlantic Charter) is insincere. The Japanese radio has publicized the evacuation as "the most dastardly act ever carried out by a so-called Christian nation."

**T**HE charge that Americans of Japanese ancestry are unassimilated is false. The accompanying charge that, because of race, they cannot be assimilated, is a denial of democracy. That idea will shut us off from two-thirds of the world by limiting democracy to white men. That idea attacks the very thing that made America, taking and blending in her melting-pot the many nationalities and races of men. That idea corrupts the ideals which are inscribed at the base of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor:

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free; the wretched refuse of your teeming shores. Send these, the homeless, the tempest tossed, to me. I lift my lamp beside the Golden Door."

# RESETTLEMENT

## The Present Policy of Resettlement

**L**OYAL persons of Japanese ancestry are being individually resettled in increasing numbers outside of Relocation Centers. Over a period of a year regulations have been simplified, and persons who in a registration last winter indicated loyalty to this country, against whom the FBI has no record, and who have been assured a job outside may now get a leave clearance to go to points in the interior. In addition, the National Student Relocation Council (1201 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa.) has sent about one thousand students of Japanese ancestry to colleges approved by the government. The latter program is privately operated and financed by a coalition of religious groups. Church groups are also assisting general resettlement by establishing hostels to which persons may go directly from a Relocation Center to get a job.

The reaction to this program in the areas to which persons of Japanese ancestry are going can be summed up by two incidents. In March a member of the Iowa legislature opposed the relocation of Japanese-American students in colleges and universities in that state. Answering this attack, the Grinnell College student paper said:

"The Japanese students in Grinnell have become an integral valuable, enjoyable part of our student body. Semester grades came out a month ago. Every one of our Japanese students was on the president's list of honor students. They live in our dorms and we like them. They are part of our social life and we don't want to lose them."

This was typical of the attitude in the nearly three hundred colleges and universities where Japanese-Americans went. The second inci-

dent occurred in Marengo, Ill., a city of some two thousand population northwest of Chicago. The Curtiss Candy Company planned to use Japanese-American labor on its farms there, and three young men, all former University of California students, were sent there as truck farmers. Late in April, following execution of American airmen in Japan, resentment grew and the three men were withdrawn. The City Council called a special meeting on the subject. The Protestant ministers in the town supported the proposed resettlement, and the Kiwanis Club declared, "All citizens of this country are entitled to the privileges of citizenship without respect to color, creed, or antecedents." It was pointed out that the laborers were American citizens who had nothing to do with Japan's war policies. The special citizens' meeting voted 62 to 21 to allow Japanese-Americans to work and live in the community.

*Japanese-American students at the University of Nebraska. These boys were released from relocation centers. Left to right: G. J. Furutani, senior in mechanical engineering; Sukio Oji, sophomore in civil engineering, and Joe Nichimura, sophomore in mechanical engineering*



## Who Is Supporting this Resettlement Program?

Christian church groups have been the most active supporters of individual resettlement of those of Japanese ancestry in both word and deed. At



*Japanese-American boys being sworn into the Army. A Nisei combat team fought in the invasion of Italy. Their commanders speak of their "whole-hearted, serious-minded cooperation." Yet their parents and friends are held in Relocation Centers*

the time of the evacuation, the Tolan Committee found that "every spokesman for religious organizations who testified on the West Coast advocated individual treatment of the Japanese." This belief has been translated into support of resettlement. Three of the largest interdenominational groups of the country, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council of North America, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, have jointly sponsored the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans, which is actively at work in a number of ways. Particular denominations are also working. Thus the Presbyterian General Assembly on May 31, 1943, declared "its active support of the government's program for the resettlement of American citizens of Japanese parentage and for their reabsorption into the normal processes of American community life; and that for this purpose General Assembly calls upon the people of our churches to sponsor in their communities those of Japanese parentage who are certified by the government."

On the West Coast, where religious groups were closely acquainted with those of Japanese ancestry, there is similar support. A group of San Francisco clergymen, in a statement to the press, recommended that "American citizens of Japanese ancestry be reestablished in normal community life" and "that church members begin building an attitude of public fairness." W. Bertrand Stevens, Episcopal bishop of Los Angeles, James C. Baker, Methodist bishop of California, Rabbis Edgar E. Magnin and Irving H. Reichert, and Fathers Joseph P. Mulkern and Edward J. Whelan, Roman Catholics, are among the clergy on a West Coast committee that urges resettlement. The Baptists, Friends, and Church of the Brethren are among those who are operating hostels in the Middle West, where Japanese-Americans can live while obtaining jobs and housing.

Both the Department of Justice and the War Department have examined and approved methods of resettlement that are being carried out by the War Relocation Authority, and Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy recently said, "I feel confident that there is a place in California and elsewhere for loyal Japanese" — *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1943.

Chairman Paul McNutt of the War Manpower Commission feels that the resettlement program "should have the dual effect of benefiting the evacuees, many of whom are American citizens, and of making available to the country several thousand people for employment on farms and in industry." A Senate subcommittee of the Military Affairs Committee, with Senator Albert B. Chandler of Kentucky as chairman, has likewise advocated that Japanese-Americans who are loyal be allowed to leave Centers for jobs and to serve in the armed forces. Dillon Myer, director of the WRA, has stated: "Detention within a relocation center . . . is not intended to be more than a temporary stage in the process of relocating the evacuees into new homes and jobs." Thus there is full government support for a resettlement program of a broad and extensive kind.

There has been such widely publicized opposition to any better treatment of Japanese-Americans from some California politicians and patriotic groups that it is important to realize that also from California has come much support for a resettlement program. In addition to the leading West Coast clergymen listed above, an eminently distinguished group of California citizens supports government policy for resettlement. Some of

the members of the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play are President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California; General David P. Barrows; Ray Lyman Wilbur, former secretary of the interior and chancellor of Stanford University; President Robert A. Millikan of the California Institute of Technology; President Aurelia Henry Reinhardt of Mills College; President Tully C. Knowles of the College of the Pacific; Maurice E. Harrison, former chairman of the Democratic State Committee; Former Governor C. C. Young; famed police authority August Vollmer, and many others.

### What About the Future?

Two courses are open. One is to continue and expand the individual resettlement program already started, with the end of getting all those who are loyal out of Relocation Centers and back into American life. It would involve eventual return of some of the people to the Pacific Coast as soon as the military considers that safe, but for economic reasons most of the people probably will not return to the Coast. Such a resettlement policy, coupled with adequate government protection and the economic means to start life again, would be a fair and sensible solution to the problem. The net result would be the distribution of this tiny minority of one-tenth of one per cent. of our population throughout the country, where reabsorption into American life would be rapidly completed.

The alternative is seen in the vigorous anti-Japanese campaign now in full swing in Califor-

nia and its repercussions, which are being felt throughout the country. This movement has three objectives: (1) to return control of Japanese-Americans from the WRA to the Army, apparently with the hope that Americans of Japanese parentage can then be used as forced labor gangs at low cost; (2) to deprive American citizens of Japanese ancestry of their citizenship; (3) to prevent Japanese-Americans from reentering California. It is generally recognized that the last two are unconstitutional, and would thus require constitutional amendment.

The consequences of success for this anti-Japanese-American effort for those people would be catastrophic both for the Japanese-Americans and for Americans generally. Former Governor Carr of Colorado has accurately described the situation in these words:

"If we do not extend humanity's kindness and understanding to these people [the evacuees], if we deny them the protection of the Bill of Rights, if we say they may be denied the privilege of living in any of the forty-eight states, and force them into concentration camps without hearing or charge of misconduct, then we are tearing down the whole American system. If these people are not to be accorded all the rights and privileges which the Constitution gives them, then those same rights and privileges may be denied to you and me six months from now for another just as poor reason as the one which is now offered against the Japanese."

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## They Know the Japanese-Americans

"I HAVE known intimately many Japanese-American citizens. I am proud of them as fellow citizens and should count it a privilege to have them as my neighbors. They are persons of character and are devoted to the ideals of American democracy."—JAMES C. BAKER, *Bishop, Methodist Church, California area.*

●

"I HAVE had considerable experience with the Japanese, both foreign and native born, during the past fifty years. . . . I have found these students dependable, reasonable, always willing to abide by

the regulations and the laws, industrious, loyal to the United States, and having as much university spirit or public spirit as their fellow students."—RAY LYMAN WILBUR, *chancellor of Stanford University, and former secretary of the interior (September 22, 1942).*

●

"MOST of the native-born persons of Japanese parentage are undoubtedly good citizens and will not give the government any trouble if released."—AUGUST VOLLMER, *professor of police administration, University of California (October 12, 1942).*

# LAW AND LIBERTY

**T**HE President's order of February 19, 1942, which initiated the evacuation, should be carefully pondered by all good Americans. It read:

*"Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the military commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas, in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate military commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which the right of any person to enter, remain in or leave, shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate military commander may impose in his discretion."*

This order of the President, the subsequent orders of Lieutenant General DeWitt, commander of the West Coast area, under the authority granted by it, and various court actions culminating in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, June 21, 1943, in the case of Gordon Hirabayashi, constitute a record of complete reversal of the slow evolution of the Anglo-American law in the direction of justice to each individual on the basis of his deeds, in favor of the totalitarian concept. That concept is that the interest of the state, as interpreted by the Executive, is the first and last commandment. The record in the case of the Japanese-Americans, together with the rapid drift of the country toward total conscription, refutes the optimistic conclusion that civil liberties have been very much better protected in this war than in the First World War. Some are, but in that war there was no parallel to the legal treatment of the Japanese-Americans and, what is worse, to the way in which that treatment has been ignored or actually supported by public opinion, including the opinion of many so-called liberals.

The hysteria based on false reports of what

happened in Hawaii, the race feeling on the Pacific Coast, general conviction of danger of invasion and fifth-column activity, politicians capitalizing on public bias, greed for land made fertile by labor of the Japanese, and pressure by the Army led the President to issue his proclamation, for which it was reported that neither the FBI nor the Department of Justice was, to put it mildly, enthusiastic.

The result was the evacuation process that we have described, and the continuing existence of ten concentration camps called Relocation Centers. It is true that first the Army, and later the War Relocation Authority, have acted "humanely." But the essence of tyranny and slavery has never been the cruelty which very often accompanies them. It is the denial of justice that is the basic wrong, and the destruction of liberty.

The immediate sufferers from the program inaugurated by the Presidential order of February 19 were, of course, the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans. American citizens whose skins were "yellow" instead of "white" were treated far worse than Italian or German aliens. But it did not take long for the logic of the Presidential proclamation to be extended to Caucasians. Several scores

*Joe Satsuda went from Los Angeles to this Denver hardware store via Poston Relocation Center. America's job won't be finished until all evacuees are resettled*



of them, all of them American citizens, have now been removed by Army order from their homes and businesses on the East and West Coasts after secret hearings before Army boards—a reversion to the Star Chamber trials of the Stuart kings. As this is written, there comes the welcome news that the United States District Court for Eastern Pennsylvania has voided such an order against Olga Schueller, a naturalized American of Philadelphia. Judge Ganey ruled that the Presidential order upon which the military exclusion of Mrs. Schueller was based cannot interfere with a citizen's liberty or property, or abridge constitutional guarantees of freedom unless the danger to the government is "real, impending, and imminent." The court held that Mrs. Schueller's continued residence in Philadelphia constituted no such danger. If this decision can be upheld on appeal, some brake will have been set on our rapid descent to totalitarian "justice." It will be interesting to see what the Supreme Court will say when the victim is a Causasian.

For the plain truth is that the court decision in the Hirabayashi case smacked of racism. Gordon Hirabayashi, an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, was an outstanding student in the senior class of the University of Washington when he chose to challenge, first, the Army curfew order as discriminating between citizens and therefore unconstitutional; and secondly, the whole evacuation order which came later. His was the particular case of several that had been brought to challenge the law, which finally became the outstanding test case before the Supreme Court. The court unanimously held that Mr. Hirabayashi had been properly convicted for disobeying the curfew order. It did not pass on the evacuation matter, but its reasoning would seem to sustain it.

In non-technical language, Mr. Hirabayashi's lawyers held that the Presidential order itself was an unconstitutional exercise of power, and that the Army orders under it were certainly unconstitutional because they discriminated between American citizens on the grounds of *race*. The American Civil Liberties Union, which refused to support the first point, supported the second in a brief *amicus curiæ*. The court's decision was cautious. Through Chief Justice Stone it said that it had "no occasion to consider whether the President, acting alone, could lawfully have made the curfew order in question." It was able thus to rule because Congress, on March 21, 1942, passed a blanket law, itself, as Senator Taft argued, of doubtful constitutionality—and more doubtful wisdom—making disobedience to all military orders a crime. The court went on to say that it "did not now attempt to define the ultimate boun-



*Chinese-American Girl Scouts (above) sent packet of scouting materials to Japanese-American Girl Scouts in the Heart Mountain (Wyo.) Center. "We felt that in this way we could best express our conviction that in Girl Scouting there are no racial barriers," explained Troop Leader Julia Chung (third from left)*

daries of war power," but that there were reasonable grounds for the Army's judgment of military necessity, and that "in time of war" citizens of certain "ethnic affiliations" may be "a greater source of danger than others." (That is where the dangerous racism comes in.)

Justices Douglas, Rutledge, and Murphy were enough worried by the case to file concurring opinions to emphasize their belief that there may be judicial restraint on the exercise of this enormous emergency power. Mr. Justice Murphy said: "Today is the first time, so far as I am aware, that we have sustained a substantial restriction on liberty of persons of the United States upon the accident of race or ancestry." He found in the special ban "a melancholy resemblance to treatment accorded members of the Jewish race in Germany and other parts of Europe." And he added that "in my opinion, this goes to the very brink of constitutional power."

That a court as able and liberal as this Supreme Court should thus have ruled shows two things: (1) our constitutional protections in time of total war are very weak against an insistent demand from the Army—we must get rid of the war system if we are to keep true freedom; (2) the doctrine of racism which inspires mob action and Jim Crow laws in America and Nazi race laws in Europe has infected even our highest court when on such weak evidence it can enunciate its doctrine of ethnic affiliations as a basis for discrimination in America.

This opinion of the court went almost unnoticed. It now seems doubtful that any legal case involving Japanese-Americans can successfully be

brought. The government can avoid a further test that it does not want by the simple process of discharging the person who brings it from the Relocation Center so that, in legal terminology, the case will become "moot," and will not be considered by the court. The best chance of further judicial decision concerning the absolute power of the President to permit his military agents to order any of us out of our homes may have to come in connection with the Schueller case or some other case brought by a Caucasian. Any rectification of the injustice done to the Japanese-Americans probably will require legislative action, such as the repeal of the Congressional act of March 21, 1942, compelling absolute obedience to all Army orders, or a grant of some compensation to the evacuees for the enormous property losses that they have sustained.

Meanwhile, the anti-Semitic demagogue, along with the defender of Jim Crow laws, has high legal precedent for discrimination. To the anti-Semite, the Jew is as dangerous as the Japanese-Americans seem to General DeWitt, and it can hardly be said that General DeWitt's evidence was very much better than the evidence of the anti-Semitic demagogue. Some day a government will hold that there can be a domestic emergency as grave as an emergency of war. Then a Supreme Court that would resist such totalitarianism as the Presidential order of February 19 involves will be handicapped by the precedent this court has set in admitting that the military, at their discretion, can distinguish between citizens, not on any basis of any individual acts, but only their ethnic affiliations. What is freedom but an empty word if this sort of thing is possible?

Norman Thomas, writing a year before the Supreme Court decision, concluded his pamphlet on *Democracy and Japanese-Americans* (Post-War World Council) with these words: "For all of us there is a task of educating American public opinion and the American Government on the significance of the issues raised by the evacuation of citizens into concentration camps. The greatest victim of our procedure against the Japanese is not the Japanese themselves; it is our whole concept of liberty, our standards of justice, and the appeal which American democracy ought to be making to the oppressed peoples of the world." The events of the year have fully borne out this statement. The Japanese Government has used our evacuation policy in propaganda against us in Asia. On several occasions, Chinese-Americans have gone out of their way to express sympathy with the evacuees. They realize the issues involved. When will the rest of us learn them in the interest of justice and freedom and peace? It is good that so many Americans are awakening to the importance of cooperating with the War Relocation Authority in relocating the evacuees. But that, of itself, will not be enough. Our liberties and the sincerity of our repudiation of the monstrous doctrine of a master race depends upon our success in removing from our legal system the possibility that under any circumstances any Executive can have the awful power asserted by the President in the order of February 19, 1942, a power intended to be used against the members of one particular race, but nonetheless applicable in stormy years to any unpopular minority. That way lies death to our democracy.

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### For More Information

*Brothers Under the Skin*, by Carey McWilliams (Little, Brown, 1943, \$3.00) is an invaluable study of racial minorities in the United States. Discussing Indians, Chinese, Mexicans, Japanese, and Negroes in the United States, he points out the long history of racial prejudice on the West Coast out of which the evacuation came, shows how this prejudice hurts the war effort, jeopardizes our future. The best popular book on racial minorities.

*Democracy and Japanese-Americans*, by Norman Thomas (Post-War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.).

*The Pacific Citizen*, weekly newspaper (published at 415 Beason Building, 25 East Second South Street, Salt Lake City, Utah) is best source of current news about Japanese-Americans.

*Magazine Articles*. Outstanding among hundreds of articles published on the subject are the following:

Series of four articles by Galen M. Fisher in *Christian Century*, August 18 and 25, September 1 and 8, 1943.

"Our 100,000 New Boarders," in *Reader's Digest*, March, 1943.

"U. S. Soldiers with Japanese Faces," *Reader's Digest*, February, 1943.

# A Program for Action

## 1. Welcome and resettle Japanese-Americans throughout the land.

The evacuation was authorized by one man, the President; but he cannot by a reverse fiat restore these outcasts to their homes. Only the American people, or a considerable part of them, can restore to the evacuees the opportunity to live among us as the Constitution and our democratic liberties provide. It is now the government's policy that this be done, but it cannot empty the Relocation Centers if the residents have no place to go. To resettle all loyal individuals and families in homes and jobs throughout the land requires the voluntary active cooperation of good neighbors everywhere. Information and assistance can be obtained from one or more of the following agencies:

### War Relocation Offices:

Chicago, Ill. ....	226 West Jackson Boulevard
Cleveland, Ohio.....	Union Commerce Building
Denver, Colo. ....	Midland Savings Building
Salt Lake City, Utah.....	318 Atlas Building
Kansas City, Mo. ....	1509 Fidelity Building
Little Rock, Ark. ....	Pyramid Building
New York, N. Y.....	350 Fifth Ave.
Washington, D. C. ....	Barr Building

Committee on Resettlement of Japanese-Americans, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

## 2. Prevent further discrimination against Japanese-Americans.

There is popular agitation, particularly in the West, to prevent American citizens of Japanese ancestry from having equal rights in ownership of land, in job opportunities, in civil service posts, and in citizenship. Watch for these attempts in your state or community and defeat them.

## 3. Obtain government protection of rights of persons of Japanese ancestry.

Persons of Japanese ancestry who are resettled can and must be given adequate protection from possible mob violence. As many have lost most of their economic resources through no fault of their own by evacuation and detention, the government has the moral obligation to give them the means with which to start again. We should therefore press the government to make restitution for the severe property losses suffered by evacuees as a direct consequence of the President's evacuation order.

## 4. Pending complete resettlement, preserve the War Relocation Authority.

As soon as possible the Relocation Centers should be abolished with their inhabitants returned to normal, everyday life. But it will necessarily take some time to do this and, in the meantime, control of the Centers should remain in the hands of the War Relocation Authority. To return them to Army control would be a long step backward, one which the Army itself has publicly opposed. The welfare of these men, women, and children is a civilian and not a military concern.

## 5. Help those who remain in the Centers.

Ask the American Friends Service Committee or one of the other organizations listed above for information about how you can help. The AFSC folder, *Dispossessed*, tells of the physical needs of these people. Also urge the WRA to pay adequate wages to Japanese-Americans in the Centers, bringing their pay up to the level of that given Caucasians. Also to eliminate the practice of racial segregation in the dining halls and throughout the Centers.

## 6. Educate the American public.

The misinformation that is being actively circulated by groups opposed to the Japanese-Americans, as well as general race prejudice, must be countered with truth. Use literature, such as this pamphlet, to inform your neighbors and friends. Get informed discussion going in your church, labor union, club, or other groups. Write letters to your local newspaper or go to see the editor and try to enlist his help. Education and the practice of truthfulness, tolerance, and fair play for all minorities form the foundation stone of our republic.

"The War Relocation Authority proposes now to redouble its efforts to accomplish the relocation into normal homes and jobs in communities throughout the United States, but outside the evacuated areas, of those Americans of Japanese ancestry whose loyalty to this country has remained unshaken through the hardships of the evacuation which military necessity made unavoidable. We shall restore to the loyal evacuees the right to return to the evacuated areas as soon as the military situation will make such restoration feasible. Americans of Japanese ancestry, like those of many other ancestries, have shown that they can, and want to, accept our institutions and work loyally with the rest of us, making their own valuable contribution to the national wealth and well-being. In vindication of the very ideals for which we are fighting this war it is important to us to maintain a high standard of fair, considerate, and equal treatment for the people of this minority as of all other minorities."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT,  
in a Message to the U. S. Senate,  
September 14, 1943.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

2929 Broadway  
New York 25, N. Y.



# Japanese Student Relocation

THE MASS evacuation of Japanese from the Pacific Coast has placed under an indiscriminate ban more than one hundred thousand persons. Native-born American citizens of Japanese ancestry, no less than alien Japanese, have been removed from their homes to restricted resettlement areas. Under the pressure of war emergency measures their basic civil rights have been suspended, their property has been put in jeopardy and — most serious of all — their faith in American justice and the ideals of democracy has suffered a shock, in some cases beyond remedy.

Among the evacuees are approximately two thousand American-born Japanese students enrolled in colleges and universities. These young people are not "aliens", imperfectly acquainted with American traditions. They are cultured, intelligent and ambitious citizens, brought up in our American schools, eager to prove their loyalty, and go on with their education in preparation for useful service and still fuller assimilation into our national life. The Government recognizes the particular problem facing this group and is prepared to make possible their transfer to other institutions outside of the proscribed areas.

To assist this program of relocation is the least American citizens can do to offset the misfortunes that have befallen their fellow citizens because of an accident of birth. In the tragedy of the Japanese Americans lie seeds of bitterness that may well endanger our national unity. Generosity and sympathy shown at this time will help to redress terrible wrongs rising from a long history of racial discrimina-

*Confidential*

*This is marked "Confidential" because Major Beasley of the US Army told us in his office in San Francisco on the 4th of July 1942 [!] that he disapproved it and if we didn't rewrite it the way he wanted it, he would not give us passes to enter the Assembly Centers.*

*We rewrote it — and got the passes.*

*Tribonian  
4/3/82*

tion. The manner in which we deal with this problem is a test of our devotion to the ideals of social justice and freedom.

Already, national student organizations, foundations, state universities, and independent colleges have relocated a number of Japanese American students in inland institutions. Some of the churches through their national boards and boards of education have also performed a similar service. Most of these organizations have expressed a warm desire to cooperate. The War Relocation Authority has asked the American Friends Service Committee to coordinate these efforts and to help secure the substantial funds that will be required for tuition and maintenance. The program will require intensive effort on a nation-wide scale if the students are to be readjusted satisfactorily when the academic year begins this fall.

To carry out the program, the American Friends Service Committee has placed the administrative details in the hands of a representative group of educators and persons representing interested agencies, entitled the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council. Dr. Robbins W. Barstow, president of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, has accepted the directorship. A West Coast Committee with offices at Allston Way and Union Street, Berkeley, California, is assembling data with respect to students wishing transfer. The Eastern office is making up the list of openings in colleges and universities approved by the Government for Japanese student relocation.

We commend this program to the thoughtful consideration of the American public. Its conciliatory influence on the Orient may prove as significant in the future as the use of the Boxer Indemnity Fund to educate Chinese students has proved in the past.

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THE JAPANESE FAMILY IN AMERICA  
By THE BUREAU OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH  
COLORADO RIVER WAR RELOCATION CENTER

# The Japanese Family in America

By THE BUREAU OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH  
COLORADO RIVER WAR RELOCATION CENTER<sup>1</sup>

IN THE present article we have endeavored to condense a complicated subject into a few pages. As a result we have made many omissions and have not pointed out many significant inter-relationships. Almost every sentence is open to qualification. Furthermore, all pertinent data are not available on the subjects we discuss, and not all that are available can be published at this time. Within these limitations, we have attempted to present what seem to us the best-established facts and most salient points bearing on the status of the Japanese family in America.

## UNIQUE POSITION OF THE JAPANESE

Although none of the people in the United States have been untouched by the events since Pearl Harbor, the Japanese as a civilian group have been the most drastically affected. The change in their geographical distribution between December 1941 and October 1942 indicates the extent of their dislocation. At the time of Pearl Harbor, about 112,000 Japanese, or 88.5 per cent of the total Japanese population in the United States, lived in the Pacific

coastal region.<sup>2</sup> A year later, with the exception of a few hospitalized cases, they had disappeared from that area. A small number were interned for anti-American activities, but the vast majority, against whom there were no charges, had been moved through wholesale evacuation by the Government into ten relocation centers administered by a civil agency, the War Relocation Authority, and guarded by the Army. These centers are in inland areas of California, and in Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and Arkansas. By June 1943, after spending some months in the centers, about 10,000 were resettling in the Middle Western states, hoping to become reabsorbed into the life of the Nation.

On the surface, this statement of geographical change may not imply dislocation more drastic than that affecting individual families of war workers and soldiers. They too have moved great distances to settle under unfamiliar and unfavorable conditions and have faced readjustment to life in strange communities. The overcrowded barracks of the evacuated Japanese, the common mess halls and community washrooms, created problems not too dissimilar to those found in overpopulated areas around big defense plants.

However, other factors entered the picture in the case of the Japanese and made their problem unique. Their movement was a forced evacuation on the grounds that they were dangerous to the Nation and that it was unsafe to leave any of them on the Pacific coast because some might aid the enemy through sabotage or espionage. It was

<sup>2</sup> 77th Cong., 2d sess., House Report No. 2124, 91-92, 1942.

<sup>1</sup> The Sociological Research project of the Colorado River War Relocation Center is directed at improving administration by the use of applied psychology and social anthropology. It is sponsored jointly by the U. S. Navy, the U. S. Indian Service, and the War Relocation Authority. The personnel is as follows: Lt. Alexander H. Leighton, (MC) USNR—Coordinator, E. H. Spicer, Ph.D., Elizabeth Colson, M.A., Tom Sasaki, A.B., Chica Sugino, A.B., Hisako Fujii, Misao Furuta, Iwao Ishino, Mary Kinoshita, June Kushino, Yoshiharu Matsumoto, Florence Mohri, Akiko Nishimoto, Jyuichi Sato, James Sera, Gene Sogioka, George Yamaguchi, Toshio Yatsushiro, and Kazue Uyeno.

also said that they were moved for their own protection, for fear of popular demonstrations of antipathy.

The Japanese, approximately two-thirds of whom are citizens of the United States by birth, interpreted this as a wholesale rejection by other Americans. The rejection was the more bitter because it singled them out from all other groups and placed American *citizens* of Japanese ancestry in a position inferior to and more suspect than German and Italian *enemy aliens* who were treated on an individual basis. They could understand the evacuation of the alien Japanese as a wartime measure, but the indiscriminate inclusion of American citizens and the mass nature of the evacuation left them suspicious of the motives prompting the measure. They were quick to equate this with earlier attacks against them as a racial group, and regarded it as a political and economic move which pressure groups had foisted upon the rest of the Nation. When their citizenship was placed in a special category, they felt that the way was opened for further discrimination against them, that might go to they knew not what limits.

Added to this was the fact that although the Federal Government had set up agencies to protect their property, forced sales and other events incidental to evacuation wiped out much of the economic security they had succeeded in obtaining after years of pioneering. Many were left without means for making a new start in another area, and the older people felt that they were too far along in years to begin at the bottom again.

Thus, by the time the evacuees arrived in the relocation centers, they were filled with insecurity and pessimism regarding their future. This was increased by new attacks against them in the press, which demanded that legislative action be taken to deprive those

born in the United States of their citizenship and to confiscate Japanese-owned properties such as farm equipment.

The special adjustment problem of the Japanese, then, is due to the fact that their relocation was a forced one which they interpreted as discrimination and rejection and which left them more uncertain of the future and therefore more insecure than other groups. This is to be contrasted with the war worker or the soldier, who is rewarded for his discomforts and sacrifices by a feeling of fuller participation and acceptance in the national life and an increase in prestige, if not in income.

#### MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Though the evacuation itself was a result of the war with Japan, the factors making it possible were already present and were only brought to focus by Pearl Harbor and the events since then. They ultimately spring from the status of minority groups in the United States.

It is a basic postulate of social science that no inherent differences in biological stocks of the human species exist that make it impossible for individuals of one stock to assimilate the culture practiced by another. An individual is born with a capacity to react in a great variety of ways, and assumes the behavioral patterns of those surrounding him because he is rewarded for conforming to their standards. Alternative ways of behavior are repressed by punishment or because they are not rewarding to the individual.

By and large, the United States, with its pride in the "melting pot," has accepted this postulate for those resembling in physical appearance the majority white group. The result has been the development of comparatively few barriers to full participation in Ameri-

can life and therefore thorough exposure to American culture. Such is the force of the impact of this culture through schools and other influences in the environment outside the home that even a determined effort on the part of foreign parents to hold their children to their own standard has little effect. Within a generation or two, children of white immigrants become thoroughly assimilated into American culture.

In some cases, however, Americans have helped to prevent the full assimilation of a group by walling it off in society and claiming that racial heredity is more important than the factor of culture. By discrimination and enforced segregation, they have denied such groups full participation in American culture, have strengthened the position of the immigrant or native Indian parents in their natural and often unconscious attempts to pass on their culture to their children, and have created definite barriers to assimilation. Economic and prestige rewards are minimized, and contacts with the majority group, which are the means whereby the new culture can be acquired, become punishing for the members of the minority. They tend to withdraw from such contacts back into association with members of their own group, where they do not meet with rebuff. When this has resulted in a slower rate of assimilation, the original attackers are inclined to believe this is proof of their assertion that the group is unassimilable, and by this, justify further discrimination.

In effect, children of European immigrants are told, "Only behave as we do and you will be rewarded with complete acceptance and full opportunity to gain every economic and prestige advantage that we ourselves have." Children of other immigrant groups are made to feel, "Since you do not resemble us physically, there will always be barriers against you no matter how closely you

resemble us in other ways, and these barriers will increase as you grow up." This was in large measure the experience of the Japanese in the United States.

#### BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA

The majority of the Japanese, arriving about the turn of the century, settled in California, where they fell heir to pre-existing anti-Oriental prejudice because the state had just passed through a period of strong feeling against the Chinese. The Japanese were accused of lowering the "American standard of living" and of unfair competition with white laborers, but the chief argument used against them was that they were "unassimilable" because of "race." On this basis, extremists like McClatchy fought to keep California a "white man's country," and demanded that the Japanese be restricted from privileges enjoyed by other immigrants and that future immigration be prohibited. In 1920 he argued:

There are three main reasons why it is useless to attempt the making of good American citizens of Japanese material, save, of course, in exceptional individual instances. The Japanese cannot, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship. First, the Japanese cannot assimilate and make good citizens, because their racial characteristics, heredity, and religion prevent; second, the Japanese may not assimilate and make good citizens because their Government, claiming all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens, does not permit; third, the Japanese will not assimilate and make good citizens.<sup>3</sup>

The result of this and similar influences was the successful exclusion of further Japanese immigration in 1924, denial to Japanese of the privilege of naturalization, passage of state laws for-

<sup>3</sup> House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, pt. 1, p. 240.

bidding Japanese aliens to own land in the state and forbidding intermarriage between Japanese and Caucasians, and legislated but never generally enforced bills to segregate Japanese children (citizens for the most part) in the public schools of the state. There were also well-recognized social, occupational, and economic barriers which operated to restrict the Japanese in their relations with the white group and which led them to associate to a large extent with other Japanese.

In spite of these obstacles, the second generation made tremendous strides in Americanization. In the schools where there was comparatively little prejudice, they were outstanding students and often leaders in extracurricular activities. Many became Christians, and to compete with the Christian churches, the Buddhist groups took on such features of Western culture as Young Buddhist Associations, Buddhist Sunday schools, and regular services.

A notable characteristic of the social relations of the Japanese in California was that many had special friends among the white people who would often stand up for them as individuals and protect them. It was largely from such white friends—who were in a sense patrons—that the Japanese children acquired their goals and ideals in American life, as well as manners and language. Their Americanization was also due to the fact that they did not feel the prejudice against them too strongly during their formative years. It was only as adults that they realized the full force of the economic, occupational, and social barriers. For this reason, their frustration was all the greater when they found themselves cut off from the things for which their education and social conditioning had fitted them and to which their emotions and expectations were attuned.

This oversimplified sketch of the

background of the California Japanese gives some clues as to why it was possible for them to become the subject of evacuation when other groups of enemy aliens and their children were not. In spite of the existence of the German-American Bunds and evidence that attempts were being made to indoctrinate the young of this group with Nazi ideology, the Germans and their children were treated on an individual basis. This is not to imply that those who knew the Japanese were unable to distinguish the thoroughly loyal, but only that an insufficient number did know them, and no group was mustered that could successfully refute the charge that it was impossible to tell.

#### AFTER THE WAR BEGAN

During the weeks that immediately followed the raid on Pearl Harbor, things went reasonably well for the Japanese in America. The newspapers called for moderation, ministers preached against anti-Japanese actions, and the Fair Practice Committee of Northern California which had been organized to combat race prejudice reported that on the whole the situation was fairly healthy.<sup>4</sup>

In January 1942, however, the situation changed and there appeared a growing desire to have all Japanese removed from the coast. This seemed correlated with the repeated successes of the enemy in the Pacific. Wild rumors of espionage and sabotage in Hawaii and on the mainland spread far and rapidly. Statements from reliable sources later showed that these rumors were unfounded, but by that time the damage they had brought to the Japanese in America was already accomplished.

In this situation the Japanese family and community life became subject to

<sup>4</sup> 77th Cong., 2d sess., House Report No. 2124, 149-51, 1942.

forces of disintegration. Great numbers of the alien heads of families were picked up for questioning and detained, and most of those who were left were afraid they would be taken at any time. The number of men who were subsequently released suggests that most were harmless. Nevertheless, their temporary incarceration prevented their being on hand to guide their families through the uncertain times before and during evacuation. Boys and women were left to run farms in critical stages of the crops, and there was considerable loss due to inexperience and insufficient help. Jobholders were dropped from their positions, and a particularly severe blow was the discharge of Japanese-American employees from state and municipal civil service. Such services had always been considered secure from racial prejudice.

The American citizens of Japanese ancestry feared for their alien parents and at the same time were placed under a great strain by the burden of responsibility that fell on their shoulders. This was the more difficult to bear because the majority of the second generation are still in their twenties, relatively inexperienced, and they were uncertain what to do in the crisis. Soon disagreements and strife split their society and their families. Some of the younger generation blamed the older generation for their failure to become Americanized. The older people blamed the younger ones for not having utilized the opportunities their parents had given them to obtain a more secure place in American society. Young men attempted to volunteer but were refused at that time, and soon many of the thousands already in the Army were being let out with honorable discharges. Some groups made overt demonstrations of their loyalty by going out of their way to co-operate with the Government, and they were accused by others of pro-

moting evacuation instead of working to prevent it. Some were frankly pro-Japan. Mutual suspicion became a destructive force and there were widespread rumors that every community had Japanese informers who turned in lists of innocent names in order to make money and ingratiate themselves with the authorities.

Every day the future became more uncertain and more threatening, with contradictory reports and notices appearing in the papers. It seemed impossible to make any plans to secure crops or business. Even evacuation could not be counted on until it was almost at hand. Restrictions appeared and increased. Farmers were uncertain whether or not to spend their resources planting new crops, fearing that if they were not there to harvest, they would lose everything they had. Curfew orders hampered produce deliveries to market. College students began to drop out in order to be with their families through the storms of uncertainty.

#### EVACUATION

Finally, on February 19, 1942, the coming of evacuation was officially announced, although its extent became apparent only by degrees. The people stored their goods, leased their land, and tried to find friends who would take over their growing crops. They felt that they lost heavily at this time through unscrupulous persons who took advantage of their position, their bewilderment, and their lack of leadership. All attempts to discover where they would be sent, what the accommodations would be like, what they should bring with them, and what the medical facilities would be, met with a wide variety of answers, many of them diametrically opposed. The certainty of evacuation increased rather than diminished other uncertainties. Just as the white popu-

lation on the coast had been a prey to the wildest rumors concerning the Japanese, so they too were victimized by equally wild rumors which seemed to "explain" the hardships they were enduring and made their difficulties appear far more horrible and threatening than they really were.

Within the relocation centers, influences of disorganization have continued to operate on the family in spite of the return of many fathers. Lack of privacy, communal mess halls, and crowded quarters altered home life profoundly. Parents felt they were losing authority over their children since they had little to offer them, and attempts at discipline became neighborhood events. They believed the children were growing wild and picking up all kinds of bad behavior through having to live in close proximity to all kinds of people. Juvenile gangs who obeyed nobody but themselves appeared.

Problems such as whether or not alien parents should seek repatriation to Japan, or whether or not a son should join the American Army (when volunteering again became open), cut some families asunder much as the Civil War split relationships. With the opening up of opportunities for jobs in the East and the Middle West, thousands of young persons have struck out to seek their fortunes and become as rapidly as possible again members of the American Nation. Others hesitate. What will become of their aging parents? What will happen to them and their families if they do go out? Almost every day, articles appear in the press denouncing the Japanese in America, and rumors of Japanese who are already out being murdered surge through the centers in waves. Some believe the Government is determined to empty the relocation centers come what may, and fear they will be crushed between this move and popular antagonism on the outside.

#### FACTORS STRENGTHENING FAMILY SOLIDARITY

Not all influences, however, have been in the direction of disintegrating family life. Members formerly living apart have come together to face evacuation in each other's company. This has been aided by a definite government policy to keep families together. The geographic isolation of the centers has reduced contacts with American culture and current events to a minimum. Young people who formerly thought of themselves only as Americans are now more under the influence of the culture of their alien parents. This is especially true of the younger children, who have no white playmates and who are being left in the centers as their older brothers and sisters move out seeking jobs.

Another factor contributing to family solidarity is that when people are rejected and made insecure, they must turn in some direction, and turning back to one's first security—parents—is a natural trend. The parents themselves also turn back to their early security, which was of course Japan. In the proportion that their hope in America is lost, so their hope in Japan is increased. There are traditionally well-established cultural patterns for the strengthening of family unity in times of stress, patterns which strongly emphasized filial duty and honor.

This fact has often been used as a point to prove that Japanese-Americans are never really citizens. Such an argument, however, is naïvely literal. It ignores what we have already stated about the assimilation of the second-generation Japanese, and it supposes that through some almost magical quality of the Japanese parents, their children are inhibited from psychological and social maturity. The argument displays lack of knowledge of the real and complex relationship between parents

and children, in which there are many forces of attraction and repulsion.

However, to the extent that filial duty is a trait of Japanese family life, it is a potent force for the creation of good citizens. It seems, therefore, that the problem of the Japanese family is a quest for security in the face of strongly demoralizing and disintegrating influences, and from this various reactions occur. In some, disintegration actually takes place with features of apathy and confusion, strife and child gangs. In others, there is a renewal of effort to be absorbed into American life and be identified with it. With still others, there is appearing a kind of family solidarity that is protective, reactionary, and atavistic.

#### SUMMARY

As a result of the war, the Japanese family in America has been subjected to an unusual number of stresses, many of which consist in an increase of previously existing strains due to their status as a minority group. The principal influences arising since hostilities began are:

1. Following December 7, 1941, a large number of families lost the leadership of their male heads through temporary detention for investigation or internment for the duration of the war. At the same time, because of various restrictions and popular reaction, economic security was threatened or destroyed. As a result, responsibility fell on the young and inexperienced shoulders of American-born children. This shift had been going on to some extent previously, but now it was much accelerated. Difference of opinion, fear, and confusion split both communities and families.

2. As evacuation approached there was an increase in family solidarity as relatives moved together to be with one another wherever they were sent.

3. In the relocation centers, families were faced with totally new conditions of life. The people lived close together in crowded barracks, sharing eating and toilet facilities in common and with almost no opportunity for family privacy. The role of the father as breadwinner and the mother as housewife was gone. Child discipline, family work and rituals, and even the role of the home itself were greatly altered. The people felt that family life was disintegrating. The later government policy of getting as many people as possible out of relocation centers tended further to split some families as the older sons and daughters left, while the first-generation parents and younger children remained behind. Difference of opinion as to whether one should look toward America or Japan in the future has been a very important dividing influence.

4. At the same time that these factors were operating, others were contributing to increased family unity. Emotional reaction against evacuation and discrimination, the geographic isolation of the centers, lack of white contacts and great increase in Japanese contacts, and the drawing together of parents and younger children because of the departure of the older Americanized siblings, have all tended to bring families closer together.

#### CONCLUSION

Not long ago, one of us was speaking with a high military officer who has had considerable experience with Japanese-Americans in the Army. He was asked if he found them loyal, and he replied by pointing to the tradition of family loyalty and commented that it disposed them to develop great devotion to their officers and duty. He ended by saying, "There are no more loyal soldiers to be found anywhere, *but you must give them something to be loyal to.*"

In our opinion, this epitomizes the problem of the Japanese in America.

This is  
Caleb Foote's  
leaflet from  
the FOR that  
got us in  
trouble with  
the Army in  
July 1942.

(My article  
"The Japanese  
Displacement" was  
equally troublesome  
to Army types!)

(The two Puyallup  
photographs - of the  
camp and of the little girl



Over 100,000 residents of Japanese ancestry like these have been taken from homes and jobs without trial or hearing, put in detention camps. Seven out of every 11 are American citizens.

were taken illegally - photographing  
the Army's Assembly Center's was forbidden

# AMERICAN REFUGEES

Tom Bodine  
4/3/82

If we do not extend humanity's kindnesses and understanding to these people, if we deny them the protection of the Bill of Rights, if we say they may be denied the privilege of living in any of the forty-eight states and force them into concentration camps without hearing or charge of misconduct, then we are tearing down the whole American system.—RALPH L. CARR, Governor of Colorado.

## THE JAPANESE ON THE WEST COAST

Forming about 1% of the population of the Pacific Coast states, there were some 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living there in 1940. Over 70,000 were American citizens. They had an extremely low delinquency rate, very few persons on relief, and a birth rate slightly lower than the average for the population as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The largest number were farmers, laborers, or workers in domestic and personal service. Over one-fourth of all Japanese in the United States lived in Los Angeles county, where they formed less than 1½% of that county's population.

The first Japanese coming to our shores were shipwrecked sailors or occasional stowaways in the middle of the last century; the largest number of immigrants came in the decade following 1900. At no time has the total number of Japanese in this country been more than a fraction of 1% of the total population.

Anti-Chinese agitation made California race-conscious, and an attack upon 15 Japanese cobblers in San Francisco in 1890 marked the beginning of an anti-Japanese prejudice present in the life of the West ever since. By 1900, mass meetings were urging their exclusion; Japanese school children in San Francisco were segregated; the California legislature had 17 anti-Japanese bills in 1909, some of which failed only after Theodore Roosevelt's direct intervention. The Japanese Exclusion League and the economically motivated Anti-Jap Laundry League fanned race prejudice and obtained discriminatory Alien Land laws which prevented alien Japanese from owning or operating agricultural land. Although only 185 Japanese a year would have been admitted under the quota system, race-conscious Americans forced passage in 1924 of a clause barring any Japanese immigrants.

Nor did feeling against the Japanese die after exclusion. Mobs in Oregon and Arizona forced them out of homes and jobs; a "committee of 1000" in Southern California worked to boycott all things Japanese; in the middle-thirties the Hearst press blamed the nation's slow recovery on the Orientals; attempts were made to get their land. Like the Negro, Chinese and Jew, the young Japanese-American has always had to buck this irrational race prejudice, and it is against this sordid background that all persons with Japanese blood have been evacuated, most of them held behind barbed-wire fences.

## ARE THESE EVACUEES LOYAL TO THIS COUNTRY?

The Congressional Committee investigating National Defense Migration, chaired by Representative John Tolan, reports: "We cannot doubt, and everyone is agreed, that the majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal to this country." Edward J. Ennis, director of the Alien Enemy

<sup>1</sup>Sources of statements in this pamphlet may be obtained by writing Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Calif. Most of the pamphlet is based on the Fourth Interim Report, Congressional Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. (May, 1942)

## "WE MUST REMEMBER WHAT WE ARE DEFENDING . . . ." — Roosevelt

Control Unit in Washington, wrote on May 2: "The loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the persons affected has not been seriously questioned by informed persons."

## HAVE OUR JAPANESE COMMITTED SABOTAGE?

In view of the widespread rumors, the following facts are important:

*The War Department has received no information of sabotage committed by Japanese during the attack on Pearl Harbor.* (March 30)

—Secretary of War Stimson.

*Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has informed me that there was no sabotage committed there (Hawaii) prior to December 7, on December 7, or subsequent to that time.*

(April 20)

—Assistant Attorney General Rowe.

*. . . there were no acts of sabotage committed in the City and County of Honolulu December 7, nor have there been acts of sabotage reported to the Police Department since that date.*

(March 19)

—Honolulu Chief of Police Gabrielson.

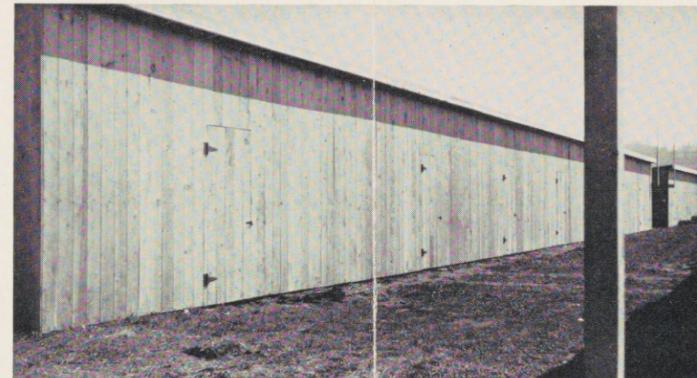
*. . . we have had no sabotage and no fifth column activities in this state (California) since the beginning of the war.*

(February 21)

—California Attorney General Warren.

## HOW MUCH ECONOMIC LOSS IS INVOLVED?

The evacuation forced sacrifice sales of business stocks, professional equipment, household supplies, nursery and farm products, and selfish interests gained at their expense. The Japanese lost at least 50% of their assets, the loss running into the tens of millions. The American nation lost millions of dollars worth of vegetables, the efforts of thousands of loyal, skilled citizens. One Yakima Valley farmer said: "The white farmer would have more land if he could get rid of the Japanese." Said one grower-shipper: "We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons. We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men. And we don't want them back when the war ends, either."



Homes for evacuated Japanese-Americans . . . Puyallup, Washington.

## HOW DOES EVACUATION AFFECT AMERICA'S WAR EFFORT?

*Discrimination against aliens "engenders the very distrust and disunity on which our enemies are counting to defeat us. Remember the Nazi technique: 'Pit race against race, religion against religion, prejudice against prejudice. Divide and conquer.' We must not let that happen here. We must remember what we are defending: liberty, decency, justice."*

(January 2, 1942)

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Detention of the Japanese *does* pit race against race; it *does* divide, creating well-founded suspicions among Negroes, Chinese, Jews. There is no liberty or justice in imprisoning American citizens without trial or charge of misconduct. The Atlantic Charter pledges America to racial justice. Will China, India, Burma, Africa, Latin America—all watching our attitude towards colored peoples—believe our statements if our actions belie them? Axis propaganda is using the evacuation and continued detention to try to show other races that America's talk of racial justice is insincere.

## WHAT ABOUT LABOR STANDARDS?

The interned Japanese are being put to work in a War Relocation Work Corps which they virtually have to join, for able-bodied adults who refuse are in danger of being considered disloyal, charged for board and room. Enlistees are obligated:

1. To serve for the duration.
2. To faithfully perform all tasks assigned him.
3. To allow himself to be moved from place to place.
4. To accept in full payment such cash and other allowances as may be provided in the future.
5. While medical facilities are provided, no injury received or disease contracted can be made the base of any claim against the United States.
6. Any infraction of the rules or regulations or any act or utterance disloyal to the United States renders him liable to trial and suitable punishment.

These labor conditions represent the negation of most of American labor's gains, represent a form of involuntary servitude. The War Relocation Authority considers its centers "a partnership enterprise" between the Japanese and the government; but there is little partnership

in a scheme in which one side is under compulsion. The labor policy is not consistent with high calibre of the men in the WRA, and clashes with the resettlement ideals they have formulated. The plan is now under revision, and drastic changes are needed to bring it more into line with what we offer the world: "liberty, decency, justice."

## WHAT ABOUT OTHER MINORITIES?

The Joint Immigration Committee, most active anti-Japanese group, is motivated by "the determination of the Caucasians to keep their blood white," and feels "a grave mistake was the granting of citizenship to the Negroes after the Civil War." Such discrimination against people because of their ancestry affects *all* Americans; attempts to remove citizenship from Japanese-Americans admittedly endanger the rights of Chinese-Americans or Latin Americans with Indian blood. Race discrimination is a cancer; prejudice against one race is either wiped out or it poisons all races.

## WAS EVACUATION NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE JAPANESE?

A labor spokesman told the Tolan Committee that if this was so the entire evacuation "may well appear as one of the great victories won by the axis powers." No one doubts dangers to the Japanese-Americans as a result of our war with Japan. But to protect them by arresting them all introduces the concept of "protective arrest," a fascist practice that belies the essence of American democracy. This philosophy would mean that negroes could be arrested where the Ku Klux Klan was active, labor unions "evacuated" where there was popular feeling against them. America must protect her citizens, but by arresting the guilty and not the innocent victims, by a continuation of that tolerance to different ideas and peoples which is the life-blood of democracy.

## ARE THESE MEASURES CONSTITUTIONAL?

A number of cases have been filed to test the constitutionality of the evacuation and continued detention of American citizens without hearing or specific accusation. In San Francisco, Mitsue Endo (California born, 22 years old, with a brother in the armed forces), seeks release on habeas corpus. Her attorney argued: 1) Even if the evacuation were valid, the continued detention is unauthorized; 2) Evacuation and detention were conducted without due process of law—no hearing, no criminal accusation; 3) Even the war power is subject to civil liberties; 4) Citizens of Japanese ancestry were deprived of equal protection of the law, because of unfair discrimination, as citizens of German and Italian ancestry were not similarly treated. In Seattle, Gordon Hirabayashi, a University of Washington student, arrested for refusing to be evacuated, called this process "the violation of human personality. The very qualities which are essential to a peaceful, creative community are being thrown out and abused."

## WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE ?

Regardless of the outcome of the war, we are going to have to continue to live in a world in which the white race is in the *minority*. As colored peoples are reproducing themselves at a higher rate, whites will become more of a minority. Within our own country, we are going to have to live with fellow citizens who are Jewish, Negro, Oriental. Racial understanding and tolerance is practical common sense. Racial discrimination is a luxury we cannot afford.

As long as the present detention of the Japanese continues, we are sowing seeds which are leading to a bitter harvest. Before the war, the Japanese-Americans were model citizens—close-knit family life, low delinquency, brilliant records as students. Concentration camp life is dashing their hopes for the future, and the abnormal living with its lack of privacy is resulting in a breaking of family ties, and instances of lowering morals, gambling, petty larceny and cynicism.

No matter how good conditions in the Centers may become, the segregation of an entire racial group is recreating in the Japanese-Americans a racial consciousness they had long sought to avoid. Two-fifths of the citizens are children 15 or younger, yet we are forcing them to grow up divorced from Caucasian children and American life. While China, India, Burma and Africa are watching America's attitude on racism, we are creating in many of our Japanese-Americans the psychology typical of many Negroes: hopelessness, distrust of white men, bitterness.

Not less serious is the attitude of citizens outside the camps. The continued detention is making much of the American public assume that these innocent victims of war are "enemies of our country." Hatred and suspicion are double-edged weapons, and what we breed in war will live in time of peace.

The United States is engaged in a war which President Roosevelt calls a defense of "liberty, decency, justice." It is no time to avoid dealing with injustice at home, especially when that injustice will have results which will so directly condition the post-war world.



What's going to happen to me?

## WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

(1) The February 19 Executive Order of President Roosevelt (# 9066), authorizing the War Department to designate areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded" should be modified to bring it within the spirit and practice of democracy.

(2) *Citizens* now in detention should be allowed to leave the Centers if they wish to resettle voluntarily except where the Government brings specific charges against an individual in the Civil Courts.

(3) *Enemy aliens* of Japanese ancestry should receive the same treatment as other enemy aliens and not be regarded as a racial minority. The increasingly liberal policy of Great Britain toward enemy aliens is to be commended; and by setting up public civilian hearing boards, the United States should adopt the British system of classifying enemy aliens and detaining only the dangerous.

(4) The government of the United States is morally obligated to provide economic restitution for the losses suffered by the Japanese. Those who have lost farms, businesses, or homes should be given the means to regain them.

(5) Adequate protection for Japanese in civilian life can and must be given by Federal, state, and local agencies.

It is clear that in order to gain these ends prompt and effective action must be taken to check the dangerous trend of public opinion regarding Americans of Japanese ancestry. It is suggested that the matter is of sufficient urgency to require the intervention of President Roosevelt and other high public officials on behalf of the Japanese-Americans. Every church, labor union, group, and private individual can help in this effort to diminish a racial intolerance which directly threatens our democracy.

Those living near one of the Japanese detention camps or knowing some of the internees personally can render a very real service by helping to provide the immediate needs of the camps for recreational and educational material, and by keeping in close touch with their friends.

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION . . .

. . . the reader is referred to the Fourth Interim Report of the Congressional Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Rep. John H. Tolan (Calif.), chairman. This may be obtained from your Representative in Congress. A complete bibliography for study of the problem may be had by writing the Berkeley address below.

Additional copies of this pamphlet are available at 5¢ each, 8 for 25¢, \$2 per hundred, from Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley, Calif., or 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

## A Letter to President Roosevelt

from the Post War World Council, signed by hundreds of Americans, after acknowledging the difficulties of the situation, went on to say:

"We have seen no adequate evidence to convince us that an order giving complete power to the Secretary of War . . . to exclude from designated areas all citizens, or to restrict their actions in any way he sees fit, is either constitutional or democratic.

"It goes without saying that we fully support all necessary measures of counter-espionage for the detection and punishment of spies and traitors. But the overwhelming number of victims of the present military orders are in no sense spies or traitors. Our deep desire is for a rescinding of your order which is so at variance with democracy and the American tradition.

"The public opinion which prompted and supported your order seems, on the basis of the evidence submitted to the Total Committee and from other reliable statements, to have been borne in large part of ancient racial prejudices, greed for the land the Japanese have developed, and a popular hysteria inflamed by stories of Japanese sabotage and disloyalty in Hawaii. The truth of the latter has been formally denied . . .

"To grant to Italian and German aliens a right denied to American citizens of Japanese origin is a type of race discrimination for which there is no ethical justification. . . . The whole process, we believe, is of itself a blow to our democracy and will gravely affect our reputation for racial fair play among the nations of the world. It is the type of discrimination which, throughout most of Asia, will greatly strengthen the hands of our enemies."

## AMONG THOSE SIGNING this letter were:

John Dewey  
Reinhold Niebuhr  
Norman Thomas

Clarence E. Pickett  
Harry Emerson Fosdick  
Oswald Garrison Villard

Duplicate

NATIONAL JAPANESE AMERICAN STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL

Report of the Field Director

September 29, 1943

It is not easy to condense into a brief report the impressions gained in a summer's tour of the relocation projects. The most important impression with which I returned is the feeling that evacuee psychology is now jelling into a fixed pattern, a pattern of resisting relocation, of thinking up reasons for staying put.

Among the students, this resistance to relocation is evidenced by the fact that the kids did not come to see me of their own initiative. I had to think of ways and means of reaching them ~~by~~ and with the help of various project people. These were students who if it had not been for evacuation would have been eager to come and listen to a person who wanted to tell them how to go about ~~it~~ getting to college.

Why were the students not eager to come to see me? For one thing, particularly in the case of the girls, their families object to seeing their children go out to college for a wide variety of reasons. In other words, at the present time the families of the students are definitely discouraging them from going on with their higher education. In the case of the high school teachers I found that a number of the teachers on the projects were definitely hostile to the idea of student relocation. When one visits a project just for a day or so, one fails to realize that one sees only the people who are sympathetic to the cause of the Japanese there. If one stays a week or so on a project, he soon discovers that there are many people, <sup>even</sup> ~~particularly~~ among the high school personnel, who are not sympathetic to the Japanese and who specifically are hostile to the idea of Japanese Americans getting their college education. Some of this hostility is born of ~~great~~ race prejudice particularly among the teachers who are attracted to the projects by the high salaries paid by the federal government in comparison to the salaries paid by their respective state governments. Some of this hostility is born of an attitude which the teachers describe to you as realism. They will tell you that it is a mistake for a Japanese American to think in terms of a college education since he is destined to be only a manual laborer anyway. They point out that if he goes to college and gets "high falutin'" ideas about what he can do in life, it will only lead to unhappiness and disillusionment when he finds that the fields for which he is trained are not open to him.

What with evacuee psychology resisting relocation and the attitude of families and teachers not sympathetic to the idea of boys and girls going to college, it is easy to see why an outside agency such as ours has a large task to stimulate these boys and girls. Thus, the Student Relocation Council has had two jobs to do during this past year and a half. Not only has it had to provide machinery for relocation into colleges and universities, but it has also had to renew the students' faith in the American people and thus to make the student want to relocate enough to break with their families and to resist the advice of their teachers.

Only an outside group of people, people who are known to have no axe to grind, who are not connected with the government, who are not just another social service agency, but who come to the students as their friends and advisors can do the task which remains to be done - of stimulating the oncoming generation of high school graduates on the project to take their lives in their hands and go forth to college.

September 29, 1943

In each of the relocation projects the Student Relocation Council theoretically works through a Student Relocation Counselor who is an appointee of the War Relocation Authority. In theory these individuals should do the job of stimulating the students to want to go on with their education. However, they are all very busy people. On two of the projects they are the head of the adult education program; in another two they are the high school Vocational Counselors. On one project it is the Superintendent of Education; on another it is a social welfare worker; on another the wife of a Methodist minister; on another the Counselor is ~~usually~~ a high school teacher; and at the tenth project the Counselor is a terribly overworked Leave Officer. <sup>As to summary,</sup> I would say that for the students whose college education was interrupted by the evacuation, the Student Relocation Council has done its job and has done it well. Remaining in the centers, however, <sup>the</sup> the oncoming generation of high school graduates who will need outside help in combating the influence of family and teachers if they are to leave the projects, get a college education, and make their contribution to America.

THOMAS R. BODINE

TRB:ek

MANZANAR LOVE SONG

I know a boy and I know a girl  
at Manzanar,  
They try to feel that it makes no difference  
where they are.  
It's as simple as this,---they're in love,  
and one private kiss they dream of.

But when he goes to see her  
soon the folks all go to bed;  
But he feels he wants to remain.  
There's no place else to take her  
To tell her that he loves her,  
And occasionally I've heard him complain.

A love affair of necessity must be  
A thing of public interest  
not private property.  
For there's Ma and Pa, and Sis and Bud  
To peer and jeer when I love you  
and you love me.  
No place to park and watch the moon go down;  
We can't take in a picture show  
Or window shop the town,  
We must do our romancing  
With lots of people glancing;  
But we don't care, just let them stare  
and let them frown.  
The mess hall can be dinner at the Ritz,  
Guayule your corsage;  
Since gas is rationed  
we must walk a bit,  
And we can pretend our Packard  
is stored at Camouflage;  
So we'll go on and do the best we can,  
You're still my favorite glamor girl  
And I'm your ardent fan.

You know it's true  
that I love you,  
And I'll prove it  
when I can.

Sung to a torch-song  
type of tune. Written  
by a Caucasian teacher  
in the Manzanar Camp  
High School. 1943 [?]

*Duplicate*

## CHRISTMAS AT HEART MOUNTAIN

by Floyd Schmoee

On the wind-swept plateaus of northern Wyoming lies the state's newest and third largest city----the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. In long low tarpaper barracks, behind barbed-wire fences, and under the guns and searchlights of tall watchtowers, live ten thousand Japanese Americans. Most of them came from the mild climate of southern California little used to and ill-equipped for the rigors of winter in the north where the temperature sometimes reaches 40 degrees below zero.

There are more than four thousand children at Heart Mountain who had never seen a "white Christmas". This year they prayed for one.

When I went with them to the mess halls on Christmas night, the heavy pall of coal smoke lying like a grimy blanket over row upon row of dimly-lit barracks reminded me of nothing so much as the mile-long coke ovens of West Virginia. A cold wind was blowing but there was as yet no hint of snow. It had not been a white Christmas.

Programs varied in each of the large warehouse-like buildings which form the center and the only community gathering place of each of the thirty blocks making up the "city", but they all had one thing in common, - it was the childrens program.

At some parties there were speeches and singing, at others little plays and pantomimes, and at still others games and contests. Each mess hall was decorated and each had a small Christmas tree----a special treat most of the Centers did not have, except as they fashioned synthetic trees out of sagebrush, greasewood and even pieces of packing crates, crepe paper and cardboard. New Years with its "omochi", and its "shime" would flavor strongly of the Orient and be for the adults who were of the Orient, but Christmas was thoroughly American and for the children who are American.

After the program, there were refreshments (dinner had been at four) and the master of ceremonies again took the floor. The big event of the day was at hand----Santa Claus was about to be announced.

He arrived by truck and his truck was full. Well-wishing friends (most of them have never seen a Japanese in their lives) had sent in thousands of gifts and thousands of dimes and quarters with which to buy more. Santa Claus was authentic; a lot of padding, a painted face but an abundance of Christmas cheer and a real beard - a black Oriental beard. He meant well but he frightened the babies almost into hysterics. Obviously the small children had not been adequately prepared for Santa Claus.

There were stockings filled with oranges, nuts and candy for every boy and girl under fifteen. There were gayly wrapped gifts, at least three, for every one under nineteen, and enough left over so that every family had one extra. These gifts had been arriving for a month from individuals, Sunday School classes, young peoples' groups, mission societies, in every state in the Union. More than 3,000 had arrived plus more than \$2600 in cash. This happened in all the Centers. At Minidoka more than 17,000 gifts accumulated and two weeks after Christmas the belated mails still poured them in.

For the small children, too young to be aware of the barbed wire and the guard towers and the significance of it all, it was a wonderful Christmas, the best ever, but the gayety of their elders was strained. They were well aware of the fact that this year the spirit of the Prince of Peace did not rule in the hearts of all men. A year ago they had foreseen this thing, now it was a bitter reality, next year it might be worse - it was not likely to be much better. For themselves they could stand it, but what about these children - you can't go on having Merry Christmases year after year in an internment camp.

For me however there was a ray of hope. This thing was going on in each of the ten Japanese relocation centers. Upwards of seventy thousand people all over the country had contributed to the happiness of these fifty thousand young American citizens with Japanese faces. Seventy thousand fellow Americans who two years ago had been largely unaware of the existence of these people had now shared a little bit in their well being. Sharing does something to people no matter who they are and I was sure there were seventy thousand hearts in America this Christmas night where a spot of warmth glowed a little brighter than it had a year ago.

Seventy thousand warm spots I thought may do something for America, it may kindle a fire. I prayed to Him who came that we might have peace that next year He may rule in the hearts of men, that next Christmas may be a real Christmas for these people, a real Christmas in a real home - an American home where people are free.

As we went "home" at nine o'clock snow was falling, the lighted windows looked brighter, shouts and laughter could be heard all over the camp. It was going to be a "white Christmas" after all.

It was just this time four years ago that I was driving down the West Coast visiting Assembly Centers, en route from my work with the AFSC in Seattle to join the newly organized NJASRC in San Francisco.

I remember stopping off at Tule Lake on my way down. The advance crews of evacuees had just arrived. The Administration was beginning to get organized. The camp itself was still under construction. I stopped there the day the Army ordered that all the scrap lumber left over from building the camp be burned. I remember how the WRA staff worked (in vain) to get the order countermanded so that the precious wood could be used for furniture and for the projected vocational training program.

Later on, I remember going with Homer Morris to see Major Beasley in the Army Public Relations office in San Francisco on the 4th of July, in an attempt to "clear" a pamphlet we were hoping to use to raise money for the Student Relocation program. It being the 4th of July, the subject of "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" came up, the Major pointing out that the evacuees had not been deprived of their lives, their liberty, or their happiness! He said that the word "liberty" comes from a Greek word that doesn't mean physical liberty, but means something inside each human being that no man can take away from any other man. He said the evacuees were happier now that they had ever been before; they didn't have to work, or worry, or struggle against prejudice. He pointed to reports on his desk and read us some dinner menus from Santa Anita and said that he had better information than we had as to conditions in the camps and that he could say categorically, the evacuees were happy!

How far we have come since then! Now the Army Public Relations office is the evacuees' friend. Now Tule Lake is closed. Now there are many people ready to stand up and say it was all a mistake. How few there were in 1942! I remember thinking in January 1942 as I drove up the Coast from Los Angeles, visiting Japanese families on the way, that it was as if a great tide were sweeping in on us and that nothing we ~~were~~ feeble few could do would turn that tide; it was as if we were trying to sweep it back with a broom.

Yet our work was not in vain. We were right to have had faith and hope. The tide turned in early 1943 and began to flow in the niseis' favor. The destruction it wrought high up the beach still remains, but the evil waters have withdrawn. So as we look out on the world now and wonder how to have faith and hope, as we see an even greater tide of evil pouring in, let's keep in mind those dark days of 1942 when all seemed lost and realize anew that

"It is better to light a candle  
Than to curse the darkness."

THOMAS R. BODINE

Duplicate

# NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL

## WEST COAST COMMITTEE

### OFFICERS

- Dr. John W. Nason, National Chairman  
President, Swarthmore College
- Dr. Robert G. Sproul, West Coast Chairman  
President, University of California
- Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch, West Coast Vice Chairman  
Provost, University of California
- Harry L. Kingman, West Coast Treasurer  
Secretary, U. of California YMCA

1830 Sutter Street

San Francisco, California  
Telephone Fillmore 2100

### STAFF

- Robert W. O'Brien  
National Director
- Howard K. Beale  
West Coast Director
- Thomas R. Bodine  
West Coast Associate Director

January 27, 1943

- Miss Leila Anderson, Secretary  
U. of California YWCA
- Miss Mary C. Baker, Dean of Women  
Fresno State College
- Herman N. Beimfohr  
Director Wesley Foundations  
Southwest Region
- Dr. Eric C. Bellquist, Professor  
University of California
- Dr. Remsen D. Bird, President  
Occidental College
- Allen C. Blaisdell, Director  
International House, Berkeley
- Rev. Francis J. Caffrey, M. M.  
Maryknoll Fathers, Los Angeles
- Rev. Gordon K. Chapman, Sec.-Treas.  
Protestant Church Commission  
For Japanese Service
- Dr. James C. DeVoss, Dean Upper Div.  
San Jose State College
- Dr. Aubrey A. Douglass, Asst. Calif.  
Supt. of Public Instruction
- Rev. William J. Dunne, S. J.  
President, Univ. of San Francisco
- Dr. Ralph G. Eckert, Counselor  
Stockton Junior College
- Galen M. Fisher  
Orinda, California
- Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, Professor  
San Francisco State College
- Dr. Walter Homan, Dean Lower Div.  
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- Miss Alice Hoyt  
Associate Dean of Women  
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- Miss Alice James, Student  
University of California
- Dr. Robert L. Kelly  
Emeritus Director  
Association of American Colleges
- Dr. W. O. Mendenhall, President  
Whittier College
- Dr. George A. Odgers, Dean  
Multnomah College
- Rev. James T. O'Dowd, Supt.  
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- Karl W. Onthank, Dean  
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- Mrs. Marian Brown Reith  
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Pacific Southwest Region
- Dr. Lee Paul Sieg, President  
University of Washington
- Albert W. Stone, Student  
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- Dr. D. Elton Trueblood  
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- Dr. Henry T. Tyler  
Sacramento Junior College
- Dr. Edwin C. Voorhies, Dean  
University of California
- Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Chancellor  
Stanford University
- Howard Willits, Secretary  
Student YMCA - YWCA  
Pacific Northwest Region
- M. D. Woodbury, Secretary  
U. of Washington YMCA

Dear West Coast Committee Member:

It has been quite a while since we have had occasion to report to the other members of the West Coast Committee. Those of us on whom responsibility for the work of the Committee has fallen because of our proximity to the San Francisco office, wish it were possible to call all of you together for consultation. In the past few days particularly, we have been faced with decisions affecting the whole future of our work on which we should have liked to have your judgment.

You will note from the enclosed report of progress that the bulk of the records of the students who have applied to the Council for aid in continuing their education has now been collected and analyzed, that for more than 1000 students a relocation opportunity has been found, that new applications are flowing in at the rate of 50 a week (the total number rose from 2100 in November to 2600 in January), that the staff in the San Francisco office now numbers 23, that the administrative expense runs well above \$2500 a month and that the sources of administrative money are drying up. In view of the fact that the part of the task that needed to be done on the West Coast is now complete, in view of the scarcity of administrative funds and the high cost of operating a large office in San Francisco, in view of the great distances between San Francisco and the receiving colleges and between San Francisco and the Washington office of the War Relocation Authority which now handles all requests for leave and travel permits, Dr. John W. Nason, the Council's national chairman, wrote Dr. Deutsch as follows:

"...The time has come to reconsider the organization of our Student Relocation Council and to plan the job that lies ahead. My own feeling is that we would not be justified in continuing operations on the scale of the past six or seven months, once we are past the peak period around the first of February. Most of the data on students will have been collected. Most of the machinery for relocating them has been tested. The opportunities for sending them to other institutions may well dwindle. This does not mean that we should close up shop. I see an opportunity to relocate students at least through next September and October. We have a responsibility to the students who have been relocated so long as they continue with their education. We must carry on in some fashion, but it must be in a way which adjusts in time and money spent to the results produced. I hope you will give me your judgment on our future course in reply to this.

Titles are given for identification only and in no way commit the institutions to which the committee members belong

"One step which would work both for efficiency and economy would be the merger of our San Francisco and Philadelphia offices--either in Denver, Chicago, or Philadelphia. Proximity to the relocation projects favors Denver; proximity to the campuses where the relocated students now are favors Chicago; proximity to the government agencies with whom we deal in Washington and to the church boards and sources of money in the East favors Philadelphia. The advantages of moving the San Francisco office eastward would be several. It would solve the remaining personnel problems. It would save money through a merger. It would take our big office out of a high cost stenographic area to one where more assistance would be available at lower figures. It would bring the office closer to the W.R.A., the F.B.I., the War and the Navy Departments with which we have almost daily correspondence.

"The one great disadvantage--and it looms as a very large one to me--is the severing of the close connection between you and the West Coast committee on the one hand and the actual work of student relocation on the other. That connection has been so very valuable that I deplore any step which loosens it. I know that none of you will lose any of his interest in the work and that we can always count on you for guidance, counsel, and help. Perhaps we can discover some way of maintaining the relationship alive even at a distance.

"There will be an early meeting of the Council, probably January 20, at which I shall present the problems discussed in this letter. I hope very much that you will let me have your judgment on them before that time. I should not want to do anything contrary to your wishes or those of your group."

This letter arrived on January 18th. The executive committee was called together on the 19th and felt that action had to be taken immediately. Placements for winter terms were well along, but spring term openings begin in March this year, and therefore, if the work of the San Francisco office was to be moved east, the move should be made in February.

As an alternative to the proposal that the work of the San Francisco and Philadelphia offices be consolidated in the east, the executive committee considered whether the work of student relocation might be concentrated in San Francisco. The problems of finance, geography, and personnel seemed insurmountable, however, and therefore, with some hesitation as to its authority, the executive committee agreed to wire John Nason that it favored consolidating the work of the two offices in the east. It was further agreed to address a communication to the other West Coast Committee members, explaining the situation as fully as possible and asking them to express their opinions direct to the National Chairman.

On January 20th at the meeting of the National Council in New York, the American Friends Service Committee offered to assume administrative responsibility for the work of the Council and concentrate the work in its offices in Philadelphia, using for staff various able persons who are available among its own staff workers. As an alternative to this proposal, it was suggested that the work be concentrated in Chicago under the National Council's administrative leadership with the various church boards financing the office expenses. At the present time the church boards are considering whether they could underwrite the costs, and the National Council will meet soon to determine where to move and who is to carry on the work.

Meanwhile in accordance with the West Coast executive committee's decision of January 19 and the National Council's decision of January 20, plans are being made for closing the office on February 13, winding up the work and packing during the week of the 14th, and putting the files on a train on the 20th. It is hoped that work can commence again at the other end on March 1st. Thomas R. Bodine will

continue with the new staff as a field representative and Trudy King will continue as supervisor of leaves and travel permits. The other members of the San Francisco staff would be released.

We hope that this letter presents the situation adequately and that you will feel free to express your opinion to John W. Nason, President, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. We trust you will include in your comments any ideas you have for maintaining the ties between the National Council in the east and the West Coast Committee in the west.

Whatever the formal arrangement may be, however, we feel confident that you will maintain your interest in and forward this work to the best of your ability, realizing its significance not only to the individuals assisted but to our whole national attitude.

Yours sincerely,



THOMAS R. BODINE  
West Coast Director

MONROE E. DEUTSCH  
Vice Chairman

REPORT OF PROGRESS

January 25, 1943

Students thus far accepted at a college or for whom some other relocation opportunity has been secured	1036
Accepted for fall terms (or for whom some other opportunity has been found) and now successfully relocated	435
Accepted for winter terms and documents required for leave collected and presented to the WRA in Washington (Of these the Project Directors have informed us that 114 have been granted leaves and travel permits to date.)	435
Accepted for winter terms and documents now being collected (Of these 119 are temporarily postponed because we have lost contact with them, because their parents object to their going, because the community has turned sour or because the college has changed its mind, or because the college has not been cleared.)	166
Students whose records have been collected and analyzed by Deans and Registrars and who are waiting for placement as scholarship funds and openings in technical schools become available	944
Students whose records have been collected waiting to be analyzed	257
Students whose applications have recently been received and whose records are now being collected	<u>364</u>
TOTAL APPLICATIONS RECEIVED TO DATE	2601
Colleges which at one time or another either have accepted a student or have indicated a willingness to do so	442
Cleared by the War and Navy Departments for student relocation	360
Waiting War and Navy Department clearance (Of these 21 will probably not be cleared.)	77
Waiting to be submitted to the War and Navy Departments	5
Financial aid offered by the cooperating colleges	\$107,340
Remissions of fees	\$18,350
Scholarships	\$57,730
Work opportunities	\$31,350

Denominations which have allocated scholarship funds totaling approximately \$40,000 include Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, United Lutherans, Church of the Brethern, United Brethern, Evangelical Reformed, Free Methodists, Catholics, and Buddhists.

The World Student Service Fund has appropriated \$20,000 for scholarship purposes, of which \$8,000 is available and has been or is now being allocated.

Many individuals and three chapters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation have made a total of \$3500 available for scholarships.

NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL

## STAFF

To carry on this work the office has developed a staff that totaled 26 fulltime workers in early December and that has only recently been cut to 23. Joseph Conard resigned as executive secretary in October and was succeeded by Howard K. Beale from the University of North Carolina. Dr. Beale resigned in December and was succeeded by the present director, Thomas R. Bodine, who had served as associate director under both Mr. Conard and Dr. Beale. Mr. Bodine's staff is as follows:

Administration: Director  
Student Records Department: Supervisor and 2 workers  
College Information Department: Supervisor  
Financial Aid Department: Supervisor  
Placement Department: Supervisor and 4 workers  
Leave and Travel Permit Department: Supervisor and 4 workers  
Stenographic Department: Supervisor and 4 workers  
Filing, Mail, and Mimeograph: Supervisor and 1 worker

## BUDGET

Although many of these workers are volunteer or semi-volunteer, the salary budget runs to \$2,000 a month. Other expenses total \$500. It is thus costing the Council \$2,500 a month to operate its San Francisco office. The Philadelphia office at 1201 Chestnut Street with Robert W. O'Brien of the University of Washington as director costs between \$500 and \$800 a month.

During the summer the Council functioned on a \$10,000 grant from one of the large foundations secured by the American Friends Service Committee. This money ran out early in October, and since then the American Friends Service Committee has paid the Council's administrative expenses. The American Friends Service Committee is finding it impossible to continue such heavy payments. The large foundations are not able to make further grants to the Council. One foundation in San Francisco is interested but not in carrying the total load.

*Auplicate*

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Harry L. Kingman, West Coast Treasurer  
Secretary, U. of California YMCA

1830 Sutter Street

San Francisco, California  
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February 6, 1943

### STAFF

Robert W. O'Brien  
National Director

Thomas R. Bodine  
West Coast Director

Trudy King, Supervisor  
Permit Department

Virginia Scardigli, Supervisor  
Placement Department

Miss Leila Anderson, Secretary  
U. of California YWCA

Miss Mary C. Baker, Dean of Women  
Fresno State College

Herman N. Beimfohr  
Director Wesley Foundations  
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Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Chancellor  
Stanford University

Howard Willits, Secretary  
Student YMCA - YWCA  
Pacific Northwest Region

M. D. Woodbury, Secretary  
U. of Washington YMCA

Dear Fellow Worker in Student Relocation:

You may not have thought of yourself as one of our fellow workers, but regardless of where you are--still busy on the project, waiting for your educational leave, resettled in a college, or on an employment leave--you are working for student relocation. What you write, how you think and talk and act has a bearing on the whole relocation problem. You are an ambassador paving the way for others, and we hope you will take the responsibility seriously.

We're writing to share with you the big news that the San Francisco office of the National Student Relocation Council itself is being relocated! Our new address is 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Actually the Philadelphia office has existed from the beginning, but the San Francisco office is more familiar to you because all your records have been collected here. From now on the work of student relocation can be directed more effectively from Philadelphia. Combining the two offices in the east doesn't mean that your Student Relocation friends in the west won't be actively pulling for you. They will continue to be busy and will want to hear from you as to your progress.

There are now 487 students who have written us from their new locations, from 122 colleges, and from 25 different states. There are 438 more who are on their way or hoping to get off soon. We are carrying on correspondence regarding the placement of others for spring, summer, and fall terms. If you are among those who haven't yet seen an opportunity to continue your education, remember that we are still working and that your turn may be next. If you are at school, remember that we like to hear from you.

This western office will close on February 13. The eastern office will not be ready to answer your personal mail before March 1 at the earliest since all the records and some of the staff have to cross the country. We'll be glad to have you write us there and bring us up to date on your plans and problems and finances. Insufficient funds should not discourage you. No matter how little, or how much, money you have, we need exact and up-to-date information to work on.

Perhaps you will hear of others who should have received a copy of this letter. If so, please ask them to send us their correct address. It is not easy to follow your peregrinations!

We wish you--and ourselves--much success in the year just begun.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS R. BODINE  
West Coast Director

Titles are given for identification only  
and in no way commit the institutions  
to which the committee members belong

TRB:MEB

H. V. KALTENBORN  
167 EAST 64<sup>TH</sup> STREET  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
REGENT 4-3344

December 20, 1943

Dear Miss Fisher:

I have just returned from a comprehensive, although, brief tour of our Pacific fighting areas.

On the basis of first-hand information I can tell you that American citizens of Japanese ancestry are performing some of the most valuable work that is being done by our Armed Forces in the Pacific. These American citizens of Japanese ancestry have not only proved their loyalty, but in many cases they have voluntarily risked their lives in order to perform important front-line services.

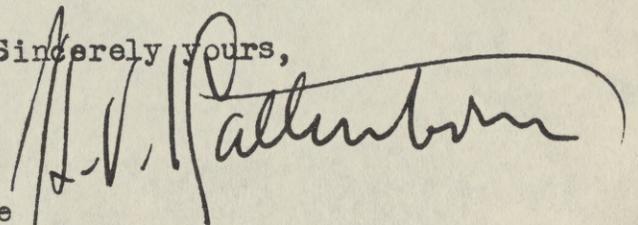
With rare exceptions they are the only competent Japanese translators available to our Armed Forces. Those that have been given the privilege of taking up arms in the Italian war theatre have also distinguished themselves. The number of medals which they have earned for outstanding service is large in proportion to their numbers.

In talking with General Richardson, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army in the Central Pacific, with headquarters at Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands, he informed me that there has not been a single case of active disloyalty proved against a single one of the 160,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans in the Hawaiian Islands. As he put it, "We have no Japanese problem."

I have just given an interview to the press in San Francisco, in which I stated that there must be something wrong with the way the Japanese problem has been handled in continental United States.

I expect to comment on this matter in my broadcasts as the news may suggest. But you are at liberty to use the statements I have made in this letter in any way, that will further the cause of decent treatment for American citizens, whose only crime is that they were born of Japanese parents.

Sincerely yours,



HVK:HLL

Miss Adalia Kroehuke Fisher  
The Committee for Work with Japanese  
American Evacuees  
6501 Wydown Boulevard  
St. Louis, Missouri 5

*Duplicate*

## "THE JAPANESE DISPLACEMENT"

Thomas R. Bodine

Many soft words are being spoken about the evacuation of the West Coast Japanese, not only in the Government's press releases, but in reports from Christian observers and others, and even among Quakers. "A soft answer turneth away wrath." It also lulls the uneasy conscience back to slumber. We feel that the time for pussy-footing has passed and we are therefore prompted to try to put on paper the picture as we see it here in the Pacific Northwest.

All Japanese in the Puget Sound area, more than half of them American citizens under the age of 30, are at the moment of writing being taken from their homes and placed behind barbed wire in the confinement camp hastily built for them at Puyallup. We wish it were possible for every American Christian to come out and see the camp for himself. Barbed wire eight feet high surrounds each of the four camp areas. Armed guards with bayonets sit up in little towers watching the children at play. There are rows and rows of little buildings, hardly larger than rabbit hutches. One family to a room 17 feet by 20, one little door in the front (like the door to a bath house), one little window in the rear. Partitions between rooms go up only part way. One small washroom for every 250 persons (lots of standing in line). No shade. Not much room to move about. Eight thousand people crowded together with hardly space between the buildings for deck tennis courts and nowhere space for a ball diamond.

Is it a "concentration camp"? No, it is not the German type of camp where the victims are not only crowded together under vile conditions, but are also subjected to barbaric penalties. The camp at Puyallup is the American type: the men in charge are splendid people (they really are the finest kind of Government and Army personnel) who are doing the very best they can for the inmates under the circumstances. Courtesy and decency have been the rules throughout the entire evacuation. Under the circumstances the men in charge could hardly do better. What we are denouncing are not the men in charge, but the circumstances. If wood for the stoves hasn't arrived yet and the temperature is in the 50s, if the weather is damp and rainy and mud oozes up through floors built flat on the ground, if there isn't space enough to organize group activities, work and games, - this is not a "concentration camp"; these are not barbaric penalties imposed by the men in charge; this is not a Nazi concentration camp; it is an American "confinement" camp.

But the Puyallup camp, they say, is only temporary. Only three months (with hot summer weather coming soon to those crowded, almost windowless rooms with only a plank and some tarpaper between inmates and sun), only three months, we are told, and then the Japanese will be moved off into the wilderness to a permanent confinement camp on a great tract of land in South Central Idaho, where Sunday afternoon drivers can't go by and see through the barbed wire the harmless old men and old women, the loyal young

citizens, the innocent little children.

In the words of the Seattle Japanese Methodist Church leaders: "It is a humiliating experience for anyone to be compelled to live behind barbed wire. It is even more humiliating to have one's essential patriotism doubted." Why does it have to happen? The Government's official reason is that it is a matter of military necessity. In February the job of watching over our Japanese population was taken away from the Department of Justice and handed over to the Army who then declared that as a matter of military necessity all aliens of enemy nationality and all American citizens of Japanese ancestry up and down the West Coast must be taken into custody. No one of us can dispute the Army's judgment as to what is and what isn't military necessity. But before the job was taken from the Department of Justice there was a tremendous clamour in the public press, over the radio, in the public speeches of local and state officials, in national magazines and among news columnists demanding the removal of the Japanese. Why all this hue and cry?

1) Race Prejudice. All along the West Coast one senses the same spirit that secured the passage of the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, one of the things that brought this War crashing down on us last December. Race prejudice is visible even in the evacuation orders themselves. No American citizen of German or Italian ancestry is to be moved, only those of Japanese ancestry. No Germans and Italians over age 70 are to move; only the aged Japanese must go. No German or Italian who has a close relative in the U. S. Armed Forces or whose relative has died in the service of his country need move, only Japanese families of American soldiers. We forget sometimes that hundreds and thousands of young Japanese Americans have volunteered or been drafted into and are considered loyal and useful soldiers by the same Army that finds it a military necessity to put their mothers and fathers and little brothers and sisters behind barbed wire.

2) Economic Pressure. It's still human nature for many farmers, laborers, and businessmen to do anything to get ahead of their competitors. It is therefore not surprising that a noticeable pressure for evacuation came from the competitors of the Japanese, from the Associated Farmers, from Labor Unions, from Chambers of Commerce up and down the Coast.

3) Local Politics. Candidates for political office, particularly in California, have vied with one another in expressing their disapproval of all things Japanese. "Vote for me. I hate them more than he does!"

4) Public Hysteria. On the part of many people who have never come to know any of the American Japanese there has been genuine fear. Their fear in many cases has been crystallized by the hullabaloo coming from the radio, from the newspapers and magazines, from local and State Government officials, and in some cases from the tone and language of the Federal Government official notices. Much has been made, for example, of the proximity of Japanese farms to American airports and oil fields. In almost all cases the Japanese farmers were there twenty years before the airports were

even thought of. A lot of fuss has been raised over dynamite found on Japanese farms. Most farmers in the Pacific Northwest have dynamite to blow up stumps with the presence of the dynamite in itself is not even good circumstantial evidence of disloyalty. Uniforms have been found in Japanese homes. In the homes known to us, they were uniforms worn by grandfathers in the Russo-Japanese War, uniforms long out-dated.

5) Sabotage and Fifth Column Danger. Military necessity is something that only the Army can determine. But the general public's opinion of military necessity is based partly on stories that saboteurs and fifth columnists were busy at Pearl Harbor. The Tolan Congressional Committee was out here in March collecting facts. Its preliminary report includes statements from Hawaii's representative in Congress and from the chief of police of Honolulu completely exonerating the Hawaiian Japanese from all charges leveled against them by rumour. As to the loyalty of our own Japanese, the Tolan Committee told the Congress of the United States: "We cannot doubt, and everyone is agreed, that the majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal to this country."

To us it is little wonder that the Department of Justice was pleased when the job of evacuating the Japanese was taken out of its hands and given to the Army. But why did the Army accept? The official answer is military necessity. Although we as civilians have no business passing judgment on the Army's decisions in this realm, we can wonder, in what sense military necessity? After talking with Army and Federal Government officials, we feel that the Army's interest in evacuating the Japanese was born of fear: fear of what might happen to thousands and thousands of American soldier boys held captive over on the other side of the Pacific if so much as one single Japanese were lynched over here. The Army is probably immune to the pressure politics of Farmers Associations, Labor Unions, Chambers of Commerce, American Legion Posts, and perhaps immune to the wishes of the vocal part of the general public, but it is not immune (and perhaps none of us is) to the gnawing fear of reprisals.

In other words, the American Japanese are being herded into confinement camps for their own protection: in order that the Imperial Government of Japan may have no excuse for maltreating its American captives. In the words of a bigshot in Washington, D. C. (spoken informally to a representative of the Federal Council of Churches), "It is a sad commentary on the American way of life when we find it necessary to put American citizens behind barbed wire in order to protect them."

Will the Japanese have to stay long in the camps? The Government has appointed a War Relocation Authority headed by one of the finest and ablest Government administrators. Its job is to try to get the Japanese out of the camps and back into productive civilian life - somewhere in the interior. How successful it is in this will depend primarily on the attitude of the general public in the states where the Japanese might be relocated. The trouble is, the same forces that caused the evacuation are at work to keep the Japanese out of normal civilian life anywhere in the United States.

Race prejudice, economic pressure local politics, public hysteria, sabotage and fifth column dangers, fear of reprisals if something happens to the Japanese over here; - these are not confined to the WestCoast states. The NO JAPS WANTED HERE signs are up all the way across the country. If it was military necessity that moved them from Puget Sound, it is military necessity that keeps them away from Nebraska's irrigation ditches and defense plants. Since nowadays almost all activity everywhere is carried on in the name of defense, logic says that, given the present circumstances, the infiltration of any number of Japanese into existing communities is easier to talk about than accomplish.

What then can be done with the West Coast Japanese? They can be isolated for the duration in permanent confinement camps on huge tracts of barren land miles away from anybody who might do them harm. This seems to be the Government's present solution. If it is to be the ultimate solution, our Christian consciences cannot rest easy. What happens after the war, with a world wide refugee problem and American soldiers returning home and demanding jobs (and pensions)? Will confinement camp isolation during the war lead to deportation proceedings after the war? Or are we to make of the American Japanese permanent wards of the Government resembling the American Indians?

It has been suggested that the American Friends Service Committee might plan and operate a small model resettlement project in some isolated and friendly community. Perhaps two or three such communities could be found - and conditioned - and real resettlement provided for maybe 500 families. It'll be like sweeping the tide back with a broom, but if Friends go at it vigorously and if conscientious objectors can be released from Civilian Public Service Camps to provide manpower, it might be done.

Model resettlement for a few is better than no real resettlement at all, but is it the most we can expect others to accept? Could we hope that the American public might be willing to follow the example set by the British after they had rounded up their enemy aliens in 1939 and 1940? Could we too establish hearing boards in our confinement camps (in the American way of fair trial before punishment) and send back to their homes and farms and businesses all Japanese found innocent? It would be difficult to establish innocence. It would be difficult after what has happened to persuade the American people to welcome them back. It was difficult for the British, too. Bombs were falling on British cities when England gave her innocent German aliens white papers and their freedom.

Pacifists particularly should not ignore the earnest cries of our refugee friends as they watch American citizens file into the confinement camps. "This is how it began with us. First the citizens nearly everybody had a grudge against. Then others. Finally all who dared speak out against the Government." The parallel is inaccurate - Roosevelt is no Hitler - but the fact remains that on the heels of American citizens of Japanese ancestry may come American citizens who refuse to cooperate with their country's war effort. Civilian Public Service was born when the country was not at war, and the American Legion is already hot after "conchies". The civilian agency in charge of the Japanese evacuation bears an ominous name: WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION.

Can we speak only soft words?

*duplicate*

NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL  
Joseph Conrad, 2227 Union Street, Berkeley, California

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**National Student Relocation Council**  
2227 Union Street, Berkeley, California

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**Instructions For Filling Student Questionnaires**

1. This questionnaire should be filled by all students who would have planned to attend college or university during 1942-43 except for evacuation, and by those who, because of changed circumstances, now wish to do so.
2. THE NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL has been established to help you continue your education. It is doing everything possible to gather funds and secure permission for transfers to Midwestern or Eastern colleges and universities. This program is being conducted at the request of the War Relocation Authority and with full approval of the United States War Department.
3. The Council is eager to help every student it can. This questionnaire is addressed to all of the following who would have planned to attend college in 1942 except for evacuation, or who, because of changed circumstances, now wish to go to college:
  - a. High School graduates who have not yet attended college;
  - b. Persons who have already attended college and wish to continue their studies; and
  - c. Persons who wish to begin or continue graduate study.

Please fill this questionnaire whether or not you now wish to attend a Midwestern or Eastern college and whether or not you have already filled out other questionnaires.

4. Fill this questionnaire in TRIPLICATE and, unless otherwise instructed, mail to the NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL, 2227 Union Street, Berkeley, California.  
  
If the space provided for any items is insufficient, attach additional pages and number the items to correspond.
5. Please inform the NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL promptly if your address is changed.  
  
Print your name. Answer EVERY question. Write plainly! Preferably in ink or on a typewriter.

June 15, 1942

NATIONAL STUDENT RELOCATION COUNCIL  
Joseph Conrad, 2227 Union Street, Berkeley, California

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

For all students who would have planned to attend college or university during 1942-43 except for evacuation, and those who, because of changed circumstances, now wish to do so.

1. Name ..... (Last) ..... (First) ..... (Middle) ..... Sex .....
2. Your exact address in  
Reception or Assembly Center .....
3. College last attended ..... Date of last attendance .....  
Class completed ..... Have you received any credit  
since completing that class? .....  
Major ..... Minor ..... Approximate  
Grade average .....  
Degrees held ..... Honors won .....  
Extra-curricular activities .....
4. (To be filled by all students: — college level and graduate students, as well as by recent High School graduates).  
High School from which  
you graduated ..... City and State .....  
Course taken ..... Approximate  
Grade average .....  
Class standing (if known): I stood ..... in a class of .....  
(Number) ..... (Number) .....  
Honors won .....  
Extra-curricular activities .....
5. Citizenship: I am a citizen of ( ) United States; ( ) Japan; ( ) .....  
Date of birth ..... 19..... Place of Birth ..... (Other) .....
6. Height ..... Weight ..... General condition of health .....
7. Religious preferences (Be specific): .....  
Are you a member? ..... (NOTE: The only reason for this question is to aid in allocating funds offered  
by particular denominations if they are specifically earmarked for students of particular religious faiths).
8. What are your goals and plans for life work: .....
9. Do you want to continue your education? Yes ..... No ..... Not Now ..... Undecided .....  
Please state fully your reasons for your answer: .....
10. Have you any clear college or university preference? Yes ..... No .....  
If so, list in order of preference .....  
If no specific preference  
what kind of college? .....  
In what field do you wish to major .....; Minor .....

11. Please indicate funds available for your education: (If you do not know precisely, be sure to give at least your best estimate.)

	<i>Your own funds:</i>	<i>Other funds available for your education:</i>
Cash available - - - - -	\$ .....	\$ .....
Future regular income (do not include cash available, mentioned above, and do not include income you may earn from prospective college jobs)	\$ ..... per yr.	\$ ..... per yr.

Are figures above accurate or estimated? .....  
Have you any debts? ..... If so, describe .....

12. Will you be willing to work for part of your expenses at College? .....  
Have you any special skills or experience? .....

*(Music; typing; shorthand; care of children; library work, etc.)*

13. Do you know of one or more persons who might be willing to provide scholarship or loan funds to enable you to continue your education? .....

Name: ..... Address: .....  
Name: ..... Address: .....

14. Are you married? ..... Have you any dependents? ..... Who? .....  
Describe your plans for them: .....

15. Have you applied to a college for admission either yourself or through anyone else? .....

If so, through whom? ..... Address .....  
and to what colleges and where?

College: ..... Address .....  
College: ..... Address .....

How far have arrangements been completed?

(a). College admission (If already accepted, indicate college and entrance date:  
College: ..... Entrance date: .....

(b). Living arrangements .....

(c). Are you known by any person in the college community where you hope to be? .....  
If so give name and address .....

16. Would you authorize us to secure 5 transcripts of your high school and college records? .....  
Would you be willing to pay the cost of these transcripts if the cost does not exceed \$2.50? .....

17. Would you be interested in taking correspondence courses if other arrangements for study cannot be made? .....  
What courses? .....

18. What type of work experience have you had?	Type of work	For whom?	How long?
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....

19. REFERENCES: Please be SURE to give the FULL NAMES AND ADDRESSES of two or three persons who know you well and from whom we could secure additional information about you:

	Name	Address	Occupation	How long has he known you?
Who knows your ability as student: .....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*(Preferably High School teacher or college instructor)*

Who knows your work experience: .....

Who knows you personally: .....

*(Neighbor, fellow church member, or friend: if at all possible someone not evacuated)*

NOTE: Make any additional IMPORTANT comments on back. If the space provided for any items is insufficient, attach additional pages and number the items to correspond with those in this blank.

Date ..... Signature .....

# Alumni Record

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR BY AND FOR THE ALUMNI

Vol. IX

APRIL 15, 1943

No. 3

## FOR REASONS OF MILITARY NECESSITY

THOMAS R. BODINE, '33

People who traveled on the West Coast in the spring and summer of 1942 will not soon forget the placards posted everywhere in California and western Oregon and Washington with the great black-on-white headline: NOTICE TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY. It was a notice disturbingly similar to some that have appeared in Germany. It announced the evacuation of 72,000 American citizens whose complexions are a shade darker than average.

No specific charge had been brought against any of these citizens. They were in a category entirely different from the group actually considered suspicious by the F.B.I. and the Army and Navy Intelligence Services. Persons considered suspicious were arrested and held for trial. If found guilty, they were interned for the duration; if innocent, released. The evacuees were not arrested and held for trial. They were evacuated and are held in American-style concentration camps not under the ordinary processes of law but under a Presidential Order giving Lieutenant General DeWitt of the Western Defense Command "the power to exclude any person, alien or citizen, from any area which might be required on the grounds of military necessity.

Military necessity is a strange creature. It was not necessary to arrest and place behind barbed wire ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY residing in the Hawaiian Islands. It was apparently impossible to do on the Mainland what proved satisfactory in the Islands: arrest and hold for trial those considered suspicious and leave the others to continue playing their part in the war economy.

It doesn't require much knowledge of California to realize that the evacuation was *not* a matter of military necessity. It was a product of economic and political pressures, race prejudice, and an insidious American type of Hitlerism.

The whole thing is so fuliginous it is small wonder that the Federal Government's present philosophy is to get these Americans of Japanese ancestry out of the camps where they are being held and back into free and productive life as rapidly as possible. Fortunately their Americanization has been so thorough that the process of reassimilation, as many communities throughout the nation are discovering, is an easy one. It is significant that, once released from camp, an



American Student (Japanese Ancestry)

evacuee is as free as any of the rest of us—to do what he pleases—to go where he pleases (so long as he does not return to California!).

About 3000 of the evacuees were college students. To help them get out of camp and continue their education in eastern and midwestern institutions, a privately financed Student Relocation Council was established at the request of the Government. As of March 15, 1943, this Council had helped 1210 students to find relocation opportunities and had helped 770 of these get out to 165 college campuses in 36 different states. The 770 have written exuberant letters and have suffered not a single untoward incident.

Who are these students of Japanese ancestry? What are they like? Those of us who have been born and bred in the East must beware of supposing that they are similar to some alien student from Japan whom we may have met in school or college. They are no more alien than we are. They are Americans with the emotions, ideas, and attitudes of any freshman, sophomore, or graduate student. They don't give a rap for the Japanese way of doing things. Who wants to have his wife picked out for him by a

(Continued on page 6)

## G. F. S. ALUMNI RECORD

- *Editor-in-Chief*  
S. COMFORT CARY, '36
- *Associate Editors*  
R. BRUCE JONES, '30  
ALLEN W. STOKES, '32  
HILDEGARDE P. WISE, '35
- *President of the Alumni Association*  
JOHN F. SIMONS, '20
- *Executive Secretary of the Alumni Association*  
MARION WOLFF, '33

## NEWS FROM THE PILOT HOUSE

Along with the crocuses and pussy willows, spring activities at G.F.S. are beginning to blossom. No sooner had the final curtains closed on the thrilling finale of *Pinafore* than talk began to turn to College Boards, baseball, and Victory Gardens.

Speaking of *Pinafore* it was not only a musical success, but a financial one as well. The box office showed gross receipts of \$793.60. After all expenses are paid a handsome surplus will be available for Tot Lots, the Red Cross and the Memorial Room for Margaret Shane.

The baseball season unofficially opened last week when Coach James started batting out flies in the side yard to a bunch of his raw recruits. Mr. James says the prospects are fair for a good season, and he hopes to get out to the field for regular practice by April 5. Unfortunately we have lost ten boys from last year's squad through graduation and enlistment; and among these ten are three pitchers and a catcher!

The Victory Garden will be a new and interesting venture for the younger boys and girls this spring. The historic earth of Grumblethorpe will be turned up to grow spinach, corn, beans, beets, turnips, onions, and potatoes for the school lunchroom. Since rationing has cut sharply into our usual food supplies, possibly as much as one-third, the school garden is no mere gesture but an essential industry if an adequate food supply is to be maintained. Miss Herring, an English gardener who was formerly associated with the Ambler School of Horticulture, will help in the planning and supervision of the Grumblethorpe garden. A faculty-student committee will organize the labor supply which will be recruited chiefly from grades six through eight. It is expected that many of the older boys and girls will wish to help, although they may be needed for other

jobs during the summer months. If any of the alumni feel inspired to assist during the summer months, either with cultivation or supervision, their services will be most welcome.

During the spring vacation, the School again sponsored a popular movie, this time "Journey for Margaret," to raise funds for the Tot Lots at the Germantown Settlement. At present, it looks as if the receipts for this project would be in excess of \$200.

The School has made a remarkable showing in all its community effort this year, not only in money raised, but in a great variety of unselfish services.

Howard Platt, George Webster, and I represented the School at the 39th annual luncheon of the Committee of Seventy at the Bellevue-Stratford on March 25. Twenty-five students also heard the broadcast following the luncheon. This luncheon-meeting, which featured a Junior Town Meeting, marked a new approach to self-government by presenting student speakers before a large audience of public, parochial, and private school representatives. George V. Denny, Jr., the Moderator of American Town Meeting of the Air, served in a similar capacity for this occasion.

The eighth grade has recently launched a School news letter to give the student body and faculty the latest news of the School. For some time we have felt the need for some kind of clearing house for the news of the School. The Student Council, athletics, committees, campaigns, assemblies, and many other interests all need publicity if they are to flourish.

The Adult Activities Committee of the Parents' Auxiliary added to its laurels during the winter season by organizing a course of brilliant lectures. The following speakers took part in the series: Dr. George Buttrick, Mr. Henry Dennison, Dr. Robert Weaver, Mr. Arthur Morgan, and Dr. C. L. Hambro. The lectures, which were very well attended, are bound to have an important effect on the public opinion reached. The theme of the series was "The Peace We Want."

BURTON P. FOWLER

## GIRLS' ATHLETICS

The girls' winter program included gymnastics in the morning, basketball and square and modern dancing in the afternoon. Inter-School, inter-class and Blue and White basketball games were played with much enthusiasm. For the first time in many years the varsity basketball team managed to win an outside game—in fact they won two games out of three. The second, third, and fourth teams each won one game and lost one. The Blues came out on top in the inter-color games and the seniors won the inter-class competition.

## ANTHOLOGY WITH COMMENTS

ELIZABETH JANET GRAY, '19

*Pendle Hill Pamphlet, price 25 cents*

My first reaction after spending a happy hour by the fire with this small pamphlet was to think "What a good time she must have had putting her pets together"; and my second was to scratch around in my own memory for other examples to illustrate her thoughts.

I don't know which I liked best of her selections (which, by the way, are all rather unusual and not the general run of anthology verse), but maybe her minor ecstasies—the golden sunset and the silver moon rise off Cape May, linked by the magic flight of a plane, the fragrance of sun-warmed honeysuckle on stone walls, the whistle of a cardinal in the dark of a suburban February morning, is the most colorful, as James Stephen's "Little Things" is the most heart appealing—

"Forgive us all our trespasses  
Little creatures everywhere!"

You who throw stones at that "hateful cat" who lies in wait for your precious birds, did you ever stop to think that he too is one of God's little things and is doubtless hungry? Or the selection by Gerard Manley Hopkins called "Pied Beauty" in praise of dappled things and how encouraging to one who wilts at the prospect of scrubbing the kitchen linoleum to read,

"He is an angel of all light  
When I cleanse this earthen floor  
My spirit leaps to see  
Bright garments trailing over it,  
A cleanness made by me."

But surely amongst many gems of thought it is this quotation of St. Francis of Assisi, God's Troubadour, that we need to keep in mind during these distressing days: "For what are the servants of the Lord but his minstrels who should raise the hearts of men and move them to spiritual joy."

A half hour spent with this little book will add riches to your store.

KATHERINE W. ELKINTON

## ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS EXHIBIT

ELIZABETH WOOD

It was like meeting an old friend to see "Girl in Boots" (Sally Shipley, '40), by Bill Goodell, '26, at the 138th Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts and then to discover "Peter" (Peter Spruance, '47), by his father, Benton Spruance. Another exhibiting parent was Catherine Morris Wright with "Practising" which is a picture of her son, Ellicott, who is now in the 9th grade. Other pictures by Alumni were "Sally," the artist's niece, by Ted Strawbridge, '23, and Edith McMurtree's ('00) "War on the Earth Beneath."

## MADAME CHIANG KAI CHEK VISITS WELLESLEY

*Excerpts from a letter from Helen Webster, '39, to her family.  
Helen served as an aide to the Madame during the three days  
she was at Wellesley.*

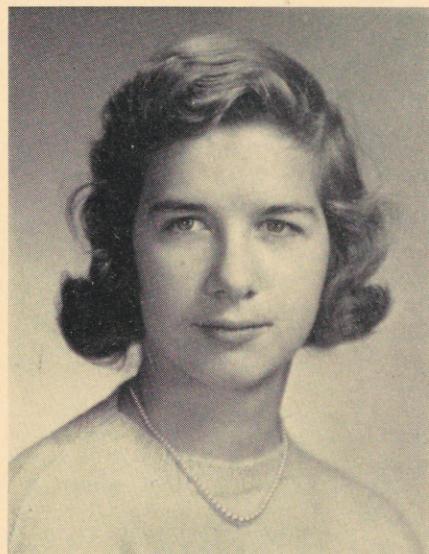
Tower Court was all agog from about lunch time on. Strange men were prowling around the building, and we were only allowed to use the West side of the house. Sallie Moore (the other aide) and I didn't know exactly what we were supposed to do, but the idea was to have some student representatives there to greet Madame Chiang. At five the Secret Service received a message from the gate that the official bullet-proof car was about to arrive. When we first saw it, two great burly men were walking ahead of it and half a dozen others behind. Then the big moment arrived—the head of the Trustees, Sallie, and I stood at the head of the stairs as you enter Tower. I must admit my knees were feeling a little weak. Finally with much ceremony and flanked by Secret Service men, Madame Chiang, in a gorgeous sable coat and muff, and Miss McAfee, in uniform, appeared. Miss McAfee introduced each one of us, Madame gave each one a smile and a "How do you do," and swept by into Great Hall. We smiled and sort of bowed—feeling completely overcome. A great horde of newspaper men snapped pictures until the Madame disappeared into the suite of the assistant head of the house. Sallie and I hovered around the hall in the mob—not knowing quite what was happening, but in a minute Miss McAfee put her head out of the door and told us to come in. We pricked up in a great hurry and filed through the SS men who were whispering "They're the aides, Moore and Webster. They're O.K. to go in." When we entered the room, Miss McAfee introduced us again, and Madame said, "And you're Helen Webster" and with a flourish gave me her hand. I almost thought I was supposed to kiss it, but I just gave her a good American handshake and said how honored I was to be her aide. That was all very formal. It wasn't stiff for long however. Madame is not a person that makes one feel ill at ease. She is very thoughtful and always saying, "Please sit down."

Shortly, after the formal introduction, she burst forth in a very lively manner, "And which one of you is President of Tizzie?" (This is an undergraduate sorority and the one to which Madame belonged when she was a student. Ed's Note.) When I said that I was, she immediately spotted the pin on my lapel and remarked that it was a whole size smaller than the one she had received. After that I turned into a private secretary, and at Madame's request phoned three of her old teachers and invited them for

tea "right away." When we had finally gathered all the guests, who were a little indignant to discover that "May-ling" had invited some one besides themselves, I ushered them into the room. Madame embraced them—sort of rubbing cheeks. Tea was served and Sallie and I stood in the background and ran errands. I honestly felt as though I was acting in a play most of the time.

Madame Chiang had dinner in her room alone. Sallie and I went in again shortly before she left for the 1917 reunion party. She had changed her dress and was wearing a stunning black satin dress studded with large rhinestones. Actually she looked like an Oriental queen. She said she wouldn't need us again until the next morning and thanked us, and then when we went out of the room into the hall, she shouted a "thank you" after us again.

On Sunday we appeared at eleven, but there wasn't anything to do, as Madame Chiang slept all morning. The college had early lunch at twelve-thirty so we could be over at Alumnae Hall by one-fifteen for the broadcast. Sallie and I stayed around Tower until Madame was about to appear and then we hopped into one of the lead cars with the press and SS men standing on the running board and drove over to Alumnae Hall. There was a great crowd at the door, so we sheepishly slipped out and into the building. Finally, with much flourish again, the bullet-proof car drove up and amid clapping Madame and Miss McAfee stepped out and passed into the green room. Meanwhile we found our places on the front row right under the speaker. In a moment the official party appeared on the stage tagged by several burly SS men. The whole audience stood up and for fully a minute there was a tremendous ovation. Miss McAfee greeted everyone and announced that she had four minutes to ad lib before they went on the air. After introducing various members of the entourage (which used up the four minutes) she introduced Madame Chiang amid lots and lots of clapping. Sitting so close we really could see *too* well. The whole atmosphere was more than anyone could bear, I suppose. With the greatest difficulty she managed to say "That moments of great emotion tend to render one inarticulate . . ." And then I have never seen anyone go through such a terrible struggle. She clutched the stand and became perfectly rigid. At that moment she suddenly looked old. The whole audience



Helen Webster '39

was very much moved too, and the people on the stage, including the men, had tears in their eyes. Even Miss McAfee was too overcome to look at her. For a while I thought she wouldn't ever be able to go on, but she finally gained enough control of herself to go on reading her speech. During the factual part she was almost normal but when she came to the college motto her voice began to shake again and her hands were clutched. At the end she collapsed into a chair and could hardly rise to acknowledge the applause.

At seven I returned to Tower and met Miss McAfee. Then the *three of us* flanked by the SS paraded out of Tower into the bullet-proof car (on their way to the Tizzie Vesper Service which Helen had to conduct. Ed's Note). Oh My—my stomach was feeling a bit strange by then. There was much greeting at the door. Madame was reciting some little traditional Tizzie verse on the way over. When we passed Billings Hall she exclaimed, "There's the music building. I used to play the violin there. Squeak, squeak." After the grand entrance at Tizzie, I slipped into the coat room and put on my cap and gown. I hurried but by the time I was ready everyone was waiting in the living room. I passed by the SS man at the door who gave me a little wink, which my weak knees certainly needed, and when I finally entered the room, there was everyone quietly waiting for *me*. So—I took a deep breath and, standing behind the president's table with candles and iris on it, I welcomed the various people who were there. Then I announced that as usual we would begin our vesper service by singing a hymn—"Love Divine." While everyone sang I passed the longest moments of my life. I hadn't known until Sunday morning that I was going

(Continued from page 3)

to have to read the Bible and pray. WELL, when the actual moment arrived, I revived a bit and got through the 13th of Corinthians—Tizzie tradition. As for the prayer you're probably curious about exactly what I produced. Here it is:

Dear Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for the love which makes true friendship possible. For its warmth which gives comfort, hope, and joy. For its light which imparts appreciation, sympathy, and understanding. And finally we thank Thee for the everlastingness of friendship and assurance that neither time nor distance can dim or destroy its splendour. Amen.

Then we all said the Lord's Prayer in unison. The closing hymn was "Now the Day is Over" with special Tizzie verses.

At ten Monday morning we crowded the steps of the library along with dozens of photographers. After a wait Miss McAfee and Madame, dressed in blue slacks, came walking down the hill from Tower. We all gave our class cheer, and as she passed to go into the lib, she said, "I feel so informal in slacks when you are all so dignified in your caps and gowns." Afterwards we followed the procession over to the chapel where more pictures were taken. This time Madame demanded that her aides be in the picture too. So Sallie stood beside Madame, then Miss McAfee, then H. W. who handed Madame her lib book to hold. I haven't seen any of these pictures yet, but I'm sure this will be what is in the news reel.

Her final exit was equally as dramatic as the rest of the show. All of Tower formed two great lines through Great Hall to the stairs and as she swept past sang the Alma Mater again. When she reached the door, she turned and said, "Be good children." And that was the end! What a figure. She shows off beautifully and everyone loves her for it. Her looks, of course, are enough to captivate anyone, but her real charm is her girlish vivaciousness. She seemed to have had a wonderful time at Wellesley, and Wellesley hadn't had such a good time for years. Here endeth Wellesley's greatest weekend.

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*The following is an article written by Mr. Yarnall about Mary Louise White Aswell, '20, whose new book, "The Dickens Digest," is the Book-of-the-Month Club's March-April dividend. It is reprinted with the permission of the Germantown Courier.*

A Germantowner, who attended the Friends School here from kindergarten until her graduation in 1920, is author

of "The Dickens Digest" which has been selected as the Book-of-the-Month Club's March-April dividend.

The local "condenser" of one of the most famous prose writers in English literature is Mrs. Mary Louise Aswell, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Raeburn White, who for years lived on West Coulter Street in the home now occupied by Dr. Samuel Bradbury.

Her condensation for the modern reader of four Dickens masterpieces has been given a "masterpiece" rating of its own by several critics. Says an advance notice of the *Digest*: "There can be no better approach (to Dickens) than is contained in Mrs. Aswell's superb condensation of four of his greatest books."

No novice at condensation is the former localite. A position in the office of the *Atlantic Monthly* was followed by five full years on the *Reader's Digest*. Mrs. Aswell is the wife of Edward C. Aswell, an editor with Harper Brothers, who was her superior when she was with the *Atlantic Monthly*. She is now literary editor of *Harper's Bazaar*. They have two children.

The Germantown Friends School graduate came by her interest in Dickens and his works naturally. Both her parents were Dickens readers and from her early childhood she was familiar with his writings. In a pamphlet, the Book-of-the-Month Club says "Mary Louise Aswell was born into the Dickens tradition. One of the first books read aloud to her was the copy of 'Pickwick Papers' with which her father, at the age of ten, had wooed the young woman who fifteen years later was to become her mother." Mrs. Aswell herself says that "Oliver Twist" was the first book she read when she had mastered the elementary primer at Germantown Friends.

Upon graduation she went to Bryn Mawr College where a course in the English novel brought her the unparalleled mark "HHC" (high high credit) chiefly because the Dickens pages which took her classmates weeks to cover, she could, in a pinch, review in a weekend.

One of her teachers at Friends School said that she was "a brilliant student, imaginative, nervous in energy, but always interesting and challenging." The same teacher recalled an occasion when in studying free verse or imagistic poetry, he put on the blackboard a poem written by Amy Lowell and a number of other poems by members of the class. The problem was to select Amy Lowell's poem. The principal of the school (Mr. Yarnall. Ed's Note) was called in to cast his vote with the others. He selected

Amy Lowell's because of one word which he thought beyond the experience of high school juniors. The boys and girls, however, all decided that Mary Louise White's poem was the correct one.

In addition to commenting that Mrs. Aswell's "Dickens Digest" is the "best approach to Dickens" the Book-of-the-Month Club also says, "So expertly has the job been done that not one important character or memorable scene has been sacrificed. All who love Dickens will treasure this rich abundant book; and all who have promised themselves 'to get around to reading Dickens someday' will welcome it."

## G. F. S. PINAFORE

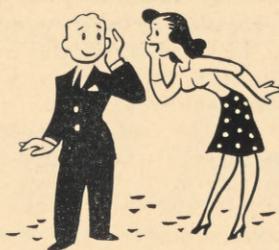
IRVIN C. POLEY, '08

Even to those of us who remember with joy the *Pinafore* of a decade ago, this year's production was an unqualified success, and I am sure that our original Buttercup, our original Dick Deadeye, our original Ralph, and our original Captain (Chim Calwell Stokes, '33, Bob Emlen, '34, George Butterworth, '32, and John Carson, '34, who were all here one of the nights) would agree that this school generation acquitted itself as well as theirs. A pleasant addition to the 1943 performances was the accompaniment of the School orchestra, under the direction of Alfred Mann. Old friends like Mr. William Price and Mr. James Montgomery contributed expert suggestions, but Miss Mary Brewer was the brilliant and dynamic head cook for G.F.S.'s favorite broth, and the flavor of the whole was due mainly to her and to Gilbert and Sullivan, those great collaborators, whose infinite gaiety age cannot wither nor custom stale. (Ed's Note: Considerable flavor was due to the help which Mr. Poley himself gave in directing the acting of the performers.)

Readers of the ALUMNI RECORD will be especially interested in those of the performers who are related to alumni: in Peggy Harland, a charming Buttercup; in Linnie Magill, a big hit as Sir Joseph—I can't imagine that Martyn Green himself at sixteen could have been better as Sir Joseph than Linnie was; and in the countless choristers (and G. and S. is made or marred by its chorus), musicians, and backstage helpers who are too numerous to mention other than to say there were forty-six of them.

# Alumni Notes

Address any items of Alumni or School Interest to MISS MARION WOLFF, Germantown Friends School, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.



## Engagements

- '30 William Wharton Smith and Dorothy G. Waring '33. Dottie is teaching Art at school and Bill works for the Electric Storage Battery Co. They plan to be married April 30.
- '35 Lt. George Laurence Miller, Jr. and Ann Goodrich '40. Woody is on duty at Fort Wetherill, R. I. Ann has just been elected President of Student Government at Smith College.
- '37 Mary Ann Riley and Mr. Edwin S. Skinner of North Wales. Mary Ann will continue as Secretary of the Lower School. Ned graduated from Harvard and is working at the Philadelphia Electric Co. They are to be married May 1.
- '39 William H. Grimditch, Jr. and Miss Gioia Gloria Barker of Phoenix, Arizona. Miss Barker is the granddaughter of the late George Jay Gould.
- '39 A. Gregg Jackson and Dorothy Hollis '40. Gregg graduated from Yale and Dottie is at Holyoke.
- '40 Suzanne Saul and Lt. Philip Marriner Hammett, U.S.M.C., of New York City. Phil was graduated from Harvard in 1942 and went to Officer's School at Quantico, Va.
- '41 Charles E. Pancoast, 3rd and Miss Mary Virginia Riter of Rosemont. Charlie attended Haverford and is leaving soon for training in the Naval Air Force.
- '42 Margaret Wessels and Private George White, Jr. of Germantown. George attended the University of Pennsylvania.
- '42 Betty Ann Furman and Mr. John W. Waleigh, Jr. of Ardmore. John will finish at the University of Pennsylvania in June. He is a Cadet Captain in the R.O.T.C.
- '42 Mary Lee McKinney and Mr. Grove C. McCown of Mt. Airy. Mary Lee is now at Bradford Junior College and her fiance is a graduate of the University of Virginia. He has recently left for duty with the Mountain Division of the U. S. Army and will be at Camp Hale, Colorado.

## Marriages

- '09 William S. Crowder and Miss Isabel Jenkins Lewis in March.
- '31 Elizabeth Mason Ewing and Mr. Paul Traugott on Tuesday, February 2, in New York City.
- '32 C. Dashiell French and Miss Mary A. Denfield on March 27, in Germantown.
- '33 Leslie B. Seely, Jr. and Miss Rhuby Jean Kline on January 30, in Madison, Wisconsin. They are living at 210 S. Princeton Ave., Wenonah, N. J.
- Ex '33 Ellen Rue Singmaster and Private Edward Walter Constable, Jr. on Saturday, March 13, in Germantown.
- '36 Elizabeth B. Eggleston and Lt. George Reese, U.S.A., in Chestnut Hill on April 4. The Reeses are living in Starkville, Mississippi.
- Ex '36 Ruth Rommel Wallen and Lt. Eugene Hemphill, U.S.A., in February, in Germantown.
- '37 Harriet Elizabeth Ehlers and Lt. Gene Giovanni King, of Bound Brook, N. J., on Saturday, February 20, in Philadelphia. Lt.

King is in the Field Artillery in the Army of the United States. He graduated from Dartmouth College and had been at the Harvard Law School for two years when he enlisted.

- '38 Lt. Lloyd Otto Lohmeyer, Jr. and Miss Emily Louise Phillips on Wednesday, February 10, in Newport News, Virginia.
- '38 Jean Stout and Private George Lloyd Wilson, Jr. Private Wilson graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. Jean has been teaching kindergarten at the Greene Street Friends School.

## Births

- Ex '17 To Mr. and Mrs. Elliston P. Morris, a second son and third child, Jonathan White Morris.
- '24 To Lt. and Mrs. S. Rowland Morgan, a son, S. Rowland, III, on February 25, in Bryn Mawr.
- '28 To Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Ernest Mertz (Martha Forster '34), a son, Robert Anton, in February.
- '29 To Mr. and Mrs. James Andrews, a daughter, Susan Lloyd, on February 21.
- Ex '29 To Mr. and Mrs. Edward Potts, a daughter, Lydia Rhoads, in January.
- '30 To Mr. and Mrs. Pendelton Tompkins (Louise A. Mertz), a son, Tain Pendleton on April 2.
- Ex '30 To Mr. and Mrs. Robert Biddle, a son.
- '31 To Mr. and Mrs. Carl Fenninger, Jr., a son, Carl 3rd., in February.
- '32 To Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Tomkinson, a daughter, Nancy Marion, on February 20. Henry is now working with the Hercules Powder Co. at Parlin, N. J., and is living at 11 Hercules Village, Sayreville, N. J.
- '33 To Lt. and Mrs. Morrison McMullan (Dorothy Smith), a daughter, Penelope Susan, on March 22.
- '33 To Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Taylor (Sylvia Evans), a daughter, Ann Comfort, on February 14.
- Ex '33 To Mr. and Mrs. W. Lawrence Kimber, a son, William Lawrence, II, on March 31.
- '34 To Mr. and Mrs. Edward B. Goheen, a daughter, Virginia, in February.
- '34 To Mr. and Mrs. McKendree Scott (Ernestine Shallcross), a daughter, in January.
- '34 To Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Shelly (Florence Saul), a son, W. Dayton, on February 17.
- '34 To Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Sandt (Dorothea Lowry), a son, Joshua Lowry, on March 22.
- '35 To Mr. and Mrs. Arthur W. Clark (Mary Bennett ex '34), a son, Anthony, on February 24.
- '35 To Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Webster, Jr. (Nancy Landenberger '36), a son, Stephen, in February.
- '36 To Mr. and Mrs. Albert Bauzenberger (Julia Hutchinson) a son, Albert Stuart on March 25.

## Alumni Notes

- '20 Mary Louise White Aswell's *The Dickens Digest* has been selected for the book dividend of the Book-of-the-Month Club for March and April.

- '23 Edward R. Strawbridge, 2nd and William N. Goodell '26 both had pictures in the Academy show.
- '24 Charles C. Day is a Lieutenant (s. g.) in the Navy, stationed at Tucson, Arizona, in the Office of Censorship.
- '24 Donald M. Kerr is a Lieutenant (s. g.) in the Navy in command of a sub chaser.
- '24 Edward R. Fiske, Jr. is a First Lieutenant in the Army in the Office of Ordnance, Washington. His home address is 5125 North Carlyn Spring Road, Arlington, Virginia.
- '24 J. Tyson Stokes is Vice President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works. He is also a Director of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co., the Dallett Co., and the Provident Trust Co.
- '25 Cynthia Iliff showed "Mt. Pleasant, N. C.", a peaceful study of an old church, at the Print Club in January.
- '28 Nancy West is an auxiliary in the WAAC.
- '30 Roger Scattergood is in London working for the Friends War Victims Relief Committee.
- '32 Thomas Kite Sharpless graduated with distinction from the Moore School of Electrical Engineering, University of Pennsylvania, in February and was the winner of the Hugo Otto Wolff prize. He is now employed at the Moore School in research and teaching and is living at 629 Walnut Lane, Haverford.
- '32 Howard Taylor is a Lieutenant now on duty at Kokomo, Ind.
- '33 Thomas Bodine, who has been serving with the Japanese Relocation Board in San Francisco, has returned to Philadelphia.
- '33 Edward Hawkins is serving in North Africa.
- '33 Sidney Repplier has been on patrol duty on a Coast Guard cutter off Atlantic City.
- '34 Katherine W. Evans and Frank K. Mears, Jr. '35 were both graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School on April 3. Kitty will interne at the Philadelphia General Hospital and Frank will interne at the Pennsylvania Hospital.
- '35 Virginia Brandt Dempsey's husband, Lt. Commander James C. Dempsey, has twice been awarded the Navy Cross and lately returned home for an unspecified length of time.
- '36 O. Merrill David received his Ensign's commission from Columbia.
- '36 Nathaniel W. Sample, III is an Ensign and is now at Sub-Chaser School in Florida.
- '36 George H. Day wrote from "somewhere" in southern England. At that time he was a Private working in the Personnel office of his regiment, charged with keeping officers' records straight.
- '37 Christopher Evans and Rhoads Murphey left early in February with the China Unit of the American Friends Service.
- '37 Helen Gorrell is Research Assistant on *Time* magazine.
- '39 Morris Evans was graduated from Haverford and is now working on a farm in Riverton along with Thomas Waring '40.
- '39 Eleanor French received her Degree in Bacteriology in February and is now on her way to Hawaii, where she will work in one of the civilian hospitals.
- '40 Walter Johnson transferred from Harvard to Swarthmore in February. He hopes the selective service will grant him permission to finish with a deferred C.P.S. status.
- '41 Edmond Preston, III is Vice President and Samuel M. Fox, III is Treasurer of their class at Haverford College.
- '41 David Mallery and Eleanor Borden '42 were members of the cast in Saroyan's "The Beautiful People" given jointly by Haverford and Bryn Mawr.
- '42 Marie Strickler was on the Dean's list for the first semester at Centenary Junior College. She has been pledged to the Delta Sigma Sigma sorority and is a member of the Glee Club and Choir.
- '42 Arthur R. Vaughn, Jr. won the Men's National Senior Skating Championship in New York City.

## MEMORIAL FOR MARGARET E. SHANE

In the early winter a number of G.F.S. parents felt that they would like to help in raising a fund in memory of Margaret E. Shane. They were moved by gratitude for her gift to the children of the School in awakening and stimulating a love of the great music of the world, and by a desire to help the School strengthen and extend the excellent work of the Music Department which she inaugurated.

The plan for the Memorial is to equip a room in the School for use as a second music room. This is one of the pressing needs of the School at present time. Because there is only one music room in the whole School of 599 children many rare musical opportunities are lost which the School could otherwise furnish. A suitable place is needed for the victrola with its fine library of records, presented to the School by the Carnegie Foundation in recognition of the outstanding work of the Music Department, and for the choruses and ensembles which must shift from room to room and sometimes are unable to rehearse at all.

Immediately after Spring Vacation, the final choice of a room will be made, plans for equipment will be drawn up, and the Margaret E. Shane Memorial launched. Because it is not possible during the war to make the Memorial Room adequate for the musical needs of the School, it is hoped that the present plan is but a beginning, and that after the war is over we may be able to enlarge its scope, so that the Music Department may be housed in a manner suitable to the high standard which Margaret Shane gave it from its inception.

## FOR REASONS OF MILITARY NECESSITY

*(Continued from page 1)*

“go-between”? Who cares for the simpering politeness of the Japanese conversationalist? How can a Methodist or Baptist subscribe to the emperor-worship of the Shinto? These students are Americans, who long to be treated as Americans, as typical quotations from their letters may indicate:

“I wish there were more Caucasians who would recognize us as Americans trying to do our part. The trouble is, too many brand us by our color and race. They make no distinction between the Japanese in Japan and us Japanese-Americans living in the United States, who feel and think as any Caucasian American would. Well, that is life, I guess, and it is up to us Niseis who are able to get released, to try as best we can to prove to the people we come in contact with that we are Americans.”

“We students who have been fortunate enough to get relocated in some college through your efforts will not overlook the challenge that goes with it. It will be our work not only to create a good impression but to gird ourselves for the day when this terrible war is over and the inevitable depression follows. Then we shall help our people maintain the American way of life with hope ‘and malice toward none.’”

“The WRA has finally agreed to allow the Japanese-Americans in the U. S. Army to visit this camp, on their furloughs. . . . Their mothers seem just as proud as any Caucasian mother would be to have a soldier-son in the U. S. Army. Many of these proud mothers could be seen dragging their somewhat unwilling soldier-sons around, making calls on all their friends to, shall I say, exhibit their sons. It is really surprising to note the large number of Niseis who are in the armed forces of the United States. Already since we’ve come to Idaho, there have been memorial services for two of the Japanese-Americans who had died while in the U. S. Army.”

“Yesterday to keep myself from getting nostalgic I went to the May Company. There talking with the manager made my stock soar to its zenith. He told me that he and all the rest of Denver were for us and that he hoped we would help in the final victory. Coming home a group of soldiers invited me to a ‘coke’ and told me to have faith in the real America. Friendliness is the key here. Everybody from the bootblack to the cop on the street greet me with a smile and as a fellow American. To my friends in camp I have written that America is deeper than a few California jingoists who would persecute us Americans of Japanese ancestry and that whatever happens to remember that there is the great and understanding America like Colorado to line our clouds.”

## TREASURER’S NOTICE

A gentle reminder to those Alumni who have inadvertently overlooked payment of their

**ALUMNI DUES - - - \$3.00**

This fee includes the ALUMNI RECORD!

The Alumni Association counts on your cooperation in helping to carry out the work it does for *you* and for the School.

Checks should be made payable to:

*Germantown Friends School Alumni Association*  
and sent to the Alumni Secretary at the School at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for attending to this promptly.

F. JOSEPH STOKES, JR.  
*Treasurer*