

Field Notes: Interview  
June 22, 1943  
Shibutani

WRA-Mr. Black

"I've been doing most of the work in tracking the unions open for the nisei. I don't that I have too much trouble with unions. All I have to do is to go down and talk to them to clear up some of the misunderstandings and they usually open up much easier than the employers. There generally is about four points that I talk over with them and they can see the light. The first thing I talk to them about is that racial discrimination is bad for any labor union. That one is easy. Everybody can see that. But generally there are some squawks like these. They tell me that pay is good for overtime work and naturally when there are more workers there is less work to be done so the union is opposed to take on anyone. Another thing unions are afraid of are scabs. Some of the people have heard of the Japanese used to be 'strike breakers' and thatkind of thing, of course, is bad. And another thing that the union guys bring up is that ~~if~~ there is trouble with fellow workers. I generally get over these difficulties by telling them that the war effort is more important than anything else and that the addition of trained workers helps the war effort. I also remind them that this is a swell chance for them to get additional members to make their unions stronger. The last point that I use is that we are all Americans. If some guy rises an eyebrow I ask him where his grandfather came from and they generally say, Sweden, England or Germany or some other place and so I ask them, 'Do you consider yourself an Englishman or a German?' After that they see the point. The main kick that I get is no so much the question of race. They think that the nisei are Japanese and they refuse to take in nisei on the grounds that they are enemies. There are lots about kicks about leaving jobs from the employers but the unions don't kick so much about



this. Most of the unions I've contacted are A.F. of L. I haven't talked to many CIO guys.

"Do you remember that case where some union tried to kick the nisei out from their jobs at the Cook County Hospital? I think that was misinterpreted by most nisei. Sometimes I wonder what the hell is wrong with the nisei. It really wasn't the union at all. One old woman who happened to have a responsible position in the union suddenly discovered that there was some Japanese working at the hospital. She's a bit hysterical anyway and she concluded that they might try to poison the patients or something like that and without the approval of the union notified the newspapers that she was going to dismiss them. It was a hell of a thing because the employees liked those people very much, and there was no trouble at all. It turns out that the woman was a Catholic and when her bishop what was going on, he wrote her a long letter telling her where to get off and of course that had a lot of effect on her. I went down to talk to her too but by the time I got there the bishop had changed her mind and so she was in a receptive mood. I thought there was nothing for me to do so I talked to the 10 nisei who were there and told them it was all right. I told them that it was ~~their~~ responsibility to stick to job and show the people that they were good Americans and they all agreed they would stay and do a good job. Just as I was about to leave, about five minutes later, the woman in charge of the kitchen came running out to me and she was half crying. She said to me 'Mr. Black, won't you please come help me persuade these people to stay? They just told me that they were all going to quit.' That really burned me up. Because they had just told me a few minutes before that they were going to stay. I don't know what's the matter



with your people? Just a few minutes before they had promised me that they would stay and they go and do a thing like that. I got in there and really bawled them out and they said that they would stick so now all of the problems have been solved as far as that situation is concerned.

"You know, a lot of this resettlement business depends on the nisei themselves. It's up to you people to see that everything goes along all right because after all, we of the government can't do everything. The thing that gripes me the most are those prisoner haircuts. How can you expect any employer to give a job to a sloppy, stinky bunch of Japs with prisoner haircuts? I think that you fellows who have more sense than the others ought to take those people by the hand and tell them the mistakes they are making. It's almost impossible for us to tell them anything because they come in with a chip on their shoulder. But I think they'll listen to you fellows because you are all the same.

"What was really the situation in Tule Lake? You can tell me because I keep my mouth shut. What did Shirrell really do there? I hear that he really butched everything up. I hear that there were a lot of disloyal people in Tule. I think some of them must have gotten out. It's just something about the way these people act that I can't understand. Somebody told me that the nisei don't like the CIO unions because they are supposed to be Communists. I've had a feeling that the reason why nisei don't like Communists because Japan has been traditionally opposed to Russia. But getting back to the old topic, it is true that Shirrell left the agitators run the camp? I hear he let the pro-Axis guys run loose. (Black treated me to a soda downstairs and kept on pumping me for dirt on Mr. Shirrell



and the subversive nisei, because we left the room to go downstairs I was unable to take further notes. In general, however, he was very suspicious of the motives of all nisei and seem to be extremely anxious to find out all the bad points in Shirrell's record. When we got up to the office again, he gave me the standard WRA line.)

"You know, I think that your people are crazy to stay in the camps. After all, those old fellows, when the first came over here had a lot tougher time than they can possibly have now. When they went through that when they didn't know the language they should come out now since they have kids to help them out. I don't see why more people don't come out. I think it is the responsibility of you and other fellows like you to go back and tell your people to come out instead of rotting in the camp.

"I'm doing this work because I like it. I've had years of experience in social work but I've never run into a bunch of people who are as hard to understand as the Japanese. Sometimes I just get exasperated."



Field Notes: Free Association

June 22, 1943  
Shibutani

Mr. Shirrell--W.R.A.

"My main worry right now are the Nisei who quit jobs without giving them a try. I wouldn't mind so much if they had decent reasons for quitting or if they went to their employers to tell them that they are quitting and why, but they just don't show up for work and come back to me asking for another job. Some of these kids seem to think they hold a stick over my head. They come in here say tell me that they will go back to camp if I don't do certain things for them. I tell them, 'Go ahead, see if I care.' They think they can scare me by threatening to go back. I think some of these people ought to be put right on the trains and shipped back before they do any more damage.

"I know about the covenants that exist in the various areas of this town. The O.P.A. will recognize them if they have been in effect a long time and have been accepted, but any other monkey-business can be taken up to them and I think that there are heavy penalties for those who don't toe the mark.

"I'm thinking of sending a circular letter to all the Nisei whose addresses we know telling them what to do and what not to do and giving some additional information about the kind of facilities that are available here. There are a few bad ones who sour all the employers. They call me up and say, 'I hear they don't stick.' I don't want these Nisei to become dependent upon the W.R.A. because I think that in the long run they will be better off if they learn to make their own decisions. As things are now, they will depend on us for anything and will be unable to make their own decisions.

"Some of these young kids are so damn irresponsible that I don't know what to do with them. One Nisei girl from Tule Lake was scared to work for some Negro lawyers. They were fine men. One of them was president of the National Colored Bar Association and one of the most brilliant attorneys in the country. She went out there once and just froze. She didn't know why



she was afraid of the Negroes, but she refused to go back. Naturally, there were some hurt feelings and I had a pretty tough time clearing things up after she went through. When I sent the job offer to the camp I didn't indicate that the firm was a Negro one. Why should I? If the Nisei don't want discrimination, they've got to learn not to discriminate themselves. I think some of the Nisei are as poisoned in their minds as the other Americans.

"The Dies Committee hearings made Mr. Myers sore, but I doubt if it will have any effect on our policy. I doubt if it will have any serious effect in Washington. Mr. Myer is an old hand in Washington and knows his way around.

"The Nisei want us to do everything. They give up a perfectly good job and then come in to us asking for another one. If I give them hell, we get a bad reputation. I really don't know what to do."



Street fight, Division and Clark Sts. July 14

At approximately 3:00 am this morning Mr. Geo. Green, detective from the Clark and Chicago Ave station, called me at my home to inform me of a serious street fight which had occurred at approximately 11:00pm the night before. He told me that two of the Japanese involved were at the Bridewell Hospital and that he was going over there for questioning and asked if I could come.

At approximately 3:30 am I met Mr. Green and another detective at the hospital. They told me that they were parked in a police car at the corner of Division and Clark at 11:00 pm and had observed two Nisei meet two other Nisei and stop to chat at the corner. Suddenly from several directions appeared approx ten Filipinos in uniforms of us Navy, armed with clubs and pieces of steel pipe. A general free for all ensued with two of the Nisei getting away and the other two being knocked down with clubs.

They saw one sailor in a white uniform strike at the abdomen of one of the American Jap (who was afterwards found to be Frank Hokamura) and later discovered that instead of striking, this sailor had stabbed Hokamura.

The detectives gave chase and found one Nisei victim of the stabbing and finally, through the cooperation of the Shore Police, the Filipino who had run away was arrested several hours later as he arrived at the Naval Station at Glenview. He is now being held by the Navy.

The police succeeded in rounding up three of the sailors and the are now in the city jail. The four Nisei involved are all Hawaiian born American citizens who had formerly been in the Merchant Marine. They are:

Masami Koga, on indefinite leave from the Minidoka Rec center  
Keiya Horibata, indefinite leave, Rohwer  
Jimmy Ishibashi, indefinite from Rohwer  
Frank Hokamura, indefinite Gila.

Then, accompanied by the officers, I went to the Bridewell Hospital where I interviewed James Ishibashi who was suffering from a deep stab wound in the groin. He was conscious, recognized me and intelligently answered questions that the detectives and I directed to him. He afterwards signed a statement of his knowledge of the affair which I witnessed. He is Hawaiian born, was evacuated from Stockton and arrived from Wellsville, Kansas about a week ago. He had been on a railroad gang, on seasonal leave from the Rohwer Project which was converted to an indefinite leave on April 23. He stated that he lived at 1219 North Clark Street with Keiya Horibata. These two were on their way home at about 11 o'clock when they met Frank Hokamura and Mas Koga who live at 719 Clark. They stopped to talk at the corner when suddenly, from several directions they saw FI in Navy uniforms descending upon them. They



had never seen these sailors before, had had no contacts with them and could not understand why they had been assaulted. At the time the police intervened, Ishibashi said he felt this terrible pain in the groin and thought he had been shot but later learned it was a stab wound. The detectives assisted him into a car from whence he was taken to the Henrotin Hospital. After treatment he was removed to the Bridewell Hospital. He stated that his only contact with PI sailors had been that they had called him names at times to which he had paid no attention and never answered. He told a straightforward story and his version was corroborated by the statement of the detectives who were witnesses of the affray.

I then attempted to interview Frank Hokamura but found him barely conscious and suffering much pain from a deep wound in the abdomen which the nurse on duty told me was very serious. He had been treated by Dr. Steinbeck who has offices at 3624 Cermak. The chart shows a puncture of the peritonium but the first examination revealed no puncture of the intestines. Dr. Saborsky, city physician in charge of Bridewell Hosp will see this man this morning and determine what further treatment must be given.

After this interview, I accompanied the detectives to the Police Station at the corner of Clark and Chicago ave where, in their presence, I interviewed Masami Koga and Keiya Horibata who were being held by the police as material witnesses.

Koga had come into Chicago May 25 to work at the Edgewater Beach Hotel. He told of stopping to talk at the corner of Div and Clark and repeated practically the same story as was given me by Ishibashi. He had never seen these PI before, had never had any arguments with them and had never talked with them. He ran away from the fight but was very grateful to the police officers who, he said, had saved their lives.

Horibata told practically the same story. He had arrived from New York just four days before on indefinite leave and was trying to get to NY so as to get back in the Merchant Marine. He had never seen these PI before until they jumped on them and had had no previous altercations with any of them. He did state that Jimmy Ishibashi had told him that the night before a PI in a US sailor's uniform had insulted him (Ishibashi), and tried to pick a fight with him in a tavern in the immediate neighborhood. Jimmy told him he told the sailor he would not have a row with him because he had too much respect for the uniform the sailor wore. After the sailor understood that Jimmy was an American citizen they shook hands and there were no hard feelings.

I have had one telephonic conversation with Commander Stockholm of the Naval Armory and shall have another interview with him today. He is sending me copies of all reports he has on the incident and I will give him copies of mine. The PI sailor accused of doing the stabbing is in custody at their Glenview Station and will be held there pending the outcome of the situation. The commander expresses a very great desire that the least amount of publicity be given and I agree heartily with that. The Police Dept. makes the same request and will supply me with copies of all their reports.



very thankful for their cooperation.

ElmerL Shirrell  
Relocation Supervisor.



Field Notes: Interview  
Aug. 4, 1943  
Shibutani

Friends Service: Walter Godfrey

"I'll tell you as much as I know of the assimilation program. I don't know if it's the best idea or not, but most of it is being done through the churches. I think that everyone realizes that is not the best way but it's being that way out of ~~necessary-be~~ necessity as they are the only ones doing this kind of work. I think that even within the ministry, especially the evacuee ministers, there is some difference of opinion. I understand that Hashimoto and Wakai are the only ministers who are really for integration. The other ministers among the Japanese feel that the nisei have to be taught how to behave among Caucasians and that they can best be taught in their own congregations. The Friends Service Committee is officially behind Smeltzer but I don't know what he's going.

"We very much like to hire a psychiatrist to do some professional counselling but we don't do this because we have no money. Very frankly I am disgusted about the whole thing and I don't think the integration program will work. But the alternatives are such that I can see no alternative other than trying to do our best."



On the relations of the Project with San Francisco and Washington.

The points set forth below are brought together from various phases of the four hour interview. At first, Mr. Shirrell was disposed to deal only in personalities. As the evening progressed, however, it was possible to direct his attention to larger issues.

Mr. Shirrell's first complaint was the fact that many of the decisions handed down from Washington and San Francisco were made from the viewpoint of forestalling adverse public opinion and without sufficient consideration for the consequences of the decisions on life within the centers. "The decision not to allow Issei to participate on the Community Councils is an example of a public relations decision as opposed to a project decision. It was especially bad at Manzanar where a Council, partly Issei, had already been formed and where it was necessary to fire the Issei from the Council. Nash said the consequences in the project there were appalling. At Tule, we had already started a temporary council but had only two Issei holding office. We met the Washington directive on self-government only half way; that is, we didn't fire our Issei council men, we simply made them temporary council men and they stayed in office until our permanent self government was organized. This only softened the original blow. It did nothing to mitigate the embarrassment we continuously had as the result of the non-participation of the Issei. Our Council was always a weak kneed sister, taking its cue from the Issei block meetings.



It was only after the OWI incident that the Council amounted to anything. (Cf. below on OWI incident.)

"Another example of a terrible public relations decision was the one that barred all reporters from Tule Lake for the first sixty days or so of its existence and that absolutely prohibited me from talking before any group or club. This, I think, originated from the San Francisco bunch who were scared to death. But they didn't realize that Tule Lake was the biggest news that Northern California ever had. And by barring reporters they started us off on the worst possible foot. In the absence of word from us, the papers picked up all sorts of rumors and gossip and printed it --- and of course it was all unfavorable. They would have printed anything we gave them. Instead, as a consequence of the policy from San Francisco and Washington, we gave them absolutely nothing and they printed every other thing they could get which was naturally all that our critics were saying. Before the first group of evacuees arrived, I managed to persuade Fryer (and it took a hell of a lot of work) to let me hold an 'open house' --- to let people drive through the place and let them see it. Fryer consented --- only after establishing the most rigid sorts of rules, that is, no cars could stop, no pictures could be taken, no questions would be answered, etc. We advertised our open house a little and had the most amazing response imaginable. A solid line of cars -- from as far away as Eugene, Oregon, drove through the project from early in the morning until late at night. There was hardly a break in the line all day. A few pictures were taken from moving cars for which I caught plenty of hell later on from Fryer. But the



whole thing demonstrated to me the tremendous interest there was in the Project. To me it was unbelievable that, after such a demonstration, San Francisco could retain a no publicity attitude for the Project. But they did. And we could do absolutely nothing. Until more than two months after the project was opened, not a single word could be said officially and publically unless it came from San Francisco."

Mr. Shirrell's second complaint with respect to the regional and Washington offices was that it was "most of the time downright impossible to get ANY decision." "This was the most continuous source of trouble to us and I think my greatest single worry. There were many times that a decision --- no matter what it was --- would have forestalled trouble. But my letters would go unanswered and even my telegrams would receive no replies. When I got desperate, I would phone Fryer. Then I might get something in a couple of weeks."

As examples of the inability to get any definite decisions, Mr. Shirrell mentioned:

a. Clothing distribution. "In the early days, WRA received a lot of surplus clothing from CCC, the Army, and other sources. A quantity was distributed to each project and we gave it away to workers who needed it. We didn't have any policy and didn't even give keep accurate records of who got what. If a coal unloader needed overalls and we had them -- then he would get a pair --- and that's all there was to it. When we ran out of the original allotment of clothes, we got permission from San Francisco and bought other stuff on the market -- especially work clothes and work shoes. When Myer was appointed and made his first swing through the projects, he was amazed to learn that



each project had a different system of giving away clothes and was alarmed at what might develop in the way of community demands after a clothing allotment precedent was set. So he called off all clothing allotments until a definite policy could be set. Well, I already had a quantity of work shoes in the Tule Lake warehouse for the men on the farm and I tried for weeks to get permission to distribute them, since they were badly needed. But I couldn't get anything from San Francisco; I was told the whole thing would have to wait until the August policy meetings. Protests did no good, I was just told to wait. Well, of course, the shoe situation is one of the things that set off the farms strike. It happened when we were supposed to be settling a policy on work clothes. Actually, however, the policy wasn't set until almost a year later. When the strike came, Fryer promised to back me up on the shoe deal and we later distributed shoes because they were needed and deserved and without waiting for a national policy --- which is what we should have done before the strike occurred. In all, I bet Washington changed its mind ten times on a clothing policy. Don't miss that file in Washington."

b. Lumber for Partitions in the apartments. "This was one of the worst affairs of all and one that could have been entirely avoided at relatively low cost if WRA people in the regional and national offices had acted promptly in response to the needs of the project. In the little question and answer book distributed to evacuees when they were still at the Assembly Centers the statement was made that lumber would be provided by WRA for both furniture and partitions. When the first colonists



arrived, there was plenty of scrap lumber around for them and everything was fine. But very shortly after the scrap was gone, new arrivals at Tule started coming around to my office to show me those lines that promised scrap lumber. I soon hated the sight of that damned little pamphlet. I thought the colonists were entirely right in their demand and told the regional office so --- which, incidentally, also agreed that the demand for lumber was a just one. But San Francisco did nothing. And all the project directors went to town on the problem in the August conferences. It was finally agreed that we would all make a survey of our partition and furniture lumber needs and that all the stuff would be ordered at one time. Well, it was September before all the estimates of need were in San Francisco. And it wasn't until September 17 that bids were advertised. Time went by and, since I had kept the project abreast of events, pressure increased on me. I kept the wires hot and, finally, in October, Cozzens told me that no bids had been received. More time passed and it was decided to readvertise for bids, this time through the army. Then, just about this time, we had priority difficulties, and the WPB refused to let us buy lumber for apartment partitions. But the WPB did approve the building of an auditorium. I ordered enough lumber to have some left over for partitions. Even though I then had the lumber on hand, the WPB refused to let me give it to the colonists. So the colonists stole it. By this time, even giving it away would have done little good. WRA had procrastinated so long that the colonists had entirely lost patience. And, more importantly, lost faith in the WRA. It was just one of those things that built up to make later troubles. Rapid action would



have solved the whole thing easily."

c. The Schools. "Nothing was more messed up than the schools and no where was the cause so plainly the inability to make a straightforward decision. First the Regional offices was to buy books and supplies. Then the Project. Then the Regional office -- then I don't know what. Lucy Adams had the Utopian idea that we had to work like a regular California school district and that, as a result of this, the State of California Legislature, through special measures, would award us a per capita (school children) grant for the running of the schools that would amount to more than a \$100,000 annually. I told Lucy from the very beginning that she was crazy. But she kept at the monkey business, and consequently everything we did had to be governed by the regulations of a regular California School District. Putting this on top of Civil Service rules, the special regulations of the WRA, the peculiar conditions of Tule Lake, the difficulties of getting personnel anyway --- and you know what Lucy Adams did to us. She made rules and then had to break them --- but the trouble was that we never knew what rules we could get her to break. Also Lucy loved conferences. She would drag Harkness and Fleming away from the project so often that it was a genuine hindrance to their work. And each time they would come back more and more disgusted. They said there would be plenty of talk and plenty of lofty ideas but no decisions and damn little practical talk. Their disgust was so <sup>marked</sup> that Lucy just stopped coming to Tule Lake. I like Lucy personally and admire her talents, but she is certainly one of the world's worst administrators.



Her inability to make decisions may not have been as noticeable as other things to the colonists but, administratively, it kept us in hot water all the time. Lucy still thinks that the California Legislature will recognize Tule as a special school district and play Santa Claus to its beloved Japanese kids."

In the third place, Mr. Shirrell criticized regional and Washington officials because of their ignorance of project life and the special problems of project administration. "The bright boys in the offices were interested in building themselves up and in maintaining their reputations so that they could get good post war jobs; they weren't especially interested in improving camp conditions. But more important than this, they simply didn't know anything about camp conditions and many of the mistakes they made can be attributed directly to this ignorance. The slowness with which decisions were made is in large part the result of this ignorance. Unless you have wrestled with project problems you can't appreciate the immediacy of what look like routine matters. Take the shoe distribution matter, for example. No one so far as I know denied that the farm workers needed shoes or denied that they should get shoes. Shoe distribution was postponed not because of any disagreement on the primary question of need but rather because of a secondary argument on an administrative level, that is, on the question of HOW shoes and workers' clothing should be distributed. This administrative tangle held up things for weeks. If the bright boys in Washington or San Francisco had realized how immediate the necessity for shoes was --- how important their distribution was for the peace of the community as a whole --- then I have no doubt that we



would have got more rapid decisions. As it was, the boys sat behind their desks and stalled. They did the same thing on the wood distribution and on twenty-five other things. Some time in a project should have been mandatory for every policy determining officer in WRA. After Sy Fryer tried out his hand as Project Director at Manzanar for a while he was a hell of a lot more understanding.

In the fourth place, Mr. Shirrell complained of "the usual federal government fact that there was always a pip-squeak in Washington who had a veto power or at least a suspensive power over your decisions even though he had no idea of the kind of job you were doing or the type of thing you wanted done." Shirrell specifically referred here to matters of personnel classification and the "obstructionist" attitude of some staff members of the U. S. Civil Service Commission. He said the "Washington check up" was the "curse" of all Federal agencies but thought it was worse in WRA than in any other he knew.

Finally, Mr. Shirrell was critical of the manner in which his Tule Lake staff was chosen and the almost complete lack of control he exercised over the recruiting of the staff. (Cf below for detail)



ON THE TULE LAKE STAFF

BEFORE

"~~BEFORE~~ MY FIRST TRIP TO Tule, to get construction underway, Fryer told me that I would have a free hand in choosing the Tule staff, with the proviso that I would have to take ~~from~~ some of my people from the pool of employees already hired by Eisenhower and Rowalt. The word 'some' was the nigger in the woodpile. It meant ~~at~~ practically 'all' and certainly almost all of those that later caused trouble. I had to take Walter Chambers, for example, as assistant project director. He was impossible --- a nice chap, a politician, but absolutely no brains. After his four months temporary appointment was served out, I got rid of him. Since staffing was difficult anyway and since WRA salaries were considerably lower than salaries for the same type of work in other agencies, you can't blame the San Francisco office for some of their mistakes. Throckmorton was one good man they hired. But among others that I had to take you can recognize most of the duds." Among those named by Mr Shirrell as being hired in S. F. and Washington were: Pilcher, Peck, Niesse, Joe Hayes, Slattery, Kallam (an old friend of Cozzens), Eastman (an acquaintance of Rachford.) Those whom Shirrell chose himself include: Fleming, Jacoby, Frank Smith, Dr. Carson, Ken Harkness, Dr. Francis, Mary Ann Robertson." I had such a difficult time getting some of my own choices approved that I just had to give up and take what they gave me. I had so much to do and just didn't have the time to spend in argument over the qualifications of personnel.

WHY JOE HAYES BECAME ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

"When Rachford left and I had to pick an assistant project director, Fryer recommended taking him from the Project. At that time, Civil Service rated the assistant project director's job very low --- and such people as Fleming and Jacoby didn't want the job. There were only three people available Cook, Niesse, and Hayes. I wasn't overjoyed at any the prospect of having



any one of them. Actually I had no choice even ~~among~~ among the three evils. Fryer ruled out Cooke because he had not been in govern ent service long enough. Fryer ruled out Niesse because of personality difficulties. either I was not opposed to ~~either~~ of these decisions. But I was sick when this even though Hayes had worked efficiently for Fryer before. left Hayes ~~left~~ as the choice, So was Mrs. Shirrell. She almost cried. Hayes had come in as Chief of Transportation and had done a good job. He needed a great deal of guidance but he had lots of energy and drive. But he ~~was~~ possessed no diplomacy, no discretion and no tact. I knew he would be a poor assistant. ~~However~~ He served as a decent leg man but that is all. He also served to get us in trouble more than once --- both with the appointed staff and with the colonists."

#### PERSONNEL DIFFICULTIES

"One of the greatest mistakes Fryer made was to hire men from other agencies who had worked ~~and~~ together and disliked each other. Niesse, Slattey, and Hayes had all been in soil conservation and they ~~time~~ hated each others guts. This hatred came out ~~and~~ after time in staff meetings. Many of my administrative difficulties were with Niesse who was slow, over-cautious, lost his temper easily, and was the vainest man I ever saw.

"As for farm personnel difficulties, the seat of the trouble was that Kallam wanted Eastman's job and Eastman was a lousy choice for the job he held. When Fry, the first agriculture head left, Kallam worked his head off as acting head. He was very disappointed when Eastman was put in charge over him. Eastman was a mild man and a very poor administrator, having no idea how to handle Kallam's enmity. (Mrs Shirrell: "Off the record, Eastman was the most henpecked man I ever saw; his wife was a pure hell cat") Things became so much worse when we brought in Hudson to take charge of marketing.



Kallam fought continuously with Hudson and Eastman didn't do a damn thing about it. He would make absolutely no decisions. Finally, I just had to fire Eastman.

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"The whole affair of Pilcher and the mess halls was a nasty one and one that ~~gaxex~~ caused me a great deal of regret. Peck had been steward for the contractor who had built Tule Lake. When Stultz resigned, we hired Peck. Other than the fact that he was a very heavy drinker, he was a good ~~ix~~ steward. Pilcher came as assistant steward from WCCA. I was told he had been at the Salinas center, but actually he had been at Walegra and had been very unpopular with the cooks there. If I had known that ~~hexx~~ had been from Walegra, I am pretty sure I would have been smart enough ~~ix~~ not to hire him. But Pilcher was always more sinned against than the sinner. The same chefs who <sup>Center</sup> had had trouble with him in the Assembly ~~Shurixvix~~ set out to get him. Their strike was very clever because they ulled it the day Mr. Myer arrived on the project and did nothing more than switch all the meal hour around. The committee brought a long petition, signed by practically all the people at Tule, listing long complaints and asking for Pilcher's resignation. We held open hearings to examine the validity of the complaints. There were plenty of petty things, but not a single valid reason of sufficient importance to fire the man. Actually, Pilcher had given me ~~xxxx~~ his resignation even before the hearings were held. I refused to see the strike committee the day they wanted to see me, that is, the day Myer was on the project. But I did see them the next day and I told them what I thought, that I was accepting Pilcher's resignation but that it was a crime to do so and that I was breaking Pilcher's heart to do so. And I still believe I was right in what I said. The complaints were all petty things.

"Generally, it became clear to me at Tule Lake that no man was any good unless he <sup>had,</sup> in addition to all the other things necessary



for an administrator, ~~with~~ a special talent for getting along with the colonists. Pilcher was a good case in point. He was a good assisstant steward. But he just couldn't get along with the Japanese. There were others in the same category. Meade in the construction department was in the same boat. He was a fery good construction man, perhaps the best one ~~hmvkxvrv~~ we ever had. But the colonists got the idea that he considered them as inferior --- and he had to leave the project. Rouner in the furniture factory was an even better example. He had visited the San Quentin prison furniture factory, as the best institutional set up in the country, just before he had left for Tule. He was ~~xxxx~~ a very quiet man, and the colonists took this as meaning that he didn't like them. Actually he was enjoying his contacts so far as I know and I do know he was doing a very good job in the organization of the factory. One day when things were going very much to his satisfaction he remarked that the system was 'very much like San Quentin.' From that time, Rouner's usefulness at the project ended. The colonists were definitely antagonistic~~mx~~, trouble followed, and Rouner left the project.

"Dr Carson's trouble at the hospital was of a different character.

A bad character among the colonists, Dr. Harada, was the thorn in the side there. Carson was my choice and he did a swell job --- he even unpacked all the medical supplies himself and from the very first day the project opened we had a working hospital. Carson came to Tule only because he had liquidated his own practice and was waiting for a navy commisssion. I had known him since he was a kid and and I liked him and I still do. The story is absolutely untrue that Carson ever put a Caucasian nurses over the Japanese American doctors. That story started because of Dr. Harada's enmity. Harada and the other Tule Lake doctor, Dr. Iki, were great enemies, ~~mx~~ had been long before evacuation. Rachford had been so impressed with Carson that when it came time for the Heart Mountain hospital to be set up he asked me to lend



him Carson for a brief period. Knowing that it would be possible to leave both Harada and Iki behind, I told Carson to take one of them --- I didn't care which one. Carson took Iki and left Harada in charge of the hospital. Harada didn't like government red tape and he thought of himself as being very important as head of the hospital. He wanted to order some ~~xxx~~ supplies and the head nurse, Miss Graham, supplied him with the necessary requisitions. Well, he ordered a huge pile of stuff ----- enough/I was told by Miss Graham to last us for ten years.~~XXXXXXXX~~ When she brought me the requisitions I ~~xxxx~~of course scaled it all down ---- knowing that if I was wrong that Carson could correct the situation when he returned. Harada blew up sky high. He went around the colony telling everyone that he had been made a subordinate of the head nurse. Nothing, of course, was further from the truth.

#### WHY PAYROLLS WERE SLOW

"The answer to the slow pay rolls lies in all the defects of government ~~xxx~~ beurocracy in wartime. The necessity of checking and re checking all points of evacuee labor --- time, rates, name spelling, etc--- was a laborious process in itself. Then Niesse, working more slowly than anyone else I ever saw, slowed up things considerably; he was another one of Cy Fryer's children and I finally kicked him out. Then the San Francisco disbursing office was completely swamped by the payroll orders of all the new wartime agencies and they held up the payrolls for a long time. This was only in the early days though. Later, I managed to have our payr olls routed through the Portland rather than the San Francisco disbursing office and at one time ~~theywerex~~ Portland was achieving twenty-four hour service for us. And we managed to speed things up on the projet, too. It was only the first few months that were really bad.



TULE LAKE TROUBLES

"The book (Administrative Instructions) said that only in the greatest emergency was the military to be called into the center for policing duties. There were no 'greatest emergencies' at Tule Lake and that is the reason ~~why~~ why I never asked the military to intervene in center life. ~~But~~ The internal center was my business, the external guarding theirs. The military ~~was~~ has been called into a center once --- at that was at Manzanar. You know what happened there.

"My system in times of trouble was simple. I didn't get excited. I always spoke slowly and in a low voice. I let the committees talk just as long as they wanted to talk. I prolonged negotiations from day to day. I did my best to let the committee members, themselves, show each other how silly most of it all usually was. Then I would find a small point on which I could make concessions. This would save the committee members' faces and would make everybody happy. A good deal of our trouble, I think, was simply due to the fact that the workers were terribly bored most of the time. After the farm strike, for example, I had the definite feeling that the construction workers resented some of the limelight that the farm workers had put themselves into. I think the construction gang ~~was~~ was just plain jealous ~~and~~ and wanted to be put in the same category as the farm workers --- that is, they wanted to be known in the community as a gang of people that was working for the interests of the community, they wanted to be talked about, they wanted to be admired. This, in great part, accounted for the construction strike. "



THE TULFARM STRIKE

"The causes of the farm strike were, in part, the causes of all the troubles at Tule Lake. Only the very immediate causes shifted from incident to incident. Two things were common to every incident involving workers. That is, in the first place, the wage scale was ridiculous in and of itself and, nobody in the second place, ~~anybody~~ HAD to work. Put these two things together and you have a fertile ground for all kinds of troubles with workers. There was another fundamental ~~is~~ some point with the farmers: at one time they had caught some of Milton Eisenhower's ~~enthusiasm~~ enthusiasm for some sort of a productive cooperative, profits from which would revert to them. Many had the initial idea that hard work on the wonderfully fertile Tule land would make them rich. ~~There~~ The contrast between this early idea and the actual wage scale made farm strikes all the more likely.

"More immediately, however, the farmers --- and especially the foremen --- were very dissatisfied with the way that Kallam was working the land. I suppose no man in Kallam's job could have satisfied all the people working on the farm. Many of them had been prosperous and enterprising agriculturists ~~or~~ in their ~~own~~ right before evacuation and the simple fact that they had to take orders from Kallam was displeasing. That he gave what they considered bad or foolish orders was that much more displeasing. Further, they were all very dissatisfied that we had completely inadequate equipment for the farm. Equipment had the discouraging habit of turning up two or three days after it was needed and after the job had been done in a laborious way by hand. In most cases this was not Kallam's fault, but the colonists working on the farm assumed that it was. This increased their discontent.



"The shoe issue, of course, brought the whole discontent to a head. As I told you before, we had shoes for the farmers in ~~the~~ the warehouse and were only waiting orders from Washington to ~~istribute them~~ distribute them. The farmers had legitimate complaint on the shoe deal and I had acknowledged that. They struck while I was in San Francisco at a conference which was supposed to decide a system of clothing distribution. Actually, the conference did not solve this problem, though Fryer allowed me to put through immediate plans to meet the strikers' demand that work shoes be supplied them. Joe Hayes managed the strike very well in my absence. He did so by calling me about every hour and discussing the minute-to-minute development of events."

#### THE CONSTRUCTION STRIKE

This really was a trivial event. The workers were bored, they wanted some of the limelight the farm workers were basking in, and also wanted a little excitement. I actually forgot what the issue was. I do know the strike was in great part the result of Slattery's stupidity. He tried to treat the colonist workers as if they were Mexican or Indian laborers. This wouldn't work under any circumstances; ~~indeed~~ it was bound to lead to trouble ~~during~~ under ~~the~~ relocation center circumstances. Slattery ~~was stupid~~ was stupid enough to actually insult some of the committee members when they were in my office negotiating the difficulties. He put us back a week right there. I covered up by feeding them all in the administration mess hall



and by reprimending Slattery then and there. We talked for days and, as I recall~~ed~~ it, " saved the workers' faces by giving away on several minor points."

#### COAL TROUBLES

"~~Coal~~ troubles were perrenial because unloading coal was hard, dirty work. Sometimes the issue was protective clothing, sometimes it was the frequently broached proposition that coal workers should be paid a full days work on the basis of a unit of work done rather than on the basis of a full time day. This last was a logical proposition since the coal work was so tough and since, as I pointed out before, nobody had to work anyway. But it was ~~absolutely~~ absolutely against government regulations. Withall, I don't blame the coal workers. In addition to everything else, we never had enough trucks to use, the switch engine was always late, and nobody seemed to appreciate the coal workers' efforts.

#### THEATRE ISSUE

"In June I told the community that the WRA would build ~~xxxxxxx~~ an auditorium, a city hall, and a church. At this time, all these things were planned and I made my statement in good faith. But the WPB came along and completely killed the auditorium. After much wrangling, the WPB later said we could ~~xx~~ have a small auditorium in connection with the high school. But before this, at Slattery's suggestion ~~Wra~~ WRA bought the contractor's buildings across the tracks. Slattery thought we could use reclaimed lumber from these ~~buildings~~



buildings for at least a small auditorium. We never made a bigger mistake. When we started to pull the old structures apart, we found the poorest possible grade of lumber. Most of it split as we pulled it away. And every piece of good lumber that we reclaimed was promptly stolen. It was ~~some time~~ <sup>around this time</sup> ~~after~~ ~~xxxx~~ this that Kendall Smith, ~~xxxx~~ in a meeting with Fryer and me, showed how a theatre-auditorium could be built with money from the community enterprises that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ was held in a sort of loose trusteeship. Smith had everything worked out to the last detail and he showed us how the theatre could be built and paid for out of the income from the theatre in the space of ten months. All that was necessary was the immediate purchase of sufficient lumber before an impending freeze of lumber purchases. Fryer approved the whole deal and Smith purchased the lumber. Smith had previously bought all kinds of equipment on exactly the same basis --- shoe repair stuff, barber shop material, etc. His purchase of the theatre lumber was exactly the same kind of a deal. The people became aroused and accused Smith of doing ~~something~~ something he had no right to do. This was nonsense. What the people were really angry about was the fact that they feared a theatre, charging admission prices, would drain off the financial resources of the camp.

Of course, I think that the theatre issue, itself, had very little to do with the row itself. Rather, the theatre issue was a joust for power between Nisei and Issei. The Council approved the theatre, the Issei in block meetings and other places raised hell, and then the Nisei Council backed down. It was a clear Issei victory --- and one of the things leading up to the OWI incident that clearly showed the Council's impotence and the Issei dominance.



THE OWI BROADCAST

"I was completely opposed to the whole idea of us trying to get colonists of Tule Lake to do overseas broadcasts ~~in~~ for the OWI. I pleaded with Rowalt not to send the OWI to Tule and at first he accepted my decision. But later he called to tell me that Elmer Davis was insistant on the broadcasts because of the great use Japan was making of the evacuation in Japanese propaganda broadcasts in the Far East. ~~still~~ <sup>but</sup> I still pprotested ~~and~~ the OWI team came to Tule Lake despite my protests. When they came, they just appeared in a big truck and I had no opportunity to prepare the community for them. This was a great mistake. The Council ~~ok~~ approved the idea when it was presented to them ---- but backed down as per custom in the face of ~~xxxxxxx~~ block meeting opposition. One of the most disgraceful things that ever happened at Tule Lake was the general meeting that was held to discuss the matter. The ~~two~~ OWI representatives, themselves, were unfortunate choices --- one fellow who thought he could speak Japanese creating an instant dislike for himself and his unit with his terribly garbled use of the language. He was so bad that he could not follow the very bad translations that were made -- both from Japanese into English and from English into Japanese. I had a little fellow translating for me ---- and I don't think there were ever more Un American statements made than during this meeting. It got so bad that I stood up and requested my own staff to leave and suggested to the OWI leader that he do the same for his staff. Later, several Issei came and apologized to me --- for both what was said and for the dishonest translations.

"As a whole, the OWI incident demonstrated that the colonists could not be pushed into anything they didn't want to do --- even under the banner of patriotism. The thing might have succeeded if ~~itthxxxx~~ the community had been better prepared --- but it had no chance



without community preparation and with the unfortunate choice made by the OWI in the matter of personnel at the project.

"But in ~~xxx~~ one way, at least, the OWI incident was fortunate. It demonstrated to the Nisei Council, better than anything had done before, how subservient it was to the Issei Council meetings. And it gave the Council some new backbone. Mrs Shirrell and I always felt that the OWI incident was the very lowest point in the project's history."

#### AFTER THE OWI INCIDENT

"From the OWI incident onward, the Project progressed nicely. ~~The~~ Conditions continuously improved. For one thing, the Council was disposed to assert itself more vigorously. For another, Shibata and I were successful in getting the ~~xxx~~ Issei Advisory Council ~~xxxxx~~ approved by the Council and set up. (Miyamoto knows this story and <sup>it</sup> ~~isn't~~ not being ~~ix~~ written up here.) For another, I felt that my regular meetings with the Issei block representatives were definitely helpful in maintaining better relations between the administration and the community. There is no doubt that I, personally, got along better with the community after the OWI incident. I could feel this. And I knew the general administration was ~~xxxxx~~ more successful. Things were swining along wonderfully when BANG! I was pushed out. The very fact that we were getting along so well accounts for how badly I felt when I was fired. (For the reasons given to Mr Shirrell for his being fired and his own analysis, Cf ~~Sh~~ First Shirrell interview.)



MISCELLANEOUS

"The Issei Planning Board was one of the most successful institutions set up at Tule Lake. It was a most cooperative body and it worked very hard. It also accomplished results. For example, it was only through the Board's efforts that the messes ~~xxxx~~ in the eating halls and the hospital were fixed to the community's satisfaction. After the Council's work, we had practically no trouble on these matters. One of Coverley's greatest errors was the fact that he practically ignored the Planning Board when he came to Tule. In the mass arrests during the registration trouble, Coverley had old Yamashita, Chairman of the ~~planning Board~~ Board, picked up and tossed into jail. He did this without consulting Jacoby and Jake went absolutely wild. This was the parting of the ways between Coverley and Jacoby; they didn't get along at all after this. Yamashita only spent one ~~day~~ night in jail and was released the next morning. But Coverley never went around to apologize, I am told he said "The United States Government cannot make mistakes in its dealings with individuals and cannot apologize to ~~individual~~ individuals." In any case, the Planning Board passed out of existence with this incident. It might have stopped a lot of the subsequent trouble over the registration. As it was, all the preparatory work with the Board was lost at a time of crisis when it was needed most. . . ."

"We enjoyed very cordial relations with the ~~county~~ officials of Modoc county. Very luckily we were not in the County of Siskyou --- where public sentiment against the 'Jap Camp' was very high. The County seat of Modoc ~~was~~ was at Alturus and I achieved a sort of friendship with the County Judge, Coroner, Sheriff, etc. They came right to the camp when we needed



their services. In this respect, we at Tule were lucky to miss all the trouble that, say, Nash had with the Inyo County people. If we had been in Siskyou, it would have been a different story for us. . . ."

"You can be damn sure of one thing. The Regional offices were closed up for only one reason: the WRA was not big enough to hold two big men --- Fryer and Myer. It wasn't a question of personal animosity was much as it was a matter of disagreement over certain basic policies. At that, at the bottom, I think it was more than anything Fryer's insistence on the ~~timex~~ immediate definition of policy and the inability or indisposition of Myer and the Washington bunch to make early decisions. Before the August policy meeting, the grapevine had it that Fryer was going to quit u less Myer came through with definite decisions. We were stalled on all kinds of things --- leaves, clothing, pay --- damn near everything.

"Fryer did a very clever thing before these meetings. He got all the regional people and the project directors together a couple of days before the Washington bunch were due to arrive. We ironed out all our difficulties in advance through a series of committee meetings and when the Washington boys came on the scene --- we were prepared ~~tex~~ with a solid front. Most of the things decided in August ~~xxxx~~ had already been decided before Myer arrived.

"But essentially the trouble remained and after August, ~~Regixat~~ Regional-National relationships rapidly deteriorated. At the Salt Lake ~~2and~~ Conference in November, we already knew that the Regional offices were going to be closed up. Administratively, moving to Washington



was the silliest damn thing I had ever heard of. It would have been much better to move the central offices Westward."

Re: the question of DST that there was a shortage of food when the Pinedale and Walegra groups were moved in unexpectedly: Shirrell: "I don't recall a thing about that.. I don't think we ever had a real shortage of food and I don't recall any unexpected arrivals from Pinedale or Walegra."

"There was never any friction between me and Halle on one side and Jacoby and Fleming on the other.. Actually, Halle was in a very difficult position and we all sympathized with her. The Regional and Washington offices just wouldn't make any decision on public assistance grants. It was ~~after~~ well into August before a decision was made. Then there was no decision about whether the grants would be paid in cash or by check. All this added to all our worries. Halle was in the center of it but I do not think Jacoby or Fleming were ever after her seriously."

"The boilers busted down because nobody realized, ~~that~~ during the construction days, how much ~~the water heaters~~ hot water the colonists would demand. Tule Lake used more water per capita than any other comparably sized city.. The boilers were overtaxed and continuously overheated. A few were defective. They had all been made on special order and no more were being produced. Therefore, when one broke down it was virtually impossible for us to replace them."



PRE-EVACUATION RUMORS

1. Some Caucasian people are going around disguised as F.B.I. agents and swindling money and other property from the Japanese.
2. Japanese women are being attacked by Caucasians whenever an opportunity presented itself.
3. Vigilante committees in central California are shooting Japanese.
4. Several prominent Stockton restaurants have refused to serve Japanese.
5. The church council in Stockton is helping the Japanese. They have offered to take care of property for the duration.
6. Large farmers on the islands are willing to hire and pay guards on their farms so that the Japanese can continue to work on the ranches. In this manner they can protect the Japanese from harm and also guarantee the Army that the Japanese cannot do any harm either.
7. The Nisei in the Army are either being sent home or are being given jobs as farmers, gardeners, K.P., or latrine detail.
8. There are more fights between the Japanese and Filipino soldiers in the Army than there are between the whites and Japanese.
9. They are going to give Issei American citizenship. The J.A.C.L. is instigating such a program.
10. There are some Japanese soldiers in America already. (current among the Issei)
11. The government restrictions are to apply to Issei only and not to the Nisei.
12. Any Japanese literature is contraband.
13. Any Japanese phonograph records are contraband.
14. The F.B.I. was going to go through the Japanese names once, but instead they are going through them three or four times.
15. There are Japanese in the pay of the F.B.I. who are going around to suspected individuals and offering to clear their names off the lists for a bribe of \$500.
16. Some Koreans are working for the F.B.I.
17. One man in the country had a broken down radio set, but was arrested and accused of having a short-wave set.



18. Since the J.A.C.L. cabinet is going to Salt Lake City or Denver at the time of evacuation, they didn't care about the other Japanese being evacuated. That's the reason why they supported evacuation.
19. The J.A.C.L. supported the idea of cooperating with the government and evacuating voluntarily because then they could go in and buy up all the goods in Japanese stores and robbery prices and make a substantial profit.
20. The J.A.C.L. big shots have their fingers in the graft. They are getting something out of the evacuation.
21. People who left California on their own were stranded in Nevada because they were refused gasoline.
22. There will be no evacuation in Stockton. At the last moment the deadline will be extended.
23. Farmers are getting a raw deal because they have to sell their crops at 25 or 40 percent of the original prices. People are putting the squeeze play on them.
24. There are some Caucasian automobile dealers who bought cars from Japanese at low prices and then turned right around and sold them for a 200 per cent profit.
25. If you bring a car to the camp, the Army will confiscate it.
26. The Army will confiscate anything that was left unsold.
27. In camp, you have to work to earn enough money to pay for your own food and lodging.
28. Everybody who walks by Filipino town will get a neck-trim.
29. The Filipino steal things from the Japanese and then claim that they are being patriotic.
30. Filipinos are attacking Nisei girls. (Part of a legend)
31. Filipinos keep their hands in their pockets and when a Japanese passed by, they pull out knives and attack them.
32. The Japanese government announced over the radio the names of the stool-pigeons in each of the areas.



Field Notes: Free Association  
January 18, 1944  
Shibutani

Doi-Rumors

I passed on all the stories I heard about the Filipinos, the land-grabbing, and the J.A.C.L. without checking up on them. That was because I didn't like the J.A.C.L. anyway and any remark against them was O.K. to me. I wanted the other guys to know what rats they were. I didn't like the P.I.'s either and I guess I felt good reinforcing my prejudice against them. I told others about the Caucasians gipping the Japanese because I wanted them to watch out and I wanted to be on the look-out for rotten deals I might get caught in.

I think it's true that people tell big stories to get attention in a group. It didn't even occur to me to check up on the rumors. I tested some of them to a certain extent, but wasn't particularly interested.

I heard the rumor about the Filipinos in a discussion about a man being killed. One of the hotelkeepers was killed in Stockton and a group was talking about it. Then somebody said that every Filipino kept his hands in his pockets and pulled out a knife every time a Jap walked by.

Another time I remember when people were wondering who the dogs were who were squealing on the Japanese to the F.B.I. One of the men said that he heard from a broadcast from Japan that the Japanese government announced who was an inu in each district. He said he didn't remember any names for this district. Then they went on to talk about why each suspected guy might be an inu. I think he included the lie about the Japanese broadcast to try to make the inu fearful and to try to stop their squealing.



PRE-EVACUATION RUMORS  
(San Francisco)

1. Nisei in the U.S. Army are being discharged.
2. Kibei in the Army were put in the guard-houses and their guns were taken away from them.
3. The F.B.I. took away the people without giving them notice or time to make preparations. (complaint)
4. The F.B.I. took men with the assurance that they would be allowed to return to clear up their affairs, but did not keep their promise. (complaint)
5. F.B.I. agents spoke perfect Japanese and knew everything about the Japanese.
6. Mr. Shoji is protected from any raids because one of his friends is an informer and gave him the O.K. to the F.B.I.
7. The J.A.C.L. is bargaining with the Army officials to get whatever they could for themselves. (charge)
8. The J.A.C.L. knew all about the evacuation weeks before it was announced. (claim made by the J.A.C.L.)
9. Voluntary evacuees were stranded in Nevada because they were unable to purchase gas.
10. Stockton Japanese do not dare go out at night because the Filipinos will kill them if they do.
11. On New Years Even the San Francisco Filipinos were ready to attack the Japanese in force. (Japanese were advised to stay indoors)

One Caucasian claimed:

Japanese farmers in central California had machine guns hidden away. He knew of an actual instance when one small child unwittingly told his school teacher of his guns.

George felt that the Nisei were pretty sure of their rights although they expected the Issei to take a beating.



PRE-EVACUATION RUMORS

1. A Japanese farmer was shot in the Salinas area.
2. A Japanese man and his family were beaten up on their farm in the San Luis Obispo area.
3. A Japanese man was severely beaten in the Imperial Valley near Brawley.
4. A Chinese in Los Angeles was beaten up when he was mistaken for a Japanese.
5. There are several Los Angeles restaurants that will not allow Japanese to enter. They have signs saying that they will not serve Japs.
6. There are some theatres in Los Angeles that will not sell tickets to Japanese.
7. It is better not to ride street cars because one is made to feel uncomfortable by the Caucasians. No one will let a Japanese sit down, and many insulting remarks are made.
8. Many Issei and Nisei are being laid off their jobs. In Roberts Market everyone of Japanese ancestry was fired. Many gardeners have lost their customers.
9. Sales people in several stores refused to serve Japanese.
10. The Nisei in the Army are being yanked out of their positions on the West Coast and are being transferred to Texas.
11. Firearms were taken away from the Nisei in the infantry and artillery and they were transferred to K.P. and other undesirable duties.
12. Nisei soldiers are not trusted by the Caucasians and they are under suspicion regardless of what they do.
13. Nisei soldiers are being kicked out of the Army.
14. The Sons and Daughters of the Golden West are mapping a campaign to take citizenship away from the Nisei. (this may have been heard in Tule Lake; Riley's memory on this point was not too clear)
15. There are several Caucasian groups that are trying to confiscate all personal and real property from the Japanese so that they can benefit from it themselves.
16. All persons who were nationals of Axis nations will be evacuated from the West Coast, but their children who are citizens will not be. ("We took it for granted that



the Issei will eventually be evacuated, but it didn't even occur to us that they were going to take citizens too.")

17. The F.B.I. men are very antagonistic and manhandled the old Japanese people. They left the homes in a mess because they took everything they thought could be used against the person including any trophies that he had won.
18. F.B.I. men came in without search warrants and just made themselves at home.
19. Some F.B.I. men are kind; those were the old-timers and regular F.B.I. men. The new recruits who were sworn in to meet the emergency were the bad ones.
20. The F.B.I. is searching every house where Japanese are living regardless of whether they are under suspicion or not.
21. There was talk that the Japanese were going to poison all the crops, and therefore the Caucasians are demanding that aliens be taken out of the farms and fruit stands.
22. There are many stool pigeons in the Japanese community. Some people are even turning in their relatives for \$25. a head.
23. You can't trust anybody any more. Two ladies were talking in the market, and one lady said that it was hard for her and that she wished that her son in the Army would be released so that she could have someone to advise her in the confusion. Just for this remark the woman and her husband were arrested by the F.B.I. Some neighbor's son turned them in.
24. The government put ads in the papers asking for Nisei men, preferably university men, to work in the federal civil service. One engineer from Cal went to apply for a job and he was told that the ad was just a means of getting F.B.I. agents. They told him that he was just supposed to stand around where Nisei congregate and call the F.B.I. whenever he heard something suspicious. He was to be paid \$250. a month, but if he is caught by the Japanese, the federal government has no responsibility for his welfare or safety. This Nisei fellow said no.
25. The J.A.C.L. men are being sucked in by the Army. They were so confused that they had no stand when the Tolan Committee hearings came on.
26. A number of Japanese who evacuated from California voluntarily are being shot at in Nevada and Arizona.
27. Some voluntary evacuees were not allowed to stay in the towns where they went. They were given 24 hours to get out.
28. Vigilante committees are being formed throughout the mid-West to deal with voluntary evacuees.



29. No one in the Middle West will rent houses to the voluntary evacuees and the stores refuse to serve Japanese.
30. Evacuation is coming soon (within a week, within a month, tomorrow, etc.)
31. The government will issue evacuation orders in the morning paper and you will have to move on the following day. (This rumor was current after the evacuation of Terminal Island where the people were caught off guard and were given a half week.)
32. A Santa Barbara storekeeper was arrested for sending huge quantities of money to Japan. He never had that much, but his customers used to bring large checks and ask him to send their balances to Japan for them in their names. Since he sent them his name was connected with them, and he was arrested. (The man referred to, Imai, was very ill and was sent from the detention camp in Montana to Tule Lake where he died of pneumonia.)
33. Trucks owned by Japanese which are left unsold will be confiscated by the Army.
34. Many mean Filipino are out for blood. They are being used by some anti-Japanese Caucasian elements to stir up trouble. They are being told that now is the time to strike against the Japanese bosses because we are defenseless.

#### Caucasian rumors

35. All fishing vessels in Terminal Island owned by Japanese are equipped with guns and over half the men running them are a part of the Japanese Imperial Navy.
36. There was an elderly couple in the vicinity of San Diego who worked as domestics. They were trusted and also were "nice" people. When the F.B.I. raided their place, they found a short-wave receiver and a sending set. You can't tell who to trust among the Japanese. (This rumor was told confidentially to Riley by a very close Caucasian friend who trusted him. She insisted that it was true because a close friend of hers told her.)

Riley's comment: All these rumors were just Caucasian excuses. They wanted to suspect everybody and make out that you couldn't tell the good from the bad among the Japanese. Then they could evacuate everybody and take over what was left behind. Among the Japanese it sure was tough. We all knew we were suspected even if we never did anything. We didn't know what contraband was and heard all sorts of rumors. We just assumed that anything that had anything to do with Japan was contraband. Nobody knew what the hell was going on. Everybody burned their art works, their King magazines, and naturally their Japanese flags. It was just one sad mess.



Field Notes: Interview  
February 1, 1944  
Shibutani

Florin & Sacramento  
Lil Shigeno

PRE-EVACUATION RUMORS

1. Caucasian people walk into a store and then walk right out without purchasing a thing as soon as they heard that it was being run by Japanese. (probably true)
2. Japn will invade California in the near future.
3. Japan is going to time her attack on Alaska so that the attack will begin at the moment the last evacuee steps into the center. This is revenge for the evacuation.
4. Some Nisei who think they are patriotic are turning in names of their friends to the F.B.I.
5. The J.A.C.L. is trying to be patriotic and they are supporting the evacuation program. They do not have the welfare of the Japanese people at heart.
6. People who left voluntarily for the east were stranded in Nevada because no one would sell gasoline to them.
7. People in California want the Japanese to harvest their crops before they leave. Evacuation will not come until after the harvest season. ("I think this started when somebody expressed a hope.")



1. Filipinos from Sacramento and Stockton are planning to come to San Francisco on New Years Eve to create a disturbance against the Japanese. ("On New Year's Eve we were supposed to go to a social in San Francisco. A couple of nights before the fellows we were supposed to go with called me up and told me not to come because the Filipinos were coming from Stockton and Sacramento to create a big disturbance. A lot of parties and dances had been planned. I know a lot of church kids who wanted to go, but couldn't.")
2. Japanese can't go across the bridge (Bay Bridge). Everyone who goes across will be searched by the F.B.I.
3. Aliens cannot buy anything in any of the stores. ("My father went to the Western Auto Supply to get something and the salesman wouldn't serve him. He got sore and his reaction was the keto are bakatare so if they didn't want to sell he didn't care to buy. He was really mad because he couldn't buy an auto part. He was raving away and I guess he told Rev. Nishimura about it. Rev. Nishimura is an exciteable individual, and he thought that it was a general policy of all stores. He called up Galen Fischer and they went to investigate at the store. They talked to the manager and the manager told them that he didn't give such an order and that the individual salesman was at fault. When the church people heard this, they were relieved because they didn't go to buy anything. They were embarrassed to go for fear of not being served.")
4. Some people were moving from Los Angeles to Fresno when they were forced out of Terminal Island and since they had nowhere to stay they camped in a field. Some vigilantes came along and burned the whole family to death.
5. Nisei girls, two sisters, were attacked by Filipinos in Gilroy. They were attacked and also shot. One girl was shot in the leg.
6. All domestics and gardeners are losing their jobs.
7. Some Alameda people bought furniture only a year before, and when the prohibited area was moved out they had to sell cheaply to the junkman. The Jews cleaned everyone out. ("This was true of the Nakaso family, but not of all Alameda people")
8. The Churches are helping the Japanese by helping them get transportation to the centers.
9. People are dying of a typhoid epidemic in Manzanar.
10. People are all getting diarrhea because of the terrible food in camp.
11. All Nisei in the Army are getting honorable discharges.
12. Nisei in the Army not being discharged are getting demoted.
13. In Washington, the Nisei soldiers were segregated from the others and placed in a stockade.
14. On the day that the Japanese are all in camps, Japan will invade Alaska. ("I remember some Issei telling me that it was a good thing that we are being evacuated and that we should go willingly because it was for our protection. Japan will attack and it would be better for us to be in camp. ")



15. Everybody in Berkeley will be raided by the F.B.I. as soon as they are through with Oakland. ("Everybody was expecting the F.B.I. raids to go from one house to another. They burned all the pictures that they had in the house and anything that was even vaguely connected with Japan was destroyed.")
16. In an F.B.I. raid, if anyone was sick, the agents just knocked them out of bed to look around.
17. When the F.B.I. went to raid Unchida's place no one was home so they just slit the screen and got in. They tore up the place and then just waited for them to come home. They smoked and threw all the ashes on the nice rugs.
18. Some men posing as F.B.I. agents are robbing the Japanese in San Francisco. ("The Japanese used to tell each other to ask for identification when the F.B.I. came because some of them were fakes.")
19. At jail, the internees were treated cruelly. Relatives are not allowed to see the men.
20. Knives longer than 8 inches are contraband.
21. Knives longer than 12 inches are contraband. ("this caused a lot of trouble because everyone had sashimi knives. My mother took her knife to the next door neighbor so that it could be taken care of.")
22. In Delano and in Santa Maria, some men from the Los Angeles J.A.C.L. came up as spies. They worked with the F.B.I. and all the male heads of families were taken.
23. A Berkeley family went voluntarily to Reno where some friends had arranged a job for them. When they got there they were persecuted. Caucasians gave them jobs just to take advantage of them. ("When my father heard this he decided that voluntary evacuation was no sense.")
24. A family that evacuated voluntarily was tarred and feathered.
25. A family of voluntary evacuees was run out of the town where they went. ("Our family was in an uproar. We didn't know whether to go out or not. First we were going to leave and then we weren't and then we were again. Then when the evacuation began we heard that camp was even worse. I still remember that day when we were talking about it when a woman came screaming in. I remember that because she was generally a very quiet and dignified woman. She said she got a letter from a relative in Manzanar who said that everybody there was dying because of typhoid. Boy, she had us scared.")
26. Evacuation is coming on . . . . (date varies) ("I know from my W.C.C.A. experience that a lot of people were all packed and ready to go in March. Evacuation didn't come until April and May, but they were all set because they didn't want to be caught off guard.")
27. Berkeley people are going to a race track in Richmond.
28. Automobile and money will be confiscated when we go to camp. (government offered to buy at blue book price.)



29. The showers in the camp are bare. ("People told me to take shower curtains because then I could put it around me when I took a shower.")
30. There are dead horses still left in the stables of Tanforan. They didn't even clean up.
31. Japanese can't walk around in Stockton because the Filipinos are wild.

("To give you some idea of the mess that's going on, I'll tell you about one thing that happened to me when I was working for the W.C.C.A. I went to work one morning and every phone call that came in asked me if it were true that evacuation had been announced. They said that it was in the paper. I didn't know anything about it so about 10 o'clock I phoned the San Francisco office to ask them whether it was true. They said that they didn't know anything about it either but that since it was in the newspaper they thought it must be true. The man told me that the Army had apparently notified the press but did not tell the federal agencies that were assisting in the program.")