

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF SEGREGATION

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The writer arrived at Rivers, July 10. At this time, it was clear that the prospect of segregation was uppermost in the minds of both the administrative staff and the evacuees. The atmosphere of the camp was very tense. The evacuees and the administrative staff knew that segregation was imminent although neither knew what form it would take. Mr. Bennett's statement in the News-Courier, made after his return from the Project Director's Conference verified these vague suspicions:

GILA NEWS-COURIER, Tuesday, July 13, 1943

SEGREGATION BEING READIED: START MORE THAN A MONTH OFF

Rehearing opportunity will be given

Segregation will commence in the relocation centers some time a month or more hence, a teletype from Director D.S. Myer indicated, said Project Director L.H. Bennett.

The segregation center is yet unannounced. It is not known which centers will be affected first.

Bennett said that individuals who have been segregated will be given an opportunity to appeal for a rehearing. In general, the policies and procedures for segregation remain vague and in its preparatory stage. It was expected, however, that a more definite picture can be obtained shortly.

"Segregation," explained Myer, "will be undertaken because it should promote harmony in the relocation centers and facilitate the program of outside relocation for loyal American citizens and law-abiding aliens among evacuees."

The first overt act of the administration came on Tuesday, July 20, when arrangements were made for persons over 15 years of age who had requested repatriation to be granted private interviews to verify their signatures. Eight spots had been designated as meeting places, five in Butte and three in Canal. Brown, Okuno, Wells, Wolter, Tuttle, Terry, and three others served as interviewers. Tuttle intimated that there were several cases in

which signatures had been forged by parents or husbands trying to get their children or wives to Japan by any method possible. He appeared to be of the opinion that people, in general, were tending to cancel their applications for repatriation, and it was anticipated that only a few hundred applications for repatriation would remain after this proceeding.¹

The administrative staff at Gila was preparing to follow the instructions in Myer's memorandum for July 14, where, under point one, they were ordered to "reconcile as quickly as possible the project records of repatriates and expatriates (who had not retracted their request prior to July 1, 1943,) with the Washington records and to determine the desires of any members of families who were listed as requesting repatriation on the basis of the statement of the head of the family instead of their own request."

On the following day, Brown, who had served as interviewer, stated that he and all other interviewers with whom he had spoken were astonished at the large number of people who appeared to verify their repatriation applications. Each of the eight interviewers had handled well over ninety applicants. Brown himself led with 125, only nine of whom had asked that their "No's " be changed. Counting all family members, a total of about 1,000 applications was verified on July 20. This was an enormous surprise to the administration. He implied that from 500 to 800 had been anticipated. Okuno, who was also an interviewer, gave information that paralleled Brown's exactly, except that he expressed no surprise over the large number of repatriates. He also added that his opinion there would not be much family separation as a result of this segregation policy; the families were sticking together.

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Brown, Community Analyst, informant.

Brown corroborated this information; he had officiated at several cases where young Nisei were staying with their parents and were applying for repatriation with them. He thought that the exhibition of strong family coherence greatly overshadowed the few examples of a desire to separate.

A general sense of insecurity and curiosity as to what would be the segregation center prevailed. The most noticeable concern was over the possible separation of families.¹ It had not yet been announced that parents could follow children who had answered "No" to questions 27 and 28 of the military questionnaire, nor that children could accompany repatriating parents.

The basis of segregation was announced in the News-Courier on July 22 as follows:

WRA SEGREGATION BASED ON INDIVIDUAL HEARINGS; REPATRIATES FIRST TO GO

WRA'S SEGREGATION PROGRAM WILL BE BASED ON LOYALTY TO JAPAN; according to the WRA administrative instructions, Hugo Wolter, CMD head, disclosed.

The first to be segregated will be persons who have applied for repatriation to Japan. The second group will be those who have indicated loyalty to Japan, said Wolter.

Loyalty to Japan will be determined by the Project Director or by his representatives through individual hearings, except in the case of repatriates, whose segregation will be automatic.

Any individual who has changed his answer to question 28 in the military questionnaire from "no" to "yes" at any time up to July 15 and has indicated no loyalty to Japan will not be segregated, indicated Wolter.

Families who fear separation of certain members through the program may contact William Tuttle, welfare head. Tuttle will give advice particularly to minor children and to those who are considered by health problems and family difficulties.

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See Hikido's statement, p. __

The number of applications continued to increase day by day. Four days after the interviews took place the administration attempted to reassure the people. The following editorial written by Mr. Tuttle appeared in the Gila News-Courier of July 24:

As the time for segregation approaches, various questions are bound to arise. Already some rumors and misconceptions are being heard. It is not possible to answer all questions definitely at this time but in order to assist in clarification, the following information can be given:

- Q. Are people who aren't segregated forced to resettle?
 A. The answer to this question is definitely "no." The WRA will not force people to leave relocation centers into communities against their will, although every effort will be made to encourage and assist those eligible for leave clearance to relocate.
- Q. Will members of a family be forced to separate?
 A. If any member or members of a family are in a group to be segregated, all members of the family may accompany the individual or individuals concerned. The members of the family who are not in the designated group for segregation will thus have a chance to remain here or to accompany the segregate to the segregation camp.
- Q. Until when can the cancellation of repatriation be made?
 A. An individual who wishes to make a cancellation request should do so whenever his mind is made up. Those persons who did not cancel before July 1, 1943, will probably be sent to the segregation center. At the segregation center, a review board will be in operation to hear people who have changed their minds.
- Q. Will the parolees be segregated?
 A. The instructions do not treat the parolees as a special case. It is, therefore, presumed that they will be handled on the same basis as everyone else with regard to segregation. In event any changes, which are unlikely to occur, the people will be informed.
- Q. Is it true that after July 15, no more changes in answers to the military questionnaires will be permitted, and that all "no-no" men are to be segregated?
 A. The answer to the first question is that a person will be permitted to apply to change his answer at any time. It is important that this application be made as soon as the individual has definitely decided to request a change in his answer. The answer to the second part of the question is that hearings will be held for all who answer "no-no" before final decision is made.

As time goes by , more questions will arise in the minds of the people. The administration will keep the people as fully informed as is possible with the scant information available. The administration realized that many personal and social problems will arise. The Social Service Department stands ready to be of assistance, and case workers of the department will be available for counseling and advice at any time.

The answers to the above questions are interpretations based on the best available information to date, and may be subject to slight modifications.

This editorial appears to have been an attempt to quiet two of the chief worries: that those who were not segregated would be forced to relocate against their will and that families of segregees would be separated. The hope of some members of the administration that the people who had applied for repatriation or expatriation out of economic and physical fears would cancel their requests and their desire to encourage people to request that their negative replies to the military questionnaire be changed to "yes" was evident in the latter questions and answers.

But additional application for repatriation continued to pour in. On July 27, The newspaper announced that Tulelake would be the segregation center and also printed a teletype from Bennett in Denver in which he tried to quiet "rumors and counter rumors that relocation centers would be closed soon after segregation."

The teletype follows:

MYER QUOTED IN NEWSPAPER AS SAYING QUOTE WE HOPE TO CLOSE CENTER WHEN WE HAVE MOVED THE PRO-AXIS GROUP TO TULE LAKE AND RELEASED THE OTHERS UNQUOTE. TERM PRO-AXIS WAS NOT USED BY MYER AND THERE IS NO IMPLICATION THAT ANY OTHER CENTERS WILL BE CLOSED. SOON. RELOCATION PROGRAM IS TO BE STRESSED BUT PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FORCED TO RELOCATE. APPROPRIATIONS PROVIDED FOR NEXT TWELVE MONTHS ARE ADEQUATE TO TAKE CARE OF THOSE WHO FOR ANY REASON CANNOT RELOCATE. ANNOUNCE TULE LAKE AS CENTER FOR THOSE SEGREGATED.

July 29 persons desiring repatriation or expatriation numbered close to 1,600 people from both camps. As an evacuee remarked on the evening of the 29th, "If this desire to repatriate holds for all the camps, they're going to have to get a bigger place than Tule Lake to keep the people."

This unforeseen eagerness for repatriation was interpreted by some of the appointed personnel as attributable to undue haste on the part of the local project administration. These persons claimed that the evacuees were rushed into a decision without having had sufficient advance notice or information about the implications. Evacuee informants, however, while admitting that fear and panic may have had some influence, tended to believe that most of the people who applied for repatriation did so because they wished to repatriate or because they wished to make certain that they would be segregated.¹ That many people were thoroughly frightened cannot be denied; almost everyone, whether an applicant for repatriation or not, was worried.² But as one informant pointed out, many persons were just waiting for some assurance that repatriation was actually possible before committing themselves. They now thought that repatriation was within their grasp and so were applying. To declare oneself a repatriate - and then be forced to remain in the United States and endure the treatment accorded to an individual who had declared himself loyal to Japan was to be avoided if possible.

Another reason for the large number of applications was the desire for security and safety which some of the evacuees hoped to

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See notes, p. __

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See p. __ of notes for statement of non-segregates.

find in Tule. At least they could not be forced to relocate to the hostile "outside" if they were potential repatriates.¹

The Administration's re-assurances coming as they did after months of administrative urging to relocation, after the printing of pages of encouraging statements of how well people on the outside were getting on, after the reduction in employment and the complete withdrawal of financial support from Japanese recreational activities and after Myer's speech in which he assure the American public that all efforts were being made to relocate loyal and segregate disloyal Japanese, appear to have made little impression. People still continued to apply for repatriation. There is reason to believe, however, that repeated administrative assurances and the fact that no evidence of pressure or force was felt by the evacuees did result in a gradual decrease in the evacuees' anxiety and unrest. The process was slow; but by the end of August the most frantic fears had been calmed and some degree of confidence was restored.

On August 4, the Social Welfare section announced that it would accept no more applications for repatriation until August 25, but the deadline was later extended another week. The reason given for stopping applications was that all the efforts of the staff were needed to prepare the records and lists of the repatriates (who, according to WRA instructions, were to be segregated first,)

The first flurry of excitement over segregation had subsided by the first week in August. The A.P/ delegates had returned from the Denver conference and official announcement was made that no movement of segregants to Tule Lake would begin until

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See OP. 2-13.

October 13.

The air was thick with rumors. The evacuees settled down to await developments while the administrative officers began to work overtime in an attempt to follow the program set forth in Denver. The best description of the evacuee attitude at this time is the trite phrase, "watchful waiting." Those who had no intention of repatriating seemed determined to sit tight through the whole business and wait for a satisfactory and economically acceptable opportunity to relocate. As an intelligent older Nisei mother of grown sons remarked, "What are we going to do? We're going to sit here and wait. They've taught us patience during this last year and now we're really going to show them how patiently we can sit here and wait till we get what we want!" Others had apparently decided to watch for "the first sign of forcing us out." If any such sign appeared they were determined to demand repatriation immediately. It was even anticipated that if enough people asked for repatriation, Gila itself would be turned into a segregation camp and everybody could stay there without the trouble and inconvenience of moving. There was evidence, among other evacuees, of pleasure in the discomfiture of the WRA, struggling with an overwhelming deluge of applications. The repatriates themselves, those who had already committed themselves with regard to segregation, waited to see how the administration would handle the matter.

After new applications for repatriation were stopped, the first job faced by the A. P. was trying to render complete and correct the list of applicants for repatriation and the list of those who had answers "no" and had not changed their minds since July 15. Those persons who had applied for repatriation before

of the evacuee concerned. Some staff members were astonished to see before them young evacuee office employees, to whom they had spoken almost every day, never suspecting they were "No-no's". Though they had never been to Japan, some refused to change their answers, stating that they were answering "no" as a protest against the injustice of their treatment as citizens and against racial prejudice.¹ When, however, persons were outspoken about their desire to return to Japan, the interviewers were instructed to place them on the segregation list without hesitation.

The 24 members of the interviewing committees were carefully selected by Wolter. Each committee was supposed to interview about twenty individuals. The men worked in pairs, assisted by a Japanese interpreter and an usher. A recorder, who noted down the remarks of the evacuees, was also present. It was stated that these men had been hand-picked by Wolter for their reasonable, broad-minded attitude and that they could be relied upon to do as good a job as could possibly be expected from untrained individuals, although some concern was felt by Wolter over one committee composed of Strickland and Rogers. This concern was later shown to be justified since this committee assigned two-thirds of their evacuees to segregation as compared to the slightly more than fifty percent assigned by all the other committees. Wolter quietly reinterviewed the Strickland-Rogers group.

Wolter's attitude may be inferred from conversations with the writer on the morning of August seventh. He expressed the hope that after segregation everything would go more smoothly and that the

¹See page for similar statements made to me.

and after July 1 were placed on separate lists. The fate of those who had applied for repatriation after July 1 was unknown, and being unknown, gave rise to a tremendous amount of rumor. This group, according to evacuee supposition, was to be sent to Texas, or to Arkansas, or to Manzanar.

The work of verifying records was complicated by the fact that only about three-fourths of the applications for repatriation were available at Gila; the remainder had been made to the Spanish Consul and were in Washington. However, with the aid of large and able staff of Japanese clerical help the lists were finally brought into some order, and the administration proceeded with the elaborately prepared plan of segregation, the process of separating the "loyal" from the "disloyal." Their first task was to interview the persons who had answered the controversial military questionnaire questions in the negative and had not requested that these answers be changed before June 15. Over eight hundred evacuees were on the list to be interviewed. Due to incomplete records and clerical errors this list was later reduced to 603. Those removed had cancelled their applications for repatriation or had applied to change their negative answers to the Military Questionnaire. The object of the interviews was to determine whether the individuals concerned were to be segregated or were to be rendered eligible for leave clearance and eventual relocation. Since these first interviews were very brief, any doubtful cases were to be relegated to a special group and given a second more thorough interview. The interviewers were instructed not to argue with the evacuees, nor to attempt to change their minds. However, this policy was ignored in a considerable number of cases where some especially conscientious committeemen went to great

pains to try to influence certain Nisei to change their minds. In several cases committees recommended that these individuals be denied segregation in spite of the insistence

An article designed to combat these rumors appeared on the front page of that day's newspaper. The administration was keeping itself well informed as to the people's attitude and was attempting to reassure them. The article pointed out that over a million dollars worth of food supplies must be raised in Gila to feed other centers, that dairy and stock herds will be increased and that dehydration of food on a large scale has been authorized. It also pointed out that appropriations have been granted by the Congress budgeting Gila for the fiscal year ending July, 1944, that the school program is being built up, that laboratories and gymnasiums are being added and that vacant staff appointments are being continually filled. It ended with the statement that WRA is committed to the care of people who wish to remain in the centers.

As to the attitude of the evacuees towards the interviews, the writer received repeated assurances from indirect sources that in general people thought the matter was being handled very fairly.

Extended conversations with several of the committeemen who might be considered outstanding for their reasonable and sympathetic attitude toward the evacuees, indicated that they took their tasks very seriously and all were impressed with the honesty, dignity and sincerity of character exhibited by many of the evacuees whom they interviewed. Some supposedly hard-headed businessmen developed a sentimental attitude in their concern over the fate of a certain Nisei who had said "no-no" as a protest against injustice and were refusing to change. Several such evacuees were refused segregation by the committees. Remarks about "the poor kids who don't know what they're doing," were expressed by some of the

female staff members, particularly those who had been in close contact with some able, charming Nisei who had proved to be an adamant "no-no." "Why, they're all Americans. What will they do when they get to Japan? I can't understand them." Mr. Shelley, the head of the Community Enterprises, was particularly concerned about the harm that these American-trained Japanese could do if they were allowed to go back to the orient. It is possible that this attitude on the part of some of the Caucasians might be an unconscious protest against the abandonment of American culture by individuals whom they had come to regard as entirely American in attitude and upbringing. The determination of these Nisei to stand by their answers seemed like an insult. These Caucasians, however, voiced little concern over the fate of the Kibei going to Japan.

An interview with Rogers and Emerick throws light on the approach made by those Caucasians who are less predisposed to favor the evacuees. Both were convinced that anyone with a faintest tinge of "disloyalty" should be segregated. While a few other committees leaned over backward to argue and cajole people out of segregation (and sometimes refused it), Rogers and Strickland obeyed the letter of the law and assigned every slightly doubtful case to Tule Lake. They saw themselves placed under the responsibility of not allowing any disloyal people the opportunity to leave camp and the matter weighed so heavily upon them that they assigned two-thirds of their charges to segregation.

The final results of the 603 interviews of those answering "no-no" were that 316 were recommended for segregation, 179 were made eligible for leave clearance, 75 were to be reheard, 13 did

not appear and 17 persons were called in error and ought not to have been on the list at all, and three were unaccounted for. Figures for some 1800 odd railway fares were sent to Washington August 21.

During this period of interviewing, two "incidents" occurred which caused some concern among the A.P. These were (1) the mutilation of a segregation poster, and (2) anonymous threatening letters to four evacuees who were alleged to be cooperating too closely with the administration, i.e. behaving like inu.

The poster, which was in the form of a diagrammatic cartoon depicting the progress of individuals through various committees to Tule Lake and eventual repatriation, to relocation, or to continued residence in a center, had been defaced by the addition of a Japanese flag and numerous humorous substitutions for the directions. "To hell" appeared instead of "to Tule Lake" or "to relocation." The young man was apprehended Saturday the 7th, the same day on which he had applied for repatriation. His hearing was held on the 12th and resulted in the offender being sent to Leupp, from where he would eventually be transferred to Tule Lake. The administration suspected that the offender was not the only person involved, but in the face of his constant assertion that he was, they were unable to implicate anyone else. Mr. Hikida, who knew the young man's uncle well, corroborated this fact. He stated that the young man "was a good boy" and that he had taken the blame himself to avoid the bad effect that the arrest of five or ten people might have on community feeling. It is further said that the boy drew the flag on the poster in a fit of pique, immediately

following his application for repatriation,¹ and his relatives are said to be more or less content with the sentence imposed at the trial.

The poison-pen letters were sent to Miura, Hirose, and Harry Miyake. Hikida was of the opinion that the letters were motivated by jealousy and were the work of one or two men, certainly not more than three or four, and he thought that the bad feeling expressed in the letters could be traced to the time of military registration and that the present state of unrest has revived it. No actual threatening statement was made in the letter he received. But it could be interpreted as a threat. Hikida was advised to go out and relocate and not end his life foolishly in the community. Hirose, a bachelor, was reprimanded for fooling around with the segregation issue when he ought to find a nice widow and go out and relocate.

It should be noted parenthetically that Hikida, because he did not hesitate to reprove some members of the JACL vigorously for "un-American activities", is very unpopular with this group and its adherents, and that Hirose and Miyake have never lived down the suspicion of belonging to that group of inu who informed to the administration at military registration time.² Miura, who was at one time openly pro-Japanese, made a suspicious about-face and is popularly believed to be responsible for the arrest of Bishop Ochi

¹ See Hikida's account of this matter, p.

² Since this was written, Wolter, in an unguarded moment, admitted that Miyake had been an informant, "and the worst part of it," said he, "was that many innocent men were accused and arrested." Nakamura, editor of the newspaper, has also admitted to me Miyake's part in the denunciation.

by the F.B.I.

On Tuesday, August 10, the Gila News-Courier carried a front page article by Wolter which threatened dire consequences to terrorists. It was headed "An appeal" but there was little appeal in the context. Wolter stated that the troublemakers were only a very very small number of the community and promised that every device under the laws of the state and county would be used to trace them down. "No step can be too drastic or too thorough in our attempt to protect the people who wish to be American citizens and to protect all people who wish to live the peaceful and tranquil life either here or in Tule Lake."

Whether this article had any effect on the poison penmen or whether it received much attention from the community as a whole is not known. However, no more letters ~~have been~~ ^{were} reported. By the end of August, ^{the} dominant tone of the community was one of quiet cautious watchfulness on the part of all the evacuees, coupled with anxiety and sorrow at having to move again on the part of those who had definitely committed themselves to evacuation.

Except for the short-lived mess difficulty, the atmosphere of quiet which prevailed during August continued up to and during the time of actual segregation.¹ No complaint was raised to the writer against any of the procedure, and remarks were repeatedly heard that the administration was handling the matter as well as could be expected. It was even stated that if evacuation had been handled

¹The mess trouble was connected only indirectly with segregation. It was chiefly the result of the reduction in employment. Mr. Keadle and Mr. Thomas, the appointed staff members in charge of the Mess Division, were asked by the mess supervisors to put off the reduction of the mess hall staff until after segregation had taken place. Many segregees were employed in the mess halls. Keadle had not made clear that he must obey Washington orders and that the cut was not his doing. When the evacuees protested he rudely told them

as carefully as segregation, registration itself would not have been necessary.

This attitude of acquiescence was not surprising when one considers that the repatriates and segregees wished to go to Tule Lake and did not in the main feel that they were being forced into the step. Indeed, some people expressed the fear that they might be denied segregation. "I." stated that although he does not want to return to Japan he purposely asked for expatriation because he was afraid that as a simple "no-no" he would be refused entrance into Tule. He didn't want to argue with the committee about it.

When the ban on applications for repatriation was lifted, only a few ^{new} applications were made. Possible reasons why the prospect of segregation had lost its appeal can only be suggested. Hikida ~~xxxxxxxx~~ intimates that the propaganda put out by the administration stressing that persons would under no circumstances be forced out of the relocation centers, had had its effect. The knowledge that all those who applied would not go to Tule but would be sent to an unknown destination may also have had a deterring effect.

The departure of a group of repatriates on the Swedish ship Gripsholm caused a slight break in the monotony of camp existence. It had, however, no particular effect on community attitudes. It was something unusual and interesting to watch: a good topic of conversation. The first teletype announcing that the Gripsholm

to cut or quit. For several days, the service at some of the messes was unreliable or incomplete. The matter was settled by Wolter explaining the matter clearly at a meeting and by the hard work of several evacuees who acted as peacemakers.

The fact that the people who were bound for Tule were somewhat indifferent about what happened to those who were staying in Gila, may have made individuals willing to annoy the administration and their fellow evacuees by refusing to prepare and serve food. Miyake describes himself as appealing to the evacuees to consider the impression their action was making on outside public opinion at this critical segregation period.

was to take seventy-seven Gilans to Japan arrived August 2. The news spread rapidly and was the subject of much discussion among the evacuees. Nothing more than curiosity was manifested.¹

Persons leaving Poston for the Gripsholm were first sent to Gila. When they arrived the night of August 23, Bennett was nervous and disturbed and said that he feared possible rioting.

The Social Service Department worked overtime on the additional task of arranging the affairs of the residents of Rivers who were departing on the Gripsholm. Tuttle was at this time approaching the breakdown he later suffered, and from which it took him weeks to recover. He was emotionally disturbed over several cases in which individuals were being made to suffer needlessly because of Gripsholm matter.

In one case a young married woman named Yoneko Fukagai was being sent to Jersey City strongly against her wishes. Last November she had received a letter from Japan in which she was informed that her parents had placed her on the list of potential repatriates. She went to Landward with this information and was told that since this had been done, she must now apply for repatriation. (Landward's information was false)²

In February, 1943, she petitioned to have her application cancelled. She has never been informed as to the action taken on

¹According to Tamie and X, people were afraid to show any interest.

²She followed Landward's instruction and applied. The invectives heaped upon Landward's absent head by persons trying to straighten out his errors and omissions were numerous and pungent. He appears to have been a person of considerable personal charm who worked only when it became unavoidable.

on this petition and Tuttle presumes that it is lost. Since then she has married. Now her name appeared on the Gripsholm list. Since she is the wife of one of Tuttle's most capable evacuee employees Tuttle was particularly concerned. He got in touch with Washington and was told that she must accompany the group leaving Gila for New Jersey and her case will be adjusted when she arrived in Jersey City. The young woman was terrified, fearing, perhaps with good reason, that on her arrival at New Jersey she might be forced aboard the boat and sent to Japan willy nilly. She is a United States citizen.

Another case was that of another young engaged woman, who, with her future husband, had applied for repatriation. Her name, and not that of her fiance appeared on the priority list. She wished to be taken off the list and leave later with her husband.

In another case a woman sixty years old had applied for repatriation. Her thirty-year-old son had also applied. She, and not he, had appeared on the priority list. She was beside herself and insisted that she would rather go to jail than to go to Japan without her son. All her property in Japan is in her son's name and without him she will have no resources.

All of these cases were eventually settled satisfactorily. The sixty year old woman was allowed to stay in Gila. Mrs. Fukugai was also given permission to remain. The young betrothed woman decided to leave without her fiance.

The departure of a young woman named Kimiko Murakami¹ caused

¹ See "Tamie and 'X' on Gila", page 32,33

a remarkable reaction among certain of the Caucasians. Kimiko, an extremely attractive young woman of 26, had served as receptionist in the administrative building. She is an American citizen and had never been in Japan, yet answered "no-no" as a protest against injustice. Her charm had gained her many friends among the Caucasian several of whom were grieved and puzzled by her stand and exerted considerable effort to convince her that she should refuse to leave. She was adamant. The concern of some of the Caucasian women approached sentimentality. Terry argued at length with her. When she left he mailed her birth certificate to the official on the train (since she was allowed to take no printed material with her)* so that she might avail herself of it in case she changed her mind. The Caucasian consensus of opinion was that her departure was a tragedy. Terry received a letter from New Jersey in which Kimiko said she had tried to get in touch with the official on the train but had not been allowed to do so. Whether she really had changed her mind, she did not say. Her motives remained a puzzle to her Caucasian friends.¹

Several instances of inconsiderateness on the part of Caucasian staff members were relayed to me by the Poston social service worker, Mrs. Grube² and several teachers who were allowed to visit the repatriates in their isolation in Block 41. Among

¹ Brown gives me the interesting information that Terry considered spiriting the girl out of camp in an ambulance to save her from the authorities. See also "Tamie and X's remarks on Gila."

² Mrs. Grube, according to Gordon Brown, got into trouble with the F.B.I. for giving printed matter to a Gripsholm-bound Japanese. It developed that she had given one of them a Bible. How the matter turned out I do not know.

these was a woman who had had a child a month ago and had been ill and hospitalized since the birth. She had been moved to Block 41 with her child. The weather at this time was still extremely hot and Miss Grube arranged with the proper army officials to allow the woman and her child to return to the hospital until the time of departure. Having received permission, she called up Collier, the then acting head of the hospital, and told him she was bringing the woman back. He refused her request, saying, "She's got four months of this ahead of her. She may as well start getting used to it." Mrs. Grube, an ex-Japanese missionary, was enraged. The army had seen fit to allow the woman to return to the hospital and Collier, an ex-medical missionary to Siam, had refused.

The infant's formula was sent to Block 41 from the hospital, but the bearer was delayed at the door because he did not have a pass. The Caucasian teachers were most disturbed as the hungry baby screamed loudly while the officials argued over admitting the messenger with the formula. Finally the baby was fed.

On _____, Gila Co-operative accomplished its long awaited distribution of patronage refunds. Persons going to Tule Lake were given their refunds in cash, the largest refund being \$165.00. The people receiving this cash were appreciative. The segregees remaining in Gila received patronage receipts which will be good in trade at the Co-op. Naturally, there were some complaints about this, but on the whole the refund was accepted in good faith. Eleven percent of the net profits was refunded, a much larger percent than anyone had anticipated.

During the days just before the segregees left, one of the

chief topics of evacuee conversation was the treatment which the segregates might expect in Tulelake. Rumors as to the severity of the treatment were common, and according to Wolter were well founded. However, relatives of a segregate were usually optimistic, saying that after all--things are not going to be so bad. A block manager, Nishino, who had two brothers leaving for Tule was convinced that the mail would not be censored. As evidence to substantiate his optimism he pointed to the last statement in the segregation pamphlets attached to this report, which reads: "In the event that selective service should become operative for American citizens of Japanese ancestry, it is presumed that no exception would be made of American citizens living in the Tule Lake Center." Says Nishino, "If they intend to take them into the army, they can't be going to treat them so bad."

The general camp wide attitude toward the segregates was one of sympathy.¹ The generosity shown by the evacuees remaining in the center in allowing the segregates to vote not only on the acceptance of the new constitution, but also for the permanent councilmen, and the complete cooperation shown by their volunteering to help prepare a farewell breakfast for the segregates and in assisting them to get baggage to the trains were expressions of this general attitude. Hostile remarks were so rare they merit little attention. A few were reported uttered by Nisei.

Some non-segregates remarked that now that all those remaining in camp were "100% loyal", they might henceforth expect better treatment from the government.

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See p. __

The final stages of segregation¹ took place in an atmosphere which was an accentuation of the order and quietness which had been characteristic of the whole procedure from its beginning on July 20. Matters went forward with precision and smoothness. No major difficulty was encountered. Whatever might be said concerning the logic or justice of the step, the details were beautifully worked out. Discomfort and inconvenience were kept to a minimum.

The activities and duties of certain sections of the administration department had been amplified to the point where both Caucasians and Japanese worked day and night. This was particularly true of Social Welfare, the Transportation, and the Department of Evacuee Property. The results of this overwork were apparent in

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This is not quite accurate. Over 700 "doubtful cases" remained in Gila to be heard or reheard. In the months October to January, this number increased to 1,000, due to new applications.

the mechanical perfection with which the evacuees were given medical examinations, fed breakfast, boarded trucks, were escorted to the trains, seated, and sent off. Even the tremendous problem of baggage was solved satisfactorily.

The first trainload of evacuees had left October 1st, and had been accomplished with notable smoothness. Brown, who had elected to observe this event, reported that everything proceeded exactly according to schedule. The October 1 and 6 entrainments commenced at two in the morning. The writer witnessed the movement on another day. On this day, the evacuees were to rise at four, have their medical examinations and then proceed to the mess halls at about five. Here they were to eat breakfast, board the trucks and proceed to the gates of the project where they would be picked up by a military escort. With this guard they were to proceed to the station at Casa Grande, a distance of some twenty-odd miles. Ordinarily this is a pleasant drive, but due to an unusually heavy rain which fell September 25 and 26 the roads were in very poor condition. The direct route was almost impassable, being covered by deep pools; a long, bumpy detour was used for the caravan of trucks.

Mess was being served in Mess 58 and 51 in Butte, and in one mess hall in Canal. Mess 51 was full of activity. About 100 people were gathered outside some of whom were segregees and other friends or curious onlookers. An internal security officer controlled entrance to the mess hall, where, under bright lights, all tables were laid with cold farina, jam, marmalade, sugar, cream, unlimited margarine, (an unheard of luxury) two oranges per person,

and applesauce. The cooks were preparing to serve breakfast of toast, two fried eggs, fried potatoes, cocoa or coffee. The evacuees rapidly finished breakfast and were soon preparing to board the trucks. Several of the waitresses were in tears. Most of the weeping was done by the girls and young women, particularly those who were remaining in the center while friends went to Tule. Several of the older people were shaking hands and exchanging profuse and cordial farewells.

The auto arrived at Casa Grande shortly after 5:30. The station was dark. The dim shapes of the baggage cars and horse cars to be used for diners could be made out, although there was as yet no indication of dawn. Shortly the trucks containing hand luggage which the evacuees intended taking on the train with them, came into view. The ten trucks were supplied with large wooden boards on which a letter of the alphabet was painted. They were to be driven before each car, and the segregees were to line up and get their baggage when they arrived from the project. Although it was after six no soldiers had made an appearance. The boys who had come on the baggage trucks busied themselves in sorting the nondescript collection of luggage according to families.

At seven forty-five the soldiers began to arrive in trucks. After a 15 minute wait they proceeded to march around the train, dropping off a man about every fifty feet until the train was completely surrounded. Now the caravan of trucks containing the evacuees, who had been waiting at the entrance of the project from 5:30 to after seven, appeared on the road. They piled out and walked rapidly to the car assigned to them according to the letter

of the alphabet with which their names began. Most were clothed in winter dress, poorly pressed woolen suits, coats, and overcoats, woolen jackets, stockings, hats, all articles of dress which had not been seen in Gila all summer.¹ Very few looked spruce or well-dressed, although the Japanese in Gila are ordinarily very neat. One man was dressed in a complete hiking outfit, hiking trousers and very high boots. Almost all were carrying some hand luggage.

They walked rapidly to the trucks containing their hand luggage, which in a surprisingly short time was taken down and distributed. Boxes were set up to help them to step into the cars and the boarding commenced. One segregree, assigned to each car, had a band about his arm and had evidently been put in a responsible position to help expedite matters.

The three Social Service girls walked up and down the train together, bidding farewells. There was a pathetic eagerness to repeat farewells. Teen-age boys in the cars opened the windows and stretched their arms out again and again to shake the hands of their acquaintances on the baggage crew. "Take it easy," was the most common expression. Girls waved to the few Caucasians who had come down to observe or to take pictures. The Social Service girls and a few girls brought by Chamberlin were waving again and again as were Mr. and Mrs. Wolter. I saw no segregree in tears.

The loading went forward very rapidly and by 8:30 or 8:45 every segregree was on the train. Now the military escort from Tule Lake commenced checking. Two persons, it developed, had

¹ Except at funerals where black dresses, usually of wool, and woolen suits, coats and sometimes vests, are worn, though the temperature may be well over 105 degrees.

tried to get on the Pullman cars, although they belonged in tourist. They were removed. Mrs. Wolter remarked that she had seen one of the evacuees climbing onto the Pullman ~~an~~ with a hip flask in his pocket. There was considerable difficulty and delay over the fact that one Pullman was listed as supposing to have 25 adults and 10 babies and according to the count of these soldiers, now had 24 adults and 11 babies. This was finally settled.

Bennett appeared later, and approached the officer in charge. He inquired if the officer had met much argument or difficulty on his previous trips. The officer assured him he had had no trouble at all.

Meanwhile, persons on the train were still waving and shaking hands with friends. One handed out an autograph book which was signed and returned. A little girl of four or five kept waving both hands at the M.P. nearest her, saying "Good-bye-, bye, good-bye." At 10:05 the train pulled out, while hands waved from almost all windows.

In spite of the concern voiced by some quarters of the administration, the whole proceeding was marked by quiet docility on the part of the segregees and unusual courtesy and cooperation on the part of the evacuees remaining in camp. All proceeded according to schedule--in fact, on the occasion described above, everything was from two to two and a half hours ahead of schedule.

The 1,00 doubtful cases remaining in Gila continued to be interviewed. Most of this burden was assumed by Mr. Wolter who held an average of ninety hearings a month. By February 15, 803 of these people were judged "disloyal" and awaited transfer to Tule Lake. All interviews were not yet completed, nor was there any knowledge of the date of entrainment. This uncertainty coupled with the Administration's statement that over a thousand people from another center were to take up residence in Gila at an unannounced date in the near future caused much evacuee criticism of the WRA, particularly on the part of those remaining in Gila. The idea of moving again into more crowded quarters was distasteful. The existing satisfactory adjustments with neighbors, the feeling of block solidarity and the labor expended to make barracks and gardens more homelike, contributed to this reluctance. An intelligent nisei said, "I worked like a dog making that garden for my old man, and I'm damned if I'll move now!" The A.P. receiving no information from Washington, was unable to relieve this situation.