

Tsuchiyama
Report
on
Santa Anita

2 carbons

A Preliminary Report on Japanese Evacuees
At Santa Anita Assembly Center

Shelter

The 18,600 evacuees now located at the Santa Anita Assembly Center are housed in stalls previously used for prized horses in the Santa Anita Races or in pre-fabricated barracks provided by the army. There are approximately 520 of these barracks, each measuring 20 x 64 feet. Each barrack contains two 20x8 ft. rooms and four 20x12 ft. rooms. Families of two and three live in the smaller units while four to six persons occupy the larger ones. In the stable area each stall at present houses four to five people although in the earlier period there were said to be as many as ten lodged in one.

Each evacuee on his arrival at Santa Anita is presented with an army cot, an army blanket and a cotton mattress. Some late comers like the former residents of the Santa Clara Valley who unfortunately arrived during the alleged mattress shortage period were compelled to take hay filled mattresses. Many of them accustomed to the comforts of civilization are said to be quite articulate in their demands to have them replaced with cotton mattresses, but since medical approval is necessary to bring about the desired change, many of their pleas go unheeded. In addition each unit is supplied with a bucket and a broom.

Great ingenuity is displayed in the arrangement of rooms. Large families frequently resort to Pullman ~~port~~ style bunks since six or eight beds in a room 20 x 12 feet leave scarcely any space for movement not to mention storage of baggage. Furniture, if at all, was at first restricted to a few folding ^{chairs} ~~chairs~~ and a card table since the evacuee at the time of removal was permitted to take along only what he could carry. Thus the Civilian Exclusion Order no. 21, issued from the headquarters of the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, April 24, 1942, and which affected that area of Los Angeles from which I was ejected reads:

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure ~~from~~ the assembly center, the following property:
 - a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
 - b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
 - c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
 - d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
 - e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.

(1)

-
1. Since coming to camp I have noticed only two cats, one of which recently gave birth to several kittens. There are said to be a few dogs but so far I have seen none. It used to be a frequent occurrence in the mess line to see tear-stained faces moaning that their pets placed in pet homes had died of starvation due to refusal to eat after the departure of their owners.

I remember distinctly while assisting at the Civil Control Station that a man requested permission to take along a tub to bathe his infant since it was unaccustomed to a shower as at Santa Anita, and his request being denied on the grounds that tubs were ~~in~~ not included in the list of articles allowed to be taken into an assembly center by the army.

But the Japanese with their skillful hands within a few weeks converted the orange and apple crates discarded by the mess halls into presentable dressers and tables. The crinkly drab-olive paper which served as a covering for cotton mattresses was soon transformed into an attractive wall paper to conceal the large cracks in the walls. Stray pieces of lumber thrown out by Caucasian carpenters were soon utilized in constructing artistic shelves, closets, stools, armchairs and other needed pieces of furniture.

The Japanese are nature lovers and one of the first tasks they undertook to improve their environment was to start vegetable and flower gardens. In the stable region where the soil is naturally rich there has been relatively little difficulty in starting plants but in the barrack area where the surface is macadamized it has been necessary for them to import soil or to grow them in large cans discarded by mess halls. In extreme cases they have imported cement from the outside world to construct Japanese rock gardens. One of them near my barrack has in addition to

the traditional plants like pine and weeping willow a little cement pond with water cress floating at one end and frogs and polliwogs caught in the Santa Anita creek frisking at the other. Another characteristic Japanese garden has for its central theme a wooden well built from a discarded soy sauce barrel. Two rustic-looking buckets are suspended by ropes around which the morning glory vine has encircled itself. The theme is based on a well-known Japanese haiku (a poem of 17 syllables) according to which a country girl who went to draw water from her well noticed the tendrils of a morning glory vine wound about the rope.

Rather than break the tendril by pulling the rope she walked to her neighbor's to beg for water. In connection with morning glories I noticed my neighbor a few mornings ago peering at a piece of paper with an extremely vexed face. Upon inquiry I was informed that during the night someone had stolen his prized morning glory plants and had replaced them with a tanka (a poem of 31 syllables). Tanka and haiku writing has always been popular with the Japanese -- upper as well as lower classes -- and whenever something appeals to their fancy in camp they sit down, pen a poem and suspend it near the object of their admiration. Thus the walls of the barrack near which the above mentioned well is located are covered with tankas and haikus written by visitors. That the Japanese are true flower lovers is seen in the fact that even when their baggage was restricted to barest essentials and the taking of a plant meant the

sacrifice of something more essential, numerous evacuees carted along potted plants to decorate their barracks. Furthermore, I am informed that one of the first requests they made to their Caucasian friends when they visited them in camp was to bring them potted plants they had abandoned at home.

In contradistinction to these Japanese touches there are numerous typically American scenes. To ^{begin} ~~begin~~ with each information center in the seven districts of the assembly center flies a huge American flag and the flag-raising and flag-lowering ceremonies performed daily by the Boy Scouts on the top of the grandstand are truly impressive. Tacked on the doors of many barracks are large red, white and blue posters such as: "This is a 100% American home"; "It is not what your name is but what you believe in and do that makes you an American"; "Buy U.S. Defense Bonds". Then there is the case of the famous palm trees with two roguish monkeys picking coconuts made of discarded burlap from the camouflage net project. Names of houses are also American: "Hatanaka's Hut", "The Shack of the Tahar^as", "Lone Pine Cabin", "Home Sweet Home", etc.

Until the second week of July there was only one community laundry with space for 100 tubs and two ironing rooms with 100 boards to satisfy the needs of 18,600 people.

Since then two smaller laundries have been opened but they are far from adequate in meeting the needs of so large a population. Since the laundries are located at a great distance from most of the barracks it has been necessary for them to purchase or to construct some sort of wheeled vehicle to transport laundry to and from the washing rooms. I doubt if I have ever seen so many Sears Roebuck kiddie wagons at one time in all my life.

The same situation prevailed for the showers. Until the middle of July there was only one community shower but now six additional showers are said to be in operation. The showers remain open from eight in the morning till nine at night and are conveniently situated so that one need not walk a mile or two any longer to take his daily bath. The shower rooms are partitioned in two -- one for women, the other for men -- and each section has eight rooms with five shower heads apiece. To prevent the acquisition of foot diseases each individual is requested to plunge his feet in chlorine water provided for the purpose by the health and sanitation department before and after entering the booths but most people prefer to wear wooden clogs during the bathing. As with the case of Sears Roebuck kiddie wagons I have never seen so many wooden clogs at one time in America. Most of them are simply hollowed out blocks of wood patterned after the Japanese "geta" but some are really elaborate pieces and may well be compared with expensive wooden clogs seen on fashionable American

beaches. For the bathing of infants, hot water may be obtained from the rear of mess halls at any time of day.

I am informed that at first it was extremely difficult for modest women accustomed to private bathrooms to take showers along with four others but apparently they are becoming adjusted to "pioneer" conditions in camp since I no longer see bashful women in shower rooms or women bathing in their underwear. Occasionally one hears, especially in the "Downtown" area a desire to bathe in a hot Japanese bath since the water⁽¹⁾ in the shower rooms frequently become cold from constant running. The majority, however, seem to prefer showers maintaining they are much "cleaner". Most Nisei women admit they miss their leisurely baths with bath salts and other paraphernalia.

Restrooms are conveniently located but during the initiation period modest women are said to have preferred to use chamber pots in their rooms. Apparently for most of them it was a great ordeal to sit down in public without the protection of doors. In the women's quarters there are at least partitions between bowls, but in the men's division there is none. There is the anecdote of a little boy who upon seeing rows and rows of bowls in public view exclaimed to his father, "Daddy, look! The wash basins are on the floor!"

1. Refers to group that originally lived in the "Little Tokyo" section of Los Angeles.

Food

No private cooking is officially permitted in the barracks due to the danger of the fuse blowing out. The electrical system throughout the center provides for only one 40-watt globe to each unit -- hence the necessity for the prohibition of cooking in barracks. By an official order all hot plates were supposed to have been confiscated by May 19th but about that time fifty irate mothers mobbed the head of the Personnel Relations Office and refused to relinquish them. They maintained that the meals served in the mess halls were unhealthy and that their children refused to eat them so it was absolutely necessary for them to open canned vegetables and heat them at home. A special order was then issued permitting families with children from two to ten years of age or elderly people requiring special diets to retain their hot plates until a special diet kitchen was placed in operation. On June 15 a special mess line was started in each mess hall for children from two to twelve years of age. But according to mothers the aggravating food problem has been only slightly improved since the only difference in children's and adults' diet is the addition of a stalk of celery, an orange or apple and half a pint of milk regularly for children. People requiring specific diets may now obtain them at the White Mess Hall. Special diets are prepared by trained dieticians for people suffering from

(1) diabetes, (2) hypertension, nephritis, heart trouble and rheumatism, (3) ulcers, gastritis and enteritis, (4) gall bladder ailments, and (5) allergies. In addition a special vegetarian diet is served Seventh Day Adventists at the Green Mess Hall.

For infants up to two years of age ~~they~~^{high} feeding stations scattered conveniently throughout the center are now in operation. These "milk stations" are supplied with cereals, strained or chopped vegetables, milk, orange juice and formulas prepared at the center hospital by trained dieticians.

There are six large mess halls in the center in which meals are served cafeteria ^y~~style~~. Breakfast is served from 6:30 to 7:30, dinner from 11:30 to 12:30, and supper from 4:30 to 5:30. Until the new ticket system was inaugurated this week people were frequently compelled to wait thirty to forty-five minutes in line before they received their meals. In the last few weeks when the temperature soared above 100 degrees there were several cases of fainting in line from the excessive heat. Under the ticket system the people are divided into three groups: those with no. 1 tickets eat breakfast at 6:30, dinner at 11:30, and supper at 4:30; those with no. 2 tickets eat at 7:00, 12:00 and 5:00; and those with no. 3 tickets at 7:30, 12:30 and 5:30. The tickets are rotated every two weeks in all fairness to everyone. Until the new system went into effect latecomers at supper time

frequently received just half of the menu or left-overs from dinner. Many a time returning late from a supervisors' meeting I was served only rice and a boiled vegetable because the meat had long run out before I reached there. Under the ticket system the long waiting line is eliminated and the third group is assured of receiving the same menu as the others. Furthermore instead of having to return to the line to receive a second helping waitresses serve it at the table. It may not be identical with the original entree but at least the third group can rest assured that they will receive the main dish. Up till now at Sunday dinner when roast beef and ice cream have been customarily served those who returned for their second ^{and} third helpings were so numerous that latecomers were often compelled to eat something like corn beef hash or scrambled eggs.

According to the administration the army allots fifty cents a head for food daily but the majority of center residents are convinced that all of that amount is not expended on food. Toward the early weeks of May "one in the know" explained to me that we were receiving what the army termed "B ration" since it was impossible for the commissariat to procure what ~~they~~ ^{it} had ordered and that they were actually spending only 28¢ per head. At that time there was a great predominance of starches and people were everywhere moaning for fresh vegetables and fresh fruits. Immediately after the strike of camouflage workers the food improved tremendously not only in quality but in quantity. In the last few weeks the quality of food

has become perceptibly bad again and workers are wondering whether it might be necessary for them to call another strike to improve the food situation. To give you an idea what sort of meals are served at Santa Anita I shall list the menus for my first seven days in camp, the seven days immediately following the camouflage workers' strike, and the seven days preceding July 15th. While listing the menus I was extremely interested to discover that menus on paper certainly do not convey the quality of food when it finally appears on the table. String beans on paper, for instance, connotes to me young and tender beans still retaining its greenish color after cooking and not the brownish^s mashed affair they refer to as "string beans" in the mess halls here. Similarly, "macaroni and cheese" as it appeared on the table during our initiation period reminded me of half a cup of maggots immersed in a pint of dish water.

Initiation Period

Friday, May 1, 1942

Dinner: rice, slice of fried fish, white bread (no butter or jam).

Supper: Boiled noodles, rice, potato and rutabaga stew, white bread, bread pudding, tea.

Saturday, May 2, 1942

Breakfast: Scrambled eggs, white bread, stewed prunes, coffee.

Dinner: Boiled noodles, spinach, white bread, lemonade.

Supper: Slice of cold pressed ham, rice, white bread, bread pudding.

Sunday, May 3, 1942

Breakfast: Half a grapefruit, slice of bacon, one soft boiled egg, white bread, butter, coffee.

^g
Dinner: One hamburger patty, mashed potato, gravy, lettuce and tomato salad, tea.
Supper: Rice, pork chop suey, white bread, bread pudding, tea.

Monday, May 4, 1942

Breakfast: One orange, two doughnuts, white bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner: Slice of roast beef, cabbage and carrot stew, white bread, tea.
Supper: Rice, cabbage-carrot-turnip stew, white bread, canned blackberries.

Tuesday, May 5, 1942

Breakfast: Corn flakes, one banana, white bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner: Meat stew, cole slaw, white bread, tea.
Supper: "Mazegohan" (rice cooked with shredded carrots and peas), white bread, half a canned pear, tea.

Wednesday, May 6, 1942

Breakfast: Oatmeal mush, a red apple, white bread, butter, grape jelly, coffee.
Dinner: Too sick to go to eat.
Supper: Spaghetti and cheese, spinach, stewed prunes, tea.

Thursday, May 7, 1942

Breakfast: ~~Oatmeal~~ Rice flakes, canned sliced peaches, white bread, butter, coffee.
Dinner: Chicken and liver stew, beet and onion salad, bread, tea.
(1)
Supper: A slice of fried fish, rice, peas, bread, apple sauce, tea.

-
1. Serving of such a delicacy as chicken on a week day was due to the inspection tour made by Gen. DeWitt himself on that day. Food is always excellent when some notable or army inspectors are on an inspection tour.

Post-Strike Period

(Strike occurred June 16-17) (1)

Wednesday, June 17, 1942

Breakfast: Oatmeal mush, scrambled eggs, fried potatoes, figs, milk or coffee.
Dinner: Rice, lamb stew, cucumber and onion salad, tapioca pudding, milk or tea.
Supper: Rice, pork cooked with spinach and peas, jello, milk or tea.

Thursday, June 18, 1942

Breakfast: Two pieces of French toast, two pieces of shredded wheat, apple sauce, milk, coffee.
Dinner: Boiled potatoes, two meat patties with tomato sauce, creamed corn, beet and onion salad, tea, milk, three cookies.
Supper: Pork and beans, squash, rice, slice of watermelon, milk or tea.

Friday, June 19, 1942

Breakfast: Two boiled eggs, two pieces of toast, pineapple jam, corn flakes, stewed prunes, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Fried ham, mashed potatoes, beet and onion salad, string beans, blueberry cobbler.
Supper: Rice, slice of fried fish, stewed tomatoes, cucumber-radish-lettuce salad, one canned pear, tea or milk.

Saturday, June 20, 1942

Breakfast: Mush, two pieces of bacon, scrambled eggs, bread, butter, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Noodles cooked with hamburger, turnips, fried potatoes, two fresh apricots.
Supper: Slice of cold pressed ham, slice of cooking cheese, two slices of roast beef, fruit salad (apple-date-celery), and one fresh plum.

-
1. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that immediately after the camouflage workers' strike portions of food were doubled and articles that had never been served before began to make their appearance, e.g. fried potatoes, and pork sausages for breakfast, fried ham, ice cream, roast pork with bread stuffing, etc. Characteristically enough these disappeared, with the exception of Sunday dinner ice cream, after the "strike fever" subsided.

Sunday, June 21, 1942

Breakfast: One soft boiled egg, two pieces of toast, jam,
coffee or milk.
Dinner: Slice of roast beef, banana squash, peas, fruit
salad, bread, cake and ice cream.
Supper: Mazegohan, beet salad, tea, milk.

Monday, June 22, 1942

Breakfast: One pork sausage, two pieces of French toast,
half a grapefruit, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Slice of meat loaf, mashed potatoes, carrots, jello.
Supper: Roast pork with bread stuffing, string beans, rice,
cole slaw, apple sauce.

Tuesday, June 23, 1942

Breakfast: Two boiled eggs, oatmeal mush, stewed prunes,
white bread, butter, milk or coffee.
Dinner: Boiled short ribs, boiled potatoes, spinach,
lettuce salad, jello, tea or milk.
Supper: Rice, vegetable stew (predominantly eggplant),
cabbage salad, three dried figs.

Period from July 8 to July 15

Wednesday, July 8, 1942

Breakfast: Half a grapefruit, shredded wheat, two pieces
of toast, butter, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Corn beef hash, peas and carrots, creamed corn,
orange and apple salad.
Supper: Rice, two wiener sausages, lettuce salad, one apple.

Thursday, July 9, 1942

Breakfast: Half a grapefruit, two slices of bacon, fresh
bread, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Half a slice of pressed ham, piece of cooking cheese,
two small slices of cold roast beef, potato salad,
boiled turnips, milk, apple.
Supper: Rice, two slices of boiled beef hearts, carrots,
beet and onion salad, jello.

Friday, July 10, 1942

Breakfast: Stewed dried peaches, brown bread, mush, two
boiled eggs, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Slice of fried fish, mashed potatoes, string beans,
apple.
Supper: Noodles with meat sauce, carrots, slice of cake.

Saturday, July 11, 1942

Two pieces of French toast, karo syrup, half a grapefruit,
milk or coffee.

Dinner: Meat stew, string beans, apple cobbler, milk or tea.
Supper: Mazegohan, spinach, cabbage salad, milk or tea.

Sunday, July 12, 1942

Breakfast: Two pancakes, syrup, melted butter, half a grapefruit, corn flakes, milk or coffee.
Dinner: Creamed veal, mashed potatoes, carrots, ice cream, milk or tea.
Supper: One pork sausage, rice, three small pieces of takuan (pickled Japanese turnip), milk or tea.

Monday, July 13, 1942

Breakfast: Mush, two pieces of toast, half a grapefruit, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Lamb stew, cabbage salad, bread pudding, milk or tea.
Supper: Rice, carrot-eggplant-celery stew, one orange, tea or milk.

Tuesday, July 14, 1942

Breakfast: Shredded wheat, two pieces of toast, jam, one orange, coffee or milk.
Dinner: Slice of meat loaf, rice, carrots, beet and onion salad, strawberry jello, milk or tea.
Supper: Two slices of cold pressed ham, one piece of cheese, potato salad, stewed dried pear cobbler.

The serving of an unappetizing meal is always indicated by a short mess line, the removal of bread from mess halls, greater cooking in the barracks, and heavy sales at the three canteens in the center. Whenever an "inedible dish" like eggplant cooked with a bean paste or boiled beef hearts is served the younger generation come out of mess halls armed with slices of bread to which they will add jam, peanut butter or cheese they are hoarding in their rooms, or rush over to the canteens to "fill themselves up" with bakery goods, soda pops, ice cream, popsicles, etc. At such a time the older generation who possess electric stoves boil some rice and eat it with pickled vegetables, either fresh, or canned if they are fortunate enough to

to own some.

Most of the Issei or the older generation sorely miss such typically Japanese dishes as:

Osashimi: Slices of raw fish served with soy sauce.

Umeboshi: Pic^Kled plums.
^

Osushi: Of which there are several varieties, the most common being inarizushi and makizushi. Inarizushi is prepared by mixing boiled rice seasoned with salt and vinegar with cooked vegetables and stuffing the mixture in a triangular bag made of fried bean curd cake boiled in soy sauce and sugar. Makizushi is prepared by seasoning boiled rice with salt and vinegar and then rolling it in a square sheet of dried seaweed along with fish and vegetable ingredients, the most common of which are gobo (a long, slender root plant), boiled slices of dried gourd, fried egg cut into strips, carrots, mushrooms, and canned eel.

Tsukemono: Pickled vegetables, the most common of which is takuan (Japanese radish pickled in salt and meal).

Tempura: French fried vegetables or fish, the most popular of which is fried shrimp.

Tofu: Bean curd cake, eaten fresh with soy ~~sauce~~^{sauce}, or cooked with meat and vegetables and seasoned with soy sauce.

To alleviate the hardships of a great many of the older generation who have adhered rather closely to Japanese diets, the menus prepared by army officials in San Francisco

are modified somewhat by Japanese cooks in the mess halls. Thus potato is replaced by rice at least once a day, generally at supper, and takuan, soy sauce, misoshiru (soup made of bean paste) and tempura occasionally make their appearance on the supper table. In many parts of the center, especially in the stable area where some 600 San Franciscans and a great number of people from the rural areas of southern California are congregated, numerous "victory gardens" have been started wherever soil is available. Interestingly enough most of the vegetables grown are those that can be easily converted into tsukemono, such as napa (Chinese cabbage), daikon (Japanese radish), cucumber, red radish, and uri (a type of Japanese melon). They also eagerly gather wild mustard greens and water cress from the Santa Anita creek to make tsukemono. At the Blue Mess Hall, which is centrally located in the stables, one can frequently see older people eating rice and tsukemono out of bowls with chopsticks. They tell me that rice somehow tastes better when eaten ~~out~~ of a rice bowl than from one of the tri-partitioned army plates. Many Iwsei carry ajinomoto and soy sauce to supper whenever they hear that a "Japanese dish" is to be served. Until quite recently when a ⁺sop was put to it there used to be a long line in the rear of the Orange Mess Hall from about seven to eight at night when elderly people gathered to beg for left-over rice and takuan so they could "treat" themselves to

ochazuke (mixture of hot tea and rice eaten with pickled vegetables) before retiring for the night. Fish and rice meals are well-liked by the older generation but ~~do~~ not appear to be so popular with the younger group. Similarly misoshiru appeals to most Issei but their children prefer to go hungry when it appears on the menu. Most of the older generation seem to dislike intensely beef hearts, cold pressed ham, chili beans, tamale, pork and beans and tapioca and bread puddings.

The second generation, on the other hand, yearn for good coffee, sharp cheeses, steaks, chops, hamburgers, hot dogs, thick slices of ham, salamí, Italian spaghetti, beer, and all other things well-liked by other young Americans. Until the visitors' gate was closed recently it used to be a common sight to see them gorging themselves on hot dogs and hamburgers that their Caucasian friends had bought for them from a nearby restaurant. That the Nisei miss steak may be gleaned from the fact that a steak dinner is frequently held up as the ^highest form of reward in the center. Thus when the camouflage workers were producing only 150 nets daily instead of the 500 or 700 requested by the army, the head of the project in an effort to increase production promised to treat them to a steak dinner on the day they completed 350 nets. I once overheard a young boy inquire of his friend who had just arrived at Santa Anita whether he had brought him the two pounds of T-bone steak ~~he~~ had ordered. The same individual confided

to me that he had contemplated the notion of slaughtering his neighbor's poodle for even a dog appeared fit to be eaten after consuming "nothing but noodles, potatoes and rice for two weeks".

Since the food regulations of the center prohibit the importation of all foods that require cooking, coffee is at a premium and it is a genuine treat to be invited to partake of home-made coffee. Those who are clever enough to ~~smuggle~~ some in can use it as the highest form of bribery. Coffee is served at breakfast in the mess halls but its taste is so vile that only real coffee lovers can take it with impunity. Furthermore the rumor that it is treated with saltpetre prevents many from drinking it.

Both the Issei and the Nisei miss sugar. Since we are allotted only two teaspoonfuls daily there is quite a toss-up at breakfast when grapefruit is served since they all want sugar in their fruit, mush and coffee. At one time we received no sugar for weeks because the sugar quota for the month had been consumed in the first few days of the month.

Until June 3 only children under twelve years of age and sickly people with special permits from the doctor could obtain milk in the mess halls. After that date anyone who desired milk was theoretically supposed to receive half a pint at each meal but until the camouflage workers' strike this did not become general. At first half pint bottles were distributed in the mess lines but people

forgot to return them to the mess halls so the practice of placing two quart bottles on each table was adopted.

At present each person may consume at least a pint and a half of milk daily. The majority of the Issei and the Nisei like milk and I am informed that those who had scorned it in pre-evacuation days are learning to drink it since they feel there is not sufficient nutritive value in the meals served. Furthermore everyone misses butter. Butter is served only at breakfast, if at all, and then there is just a dab of it. Fresh bread or toast when it appears (1) on the breakfast table is already brushed with butter, so it is impossible for the people to "spread it on thick" as they would prefer to do. As mentioned before the Nisei yearn for sharp cheeses but do not seem to care particularly for the mild cooking variety served occasionally at Sunday supper.

For the first time in the history of their lives many of the Issei have been given an opportunity to sample American dishes. I doubt if more than a very few had before evacuation tasted boiled hearts, macaroni and cheese, chili beans or tamale. A few days ago I exchanged my dish containing macaroni and cheese with that of an old

1. For the first time in the history of the center butter appeared in chunks for breakfast on June 20. This may be a direct result of the investigation of mess halls by Red Cross officials last week.

woman who was complaining bitterly that the cooks had the temerity to serve burnt **cheesé**.

An amusing case of cultural misinterpretation⁺ occurred several Sundays ago when the Caucasian stewards with the intention of giving a "treat" to the Japanese residents served soba, or buckwheat noodles, for supper. The Caucasians had surmised that since it was served on New Year's Eve in Japan it must be a festive dish and therefore a great treat. Imagine their surprise when the Nisei refused to touch it and the Issei complained of the unappetizing sauce. I am further informed that there^{were} more diarrhea cases that night than ever before in the center. The second generation's attitude toward one of the ceremonial dishes of Japan is aptly phrased in the comment of a Nisei: "We eat it only once a year because it's so bad!"

To the administration the food problem must be an extremely difficult one. The food habits of the first and second generation as well as rural and urban dwellers are markedly distinct and to prepare a menu that will satisfy the needs of all of them is a Herculean task. Most of the Nisei are thoroughly American in their food habits but their parents must have a few Japanese dishes, like rice and tsukemono, to be entirely at home. Furthermore, during holidays in all probability they would like to indulge in Old World ceremonial dishes -- not so much because they are more appetizing but because of sentimental attachments. Country people as a rule have adhered more closely to Japanese diets while urban dwellers due to wider contacts have become

more cosmopolitan in food habits. It is interesting to note that the second generation from San Francisco are much more "Japanesy" in their food likes and dislikes than those from Los Angeles. San Franciscans tell me that they miss ochazuke, umeboshi, osushi, and tofu while Los Angeles Nisei are quite articulate in their demands for steaks and chops. Even if the administration were willing to serve some of these coveted Japanese dishes the facilities are such that it is next to an impossibility. For example, otofu and osashimi which must be served ice-cold will have to be ruled out because of lack of adequate refrigeration.

The Japanese interned here are predominantly farmers and produce men and consequently highly critical of the quality of food served. Although the mess department assures us that the fresh vegetables and fruits sent here by the U.S. Quartermasters' Corps in San Bernardino are "the best on the market", the people stubbornly refuse to entertain the possibility that the vegetables and fruits that they had left behind could have fallen so low in quality without their experienced care.

During the early stages of our initiation complaints concerning food were the most conspicuous. The more audacious ones wrote lengthy letters to the War Department, the F.B.I., and to army headquarters in San Francisco entreating them to intercede for their behalf. One individual was sent to Parker for being too articulate in his complaints and too determined in his efforts to improve mess halls. Many admit

that the meals served in April and May were so bad that they preferred to go hungry rather than suffer the torture of running to the restroom throughout the night. It was not at all unusual about that time to wake up in the middle of the night and discover a long waiting line in front of the restroom. Diarrhea at one time was so common that the hospital could not attend to it. Since then the food has improved tremendously and the people moreover have become habituated to cafeteria foods. And even those who preferred at first to starve than stand in "bread lines" are now brazenly marching in to receive their share of government food.

Clothing

Clothing worn in the center, as is to be expected, falls within the standards of American fashion. Japanese kimonos, if worn at all, are restricted to the bathrobes of a few older people or very young children. We are told that clothes and shoes will soon be distributed to all center residents but so far only members of the Health and Sanitation Department (i.e. garbage collectors) have received free uniforms -- a sort of blue coverall with "Santa Anita" stamped in bright red in the back -- and only workers have received shoes. In payment for the shoes \$2.85 will be deducted from the \$4.00 clothing bill which will be allotted us each month by the W.C.C.A. In addition to free clothing and shoes each individual over sixteen years of age receives a \$2.50 coupon book monthly which may be utilized

in purchasing articles at the three canteens in the center. Children under sixteen receive a \$1.00 coupon book and couples that worth \$4.00. The maximum sum allotted to an individual family is \$7.50.

In pre-evacuation days it was noted that Sears Roebuck did a thriving business with the Japanese who frantically bought everything they thought they might need for a three-year sojourn in internment camps. This is very evident in the clothes, shoes, and house furnishings of a great many of the center residents. Even in camp Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward do a rousing business through their mail order houses much to the annoyance of nearby Arcadia merchants. The minority who have "not yet fallen to the level of Sears Roebuck" still prefer to do their purchasing at the more exclusive downtown Los Angeles stores such as Bullock's, Robinson's, I. Magnin or Saks Fifth Avenue. A very small number send for articles advertised in Harper's Bazaar or Mademoiselle but the majority feel these things are a little "too fashionable for jail". Besides only a small minority can afford to purchase them at this time.

Most of the people dress on Sundays. Even the men who customarily lounge about in T-shirts and slacks don their suits and women cast off their bobbie socks and haul out the Nylon stockings that they had so carefully stored away during the week. On week days they generally wear slacks, washable ^{cotton} dresses or dirndl skirts. With the mounting temperature the more audacious Los Angeles girls

have sprouted out in extremely brief shorts and bras much to the horror and disdain of staid San Franciscans. I am informed that San Franciscans even disapprove of slack suits for women.

Until arrangements were made by the administration a few weeks ago to send out shoes to be repaired in Arcadia or Los Angeles it was nothing unusual to see people walking about in run-down heels or with gaping holes at the toes and soles. The gravel at Santa Anita is particularly inhospitable to footwear and shoes that lasted me a year in Berkeley are practically useless at the end of a month. To counteract the rapid deterioration of shoes ingenious methods are employed, e.g. wooden soles and heels made of stray pieces of lumber and tin reinforcements in the toe region. Some have entirely abandoned leather shoes and are now sporting about in wooden clogs or Japanese "geta".

Life Cycle

Birth:

There are said to be approximately 800 pregnant mothers in Santa Anita and close to one birth daily. In spite of vigorous denial from the Medical Department the rumor persists that parents of children born in the center hospital have great difficulty in obtaining birth certificates and if fortunate enough to procure one it is labeled a "temporary" one. According to Dr. Kobayashi, head of the center hospital, every birth is recorded on a standard birth certificate with

Arcadia as its birthplace. The certificate is the^N mailed to the Los Angeles Health Department whence it goes to the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

Education:

'Generally speaking camp life is not too conducive to the "proper" upbringing of children. For one thing, children are papered^M much more than ever before since the doting father has greater time to expend on his offspring. For another, living in such congested quarters it is next to an impossibility to bring up infants according to the strict precepts of child psychology. Thus when babies cry, parents out of consideration for neighbors must pick them up and attempt to soothe them. Then too, thrown in together with several thousand strangers of differing backgrounds it is extremely difficult to control the type of friends one would prefer to have for one's children. Already the little bullies are forming gangs and creating quite a problem for parents.

As far as formal education is concerned there is a recreational school in the center for children from four to twelve years of age where one may receive instruction in calisthenics, handicraft, art, spelling, penmanship, grammar, music, science and other courses generally included in a grammar school curriculum. Teachers are selected by the Personnel Department on the basis of experience in Sunday School teaching or of completion of various education and psychology courses at the universities. Because of the difficulty encountered by Japanese-Americans in procuring a teaching position in the California school system, very

few have worked for credentials and consequently there are only an extremely few persons qualified to teach.

For those of high school age classes are held in small groups in seminar fashion. The subjects covered are parallel to those given in the ninth through the twelfth grades and include such courses as elementary and advanced algebra, chemistry, English grammar, English literature, geometry, general math, trigonometry, physics, physiology, agriculture, art, biology, bookkeeping, botany, general history and journalism. At present there are no facilities for the education of students beyond high school age but these have been given an opportunity to continue their studies in the fall in Midwestern or Eastern colleges. Questionnaires sent out by the National Student Relocation Committee were passed out recently to all high school graduates, college students, and college graduates who desired to continue their formal education. I am informed that the data thus obtained will be matched with the survey conducted by the Eastern Committee of the NSRC of colleges which have been approved by the federal authorities and which will admit Japanese students. The selection of students will depend on the financial and scholastic standing of the prospective candidate and on the number applying for relocation.

For the older generation the most popular courses are those oriented toward americanization. Over five hundred Issei are said to be enrolled in English

classes while approximately four hundred attend "Democracy Training" courses to become acquainted with American history.

Recreation:

In the complete absence of sand-pits, see-saws, swings and other paraphernalia usually connected with children's playgrounds, little children amuse themselves by flying kites, matching milk tops, spinning tops, pea shooting, building model airplanes and carving miniature wooden articles for lapel ornaments. Adolescents and grown-ups in addition to these indulge in baseball, volleyball, badminton, wrestling, boxing, judo and a makeshift type of tennis and golf. Communal dances are held twice weekly in the grandstand -- waltzes on Tuesdays and jitterbugging on Saturdays. The attendance at both functions numbers several thousand attesting to their popularity among the Japanese. A community songfest is also sponsored by the Recreation Department once a week. The only large organization permitted to function in the center is the Boy Scouts of America which includes several hundred in its membership. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., I am informed, have not been allowed to establish branches here.

A small library is also located in a cubicle of the grandstand where book lovers may take out old magazines or books donated by the Los Angeles library, San Diego City schools, Los Angeles County schools, Southern California universities, religious groups and individuals.

All volumes listed in the library are necessarily in English since the ban on all literature printed in Japanese resulted in the removal of countless books which had been donated for the enjoyment of the non-English reading Issei.

Since the assembly center was opened in the first week of April three movies have been shown to center residents through the courtesy of the Maryknoll Mission of Los Angeles. These included Frankie Darro in "The Gang's All Here", and Deanna Durbin in "Spring Parade" and "Mad About Music." The Nisei, like other young Americans, are ardent screen fans and miss the movies perhaps more keenly than any other form of recreation they have been accustomed to. In order to procure a seat it is absolutely necessary to arrive there before five although the movie itself is not shown until nine.

For the sophisticated two organizations have been recently formed labeled the "Little Theatre Group" and the "Writers and Artists" to cater to the artistic needs of the "intelligensia" -- that exclusive group composed almost entirely of high school graduates and first and second year college students who regard themselves infinitely superior to the common herd in camp.

For the benefit of the older generation who are culturally closer to Japan Friday nights have been set aside as "Issei Nights" and an elaborate program of Japanese dances and music is presented in the Recreation Hall. Towards evening as one strolls along the streets one may observe the plaintive notes of the samisen (Japanese guitar), shakuhachi (Japanese flute) and the biwa (Japanese lute)

competing with the blaring sound of jazz or symphony issuing forth from the radio. Recently a ban was placed on bon dances (Japanese folk dances dedicated to the spirits of the dead and performed by Buddhists in mid-summer) which had sprouted out in District VII and were becoming increasingly popular. Apparently this is one of the first steps toward the prohibition of all evidences of Japanese culture in camp.

(1)

The older Japanese have always been poetically inclined and now that they possess greater leisure than ever before, they are turning back to poetry to divert their attention from more immediate problems. Haiku and tanka groups meet frequently during the week to compose poems and I am told that the attendance is increasing daily.

Shogi, igoh, goh (Japanese checkers), and hana (Japanese poker) are the favorite games among older men. The younger generation, on the other hand, prefer to indulge in poker or bridge except a very few bitter ones who play hana

-
1. This morning (June 29) every unit in the center received the following administrative notice from the office of the center manager:

"On orders from San Francisco, evacuees are directed to deliver immediately to Room 055, underneath the grandstand (Mr. Barber's office), all phonograph records which are Japanese martial music, either vocal or instrumental, and all recorded speeches, plays, poems, stories, or other recordings in Japanese dialect."

since it not "American" like poker or bridge.

The recent ban on all literature printed in Japanese has greatly restricted the reading range of the Issei since only a small minority of the older generation possess a thorough reading knowledge of English. The order issued by the ^dadministration specifically states that:

Japanese print of any kind, such as newspapers, books, pamphlets, periodicals or other literature, with the exception of approved Japanese religious books (Bibles and hymnals) and English-Japanese dictionaries, are not authorized in the center at any time, when in possession of evacuees, and are hereby declared to be contraband and will be seized by assembly center authorities.

When evacuees are relieved of books or other literature in volume form, receipts for same, identifying the owners, will be given to the evacuees by the center manager. These articles will be ~~placed~~ held by the center manager, and copies of the receipts will be placed with the articles seized. When the evacuation of an assembly center is accomplished such articles including the receipts will be boxed and shipped to the **diréctor** of the relocation project to which the evacuees have been transferred.

Visitors, including Caucasians, will not be allowed to carry into the center Japanese print of any kind, excepting approved Japanese religious books (Bibles and hymnals and English-Japanese dictionaries.) Such articles will be picked up by the military police outside the center, upon application for entrance to the center by the visitor, and returned to the visitor on departure from the center."

Such contraband as above defined should be delivered on or before Saturday, July 11th to William Barber at Room 055 under the Grandstand.

Curious to discover what precautions were being taken by the authorities to see that the confiscated volumes would be returned to the proper individuals

eventually I handed in one of my least precious books and was mildly shocked to note the carelessness with which it was handled. All I have at hand to prove that I relinquished one of my books to the authorities is a piece of paper with my name and present address and a statement to the effect that one book with reference to Japanese literature had been forfeited. Neither the name of the book nor its description interested them. Rather than turn in books which at a later date might be utilized as incriminating evidence against them, or which they in all probability will never see again, I am informed that a great many of them destroyed them or mailed them out to friends for storage for the duration. In a mild way they were repeating what they had done in pre-evacuation days especially during the period of the more spectacular F. B. I. raids. Hundreds of Japanese books were burned in Los Angeles alone, many of them priceless volumes which can never be duplicated. And yet foolish as it may appear, one cannot harshly criticize the Issei for doing it for they have no precedence to guide them in judging what is subversive and what is not. The censor in the center library whose duty it is to peruse all literature in Japanese and pass judgment upon it once told me that he had condemned Lady Murasaki's "Tales of Genji" because it contained "imperial notions". If the "Tales of Genji" written in the tenth century A.D. is to be considered subversive in twentieth century America I'm afraid that all literature pertaining to any phase of Japanese culture -- whether written in English

or in Japanese must be condemned.

Juvenile Delinquency and "Crimes":

One of the chief problems in camp to ministers is the constant gambling by professionals. Gambling arrests are made almost daily, the largest raid occurring on May 24 when thirty-five men and women were arrested. At that time \$3000 were reputed to have been taken from the players. I am informed that some of the stakes in these games run rather high and that even to sit in a game requires the possession of at least seventy-five dollars. Having been subjected to poker playing or some other form of card game from eight in the morning till ten at night it is not at all surprising to see little children -- perhaps seven or eight years of age -- playing poker like veterans.

The increase in pregnancy among teen-age girls and the rapid spread of venereal ~~disease~~ diseases in camp are also of great concern to the ministers and the social welfare office. Although no figures are available, it is estimated that nearly two hundred pregnant unmarried women are located here, of which at least seventy are said to have become enceinte in camp. The increase is probably the result of the combination of a number of factors such as emotional strain accruing from enforced camp life, cramped housing, difficulty of obtaining contraceptives, and the absence of prostitutes' quarters in camp.

(1)

-
1. I suspect there are two houses of "ill repute" in the stable area but they seem to be patronized only by the older generation.

According to the Nisei police sexual offenses are not only committed by youngsters but are equally popular among the older generation, who utilize vacant units to entertain themselves in the absence of privacy at home. In spite of denial from authoritative sources the rumor persists that abortion is legalized in the center.

Partly effective in checking the growth of sexual offenses in the last few weeks has been the daily visit to barracks by "woodpeckers". From June first until a few weeks ago two daily countings of all center residents were made by census takers at six in the morning and nine-thirty at night at which time every person was expected to be in his respective unit to answer roll call. According to camp rumors the counting of heads was instituted to make certain that each individual in the assembly center was accounted for since it would be extremely embarrassing for the army if some of the internees escaped to Pacific ports and committed sabotage. One of the wilder rumors insists that this order is a direct result of a Santa Anita being found wandering along the streets of San Francisco. At present the count is taken only at 6:00 A.M. but since July 13 by an administrative order an 8:30 curfew has been placed on certain restricted areas habituated by sex offenders.

An inexhaustible number of rumors ^{is} ~~are~~ generally afloat concerning the attempts made by unfortunate girls to commit suicide to conceal their shame. But the only authentic

case that has reached my attention is that of a girl who took an overdose of sleeping pills and had to be rushed to the center hospital for medical treatment. Definite evidence of abortion, however, is occasionally reported.

According to boys' club leaders one of the commonest "crimes" for teen-age boys is the formation of gangs to "beat up" people who offend them. One of the most famous gangs in camp is the "Exclusive Twenties", a group of young boys who received notoriety in local papers in pre-war days for terrorizing the "Little Tokyo" section of Los Angeles. One of the most spectacular "beating-up" incidents occurred in the Blue Mess Hall on June 22 when twenty youngsters, mostly from Hawaii, fought with the cooks because they had refused to give a generous portion of meat to one of their members. A few days ago I encountered a boy whom I knew had been jailed for molesting a cook and he informed me that he was on his way to collect his gang "to beat the hell out of the cook." At present the boys' club leaders are attempting bravely to find an outlet for their reserve energy in recreational fields.

Stealing does not constitute a major problem at Santa Anita. During the early stages loss of soap, tooth brush, tooth paste, and other necessities of this order ~~were~~ was frequently reported but the issuance of free coupon books has tended to relieve the pressure on destitute families. Stealing of government property is generally restricted to the removal of faucet handles and light bulbs from showers, laundries and restrooms, and boards from ironing rooms.

Marriage:

There are approximately two weddings a week in Santa Anita. The usual procedure in getting married is to notify the director of the Social Welfare Office who then assists the couple in securing a permit to go to the Pasadena City Hall to obtain a license. The wedding ceremonies, however, are performed in the center with the favorite clergyman of the couple officiating.

Generally speaking the husband is said to be more attentive to his wife than in pre-evacuation days simply because he has nowhere else to go. The husband who in pre-war days would have disdained to assist his wife in household duties now carts the washing to the distant laundry and himself washes the heavier things like sheets and towels. His wife in many ways can afford to be more sociable since part of her regular duties has been transferred to others in the center. The time generally consumed in preparing meals can now be expended on handicraft or visiting friends, and housecleaning means sweeping and dusting a cubicle 20 x 8 feet in size. This greater freedom has tended to increase her self-assurance and I have heard many husbands complain that their wives are becoming "cockier" and unmanageable. One woman is reported to have told her husband when he reprimanded her for some misdeed to get out if he were not satisfied since the government supplied her with room and board and she no longer depended on him for her support. No divorce has yet been granted in Santa Anita but several cases of desire for separation have reached the

attention of the Social Welfare Office.

Deaths:

Close to two or three deaths occur weekly -- perhaps a little more than usual in a group of this size. The majority of deaths take place in sanitariums or at the Los Angeles County Hospital where most of the disabled and extremely critical cases were lodged when their families were removed to Santa Anita. It is highly probable that some of these deaths were hastened psychologically from the emotional strain accruing from the uprooting from everything familiar and the enforced separation from their loved ones. The bulk of the funeral expenses is taken care of by the government. The corpses are generally cremated and their ashes left in a crematorium until their families are financially able to inter them. Until recently only immediate members of the family were permitted to go out for the funeral and no memorial services could be held in the center for fear of lowering the morale of the population. At present the authorities have given permission for the holding of memorial services in the grandstand for all those who desire them.

Medical Attention:

There are seven doctors attached to the center hospital -- a ratio of one to every 3000 people -- and twenty nurses of whom only seven are registered nurses. The hospital is equipped with 150 beds but due to shortage of linen only ninety or so are actually in service. Because of the shortage

of competent personnel and inadequate equipment many worthy cases are known to have been turned away and cases that appear suspiciously like death through negligence on the part of medical authorities have also been reported. During the early weeks of the camp only one ambulance was in operation and the rumors concerning its inadequate services were extremely plentiful. Thus one child, aged six, is said to have died of acute indigestion in the stable area but the ambulance did not appear for at least two hours. Again, a girl suffering from diarrhea fainted in the restroom about 2:00 A.M. and the ambulance did not arrive until 7:00 the next morning although the hospital had been notified that she was suffering from hemorrhage. At present two ambulances are in operation and complaints concerning medical facilities have somewhat decreased.

During the initiation period diarrhea was so prevalent that the hospital could not or would not attend to it. At one time over three hundred children in the stables came down with small pox, measles and chicken pox but no quarantine or other precautions were taken to check their spread. Mothers in the stalls frequently complained that whenever their children received minor cuts or scratches they would break out with tetanus but the nurses would ignore them. A few weeks ago I observed a roped off area in the stable section and was informed that scarlet fever had broken out in camp and that the families of the victims were being quarantined there, although the patients themselves had

been transferred to the Los Angeles County Hospital. This week I noticed that another section in the stables has come down with scarlet fever.

Each individual upon arriving at Santa Anita receives inoculations against typhoid fever and small pox. Children from six months to ten years of age in addition are given diphtheria/shots.

Religion

Religious services are held every Sunday by the Catholics, Federated Protestants, Episcopalians, Buddhists, and the Holiness Association, and by the Seventh Day Adventists on Saturdays. With the exception of the Catholics, separate services are held for the Issei and the Nisei, one being conducted in Japanese, the other in English. The Federated Protestants in addition hold a mid-week prayer meeting on Wednesday evenings for the ~~younger~~ older generation and another on Thursday evenings for the younger group. Catechism and confessions are heard by the fathers from the Maryknoll Mission in Los Angeles every Saturday afternoon. The Catholic and Protestant services in the center in no way differ from those held in corresponding Caucasian churches, the ministers of which make frequent trips to Santa Anita to assist in the services.

The young people's Buddhist gathering is presided over by the Rev. Latimer and Rev. Goldwater of Los Angeles who

arrive on ^{Sunday}~~Saturday~~ mornings to conduct services with the assistance of Rev. Ishiura, a Nisei priest. A portable altar with candles, flowers and incense erected before each service duplicates in minor fashion the elaborate shrines of Buddhist temples. The service itself has innumerable Christian touches just as Christianity in Japan has been thoroughly "Buddhisized". Thus one notices such foreign intrusions as hymns, responsive reading and choir singing which one would look for in vain in an orthodox Japanese temple. Furthermore, the change in Buddhism appears to be more than a matter of external form. While participating in the rituals and listening to Rev. Latimer's sermons it occurred to me that in spirit American Buddhism has a less pessimistic tone than that of Japan, emphasis on love having replaced that on compassion. The services for the older generation are more orthodox and consist simply of sermons and prayers conducted by Japanese priests.

The majority of the Buddhists in the center belong to the Shinshu group with a small representation from the Shingon, Jodo, Jodo Shin, and Zen sects. Since prayer endings equivalent to "Amen" in Christian churches are different among Buddhist sects, some difficulty is encountered when a federated Buddhist service is held. Thus one prominent Buddhist boy (himself a Shinshu) told me that he objected to the Shinshu prayer ending "Namu Amida Butsu" employed here for convenience's sake. Although no one Buddhist sect is considered to have the highest prestige evaluation certain sects such as Nichiren are generally looked down

upon just as Holy Rollers and Jehovah's Witnesses are mildly ridiculed in some American communities. Among Japanese Christian churches the Episcopalians are frequently considered "the most exclusive", the Methodists the most popular. Occasionally in strolls across camp I notice a miniature Buddhist shrine erected in a corner of the room with offerings of flowers, candles and incense placed beside it.

The attendance at Buddhist services is relatively small --approximately five hundred or so as compared with several thousand in Protestant gatherings. This marked difference in size is partly accounted for by the fact that many Buddhists now residing in the center hesitate to attend services for fear of F. B.I. agents investigating them. As I mentioned before, at the outbreak of the war numerous Buddhists began attending Christian churches for they naively felt that by embracing an "American" religion they might receive kindlier treatment at the hands of Whites. This observation was confirmed by a well-known Japanese Methodist minister who told me that his church was filled to capacity during December and January when the great F.B.I. raids occurred.

Interestingly enough there is absolutely no feeling of rivalry or animosity between Catholics and Protestants among the Japanese as is frequently noted in American communities.

Economic and Social Status

Background of Evacuees:

The population of Santa Anita is composed predominatly^N of former residents of Los Angeles^E, San Diego, Long Beach, San Francisco, Santa Clara Valley (Mt. View, Palo Alto, San Jose), and a few from Pasadena and Alhambra. The statistical data on the economic and educational backgrounds of the evacuees could not be obtained because of the inaccessibility to files in the Personnel Office and because of the inadvisability at this time of a house to house canvas to procure them. The pertinent data, however, may be obtained from the files of the W.R.A. office in San Francisco where the Social Data Registration blanks were sent after being filed by the evacuees at their respective Civil Control Stations just prior to removal. Supplementary data may also be eke^d out from government documents such as the Tolan reports which I have only casually perused. I would infer, however, from lengthy conversations that the majority of them are farmers, nursery-men, produce men, gardeners, fruit stand workers and small business men with a sprinkling of professionals -- mainly doctors, lawyers, dentists and ministers.

With reference to Dr. Lowie's query, the Old World class distinctions of nobility, samurai, commoners, artisans and outcastes in descending order of rank are still adhered to by a number of the older generation although they are generally ignored by their American-born ~~and~~ offsprings.

The class distinctions, however, function actively only at the time of marriage when parents are particularly insistent that their children do not marry below their class level. The American standards of wealth and education, however, are beginning to replace class distinctions in the more Americanized homes. I am informed that the Eta (outcastes) in California are not so ostracized as in Hawaii but a feeling of social inferiority is still attributed to them and they prefer to band together, especially in rural communities. Colonies of Eta were said to exist in the Hawthorne and Sawtelle areas of Los Angeles in pre-war days but since the residents of these sections were removed to Manzanar in late April I would presume they are located there at present. So far I have heard no reference to the Eta at Santa Anita. Among the Nisei prestige is largely determined by the possession of wealth and a good job.

Education is practically worshipped by the older generation. Each Japanese family that can possibly afford it aspires to send at least one member to college. So great is their reverence for formal education that they frequently regard college graduates as beings apart. I have ~~heard~~ heard many a Nisei voice the opinion that college graduates were snobbish and insolent and looked with great contempt on their fellow men. Many a girl in the camouflage project regarded me with curiosity because I, a college graduate, treated them as equals. Similarly,

Dr. Y. Ichihashi of Stanford University before his departure for the Tule Lake Relocation Center this week was in great demand as a counselor (although he was unaware of Japanese problems since he had not mingled with them for the the last thirty years) because of his prestige as a professor. The average Nisei in camp is young --barely over high school age. A few have gone to college but the majority have gone to work in the markets or in produce houses after graduation from high schools, mainly from lack of funds or from lack of incentive in continuing their studies. Since the fields in which the Nisei could participate were greatly restricted many college men at the end of their career were confronted with the situation of working side by side in the markets with their friends who had dropped off after high school, or starve, and many a college girl became a stenographer or clerk along with those who had only attended commercial schools.

Economic Setup in Camp:

Not every able-bodied individual in camp is at present employed. In the last pay roll which covered the period from April 16 to May 16, 3964 workers were listed. To this must be added at least a thousand now employed on the camouflage project which went into effect towards the latter half of May. It is probably safe to claim that nearly 6000 or approximately one third of the population at Santa Anita is now fruitfully employed.

The principal jobs in the center in order of decreasing importance to the administration are those connected with:

1. Camouflage project.
2. Center maintenance, including the operation of mess halls, showers, laundries, police force, fire department, etc.
3. Maintenance of information centers.
4. Recreation and education.

From June first until a few weeks ago all jobs not connected with the camouflage nets were technically frozen because the camouflage project -- the only national defense project in the center -- was unable to obtain sufficient labor to produce the quota of nets requested by the U.S. Army. At present additions are being constantly made to the staffs of the mess halls, showers, laundries and the recreation department, the latest of which is the founding of a Writers' Project to compile a documentary history of Santa Anita.

The wage scale in operation at Santa Anita is that in force in all W.C.C.A. centers. On a 44-hour a week basis unskilled workers receive \$8.00 a month, skilled workers, \$12.00, and professionals, \$16.00.

Leadership:

When the more politically mature and experienced Los Angeles group arrived at Santa Anita they discovered that all of the "soft" jobs had been monopolized by the earliest comers from San Diego and Long Beach and that the

only jobs available were in mess halls and restrooms. Many of those holding responsible positions were still in their teens and frequently incapable of performing their duties satisfactorily. Numerous complaints soon began to circulate concerning their discourtesy and inefficiency. Thus some complained that many of the clerks in the information offices were practically illiterate not to mention their inability to give information, and that elderly people could not bear to take orders seriously from teen-age policemen. A complete overhauling of the Personnel Office and the redistribution of jobs according to ability were requested but sufficient pressure could not be brought upon it to comply with the public's demand until the camouflage strike of June 16-17.

Although the camouflage project has priorities over all other jobs as far as the administration is concerned, the recreation department has greater prestige in the eyes of center residents. The teachers and club leaders in that department look down from their great heights at the filthy lint-covered camouflage workers much to the amusement of the older and more educated leaders of the camouflage project. It may be of interest to you that the latter is practically run by the Berkeley branch of the University of California alumni members now in camp. The head Nisei supervisor happened to be a U.C. alumnus and contrived to place other U.C. graduates in favored positions. Very early in the history of the center, long before any

other group became active, the U.C. members held a meeting at Government House with the sanction of the Personnel Relations office to take steps toward the improvement of camp. Its leader unfortunately was sent to Parker as an "agitator" for attempting to improve food conditions. At present the group is cooperating wholeheartedly in turning out camouflage nets to further the war effort.

With reference to Dr. Thomas' memorandum the J.A.C.L. is not at all conspicuous at Santa Anita. Most of the outstanding JACL members from Los Angeles for one thing are now located at Manzanar and I am informed that fear of a JACL member who was once so powerful in Los Angeles that he was referred to as the "Junior mayor of Little Tokyo", prevents leaders from other cities to come into the limelight. I am unable to ascertain whether there is much truth in this assertion or not but the more likely reason is that there is extreme danger for any group, political or otherwise, to become too prominent in camp.

*5 submitted by Tamie Tsuchiyama
July 31, 1942.*

TSUCHIYAMA, T.

Attitudes

Issei:

The general attitude of the Issei at Santa Anita toward being placed in resettlement camps was one of complete resignation. They considered themselves "enemy aliens" and felt that the United States government was justified in doing what she deemed necessary for the war effort. But they were unanimously agreed that their American-born offsprings should have taken a firm stand against evacuation. They realized of course that their children's cause would have been in all probability a hopeless one but they were convinced that Caucasians would have had greater respect for them if they had fought for their rights as American citizens.

Conservative Issei have always identified themselves with Japan and the numerous restrictions placed on them, beginning with alien registration and reaching their climax with evacuation orders in April only served to strengthen their attachment to the mother country. After evacuation each Japanese victory in the southwest Pacific was regarded by the more pro-Japanese elements as a just retribution for their mistreatment by Whites. They referred to it as "bachi ga atatta", a Buddhist phrase denoting punishment for an evil existence. I was informed while in Los Angeles just prior to evacuation that at one gas station in the western section of the city, a number of elderly Japanese had gathered and were celebrating the fall of Singapore

three days before its fall was officially announced over the radio. Whether the news had been received over the forbidden short-wave radio or whether the celebration had been staged in anticipation of its fall I was unable to ascertain at that time. Many of my Issei acquaintances at Santa Anita expressed great surprise when they learned that I was still able to communicate with my family in Hawaii. They were convinced that Japanese battleships had already surrounded the islands and that it was impossible for mail to get through. Apparently they were expecting to hear the official news of Hawaii's fall at any moment. When questioned whether the Japanese government had made any plans for the relocation of Japanese Americans after the war these people were certain that such a policy had been formulated. They claimed that the Nisei because of their marked difference from native Japanese naturally could not be fitted into the social structure of Japan proper but they could be easily accommodated in conquered areas such as Malaysia, Manchuria, China, etc. When I expressed doubts as to my finding economic opportunities in post-war Japan an old man exclaimed: "Why, you can teach at the University of Singapore!" Issei of this type were planning to return to Japan as soon as practicable. Many of them were too old to start afresh and preferred to die on cherished soil. The tragic part of it was that many of them had not visited Japan since they left it in their early twenties and failed to realize that the Japan

of today is not the country they had idealized for thirty or forty years.

The more realistic Issei, on the other hand, felt that their destiny was bound with America. They knew that the economic opportunities for themselves as well as their children were greater in America and preferred to remain here after the war. For them the conflict was great. Because of sentimental attachment to the land of their birth they could not bear to see Japan defeated. Yet for the welfare of their children they did not want the United States to lose. They viewed each defeat and victory for Japan with mixed feelings.

Kibei:

The term "Kibei" came into sudden prominence after Dec. 7. In pre-war days it simply connoted a person born in America of Japanese parents who had been taken to Japan in early childhood and who in adulthood returned to America to make his living. Originally the intentions of the parents had been to join him in a few years but as the realization grew that they could never accumulate sufficient money to retire in Japan, they sent for their child who in the meantime had completed his high school education. Because of their inability to speak good English and because of their "irritating" Japanese ways the Kibei were frequently ridiculed by the Nisei and referred to contemptuously as "Yabos" or unamericanized Japs. Since Dec. 7 the term "Kibei" has unfortunately acquired unsavory connotations

and has almost become a synonym for a disloyal Japanese American.

Since the cultural background of the Kibei and the Issei was similar, their behavior in resettlement camps naturally followed the Issei pattern more closely than that of the Nisei. They wanted Japan to be victorious so that they might be in a position to "pay back" for the insults hurled at them by the Nisei. They greeted the evacuation order with a "we told you so" attitude. When ridiculed by the Nisei for their possession of Old World traits they had always sought escape by retorting that no matter how americanized they **became** their physical characteristics would **prevent** their complete acceptance by the dominant Caucasian group. To them the evacuation order was a triumphal fulfillment of their contentions. The majority of the Kibei at Santa Anita saw no future in post-war America and talked glibly of returning to Japan or to other parts of the Orient in quest of economic opportunities.

Not all of the Kibei, however, were pro-Japanese. At Santa Anita there were a few liberal ones who appreciated America and her democratic ideals infinitely more so than the Nisei who had taken democracy more or less for granted. Their intimate knowledge of Japanese politics afforded them an opportunity to compare the ideologies of democratic and fascist countries. One of the more well-known liberal Kibei at Santa Anita was S. F., the ^{former} editor of the Doho, a

Japanese paper in Los Angeles generally believed to have been supported by a Communist group. Even before the outbreak of the war he had gained notoriety among the Japanese population for his firm stand against Japanese fascism. He was reputed also to have gone to the extent of turning in to the F. B. I. names of fellow Japanese whom he considered dangerous individuals -- an extreme to which few Nisei dared to approach. S. F. was famous throughout camp as a "Red" and an F.B.I. informer and consequently was avoided by both the older and younger generation. When his appointment to the New York branch of the Office of War Information occurred while awaiting trial in a Los Angeles jail for holding so-called "secret meetings" at Santa Anita, it was definite proof to the Japanese population that he was an F. B. I. informer. Two others of this group conducted democracy training courses for over 400 Issei in the Japanese language. The liberal Kibei at Santa Anita also had the distinction of being the only ones to volunteer for work on the camouflage project -- the only national defense project in the center -- without waiting to be drafted.

Nisei:

Most of the Nisei were extremely resentful of being "shoved into jail". They felt that the U. S. government had no right to "imprison" its own citizens in "concentration camps". The most bitter ones were those who had barely completed high school or were in the first few years of college who felt that their opportunities for the future

had been irreparably crushed and that they were being punished for something they had not done. The older Nisei -- those in their late twenties and early thirties -- were somewhat more philosophical. They had either in college or in their attempts to procure employment experienced racial discrimination and could console themselves by maintaining that evacuation was simply an exaggerated form of racial discrimination. They pointed out as evidence of such discrimination the exemptions made for Germans and Italians aliens over seventy years of age and those with sons or daughters in the armed service. But even these Nisei with a definite chip on the shoulder informed me that it had not occurred to them on Dec. 7 that war hysteria could be carried so far as to cause the wholesale removal of U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast.

In studying the attitudes of the second generation at Santa Anita it soon became apparent that they could be conveniently grouped into four categories: socialites, progressives, liberals and rowdies. Socialites in camp were distinguished from others in being slightly higher in economic status and in rigidly restricting themselves to white collar jobs. Generally speaking they were not particularly intellectual or academically inclined. If they had attended college they had been members of Japanese fraternities and sororities and had experienced only a limited contact with Caucasian groups. Quite frequently they were well-

versed in the Japanese language and appeared to have greater race consciousness than other Nisei groups. Their primary interest in pre-war days had been the acquisition of social prestige through a good marriage or a good job but their hopes for such were ruthlessly destroyed with the impact of the war. Because of their strong racial awareness they could not help but interpret the restrictive measures passed against them after Dec. 7 as definite proof of racial discrimination.

People of this type were characterized by cliquishness at Santa Anita. They affiliated themselves with the more or less exclusive Little Theatre and the Writers and Artists groups. At night they indulged in bridge parties among themselves. Characteristically enough they volunteered only for white collar jobs in the center such as nursery school teachers, recreational leaders, and as secretaries and clerks in offices. Many of them informed me that "they would have died" rather than participate in such a "filthy" job like the camouflage project, although it was the only project in Santa Anita devoted to the war effort. Their greatest concern was their future welfare debating whether they would receive kindlier treatment at the hands of Whites or Japanese. They were definitely fence-sitters waiting for the turn of events.

The interests of the progressives were less geared to dances and bridge parties than the socialites and emphasized

other fields such as intellectual discussions, art, music, literature, etc. Since their contact with Caucasians had also been much stronger, race consciousness did not occupy such an important role in their lives. In fact the majority of them could scarcely speak Japanese and appeared to be definitely ill at ease in the conservative Japanese community in Santa Anita. Many of them expressed great astonishment at the number of Old World traits extant in California and felt that the U.S. government was perhaps justified in doubting the loyalty of the Japanese in America.

The progressives have always identified themselves with the U.S. Even before our entrance into the war many of them volunteered for the army or the state guard and the girls turned out for red cross or civil defense work. But the removal of all Nisei soldiers from the Pacific Coast, their transfer from actual combat work to the quartermasters' and the medical corps, and the discharge of many of them directly after Dec. 7 somewhat dampened their enthusiasm to serve their country. One of the most bitter boys in camp was a lad of twenty-three who had served for some time in the California state guard and who had been given an honorable discharge on Dec. 8. He informed me that when he attempted to reenlist in January he was flatly refused admission. He argued, "Caucasians with honorable discharges may reenlist whenever they wish. Why can't we?" Similarly, Nisei soldiers discharged from the U. S. army indignantly told me of the insult they had suffered when

infuriated officers tore off their army uniforms at the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Because their affiliation has always been with America they were keenly hurt when they discovered that they had been reclassified as 4-C and that it was practically impossible for them to join the army and prove their loyalty by engaging in actual combat work. Furthermore they could not comprehend why a distinction had been drawn between Californian and Hawaiian Nisei. If a Hawaiian Japanese could be trained in Wisconsin to be shipped overseas it seemed incongruous that their Californian cousins should be thrown with "enemy aliens" into "concentration camps". The more bitter Nisei at Santa Anita consoled themselves by rationalizing that the Hawaiian Nisei were actually in no better position -- that in all probability they would be shipped off to Africa to be utilized as shock troops. Interestingly enough, in spite of the fact that they felt they had been treated unfairly by the U.S. government, a great number of the progressives turned out for the camouflage project since they believed it was the only way in which they could contribute to the war effort.

The greatest fear of the progressives at Santa Anita was that in the absence of Caucasian contact they might become more and more "Japanized." To prevent such a "calamity" they made every effort to keep in touch with their White friends through constant correspondence. Many of the progressives who had not yet completed their

college education were planning to attend Midwestern or Eastern universities this fall through the Student Relocation Program. Of all the Nisei at Santa Anita they seemed to have retained the greatest faith in the value of education.

The liberals in camp constituted a small minority and were largely drawn from the ranks of the Young Democrats or the Nisei Writers and Artists Mobilization for Democracy -- two organizations labeled "red" or "radical" and blacklisted by the conservative Japanese community in pre-evacuation days. One characteristic trait of this group was its willingness to turn in any Japanese that it considered detrimental to the war effort. Thus S. F., the editor of the Doho, was frequently pointed out to me as "one dirty dog who sold his countrymen to advance himself". This antagonism was doubly increased when he received his appointment to the Office of War Information especially at the time he was confined in a Los Angeles jail for holding so-called "secret meetings". His appointment, however, was a definite indication to the populace that he had been working hand in hand with the F. B. I. and that his promotion had resulted from the betrayal of his people. S. F. was renowned throughout camp as an "Aka" or "Red" and an incident concerning him might be mentioned profitably here to portray the horror with which communism is viewed by the average Japanese. Toward the middle of June S. F. circulated a petition for a Japanese newspaper in an effort to help the great number of Issei who could not read English. Since

the Issei had been clamoring for one for some time they eagerly attached their signatures to the petition. Shortly after this S. F. was arrested by the F. B. I. in connection with participation in a "secret meeting" and the rumor spread through camp that he was the originator of the petition. Immediately hundreds of Issei stampeded to his door and demanded that his wife remove their names from the petition. They maintained that they did not wish to be connected with any "Communistic" scheme for fear of being refused entrance into Japan in post-war times.

Liberals in Santa Anita were generally well-informed on political, social and economic affairs and seemed to realize the significance of the war to a greater extent than other Nisei. Many of them volunteered to work on the camouflage project without waiting to be drafted. Many also offered to teach democracy training courses to both Issei and Nisei. Furthermore, having experienced wider contacts with non-Japanese groups in pre-war days they appeared least race conscious of all Nisei types. They also neither regarded the Whites as superior or despised Jews and Negroes as most Japanese did.

Interestingly enough, all of the leading liberals at Santa Anita were Kibei.

Rowdies: The unsettled conditions in camp were especially conducive to the formation of gangs which sprouted out in large numbers and soon became one of the most serious problems to the administration. Members of these gangs

appeared to be mainly young boys ranging from sixteen to thirty-two who in pre-war days had already been delinquents and had caused some concern to their communities such as the notorious Exclusive Twenties of the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles. Their chief pastime in camp was to go about beating people on the slightest pretext. Thus in one of the most spectacular "beating up" incidents which occurred in the Blue Mess Hall on June 22, twenty youngsters fought with the cooks because they had refused to give a generous portion of roast beef to one of them. They also delighted in cornering lone policemen -- Japanese as well as Caucasian -- and picking fights with them. The beating of policemen became so prevalent in camp that two days before the much-publicized riot of August 4 all Nisei cops were asked to resign and all young Caucasian ones were removed and "toughies" -- those who had been stabbed or shot at at least once -- substituted. After the riot I am informed that none of the Arcadia policemen dared to make their rounds alone during the day, and at night rode about in trucks rather than cover their beats on foot. During the riot the rowdies were responsible for the beating of the "Korean spy" and the molesting of others suspected of informing the administration or the F. B. I.

Every Nisei, whether a socialite, a progressive, a liberal, or a rowdy, was extremely annoyed when he was reminded by some visiting Caucasian that he had been placed

in the assembly center "for his own protection". Also, without exception, every one was highly indignant at the practice of focusing floodlights from twelve watchtowers on camp every night from twilight to dawn. When informed by the administration that the searchlights had been installed to protect us from outsiders who might leap over the fence to injure us, his usual retort was: "Why should the lights be focused on the barracks and not on the outer fence as a logical procedure?" Similarly, there was keen resentment against the barbed wire fence surrounding camp and many a time I watched a novice throwing **rocks** at it to discover if the wires were actually charged.

No systematic study was made of the attitudes of little children but the narrating of a few stray incidents might be of some aid in identifying them. One afternoon in late June I heard a great commotion behind my barrack and on investigation perceived a group of twelve boys about six to ten years of age shouldering wooden guns and attacking a "Japanese fort" while lustily singing "Anchors Aweigh". In all probability they were imitating the antics of American soldiers as they fought their sham battles beyond the main gate. Similarly, in the blackout of May 24, little children raced down our street yelling at the top of their lungs: "Turn off your lights! The Japs are coming!"

A Nisei mother once told me with tears in her eyes of her six year old son who insisted on her "taking him back

to America". The little boy had been taken to Japan about two years ago but was so unhappy there that she was compelled to return to California with him. Soon afterwards they were evacuated to Santa Anita, and the little boy in the absence of his Caucasian playmates was convinced that he was still in Japan and kept on entreating his mother to "take him back to America". To reassure him that he was in America she took him to the information center in her district and pointed to the American flag but he could not be consoled because Charlie and Jimmie, his Caucasian playmates, were not there with him in camp.

It is also interesting to note that whenever little children sang songs these were not Japanese folksongs but typically American songs like "God Bless America," "My Country T's of Thee", "My Old Kentucky Home", "Row, Row, Row Your Boat", "Jesus Loves Me", and other songs known to every American child. The "american-ness" of the Sansei may serve to identify the character of their Nisei parents.

Reaction to Working on a National Defense Project:

When 1500 work orders were sent out by the Personnel Office to U. S. citizens above the age of 16 a day before the camouflage project was opened, approximately 800 were reported to have refused to work. Some excused themselves by claiming that they were allergic to the dye on burlap strips or to the lint which fell off from them, but at least half of that number was said to have refused on principle. They felt that they were really "prisoners of war" and that the U. S. government had no right to appeal to them to aid

in the war effort on a patriotic note. The battle cry during the camouflage strike of June 16-17 seemed to be: Give us the treatment accorded other American citizens and we will gladly cooperate in completing the number of nets requested by the U.S. army. My job as girls' supervisor on the project necessitated my making a daily round of some one hundred nets to listen to the complaints of workers and the most frequent question asked in the early days was: "What is our status? Are we still U.S. citizens or are we prisoners of war?" They were appealing to me as a college graduate (and therefore by their standards a learned person) to enlighten them.

Attitude Towards Americanization:

The majority of the Nisei at Santa Anita were still sore at having their loyalty to the U.S. questioned. Most of them had never stepped foot out of California, still less the United States, and were shamefully ignorant of Japanese customs and traditions, not to mention Japan's political aims. A large number, furthermore, had cut themselves almost completely from the parental community and had been living to all intents and purposes like other Americans. Therefore when evacuation orders compelled them to move back into the Japanese community with which they had severed connections for a number of years they felt that assimilation had been temporarily suspended -- if not set back for a decade or so. One of the most pathetic cases of bad adjustment was E. S.,

the editor of the **center** paper. He was born and educated in Iowa and because of his inability to get along with his conservative parents had disinherited them and had struck out for the West, married a White woman, and had gone thoroughly American. The eviction orders, however, caught up with him in San Francisco and he was forced to evacuate along with 600 other Japanese he had despised for some time. I doubt if any one at Santa Anita was less "at home" than E. S., although many such cases came to my notice daily. Those individuals who had gone farthest in embracing occidental culture were the most disillusioned ones in camp and were beginning to feel that the americanization of the Japanese was perhaps utopian -- that no matter how "americanized" they became their racial features would always present a barrier to complete acceptance by the White group. The majority of the Nisei realized the great contempt for them in Japan and knew that there were no opportunities for them there but because of their hurt pride were vaguely considering starting anew in some strange land -- perhaps Manchuria, China, Malaysia -- somewhere where their racial characteristics would not constitute an obstacle to economic advancement. Perhaps indicative of this general feeling was the hearty response to the repatriation call sent out by the Immigration Department sometime in July. I was informed by an authoritative source that over two hundred persons, exclusive of those families whose fathers were interned in detention camps, had filed applications for

2
being
disinherited
by them.

repatriation. In the latter case a tremendous conflict ensued especially where grown-up sons and daughters were involved. Cognizant of the animosity toward Nisei in Japan the mother generally desired to remain in America for the sake of her children but the father in most cases wished to return to Japan as soon as practicable.

*Che
Embue*

Some two hundred Hawaiian-Japanese at Santa Anita without exception were determined "to take the first clipper home". Many of them had come here directly after the last war and had succeeded in building up a thriving business in Los Angeles but were convinced that there would be no future for them in California. They fully realized that they would chafe under the restrictions of small town life but like Issei immigrants who looked ever longingly toward the country of their birth, their sentimental attachments pointed to Hawaii.

In contrast to these escapists was a small minority group of liberals who insisted on facing the problem realistically. They maintained that economic opportunities in the post-war Orient for the Nisei were nil and that their future lay in America. Because they feared that in the absence of White contact they might become more and more "Japanized" they clamored for Caucasian teachers so that little children would not lose complete touch with the outside world. They hoped that through sympathetic and progressive teachers their faith in democracy might be

restored and that assimilation would not be completely suspended.

Attitude Toward the JACL:

The majority of the center residents were convinced that the extreme unpopularity of the JACL would prevent its functioning after the war. They referred to it as a "thing of the past". Most of the Nisei claimed that they had been "sold down the river" by the JACL leaders and indicated a great desire to "get even" with them. With reference to their utterances in the Tolan hearings they declared: "They were self-appointed representatives of the Nisei and not our true leaders". Their dislike for the organization was so great that during the riot of August 4 many of the former JACL leaders received unwelcome visits and their apartments had to be protected by the military police. One of the primary causes for their unpopularity was that many felt that JACL members had turned in names of "dangerous" Japanese to the F.B.I. not for patriotic but mercenary reasons. In my walks through camp certain persons were frequently pointed out to me as former JACL members who had received twenty-five dollars a head for each Japanese they had sent to a detention camp. They were shunned by the rest of the population like lepers. By ridiculing and ignoring them they hoped to discipline other inu or dogs who might develop in camp.

Attitude Toward Whites

There was a pronounced feeling among the Japanese at

Santa Anita that the Caucasians in camp suffered a definite superiority complex and were totally unsympathetic toward their problems. Many of the Nisei contended that practically all of the W.C.C.A. officials if they did not say so outright implied in their actions that "after all, they're all Japs here whether citizens or not." They were especially indignant at the time E. E., director of the Recreation Department behaved in an "ungentlemanly" manner to a Nisei cop. According to eye witnesses E. E. who was supposed to make a boulevard stop refused to heed traffic regulations and was stopped by a Nisei policeman. At that time he is credited to have shouted: "Get the hell out of my way! I don't take orders from any slant-eyed Jap!" The infuriated cop retaliated by swearing back at him and as a consequence was confined in jail for several hours. A few days later he was reinstated in the police force but E. E. was not apprehended in any fashion by the center manager. The Japanese felt that it was a disgrace to have such a person directing an important office like the Recreation Department.

Another incident which greatly aroused the ire of center residents was Vaughn Kaufman's opposition to having Japanese Americans enter the war poster contest. They were particularly furious at the stand taken by him in an article which appeared in the Los Angeles Times of July 12, 1942, in which he maintained that Japanese Americans "are Japanese and

unfortunately become a partner to Japanese atrocities now being committed." The following is a reproduction of that controversial article:

AMERICAN-BORN JAP WANTS
TO ENTER WAR POSTER CONTEST

Whether or not to allow American-born Japanese to enter the war poster contest yesterday had members of the contest committee in something of a dither.

The contest, sponsored by the Art Directors Club of Los Angeles, runs until July 15. United States War Bonds valued at \$525 have been contributed by the Aircraft War Production Council, Inc., for the nine winners.

The committee last week received a note from Miss Setsuko Matsunaga, internee at Santa Anita Assembly Center, asking if "interned Americans" at the center could enter.

That note started a controversy which probably will not be settled until early this week.

Four members of the seven-man committee have expressed themselves as opposed to accepting entries from American-born Japanese. The other three have taken an opposite tack.

Vaughn Ksugman, committee chairman, speaking for the dissenters, said:

"We are at war. Maybe these Japanese youngsters do feel loyal to the United States. The fact still remains they are Japanese and unfortunately become a party to Japanese atrocities now being committed. I definitely do not feel that they should be considered as winners of any of the prizes or honorable mentions."

Speaking in favor of allowing entries from internees, Bob Freeman said:

"Of course they should be allowed to enter. They didn't consent to be born Japanese. Most of them are not in favor of the present Japanese government or its actions. From a standpoint of fairness, their work should be judged on ability, not on the attitude we think the general public may take."

When Huntington Drive which runs parallel to the

barbed wire fence surrounding the south end of the assembly center was closed to traffic because of the great number of "tourists" who came there on weekends to visit the "Japanese monkey farm", a rumor spread through camp that the authorities had been compelled to close it because two White men had thrown time bombs into camp and it had taken the guards an hour to destroy them. A few imaginative ones even claimed that they had actually seen the time bombs being thrown and had heard the Caucasians shouting to the sentries: "We'll get the Japs in spite of you!"

Whenever any friction occurred in camp it was blamed on the Jews who were said to entertain hatred toward the Japanese. Thus whenever bad meals were served in the mess halls they were attributed to the Jewish stewards and to a Jewish concern which had contracted to supply food to the mess halls. Even after the administration announced officially that the food supply came direct from the quartermasters' corps in San Bernardino, the rumor persisted that a Jewish company had subcontracted it from the army and was making profits on it. They claimed that the meals served could not cost fifty cents a head as allotted by the army and that someone -- in all probability the Jews -- was deriving profits from it.

This hostility toward Jews acquired from the general American public was enhanced in pre-evacuation days when a number of the Main Street Jews in Los Angeles bought up

the majority of the Little Tokyo stores at ridiculous prices while the more unscrupulous members of their group "robbed" non-English speaking Japanese of their homes and furniture. How many of the atrocities reported to have been committed by the Jews were true or not I was unable to ascertain but a prominent member of the Federal Security Bank in Los Angeles informed me that a number of them had reached their attention and they were employing legal means to apprehend them.

Outside Contact:

Many people who made it their duty to visit all of the assembly centers and relocation centers, such as ministers, social service workers, and others fired by humanitarian motives to help the evacuees, were convinced that Santa Anita was the most inhospitable to Caucasian visitors. They claimed that in other centers they could not only enter the camp but could actually visit their friends in the barracks themselves -- things unheard of at Santa Anita.

In order to receive visitors center residents were required to apply for permits five days in advance at the information centers in their respective districts. Furthermore, a duplicate permit had to be mailed to the expected visitor who was refused entrance into visitors' house without it. One day a week was set aside for each of the seven districts so that at the most one could see his non-Japanese friends only four times a month. The visits themselves were carefully regulated by the Arcadia police and

restricted to thirty minutes across a wide table, very similar to those generally found in waiting rooms of state penitentiaries. The tables were barely narrow enough to permit friends to shake hands but it was practically impossible for husbands and wives or sweethearts to embrace each other. All articles brought by visitors had to be carefully examined by the Arcadia police for contraband before they could be handed to the evacuees.

Because of the unnecessary strict supervision of visits by the police many unfortunate incidents occurred. At one time I encountered a very unhappy woman near the visitors' house and was told that her Caucasian husband had been drafted and was leaving for a draftees' camp next day but because of the wide table she was unable to kiss him good-bye. On another occasion I heard a policeman sharply reprimanding a Japanese woman for passing her little child across the table to her Negro husband. On later investigation I discovered that she had been brought to camp on a two-hour notice by the F. B. I. and since her husband worked as a porter on a streamliner she could not notify him of her dilemma. On his return to Los Angeles he had hurried to visit his family in camp but could not even fondle his child that he had not seen for nearly a month.

Political Organization

The so-called "self-government" officially went into effect on June 10 when the sectional representatives elected by center residents were sworn in at Government House by Mr. Wilkinson, Personnel Relations Officer. In the election held a week previous to the induction seven representatives had been elected from each of the seven districts in camp out of which one had been selected by the representatives themselves to present his district as its councilman. Issei as well as Nisei over 21 years of age were permitted to participate in the election. Characteristically enough only 5924 votes out of the eligible 10,365 were cast -- in other words only 57% of the registered voters took sufficient interest in community affairs to select their representatives to the council. It is extremely interesting to note that more than half of the elected representatives was Issei. This is probably accounted for by the fact that many of the Nisei were still too young to assume much responsibility while those who were qualified had already accepted more attractive jobs in other fields. It was also quite evident at Santa Anita that the Issei were much more concerned with the improvement of camp than the Nisei. While the younger generation talked glibly of "discrimination" and the "violation of rights as American citizens", the Issei were resigned to their fate and proceeded to make the best of it. Thus in all of the protest meetings aimed at the improvement of camp conditions I attended prior to the establishment of

"self-government", the majority were Issei.

The forty-nine sectional representatives met daily except Sundays by districts in Government House and discussed their individual problems which were later submitted to the community council by their councilmen. From the very beginning it must be admitted that self-government as practiced in Santa Anita was a farce and that the administration had no intentions of permitting it to become effective. As a direct result of the holding of the much publicized "secret meeting" on June 21, each sectional representative was compelled on July 4 to sign a resignation blank made out by the Personnel Relations Officer, automatically dissolving the Council. Later in July there were rumors of the Personnel Relations Officer appointing certain Nisei to a new community council but as far as I know these rumors were never substantiated. Apparently the order to discontinue self-government did not originate in San Francisco as implied by the administration because I am informed that army inspectors during their check-up after the riot of Aug. 4 expressed surprise on learning that the council was not in function at Santa Anita.

Perhaps at this point it might be advisable to give a brief résumé of the "secret meeting" which occurred in connection with one of the get-togethers of the residents and representatives of District 7 in Government House. Since center regulations demanded that any meeting held in camp had to take place in Government House with the sanction of the Personnel Relations Office, permission to do so was obtained from the head of the

Public Relations Office in the absence of the Personnel Relations Officer. T. S., temporary chairman, and other members of the council were invited as special guests to sit in at the meeting. The main topic of the evening, according to a participant, was centered on plans for asking the Spanish consul to help them improve conditions in camp. Toward the end of the discussion S. F., mentioned above, stood up to speak but was immediately drowned out by the conservative group who refused to permit him to speak because of his "Communistic" leanings. A fight ensued in which S. F. and two of his henchmen were slightly injured. At this point the police intervened and an investigation of all of the participants in the meeting was conducted by the F. B. I. next day resulting in the confinement of four individuals in the Los Angeles County jail and two others in Tujunga pending trial. The specific charges levelled against them were:

(1) They had not secured permission from the authorities to hold a meeting in Government House.

(2) They had utilized Japanese instead of the required English in conducting their meeting.

(3) No stenographer had been present to take down the minutes of the meeting.

With reference to the first charge I am informed by an authoritative source that permission was obtained from the head of the Public Relations Office in the absence of the Personnel Relations head. Unfortunately the permission was not secured in writing so that at the time of the investigation the official conveniently chose

to deny it. From my knowledge of the conforming Japanese I am certain that they would not have dared to hold a meeting in Government House in the face of disapproval. As far as the second charge is concerned I am told that the meeting commenced in English but since the majority of the participants were Issei, in the heat of the discussion the much easier Japanese was gradually substituted. A stenographer was present to take down the minutes of the meeting as required by the administration but when the conversation was changed to Japanese she was unable to translate it and therefore in no position to record it. T. S., temporary chairman, was held by the F. B. I. for not dissolving the meeting in his capacity as chairman of the council. His answer to that charge was that in the first place he was only a temporary chairman and had no authority to do so, and in the second place had attended the meeting in the capacity of a guest and his upbringing prevented him from displaying bad manners. Both T. S. and S. F. were taken to Tujunga but the latter regained his freedom within a few days as a consequence of his appointment to the Office of War Information. At the time of my departure from Santa Anita T. S. was still confined at Tujunga awaiting trial, while the other four had been indicted by the federal grand jury in Los Angeles for "holding a secret meeting against army regulations".

Three days after their arrest, the administration in a characteristic gesture posted a notice on the bulletin boards setting forth the rules governing meetings in camp. I do not

know whether it was an attempt on its part to justify the arrest or not, but at least it served to give definiteness to some of the nebulous "unwritten" laws in camp. The notice read as follows:

Administrative Notice No. 13

Rules Governing Meetings:

No meeting shall be sponsored or held by residents of this center having for its subjects a discussion of:

1. International Affairs.
2. National, State, County or City Politics.
3. Present war with Japan.

All Other Meetings:

It shall be the duty of the chairman, the sponsor, the promoter or any resident attending the meeting to comply with the following rules:

1. No language other than English, written or spoken, shall be used.
2. A request in writing to hold a meeting, with an agenda complete in every detail must be submitted to the Personnel Relations Officer to be routed to the center manager for final approval or disapproval.
3. One or more Caucasian American citizens representing the administration must be present at all meetings to act as an observer.
4. A complete stenographic transcription of the proceedings must be made, including the names of all speakers, and submitted to the Personnel Relations Officer within 24 hours after the adjournment of the meeting.

H. Russel Amory
Center Manager.

*Submitted by Tamie Tsuchiyama
Oct. 3, 1942.*