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Oct. 20, 1943

CONCILIATION BEGINS AT GILA

In the past ten days events have occurred at Gila which are so unusual and so interesting that I shall risk incompleteness and incoherence and record them immediately in full detail.

Monday, October 18, Brown showed me ⁱⁿ a paragraph (the heading) (folded so I could not see) a letter which I guess comes from his boss in Washington. In this letter it was suggested that Gila would be one of the first centers to be definitely closed "because Bennett has made such a mess of things."

In contradiction to this is the statement that Wolter is broadcasting that a ~~new~~ large group of evacuees is going to be moved into Gila in the near future. Some inkling of the first mentioned statement must be seeping through to Bennett.

R. H.

Before beginning a recital of these recent events it may be well to outline briefly the difficulties which have arisen at the hospital and from which the evacuee doctors have emerged triumphant. When Dr. Thompson, head of the medical division of WRA in Washington went on vacation, he appointed Sleath to take his place. Doctor Collier, a medical missionary from Siam, replaced Sleath at Gila with the understanding that his stay in Gila would be temporary. It was expected at that time that Dr. Sleath would return and resume the direction of Gila Hospital. Sleath, however, was retained in Washington while Collier devoted himself to a stringent reform of hospital procedures. His attitude irked the evacuee doctors and trouble has been brewing ever since Collier took over the position early in ^{June} this year. Collier was accused by the evacuee doctors of sticking his nose into affairs which did not concern him and of treating them as if they were Eurasians. One evacuee remarked that Collier had stayed so long in Siam that he expected a little Siamese to come running and bowing every time he clapped his hands. Collier's relations with the staff were extraordinarily bad and the feud dragged on for three months. It will be the subject of a separate report.

Dr. Collier had a strong penchant for economy. He cut the supplies to the bone. He was particularly averse to ordering any alcohol, accusing the evacuee doctors of selling the alcohol to friends. Naturally this did not increase his popularity. An interesting ~~and quite~~ undocumented ^{but} yarn illustrates the attitude which prevailed. When ordering supplies the doctors would make out a list for Collier's approval. On the list they would put a certain amount of alcohol and also the same amount of alcohol called this time by its scientific name. Collier sternly scratched off the order for alcohol, but being ignorant of the meaning of the scientific name he inadvertently ordered the alcohol. This story sounds too good to be true. I hope to check it.

Collier got along much better with the Caucasian staff than his predecessor Sleath, since he gave them all the medical help at his command. Sleath had been very sparing of hospital help to Caucasians. As an example, when Terry's son required a tonsilectomy he was placed at the list ahead of a great many evacuee children although the operation was not urgent. Also when it was discovered that there was not enough ether to perform the operation on the Terry boy, Collier said, "Then, we'll go into Phoenix immediately and get it." Previously he had refused the evacuee doctors' request that more ether be ordered even though they asserted that the stock was so low that ether could be employed only in the case of emergency.

This exhibition of cast was the last straw and precipitated the final revolt of the doctors. ^{Dr.} Kiyasu is reported to have stood up courageously at a conference of the doctors and certain members of the administration and to have described the doctors grievances in detail. The end result was Collier's transfer to Arkansas in the middle of September. Collier said before he left, "I can't understand why I am always being moved around."

Dr. Sleath returned and resumed his duties temporarily. He has now been replaced by Dr. McSparren. Sleath, I understand, had not been too popular during his first stay here. But the evacuees, having had a taste of a really annoying hospital head, presented a petition to have Sleath retained. After a dose of a man like Collier the doctors developed a full appreciation of Sleath. The petition was signed by 5,000 people-- half the population of camp. *(It was not granted.)*

I have outlined the hospital situation briefly because I think that it may be a forerunner of the unprecedented events of the last ten days. As I have already reported, Terry called me into his office on the 11th or 12th of October and attempted to quizz me on evacuee attitudes. After

beating around the bush for a while he asked me my opinion of evacuee attitudes toward the administration. In a vulgar but a significant gesture I drew my thumb across my throat. Terry was astonished. He could not understand why the evacuees felt so bitter toward the administration. He began to argue with me telling me that while some mistakes had been made the people on the whole had been treated very well, and he accused the Japanese of a narrow, opportunistic attitude. I declined to argue with him saying that I had merely told him how people felt and it was not my place to defend or condemn the sentiments.

One item of our conversation which I did not recall when I described this interview in my previous report is interesting, and should be added because of the light it throws on Terry's attitude. Terry said he could not understand the evacuees reluctance to relocating in a part of the country where there would be no Japanese. I asked him to put himself in their place. Supposing he were in Japan and had decided to make his home there. After a period of segregation he would be asked to relocate in a section of the country miles from any other person of American ancestry. Supposing his mind had been filled with stories of Japanese hostility toward Americans. Would he be eager to leave his comparatively safe refuge of the American relocation center and go to this unknown village where he had no guarantee that he would ever see another American with whom he could talk over old times? Terry said he would have no objection to this at all, provided he wanted to become a Japanese.

He then asked me for constructive suggestions on what the administration could do to improve relations with evacuees. I said that it was not my business to dictate policy to the WRA but that if the administration fired or transferred some of the morons whose presence on the Caucasian staff is a constant irritation to the Japanese and if those who remained made an effort to break down the barrier of cast which have been erected and treated

the evacuees with whom they came in contact like intelligent human beings, the bitter feeling would be alleviated to some degree. I added that the fact that the administration seldom consulted influential evacuees on any policy, was strongly resented. Consultation and requests for advice would do no harm and they would do a great deal of good.

Rudeness and brusqueness on the part of the Caucasians is inexcusable I said, and even though it may be for the most part unintentional, it is a great cause of friction. I made the latter remark for the benefit of Mr. Terry personally since his criminal attorney manner has made him very unpopular with young evacuees who appear before him to get

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leave clearances.

~~not believe~~

Terry said that he did ~~not think~~ any feeling of cast existed. He agreed that some of the Caucasian members of the staff were not worth their salt. He appeared not to have heard my remarks on courtesy. This overture of my quizzing by Terry was followed with no delay by the first act in the drama of Bennetts effort to undo the past and keep his place as project director.

The first piece of business in the first act was the jaunt to pick cotton from the Gila farms on the afternoon of Friday, October 15. By special order from Bennett all the administrative offices were closed and everyone with the exception of the telephone operator was expected to join the expedition. Caucasian and evacuee office workers and all the school teachers were invited. I suspected at the time that this was a noble gesture intended to impress someone but since I had not yet heard the details of the conference ^{on} ~~under~~ Brown's report, I had no suspicion of the real significance of the action.

The few remarks made by evacuee office help which I overheard the night before the expedition were very cynical in tone. One young man remarked that the government had no use for cotton so all this work and

fanfare was sort of silly. An evacuee woman employed in the leave office made sneering remarks on the amounts of cotton she suspected members of the administration would pick and suspected that only about a third of the Caucasian would go.

The turn out was quite satisfactory. True, the evacuees picked about two thirds of the cotton and the amounts garnered by some of the most strapping male members of the administrative staff were rather laughable. Mr. Bennett appeared and took several pictures of the proceedings; I did not see the amount of cotton he picked. My notes on this cotton picking follow:

Cotton picking - October 15, 1943

At the request of the Project Director the entire Caucasian WRA staff and the evacuee office staff went to pick the project cotton, Friday afternoon. Busses picked them up in front of the Administration Building. About half the Caucasian staff went; I do not know how large a proportion of the evacuee staff appeared. Bennett bustled about taking pictures of the workers streaming toward the field. A newspaper man wallowed through the cotton, taking pictures of "pretty girls" picking large hunks of cotton artificially plastered on the bushes. (The cotton had either been injured by being irrigated at the wrong time or by the recent heavy rains. In any case, evacuees who had formerly farmed cotton, told me it was 2/3 third rate cotton, and that with all these completely inexperienced pickers, much of it was being wasted.

The evacuees in my sight (the cotton hid most of the people) worked hard, but some of the most strapping members of the Caucasian staff came in with ridiculously small amounts.

On the way to the field we were arrested by a member of the internal security, Mr. Oda, I believe. The evacuee driving the truck, (I went in a mess truck with the K's.) did not make a boulevard stop at Mess 55.

Scarcely had we left the I. S. station when a government car came racing after us, cut us off in "B" detective movie style, got out and proceeded to write out a ticket. The ticket contained three or four words and he took three minutes writing it, while the other trucks streamed past us. His dignity had evidently been affected. Whether my presence in the truck had any effect on his manners I do not know. In any case, the attitude of the evacuees in the truck was one of extreme insolence. Little respect for the arm of the law was shown. As we left, a husky fellow remarked that he, the cop, was going to get beat up one of these days.

The arrest was a pretentious gesture, and, in the light of the supposedly gay atmosphere of the picnic, it was rather silly.

On the return trip into camp when we again passed the I. A. station, the same man who was driving scarcely paused to shout his number to the patrolman. This insolence was wasted since the fellow who had stopped us was off duty.

It was an enlightening exhibition of the attitude held by the evacuees, in this case respectable folks twenty to forty-five years of age, toward the I.S. It reminded one of a group of naughty high-school children."

The following appeared in the Gila News-Courier:

Cotton Picking Slated For Administrative Personnel

"A Sunday calm will prevail over the administration tomorrow afternoon. Three hundred strong, the administrative personnel, both Caucasian and evacuee, will close up shop tomorrow afternoon and march out to the fields to help pick the project cotton crop.

The half holiday will be good news to school children. Their school teachers will also be among the toilers in the fields so there will be no school in the afternoon.

The only one working on the office personnel will be the telephone

operator. Everyone else from the Project Director Bennett down to the messenger boys will become cotton pickers for the afternoon.

Trucks will be waiting in the parking lot behind the administration building to transport the workers to the fields.

The office personnel is volunteering its services in order that the farm may catch up with its cotton picking schedule."

In the last three days events have followed one another with bewildering speed. Two conferences were held at which Bennett, Wolter, Terry, Doucha, and Gordon Brown were present. Investigation had been made into Mr. Keadle's records during his fortuitous absence. The evacuees' petition that Dr. Lawson take charge of the diet of the entire camp has been granted, or at least so I was informed by Gordon Brown.

How much this sudden reformation has been stimulated by Washington headquarter's reaction to Brown's report on evacuee attitudes I have no means of knowing. The report however, stirred up a hornets' nest in Gila. Bennett was utterly flabbergasted by ^{its implications.} ~~the statement in~~ Brown's ~~report~~. Terry had the astounding obtuseness to argue with Brown's conclusions. Brown thinks Bennett's amazement is sincere and that he really intends to rectify matters, although as both Brown and I agree, it is too late now. Wolter is delighted.

It might be well here to outline certain current evacuee attitudes which must be appreciated in order to understand events. First of all there is the undeniable popularity of Mr. Wolter. I heartily agree with X. when he says that 99% of the evacuees like Mr. Wolter. Even those persons who are most violently anti-administration find little to criticize in his policies. A second significant attitude is the feeling that the wise evacuees keeps his mouth shut. Anyone who dares to express himself freely is sent to Leupp.

My notes of October 7 and 12 quoted here are clear expression of this common sentiment.

// Interesting evening with the Kondos.

"Reiterated evacuee liking for Wolter. Definitely gained the impression that anyone who dared to open their mouth on any subject was in danger of being sent to Leupp.

Kondo told of an amusing happening at the first meeting of the new council in which a man, who had served a year on the temporary council arose, and remarked that the way to keep on being elected was to do as he had done, do and say nothing. Wolter, apparently did not like this remark at all.

Mrs. Kondo told of the sad state of affairs between the parents and children. According to American law the children may manage their own affairs. When the children determine to relocate and the parents disapprove, so great is the parents' fear of misunderstanding that they do not dare to argue too strongly with their own children. They fear betrayal and internment, not so much deliberately as accidentally. If a member of the administration were to ask the child why he was not relocating he might repeat some of his parents' statements--which--the parents believe, might be sufficient evidence to result in their being sent to Santa Fe."

"Mrs. M. reinforced the evacuee attitude which I am beginning to hear expressed more and more frequently, that the wise can keep his mouth shut. Otherwise he gets in trouble with the administration and may end up in Santa Fe or Leupp."

on the state of the mess
Complaints were unceasing but no action was taken. The complaints were more than justified. An account of my reactions to a dinner I ate at the mess after the serving of meat had been resumed follows:

Evacuee Mess

The same day on which I helped pick cotton, I accepted an evacuee invitation to eat at the mess. (The supervisor of their mess had given permission.) I was very hungry, having put in some unusual physical labor. We were served about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a lamb chop, $\frac{1}{2}$ cup swiss chard, poorly cooked, an infinitesimal piece of eggplant, water, a very small cucumber salad, bread, and marmalade. No margarine, no coffee, no tea, milk or cocoa. The caloric content of the meal, if one excludes the rice, was well under 200 calories. And this was said to be a good meal. For growing children and person who do hard physical labor, it was an atrocity-- for office workers it was deficient in protein.

If I were the mother of children in Gila who were forced to eat a dish like this I would tear Keadle limb from limb. After dinner I spoke with my hosts, the young dentist Yamaguchi, and his wife, my secretary. He told me that in his opinion the increase in cavities among the children passes belief. The dentists never catch up in their work filling children's teeth. He thinks the insufficient diet is partly responsible, plus the fact, that, since they never get quite enough to eat, the children fill up on bread and jam sandwiches.

Everyone had finished eating in from 15 to 20 minutes, and many persons made themselves a jam sandwich to take home--"to eat at ten o'clock when they get hungry again."

The tastiness and quality of the meal was worse than that of any low class restaurant I have eaten in, and I've eaten some very poor ones. Meals consisting of a helping of beans and macaroni are not uncommon."

During the last month the food had become definitely worse. This is interesting, since the food in the Caucasian mess in the last month has improved. The Caucasian mess is fed three times as much meat as the evacuee mess.

An increasing reluctance to work was manifested at this time. The people who were terminated during the last few months refused to apply for the positions left vacant by the departure of the segregates. "Why should we work when they cut us from \$19. to \$16." The situation in the agricultural department was serious. At the site of the new high school building only three carpenters were working. Twenty-five were requested but no one applied for the position. Harry Miyake considered the condition the most serious problem facing the new council. An attempt was made by the evacuees to alleviate the serious mess situation. Dr. Iki instigated the circulation of a petition to place Dr. Lawson, the present head of the hospital diet, at the head of the diet for the entire evacuee population. Hikida told me evacuees had also written to Washington.

Lawson, a woman of imposing personality and appearance took charge of the diet of the hospital early in September. She has made a remarkable improvement in the hospital diet and Dr. Iki has spread an account, that among the evacuees, that she spent two hundred dollars out of her own pocket to purchase food for the patients in the Tubercular Ward.

One of the first moves of the new council was a resolution to reimburse her. Wolter remarked to me that he does not believe she really spent the money. He did however, admit that she had had several spirited battles with Mr. ~~K~~eadle and had bullied him into furnishing the supplies ^{for the hospital} needed. Dr. Lawson is six feet two inches tall and weighs well over two hundred pounds. Her encounter with Keadle must have been worth witnessing. Whether she spent the money or not, the evacuees believe that she spent it.

Mr. Asami, block manager of block ⁴6 remarked to me that their unanimous sentiment of gratitude was a typical Japanese reaction. He said that when he explained what Dr. Lawson had done and asked that they sign the petition, the mess hall became quiet instantly. Usually he has difficulty in gaining their attention, but on this occasion they even put down their knives and forks and as soon as he had finished, everyone in the mess lined up to sign. This, he said, illustrates a typical Japanese reaction to a person who has done them ^a kindness.

The evening of Saturday, October 16, the impossible occurred. Mr. Bennett entertained two evacuees at bridge. ^{True, it} ~~The fact that~~ came about accidentally ^{but it is true} ~~so easily influences this epoch-making event~~. The Wolters,

the Terrys, and another couple happened to be in Bennett's ^{apartment} ~~house~~ when Dr. Iki dropped in to see Wolter. Someone suggested bridge. An eighth person was needed. It was suggested that they telephone Miss Gage. ~~but~~ She was out, so ~~Mr.~~ Wolter suggested calling Dr. Kiyasu--telephoned, and invited him over. Bennett did not object. At the close of the evening, ^{Bennett} said pleasantly, "Why don't you come and see me often, I get damn lonely here." He also served beer. Sunday he attended a baseball game between a colored team from the outside and a team of evacuees. This is also the first occasion of its kind in the history of the camp.

It is possible that Bennett's appointment as head of the newly formed Rivers Health Board is also a bid for evacuee popularity. This health board has already met and discussed the childrens diet and supplies ^{for} ~~at~~ the hospital. Its purpose is to act in an advisory capacity in regard to the welfare of community health. The board is composed of Harry Miyake, ~~and~~ T. Mori, ~~and~~ Runyon, Luther Hoffman, Dr. Iki, and V. Yamamoto. Bennett is chairman, but has no vote.

Sunday evening I was subjected to a second quiz by Mr. Terry. He began to argue with me over Brown's statement that the evacuees were afraid to express themselves. He told me that he had been here much longer than

than either ~~Mr~~ ^{or I} Brown and that he could always sense unrest among the people. He sensed it at the time of military registration but certainly it did not exist now. I did not express my real opinion but contented myself with saying that so far as I was concerned I was willing to corroborate Brown's findings. Terry's obtuseness is unbelievable. It is difficult to understand how a man who is apparently quite intelligent can be so unobservant. He would probably faint if I told him he is ~~certainly~~ as unpopular as Mr. Bennett. ^{Monday} Gordon Brown called.

He was ~~delighted~~ delighted at the furor which ~~his~~ his report has created ~~that~~ ~~he gave me~~ ~~information~~. Saturday morning, said Brown, Bennett and Terry had gone over the entire Caucasian staff and considered them in the light of their capability and their unpopularity with evacuees. Hislop, a plumber; Huso, head of employment; and Keadle, head of mess division were subjected to pretty stiff criticism. The two investigators Bennett and Terry naturally were not criticized. This is unfortunate since they are the most unpopular men on the project.

While Keadle had been absent ^{from} the project, Bennett had ~~had~~ his books examined and ^{investigated} ~~examined~~ the rationing situation. ~~They also~~ ^{It was} discovered that Keadle had been assigning only 11 meat points per person to the evacuees instead of the 16 allowed by the OPA. Why he did this is

not known, ~~since~~ the disparity of numbers between the evacuees and Caucasians are so great that the Caucasians could not possibly consume all these meat points. Just as puzzling is the discovery that Keakle was spending only 32¢ per meal for evacuees when 41¢ is allowed. It is not a matter of dishonesty since it is all stated in the books. This fact has been known for some time and some dissatisfied evacuees ~~were~~ intended ~~to~~ take it before the community council just before the temporary council was abolished. It was, however, not followed up.

In this regard it might be well to add here that some of the block managers have told Bennett that the people are not willing to work if they are not fed well enough. Brown also ~~added~~ that Terry took umbrage at Brown's statement that the people felt that ~~if~~ anyone ^{who} expressed ~~themselves~~ ^{himself} against administration policies ~~they~~ would be sent to an internment camp. Terry did not believe that it was true. Wolter however, admitted that it was true and suggested that all the records of persons who had been sent to Isupp should be ^{reexamined!} ~~reassigned~~.

This is the situation as it stands today October 19. I shall continue to make complete reports on developments.

Two incidences[†] of Bennett's constrasting treatment of boys who have broken project regulations are very illuminating. Some time ago several boys stole some lumber from the supply intended for use in the new Caucasian barracks. Most of them were minors but two of the boys who were over twenty one were sentenced to Florence for seven days. The story goes that the boys were caught by an evacuse member of the Internal Security who told them "It's all right if you take a few pieces, but don't make so much noise." Meanwhile, another member of the Internal Security came up and said, "Hey, what are you doing! You better take it back. If you take it back we'll forget about it." This warden however told Graves about the incident and Graves made a big issue of it and had the boys brought before Bennett.

During the hearing, as the boys tried to explain what happened, Bennett rapped repeatedly on the table and yelled, "Quiet! Quiet! do you want to go to Florence?" ⁹A hearing held October 15th or 16th is an interesting contrast. Another group of boys from Butte were caught smuggling a large quantity of liquor into the project. Bennett handled the matter with extreme leasance and is quoted by Brown as saying, "I don't mind you fellows bringing in half a pint now and then, but you shouldn't bring it in in such large quantities."

ROSALIE HANKEY

CONCILIATION-- November 14, 1943

The process of conciliation at Gila which has as its objective the development of evacuee good will and the convincing of Washington WRA headquarters that this good will exists, has continued steadily since my last report. It has taken the form of two large mixed gatherings instigated by the Caucasians appointed staff, the appearance of the project directors, Mr. Tom Sawyer and several teachers at an evacuee mess, a cordial speech by Mr. Bennett to the Community Council in which he stressed the powers of the council, and several less important concessions on the part of division heads which show a marked departure from previous acts and attitudes of the appointed staff.

Administrative disapproval of mixed gathering of the evacuees and the Caucasian staff has in the past been strongly felt in the Educational Division. I am well informed on its manifestations since, as a group, the school teachers are the most liberal of the staff members in their attitudes toward the evacuees and they have frequently expressed their disapproval ^{of the administrative attitudes against fraternization} to me. A few approach sentimentality in their attitudes but many (I am well acquainted with at least six or seven) have accepted their positions at Gila with a sincere ~~well-balanced~~ desire to assist the Japanese. These teachers, more than any other members of the staff, with the exception of the Community Analyst, understand and appreciate the psychological difficulties of the evacuees; they sense, to some extent, the extreme evacuee sensitivity to Caucasian rudeness, and the evacuee resentment of every indication of caste.

In the past Mr. Bennett has forbidden mixed gatherings or parties ^x between Caucasian and Japanese teachers. I, personally, have not heard his statements, but the testimony of many teachers leaves no doubt. Bennett's reason for disapproval was given to me by a teacher, Miss Watkins; since it

was impossible to invite ^{evacuees} all the teachers, mixed parties must not be held because they will give rise to jealousy. Dr. Young, Miss Taylor, Miss Lancaster, and Mrs. Fleming ^{related to me in a} somewhat guarded manner an oral statement made by Mr. Cozzens, at the time he was project director. ^{At a staff meeting Cozzens said} ~~the effect~~ that far too much fraternization between evacuees and members of the staff existed, and this must stop. Such fraternization has always been more apparent in the Canal Camp, and even after Mr. Cozzens' statement it continued, although precautions were observed. Before my arrival in camp I know that at least one picnic was held for Caucasian teachers, Japanese teachers and the Japanese employees at the Caucasian mess hall. I saw photographs of the affair which showed evacuees and Caucasians in friendly poses. After my arrival, such meetings were considered out of the question. I was, however, present at a bridge party given by the Young Women's Y. Club at which several Caucasian teachers attended, Dr. Young, Mrs. Fleming, the head of the Reports Office, Miss Tayler, and Mrs. Pettit. Several evacuees later expressed their appreciation to me of the courage of these teachers in ignoring the Administrative orders. This party was given at Canal.

I moved to Butte in the middle of August and since then have seen no evidence of fraternization on the part of Caucasian members of the Butte community. The only exception was the attendance of Mr. Wolter's niece and Miss Sanderson, daughter of one of the teachers, at a nisei dance. This attendance was commented on with disapproval by several Caucasian women, members of Mr. Bennett's clique of female admirers. These are Miss Gage, head of the payroll, Mrs. Luty, who was at that time Mr. Terry's secretary and, Miss Ott, Mr. Bennett's secretary. The criticism was aimed at Mr. Wolter for allowing his sister to attend. At the same time I heard criticism from several nisei girls. This was directed at Miss Sanderson who was accused of immoral behavior with Japanese boys.

Miss Sheldon, a teacher in the Butte High School and a former missionary to India was reproved in a humiliating manner by Mr. W. C. "Tom" Sawyer, head of the Education Division, for allowing a theme written by one of her students to be printed in the school paper. This theme described evacuation and mentioned some of the hardships which the boy's family had undergone. Miss Sheldon, inadvertantly did not attend the meeting at which this public reproof was to be given, and Sawyer had to send a messenger for her. When she appeared the group of teachers was told that such encouragement to evacuee self-pity must not again occur. Miss Sheldon was indignant, but did not defend herself. Last month she assigned a subject for composition having to do with the contributions which Japan has made to world culture. I lent her several of my books on Japan, so that her students might use them as reference works. Her action has ~~received no criticism~~. *not been censured.*

One teacher told me of the Senior Banquet which was given last year for the high school graduating class. At this banquet the Japanese pupils and their Caucasian and the Japanese teachers had eaten together. The affair was handled with as much swank as Rivers could muster¹ and was received most gratefully by the Japanese students. They said it was their first taste of old times. ¹ Even corsages were worn. However, Bennett said afterwards, "We'll never have another one."

1 Pre-examination

The policy which is indicated by the incidents described above was abruptly reversed last month, October, 1943. The evening of October 29 a party was given in which both Japanese and Caucasian teachers participated. I was not invited to this party but received an account from some of the teachers. The party was a Hallowe'en costume affair given by the teachers of Canal Camp. It went off beautifully, bearing out the statement made often by members of the Caucasian staff, "Canal Camp always puts things over." Invitations were sent to the "whole educational staff." The first game, an attempt to put together parts of pictures to facilitate making acquaintances, I am informed, did not go well. However the committee overlooked this and the remainder of the evening was spent in social dancing, both folk dances and modern ballroom dancing. Evacuees and the Caucasian teachers danced together. Mr. Strickland, the principal of the Butte elementary school danced with all of his teachers, Miss Montgomery, Miss Chapman, and Miss Butterfield danced with evacuee male teachers. Mr. Sawyer, who came costumed in a Japanese kimono was not seen to dance with any of the evacuees.

The affair was pretty well attended. Miss Kersey and Clay Cole who belong to that part of the staff which indulges in very heavy drinking and according to well-based rumor, considerable immorality (which is heartily disapproved by some of the teachers) came, but left almost immediately.

I am informed that there was not much comment on the affair among the Caucasian teachers. A few told me about it, knowing my interest, and expressed their pleasure at the affair.

Great satisfaction was expressed ~~to~~ by several of the teachers. One remarked on the glee with which the evacuees entered into the games. They particularly enjoyed a certain game where a ring is placed on a circle of string and the participants are supposed to guess who had the ring hidden in his hands.

The second mixed gathering was the picnic held under the auspices of the C. A. S. for the members of the Administrative Staff, the Block Managers, the councilmen and their ~~wives~~ *"ladies."*

My observations at the picnic follow:

6
NOVEMBER 11, 1943

"Get-Together Picnic."

Another attempt to create an impression of excellent rapport between the evacuees and the Administrative Staff was perpetrated at Gila, November 10. It took the form of a picnic at Fox Butte to which the members of the Caucasian personnel, the block managers and council members from both camps, "and their ladies" were invited. The arrangements were left with Mr. Wells, who did not make an appearance at the picnic.

The affair received a great deal of publicity and Mr. Kanagaki, the evacuee councilmember in charge of recreation, worked hard.

~~One~~ About a third of the Caucasians attended. This, I believe, was not due to racial prejudice since the most prejudiced persons in camp attended the picnic. The teachers and the hospital staff attended almost in full force. About half of the evacuees invited appeared but not more than twenty-five evacuee women.¹ Roughly two hundred individuals out of the four hundred expected eventually arrived. Mr. Bennett's nucleus of female admirers did not appear. The weather was delightful; the moon was full, the evening mild and ideal. A mixture of curiosity, courtesy and some appreciation of the motive behind the picnic moved the evacuees to attend. (For several weeks the rumor that Bennett is about to be removed has circulated through the camp.)

The picnickers gathered at designated spots and piled into army trucks. Evacuees and Caucasians mingled in close proximity, something I have never observed before. There was however a tendency to sit in separate racial groups on the ride out, an attitude which was broken down during the picnic,

¹ I am informed that social affairs of this free and easy nature are never given in Japan. In Japan or in the United States, if a gathering resembling this were held it would be attended only by the men. This no doubt explains the fact that only part of the councilmen and block managers brought their wives with them. Those who came did it as a courtesy.

On the ride back the groups mixed freely and instead of contrained silence there was much conversation, chaffing and joking.

After arrival at the picnic spot a long, awkward wait of over an hour awaited the group. Persons were evidently supposed to make each others acquaintance, but only three or four teachers and Mr. Bennett made the attempt. Bennett made the rounds, shaking hands cordially with evacuees who reluctantly responded to the greeting with the gureded expression which Caucasians commonly call "the Japanese mask." A gentleman from Washington to whom I was not introduced had accompanied the project director. (An evacuee asked me if it was Dillion Myer.)

Fires were built and people stood about talking with acquaintances. There was little mingling between evacuees and Caucasians.

At long last the games began led by Miss Eckensteir, teacher of physical education ~~the~~ in the high school. The block managers were pitted against the councilmen in a game in which a handkerchief was thrown into the air and the participants were asked to laugh, sob or scream before it touched the ground. The evacuees, particularly the older men entered in with gusto and great enjoyment. Next, the Caucasian men were put through a game in which they marched around the fire with hands on the shoulders of the man in front. Mr. Huso was head of this "old grey mare" and Mr. Bennett the tail. Mr. Bennett clowned and capered.

Another wait was followed by community singing. It began very badly. Nine tenths of the singing was done by the Cacuasians only about one third of whom sang. The choice of the first songs was unfortunate: "Pistol Packing Mama," "The Caissons go rolling Along," "The Marine Hymn," "The Aircorps Song," "Over There," "America" (at which some of the evacuees stood.) Mr. Jackson, of Internal Security did a creditable impromptu job as song-leader and when the songs shifted to better known numbers, "Home on the Range,"

"School Days," "My Wild Irish Rose," "My Sunshine," the younger evacuees joined in. A group of young Japanese ladies from Canal who were later to sing two numbers, retired to the rocks at the rear and crawled under blankets with the bus boys. They emerged to sing and then returned.

Mr. Bennett sang as loudly as he could and jounced about in time with the music. He asked me to favor the group with a rendition of "Frankie and Johnny," but I declined. Later I did lead the group in "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf," ~~having~~ ^{being} spurred on by a couple of evacuee friends. It was enthusiastically sung.

The serving of refreshments, coffee and doughnuts, brought about the largest degree of evacuee-Caucasian mixture. But for the most part the groups kept to themselves in clusters around the fires. The Caucasians kept to several groups, the older Councilmen in a group, the older evacuee women in a group, the children in another, the young people in the background.

I heard a few of the Caucasians complaining about the refreshments. Some Caucasians ~~went~~ and many evacuees ^{had not eaten} ~~went without~~ dinner, expecting a true picnic feed.

Mr. and Mrs. Kondo and I returned with the impression, that the picnic had been a success. ~~Except~~ ^{For} poor handling of the refreshments and awkward game leadership it could not have come off better and might have been much worse. There were no offensive speeches; those Caucasians who came either stayed by themselves or mixed with the evacuees in a friendly manner which pleased the evacuees by its simple sincerity.

Mrs. Kondo remarked that someone might have sung a Japanese song, since a Spanish song had been rendered by Mr. DeLeon.

The poor quality of the refreshments had an interesting sequel. At the Special Council Meeting of November 15, Mr. Kanagaki shame-facedly announced that his committee had vainly attempted to get some kind of food from the mess division. When no help was forthcoming, Mr. Wells went into

Casa Grande and bought coffee, cream, sugar and doughnuts incurring the expense of about thirty-eight dollars. To meet this expense, each member of the appointed staff was giving fifteen cents and each evacuee who attended was giving five cents. Loud laughter followed this announcement.

Council Chairman,

Miyake remarked that quite a lot of people asked him who was sponsoring the picnic. He himself thought it was the administration. Kanegaki admitted that even he had been of the opinion that the WRA was sponsoring the affair. Wolter was embarrassed, but explained that the original plan was suggested by Mr. Hoffman and that he did not wish the council to think that the administration believe that this was the last word in picnics. He and Wells and other members of the C. A. S. had had a meeting at which the planning of the picnic was severely criticized. At this meeting they had made a list of twenty possible items of refreshments which would have been available at the mess and would have been far more acceptable than the coffee and doughnuts; outdoor baked beans, fried fish, baked potatoes, baked apples, corn, and etc. Miyake settled the question by offering to give five dollars to cover the evacuees' share of the expenses. He expressed the wish that this would not be the last affair of its kind and said, "I think the consensus of opinion was that there was something lacking--and that was sponsorship."

I have received no detailed evacuee reactions to this picnic. From Mr. Hikida, I gather that the evacuees knew its intention and relished the situation. The subject is delicate. Mr. and Mrs. Kondo with whom I am on intimate terms expressed their cynicism freely, but perhaps through courtesy, the other evacuee participants hesitate to make other than kind replies. Even Kondo was pleased ^{because} ~~at the courtesy shown by~~ Miss Eckenstein who called upon the evacuees first, a politeness which they whole-heartedly appreciated. "It looked as if they wanted to show honor to the councilmen, as if the party was given for them. It was nice," said he.

On Armistice Day Bennett, Sayer, and several other teachers made an unexpected appearance in the block 74 mess hall. Several evacuees told me they nearly fell off the benches with surprise. Nothing was served at that meal but beans and "funny-colored canned spinach," which delighted my informants.

Another example of the Project Director's mildness, in which I was intimately concerned was the trial of a certain evacuee for the multiple offenses of going through a stop sign, speeding, and using profane language to an officer. I was a passenger in the truck at the time the arrest took place. My notes on the occurrence follow:

October
NOVEMBER 15, 1943

On the way to the field we were arrested by a member of the Internal Security, Mr. Ono. The evacuee driving the truck, did not make a boulevard stop at Mess 55. Scarcely had we left the I. S. station when a government car came racing after us, driving before us so that the driver was obliged to stop. The officer got out and proceeded to write out a ticket. The ticket contained three or four words and he took three minutes writing it, while the other trucks streamed past us. His dignity had evidently been affected. Whether my presence in the truck had any effect on his manners I do not know. In any case, the attitude of the evacuees in the truck was one of extreme insolence. Little respect was shown. As we left, a husky fellow remarked that he, the cop, was going to get beat up one of these days.

The arrest was made on a pretentious manner which went ill with supposedly gay atmosphere of the picnic.

On the return trip into camp when we again passed the Internal Security station. The same man was driving and again he scarcely paused to shout his number to the patrolman. This insolence was wasted, since the fellow who had stopped us was off duty.

It was an enlightening exhibition of the attitude held by the evacuees, in this case respectable folks twenty to forty-five years of age, toward the Internal Security. ~~It reminded me of a group of naughty high school children.~~

On the morning of November 13, Mr. Kondo appeared at my barrack and asked me to appear as a witness for Victor Hasegawa, the truck driver. On the drive over, Mr. Kondo told me that "Vio" had been told by Graves and Keadle to plead guilty, since Mr. Keadle "had fixed it all up." Hasegawa had refused and maintained his innocence. When we arrived at Bennett's office we found Mr. Bennett seated behind his desk. Four members of the Internal Security were present: Mr. Graves, the Head; Mr. Offett, an officer; Mr. Ono, the arresting officer; and another evacuee member of the Internal Security with whom I am not acquainted. For the defense were Mr. Kondo, another evacuee, and myself. Graves read the charges in a serious, straightforward manner. Mr. Ono was asked to testify. He accused Hasegawa of passing the stop sign, and using profan language, "What the hell do you want," when he was stopped by the officer. He stated that Hasegawa had ordered him "to get his (the officer's) car out of the way or he'd run over it." All of this was true. When Hasegawa was given the chance to cross-examine Ono he began to defend himself. Graves reminded him that he was not to give testimony--he was to cross-examine Odo. He had nothing more to say. Graves then asked me for my story. I painted the matter as mildly as I could, stressing the gay, heartfree manner in which we had embarked on Mr. Bennett's cotton-picking picnic. I did not recall any profanity. Kondo and other evacuee stated that their stories were the same as mine. Graves then said, "So you were going on a picnic--enjoying yourselves?" I hastened to correct him ^{emphasizing} that we were not on a private joy-ride but felt in a "picnicking mood" going out to pick the cotton. I also

added that the officer had taken five minutes to write out the ticket, which was quite unnecessary. I did not wish to speak too harshly of the officer's rude behavior, since I did not want to anger him into a denunciation of obviously biased testimony. I wished merely to frighten him with the knowledge that I could say a great deal more. He kept quiet.

Bennett was faced with the decision of giving some punishment, since Hasegawa had obviously broken the law. But my testimony as to mitigating circumstances, and my presence perhaps made the matter difficult. In my opinion, he decided well, giving a stern lecture against speeding, stressing that reckless driving had caused the trouble at Tule Lake, insisted that evacuee officers must be respected, and finished by giving a ten dollar fine suspended for sixty days pending good behavior. Hasegawa shook hands with Graves and Odo.

Mr. Bennett's statements at the meeting of the Community Council of October 26, are indicative of his change of policy toward the evacuees. The successful establishment of community government would impress the Washington authorities favorably. In his address to the council, Bennett assured the members that if their suggestions and plans were concrete and in line with WRA policy, "the times we'd have to reverse your decisions would be very few. I think you should go on under the assumption that you're going to do a good job, for I don't see why a good solid council shouldn't have as much authority as it needs."¹ He stressed that the council might, if it chose, have much to say as to the distribution of the funds for project management, that they would have a great deal of leeway and that their results would depend on the amount of effort they chose to put in.

¹See note on Council meeting of Oct. 26, included in "Report on Community Government," for complete text of Mr. Bennett's speech.

His invitation to the councilmen to meet and consult members of the administration was cordial. After finishing his speech he was besieged with questions. These questions are significant, since they are indicative of issues which concern the present population of the center. All of these questions he answered courteously and with obvious intent not to give offense. He was asked if the sixteen dollar a month people would be raised to nineteen without notifying Washington. He replied that there was absolutely no way of changing this ruling except by terrific pressures from all ten centers. Persons not satisfied, may relocate.

Mr. Bennett was also asked to make a statement on the rumor that a large group of people from other centers is soon to take up residence in Gila. I have been told that this matter was mentioned by Wolter at a previous Block Managers meeting. Wolter did not say how many people were coming or when they might be expected. He also told me in an interview that a large number of people was coming sometime soon. Dr. Takahashi put the question as though he expected Bennett to deny the rumor. Bennett replied that Myer had not as yet made up his mind but that Hoffman had noted while in Washington, that "everybody else said that Gila was going to get more people." He, personally, was going under the assumption that persons were to be moved in.

Bennett was then told of evacuee concern caused by a speech he had made in Phoenix. I had previously heard evacuee gossip on the subject. Bennett, my informants said, had assured this Phoenix group that the center would be turned into a convalescent home for soldiers. The fear that Gila was to be closed soon was restimulated. Mr. Hirose intimated that some evacuees had taken this statement as evidence that the plan to move people into Gila had been abandoned and consequently had asked the housing department for larger quarters. Bennett went into considerable detail to describe what he had

said. While his manner was not strictly apologetic he implied that the councilmen knew what he was up against in speaking to Arizonans and that he had been trying to impress the Arizonans with the fact that the evacuees were not going to stay at Rivers for centuries and centuries like the Indians. Very significant was the following remark and the tone he employed when making it; "I don't know whether you fellow know it or not, but I make very few independent decisions. We operate entirely on a committee basis and I practically never reverse the committee--therefore that same committee could operate with your executive committee."¹

Mr. Bennett was also asked for his opinion of the statement appearing in the Pacific Citizen that "after the war a few of the evacuees could return to California." His remarks were truthful and made a fair impression. He stated that legally the Japanese could not be kept out as soon as danger to the Coast is over. However, he warned of discrimination.

¹This statement was not only notable for the cordiality it implies but also because it is an indication of the truth of Brown's statement that Bennett does not make his own decisions but leans on other members of the staff. X. quite justly pointed out that Bennett took project Attorney Terry's orders. (At the time X. visited Gila this, according to Gordon Brown, was quite true. I criticized X. wrongly.) Then, since several items of Terry's advice miscarried seriously, Bennett swung to Wolter and has since been following his advice on serious matters. This does not imply that Bennett leans on Wolter implicitly. He merely asks for his advice and usually takes it.

As will be described later, he caused Wolter serious concern by questioning Wolter's policy of letting the Community Council Committee handle the latest **Mess** problem, the consolidation of the messes. Wolter won out, against Bennett's strongly expressed disapproval.

A piece of administrative gossip may throw some light on Mr. Bennett's increased efforts to be cordial to evacuees: *from* Gordon Brown, who disapproves of Bennett's past policies, I hear that on Bennett's recent visit to San Francisco he was "given hell by Cozzen" for the unfortunate evacuee-Caucasian staff relationship at Gila.¹ Keadle was also reproved. This admonition, did it actually take place, may be responsible for Mr. Keadle's abrupt change in attitude, exemplified by his cordial invitation to the council to use his office *and consult him on any matter.*

REACTIONS OF THE EVACUEES

There has been no overt sign that the evacuees appreciate the import of Mr. Bennett's situation. Even though some of the councilmen must have suspected the intentions behind the picnic at Fox Butte they presented an attitude of decorum and cooperative participation. It is difficult for me to discover how far a consciousness of Bennett's intentions has spread. Several weeks ago Mr. Hikida asked me in a confidential tone if there was any truth in what people were saying, "That Mr. Bennett was going to be fired." Some of the intelligent evacuee office employees probably suspect it, as do persons like Hikida, Yahanda, who mentioned to me that he thought the newly appointed Health Board was set up by Bennett to gain popularity, the members of the council, and some of the block managers. I found that the intelligent nisei members of Mr. Tuttle's social welfare staff had not guessed the state of affairs. Mr. Bennett had "been so cordial to them for several weeks and they didn't understand it."

Mr. Bennett, himself, is convinced that his efforts of the past six weeks has brought about a marked change in evacuee attitude toward him.

¹ See Cozzen's statement to the teachers, p. 2 for evidence of inconsistency.

He announced this fact to Brown, stating that he did not consider a detailed consideration of the anti-administrative attitudes of the evacuees described in Brown's report necessary now, since so many people have changed their minds. None of Dr. Brown's nor my observations show that Mr. Bennett is correct in this conclusion.

A recent community issue which dealt with the always difficult matter of the mess is illustrative of Project Director Bennett's and Head of Community Management Wolter's contrasting attitudes toward community government. The budget for the salary of the mess employees arrived late and some measure of economy was imperative if the mess were not to go into the red. The need for action was immediate, since every day added to the deficit. Mr. Wolter brought the matter before the council on November 8, stating that 200 to 300 people must be dropped from the mess crews. This, he suggested, might be done by consolidating the mess halls. He recommended that the committee meet with Mr. Keadle immediately, for he had much rather that the recommendation for action come from the council than that the order proceed from the Administration alone. He requested a report by the end of the week.

An animated discussion followed.¹ Mr. Iwata, a member of the mess staff, and a member of the Council's mess committee spoke at length against the consolidation of the messes and recommended that the crews should be reduced instead. "The people would feel reluctant to go to other messes," said he. "Our mess is just like our own family." I don't mind people coming to my mess, but I hate to go to another mess to eat. Everybody will object if you consolidate the mess halls."

¹See notes on Council Meeting of November 8 for complete text.

Wolter replied that any decision which would be satisfactory to the people and also meet the need in the reduction of funds would be welcomed by the administration.

On Saturday, November 13, Gordon Brown told me that Bennett was becoming impatient with Wolter's insistence that the evacuees decide the problem. Bennett wished to proceed to the consolidation immediately and remarked that the councilmen were dawdling and the matter would drag on and on. Wolter persevered and insisted that the Council Committee decide the matter. At the time Wolter remarked to Brown that if Bennett kept sticking his hands into affairs like this he would resign. The Councilmen rose to the occasion, met, and arrived at a decision. The Gila News-Courier of Saturday, November 13, carried the decision of the Community Council Committee. The successful termination of the difficulty, which might with different handling have developed into another "Mess Mess" such as occurred several months ago, is I think, a vindication of Wolter's ~~action of the Council Committee~~ *policies.* So far I have heard of no adverse reactions among the community or among the mess employees.

MESS SUPERVISORS ACCEPT REDUCTION OF WORKERS

"Mess hall supervisors of Butte camp yesterday accepted the community council's recommendation to reduce mess crews instead of consolidating blocks or mess halls.

Council committees on labor and mess operations, composed of George Takemoto, Sadao Yamaguchi, Motojiro Iwata, and Mototsugu Shimasaki, worked out the council's recommendation.

Butte community council appreciated the attitude taken by the supervisors, said Chairman Harry Miyake. The labor adjustment is necessary

because of the reduction in population through segregation and relocation.

Mets Ando, Canal Council Chairman, stated that in Canal also, mess workers probably will be cut in proportion to the population in the respective blocks."