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RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE GILA COMMUNITY

The organization known as the Community Activities Department cares for the formal recreational needs of the center. This division, formerly under the directorship of Mr. Morton Gaba, was turned over to Mr. Robert K. Yeaton after Mr. Gaba became Assistant Director of Community Services. Mr. Yeaton's recent resignation has made it necessary that Mr. Gaba act again as recreation advisor. The Community Activities Division is directly under the Community Services Division, the department which deals directly with all matters which pertain to the evacuees themselves. After the resignation of Mr. Yeaton, Camp I recreation has been handled by Mr. Gaba while Mr. Lew Hoffman, the Community Services chief, has taken care of the formal recreation in Camp II. The division in the matter of recreation in the community should be understood to fall into two categories: the formal aspects of recreation in which the group or various groups participate, and the informal, which concerns individual recreation and the use of leisure time. Throughout the discussion which is to follow evidences of Japanese customs in the matters of handling leisure time and of formal and spontaneous recreational activity will be mentioned.

The formally organized recreational activity is under the sponsorship of the administration and subject to guidance by members of the Caucasian staff. As the result of changes in staff personnel the Community Activities Department has suffered somewhat and not presented the formal program which many of the Japanese would like to see. Gaba at first directed the organization of recreation in Camp I. As Camp II opened he turned his attention to Camp II, leaving in charge of the recreation department and organization in Camp I a rather

unfortunate choice in the person of one Takeo Tada, a Kibei who would naturally be unpopular with the majority of the Nisei. Tada is undoubtedly capable although he attempts to favor the Issei and Kibei in his judgments, deploring the bad manners of the Nisei, their poor and slovenly speech habits, and their desire for continual amusement. Tada is an organizer of some capabilities, a former secretary of the Los Angeles Japanese Chamber of Commerce, and it is perhaps for this reason that Gaba chose him. Tada does not know American games and is found to have difficulties in organizing outdoor sports. Gaba, likewise, is not one to organize outdoor games and sports being rather unfamiliar with the rules and procedures. This fact, coupled with Tada's unpopularity, has somewhat hurt the formal recreational organization and contributed to Gaba's failure to find cooperation among the Japanese, particularly the Nisei. Many of the Issei objected to Gaba's administration of the recreational division, saying that the younger people did not have enough to keep them organized, amused, and out of trouble. Yeaton held the position of recreational leader for so short a time that no startling changes were effected by him. Gaba and Hoffman will probably not have changed the recreational set-up or the attitudes toward it which the community as a whole at present holds. The position of a recreation chief is open in both camps.

Gaba's department however, has sanctioned the formation of numerous organizations depending on the will of the community. The department is handicapped in that it lacks adequate funds with which to carry on a full scale program of recreation. Books, magazines, games, athletic equipment, lumber for various clubs, and the thousand other items needed to carry on a full program must be solicited through such organizations on the outside as

schools and colleges, church groups, Y.M.C.A.'s, charities, and from other benevolent institutions. It is difficult to obtain materials of this sort now inasmuch as the army is also looking for similar equipment. The only equipment available to Gaba at the time he took the post he now holds was the small amount of material supplied by the W.R.A., the scrap lumber pile, and the willingness of the evacuees to help organize a fitting program. True, the recreation halls, one to each block, provided some meeting place for those interested in activities of various sorts.

I do not wish to devote too much space to the description of the formal activities of the community but would rather turn to the group division and the attitudes manifested by the various groups with regard to recreational activities. The administration turned its attention first to the matter of Nisei recreation, perhaps because this group clamored for games, dances, and related activities. Thus organized games, athletic activities, dances and institutions such as clubs, etc. were the first items to be considered by the administrative staff. Gaba urged that spontaneous group activities such as block talent shows, group picnics, etc. be allowed full freedom. It was thus hoped that the evacuees could exercise a certain amount of control of their own in the matters pertaining to their own entertainment.

Under the auspices of the administration attention was paid to the organization of many different activities. The Nisei were allowed to form a dance band, a dance committee, a drama group, young peoples' clubs, intramural athletic leagues, such as ping-pong, softball, football, a model airplane club, singing groups, etc. These were brought under

way almost as soon as a number of interested people could be assembled in the new community. Full as this program was it did not succeed in reaching all the people in the community. The items mentioned above are of interest for the most part only to the Nisei and a limited group of Nisei at that. The smaller children and the older Nisei and Issei were left out. Gaba had much else to consider in his organization of the community activities department. Under this department the problems of the newspaper, of church groups, libraries, and the few features of adult education as yet organized must be solved. With such a burden it is little wonder that the aspects of problems which dealt primarily with recreation had to suffer. The older people became quite worried over the idleness of many of the Nisei, particularly those of high school age, who, in the early stages of the community development, were merely waiting until the schools opened. Thus the Issei did much to keep the young people entertained and arranged impromptu entertainments along Japanese lines.

Many of the Issei were opposed to the dances which were arranged for every Saturday night in both camps. Some regarded the dances as ~~X~~ events which tended to undermine the morals of the younger people. The family objections to the dances have already been mentioned. The mess hall personnel objected to having dances held in the dining halls over which they had jurisdiction on the ~~same~~ ground that the young people made too much mess with their empty popbottles and cigarette butts. They refused to clean up after the dances. People living near the mess halls to be used for dances objected because of the noise and music. For a few weeks no dances could be held. The

Issei who were opposed to the dances believed that they had won their point and that dances were no longer to be held. When some of the blocks were isolated for the schools and community services departments, the mess halls in these empty blocks were made into dance halls. The hue and cry that arose over the dances in these empty blocks was remarkable. The number of protests was great. Smith issued a statement that if the young people could not have dances, the playing of go-shogi would have to stop. It was said that there was sufficient enthusiasm on the part of the young people to warrant the continuation of dances. Weekly dances are now held in the school block mess-halls in both camps.

The dances are rather typical of those held in a high school or small college. There is a certain amount of shyness on the parts of the boys at first which gradually wears down. Even though couples come to the dances it is quite usual for the boys to gang together on one side of the hall and the girls on the other. The dances in Camp II are accompanied by record music but a dance orchestra has been organized in Camp I. There is no piano available to the orchestra, pianos limited to churches as yet, and there is no bass drum. The result is that the beat of the music played is often off. Many Nisei go in for "jitterbugging" and perform elaborate acts on the dance floor. In the main the dancing is conservative. One remarkable thing is noticed as one watches the dancers. The sense of rhythm is very poor among the Japanese. Many dancers, although they know the dance steps well, have difficulty in keeping the tempo with any degree of accuracy. Naturally, the lack of proper^{tempo}/in the dance band is a cause for this. Even when records are played the evacuee young people seem to lack for the most part an innate

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sense of rhythm comparable to that of a similar group of young Caucasian people. One amusing statement was made over the public address system by the master of ceremonies. Pretending that he was leading a radio broadcast, he said: "This is station J-A-P, Rivers, Arizona. Many of the young people go to the dances alone or with groups of their own sex. Couples sometimes appear. With Issei objection to the dances however, it is not often that a young man will call for a "date" at her home. The dances last from 8:00 PM to 11:00 PM, soda pop is served. Most of the young people go straight home after the dance but many linger on the ditch bank, the "lovers' lane" of the community.

The Issei are divided among themselves about the dances. Some say that dancing is a sin, that it promotes sexual and immoral activity, and that it is generally bad for the young people. These people that western dances are banned in modern Japan. Other Issei more reasonably state that dancing provides a release for the young people and that dancing should be permitted. The objection that dances too frequently take up all the attention of young people, some girls especially, is not without foundation. The matter was brought up to the community council which had been only recently organized. The members agreed that dancing should be permitted until its effect on the morals of the young people could be observed.

Every evening intramural ball games are being played, these games drawing large crowds of spectators. Now, in the Fall, football will be the main attraction. When I left Gila, intramural football teams were being organized. Nearly all the Nisei boys engage in these games. A judo club was organized in

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the hope of satisfying the recreational needs of some of the more "nipponized" Nisei and Issei. Although the participants in this club are mainly Nisei and Kibei, the Issei watch the daily contests with enjoyment. The more advanced judo enthusiasts, some of the Kibei who hold "black belts", the sign of a master judo artist, have organized a separate and rather exclusive judo club. Kendo, Japanese fencing, is not contemplated because of its Japanese nationalistic character. Many other athletic activities are gradually being organized. Baseball and volley ball for girls, a basket ball pavilion, a dam in the dyke for swimming, etc. are all newly acquired features of the recreation department.

Outside of the organized Nisei activities which pertain to the formal aspects of recreation, there are those features which are designed to answer the needs of all groups. The library is managed by the recreation division. Its books and periodicals have been contributed by benevolent individuals in the neighborhood. Libraries are now set up in both camps and managed under Japanese librarians, some of whom have had actual library training. Childrens' books are handled by the education department and a separate school library has been organized for them. Books are loaned for one week. At the present writing there are 3,000 volumes available to the settlers but equally divided between the two camps. The recreation department brings in lecturers and speakers on a variety of subjects. Representatives of the National Park Service have been brought to the camp to discuss the flora and fauna, the geology and geography of the Southwest. To the great majority of evacuees Arizona is a new country. They are continually amazed at the strangeness of the desert and at its plant and animal life. The fear of snakes, scorpions and other

like vermin^s very marked. These lectures, accompanied by slides, have done much to interest the population in the country and to educate them in its peculiarities. The following at such lectures is very large. All groups and ages attend. Particular interest was shown when a ranger naturalist mentioned the archaeological sites of the vicinity. A number of the Nisei turned pothunters. They did not find any sites however although there is a fairly large HO-Ho-Kam site in the vicinity. It should be mentioned here parenthetically, that the Japanese are extremely interested in the Indians. Not only do the Indians and Japanese both feel that they are persecuted minority groups but the fact that the Mongolian antecedents of both have been so instilled in their minds makes them feel a relationship. There has been much by-play between the Indians and the Japanese settlers. The Japanese have hired Indians to give them rides to various points, even outside of the community into restricted territory and the Indians are glad to help. Some of the Indians have told me "These are my brothers" and shake their heads bitterly when reminded of the evacuation situation. One or two of the Pimas, traders who know other Indian languages, have picked up words and phrases of Japanese and very solemnly greet the evacuees in that language. Indians may be seen around the camp at all times, not only those employed there but also those who come to see new Japanese friends. A group of Japanese, knowing me as an anthropologist, have asked me to give a series of lectures on Indians and Indian life when I return to Gila.

Another feature which has general appeal to all the Japanese is the moving picture. Father Clement of the Maryknoll Fathers brought a projector to the camp and showed an outdoor production. Nearly all the settlers attended, young and old alike, and obvious-

ly enjoyed the picture, a Western depiction of crime in Arizona. The joke was appreciated by nearly everyone.

More important than the formally organized recreational activities sponsored by the administration are the features of general interest which are sponsored by the settlers themselves. In such cases the help of the administration is usually asked in providing a stage and in making a public announcement through the newspaper. Such productions are spontaneous with the Japanese and demand no administrative supervision. The Japanese seem inordinately fond of talent shows, dramatic productions, and various kinds of vaudeville. Each block has a talent show at frequent intervals, the various blocks ~~rising with~~ rivalling one another in the extent and lavishness of the entertainment they are able to produce and in the amount of talent they have. The talent show is something that is well known to the Japanese way of life, being a common rural form of entertainment in Japan. In order to present these dramatic productions it is necessary to have a stage. Gaba hoped that he could have a large concrete outdoor stage on which he could arrange that dances be held and which could serve as a place for the talent shows and other dramatic performances. Material was not available with the result that groups of carpenters voluntarily collected wood from the scrap lumber pile and built a large stage in the west firebreak of Camp I. In Camp II no such stage has as yet been built. The individual blocks, when they have need of an outdoor stage, since the recreation halls will not hold the crowds, request the use of two trucks. These are backed together and the flat beds make an adequate stage. A public address system is owned by the community and has been lent out to each block desiring to use it for the talent shows. There is one such system

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in each camp.

The talent show, or engekai, as it called in Japanese, is very popular. There ~~is~~ have been a number of such shows in the camp which were sponsored by various groups. Not only does each block have its own ~~is~~ engekai, but also various groups such as the Y.B.A., the Young Christian Club, the ~~WOM~~ Older Mens' Club, and many others. There is always a master of ceremonies who introduces the performers and keeps up the interest of the audience with jokes, etc. The shows are almost exclusively conducted in Japanese. A good example of the procedure followed in the engekai which is fairly standard is taken from the show held by combined blocks 8 and 9 on September 12, 1942. This was held out of doors on the truck stage described above. About 2,000 were present, very nearly half of Camp I. The master of ceremonies opened the program with a speech in Japanese in which he welcomed some of newcomers to Gila and hoped that all would enjoy the show about to be presented. He introduced a Mr. Inouye who chanted a naniwabushi for a very long time. Mr. Inouye received quite an ovation on this accomplish~~ment~~ment. As an encore after much applause, part of which was urged on by the master of ceremonies, he recited a Japanese heroic ballad. The curtain, festooned with paper flowers, was then drawn over the stage and a new performer came on. In the intermissions between performances, the master of ceremonies told jokes in Japanese or music was played on the victrola, all such music being in Japanese style. A small group then came on, representing even to the untutored eye of an Occidental, a Chinese and two Japanese gentlemen. The Japanese were clad in their best western clothes while the man representing the Chinese was rather unkempt, wearing a Mandarin coat, a skull cap, and a pig-tail. A long dialogue followed which

was considered ~~very~~ simply hilarious. The Chinaman was selling medicines to the Japanese who were doing him out of his wares for very little and then fleecing him of his money. The Chinaman spoke Japanese with a terrific Chinese accent, pronouncing his 'r's as 'l's, saying "ollimas" instead of the proper "arimasu", and pretending to swear in Chinese when things did not go his way. The audience was virtually overcome with mirth. When they had finished, they were asked to do the performance over again. The third feature was "Gamblers' Song", sung and acted out by two young men. It was very long and involved and resembled the American "Shooting of Dan McGrew". These two also received encores and sang solos. A girl then sang Japanese songs accompanied by herself on the samisen. She sang the plaintive love songs of Japan in the classical manner with much throaty ululation and no perceptible rhythm. From the Japanese point of view the songs of this girl were extremely well rendered, being quite true to the Japanese style of singing. She was highly complimented by the master of ceremonies for her performance. Another man played for a long while on the shakohachi, Japanese flute, and was well received. Five acts of this kind just about consume a whole evening. The engekai performances do not vary much from one show to another. The songs, naniwabushi, and acts are pretty similar. The audience always enjoys the show and for the most part remains until the show is over, even though it may mean standing for two hours or more. The engekai is the principal entertainment feature for all groups in the Gila community. In the enjoyment of this kind of entertainment the community is well unified. There are of course, Nisei who deplore the survival of the Japanese language and customs in the presentations of this kind but they are in the

minority.

Nisei entertainments on the strictly American plan are sometimes arranged through the recreation department. The Christian young people have taken special interest in these shows which are more typically American. A social get-together was held in Camp I as soon as it filled up. This was a show to which the whole camp was invited. A young Methodist man was master of ceremonies. Contrary to the engekai, this performance was held in English, the master of ceremonies speaking only English and urging that American songs be sung. The whole program was reminiscent of a high-school program of a similar nature. A good many Issei did attend however. There were about 1,500 present, and in this case, the audience was less in sympathy with the performers. There were comedy acts, clowns acting as acrobats, a demonstration of model airplanes, and finally a community songfest. The audience was asked to sing rounds, popular songs, spirituals, and to play ~~XXXXXX~~ games with songs. The game took the following form: the audience was divided into two parts, the idea being a kind of contest. The M.C. would suggest a sentence to be made from a name of a state. The side that thought of the last sentence won. Such a game as "What did Ida-hoe?" "How did Wiscon-sin?" etc. The audience was restive and not much response was given to the singing. The Christian young people attempted to carry the whole burden of the singing while their Buddhist neighbors looked rather askance at them. The show was not a success. Group singing, any activity, in fact, in which the audience must take a kind of impromptu role, is unpopular. The Japanese do not like to show off except when there is a formal occasion for doing so as on the stage. It is surprising to note that many older people take a very active part in stage

shows of the Japanese type. Older men will present themselves to an audience to sing while some older women can be prevailed upon to sing or ~~XXXXX~~ recite.

These are the organized recreational activities of the communities at Gila. It will be necessary to do a further study of such organized groups and their relation to the community as a whole. Only a suggestion has been given here. But the organized activities do not affect all classes in the community. Organized recreation, whether sponsored by the administration or by the settlers themselves, cannot provide a full time occupation for all classes within the community. The occupation of leisure time, of which, for some groups, there is a great deal, is an important subject. A baseball game, an engekai, a dance, cannot occupy all the leisure moments of the Japanese. Just how individuals in the community occupy their time when not concerned with work, with organized amusement and the like is important to the morale of the center. It is hoped that some of the answers to this ~~problem~~ question may be given here.

Aside from the fact that they believe evacuation demoralizing ~~XXXXX~~ for the young people, most of the older, settled Issei are not strongly opposed to living in the relocation center at Gila. They argue that they formerly had to do a great deal of work, that their social circles were limited, and that it was hard to meet rising prices and engage in the difficulties of making a living on the outside. In the relocation center, although they do have all the privacy they would like, they feel that they are amply taken care of, that they have an opportunity for social intercourse which formerly was denied them. Most of them would not admit the fact that they actually

like the lives they lead in the relocation center. Of course there are chronic complainers who would not be happy under any circumstances. The group referred to here is the fairly extensive one composed of older people who have reared their children and who have "retired" in the Japanese sense. Conflicts with their older Nisei children are not so marked as among active Issei with children who have just arrived at maturity. This Issei group does not work. The women meet and visit, they sew and gossip, go to the mess hall, sleep late if they choose to do so, and find that they are free to come and go as they wish in the center. Since they know other associations but Japanese, they prefer to remain where they are and the sense of confinement does not touch them. The same is true of the men. In pre-evacuation days, both "retired" men and women had to do some amount of work. Often they had to help in the farm, shop, nursery, or other business. Now the men can argue as they please and have all the time in the world. They play go-shogi, rest during the day, read, visit, and talk. On Sundays most of the older people go to church. To be sure, many of them are dissatisfied with the situation, many were used to better and more comfortable lives in the pre-evacuation period. In the main there is contentment among the older Issei. A recreation program does not need to touch them; they are living as full a life as they know.

The younger Issei, men and women still able, people of middle age and even younger, are a greater problem. The Issei range in age from about 25 - 30, of whom there are very few, 30 - 40, of whom the majority are closer 40, while the major Issei age group is that of individuals between 50 and 65 or 70. The Issei men of the ages between 40 and 60 prove the most difficult.

These individuals often have lost money, position, or business through evacuation. They attempt to control the young people, to be the masters in their households, and to maintain their rightful Japanese positions as family heads. They participate in Japanese activities but in the main are inclined to view the attempts the administration is making at recreation for them with some suspicion and uncooperative bitterness. They seem to resist attempts on the part of the administration to offer them recreation. On the other hand, most of them are responsible family men and willing to cooperate with the administration by working, by engaging in political activities, and by attempting to help the Caucasian staff make the community habitable. I am of course attempting to depict the trends of the majority; there are numerous exceptions to this group. These men resist when their own recreation is mentioned. Perhaps they wish to see a program of recreation more fully under way for the Nisei, although many such Issei believe that work, rather than play is to be the salvation of most of the Nisei. The project for an older mens' baseball team was dropped because of lack of interest, even though the older men follow the Nisei intramural baseball league with interest. Similarly, the Older Mens' Club, although it has some members, has not launched a successful program for recreation. This Issei group seeks its amusement in a number of ways, however. The Issei men watch the games of the Nisei, they witness judo matches, they visit and converse at great length with one another. Best of all, however, they like the talent shows and the go-shogi contests in which they can and will participate. Aside from the go-shogi club sponsored by the administration, there are literally hundreds of the various go games going on every evening. (No pun intended)

These, along with traditional Japanese hana, a game like poker, form the evening's entertainment for these Issei. The men meet at engekai and laughingly encourage some of their members to perform. So keen is their interest in amateur dramatics, that they are eager to help out where they can in the informal block entertainments. It was from among their number that a group volunteered to build the recreation divisions outdoor stage. Most of the individuals in this group are employed. They work on the farm, around the camp as laborers, truckers, gardeners, etc. The 44 hour week is long. In the main they retire early and for the most part are glad to spend their leisure time with family and friends and in the activities mentioned above.

The activities of the women of this age group are closely allied with those of the older women. Some of these younger and middle-aged Issei matrons have smaller children, or at least children of high school age. They must care for the house, wash the clothes, mend, and the like. Their mornings seem to be occupied with activities of this sort, with their children, and with other home tasks. In the afternoon they visit with the other women, walk about the community, and are very content with the life they lead, becoming disturbed when conflicts arise between father and children, or when the Nisei children protest against evacuation. The women of this group do not attempt to resist the efforts of the administration to keep them amused and occupied as do their men. There are women's sewing classes, a Woman's club, and sewing circles to which many of them belong. They are not too occupied but they seem content with their existence.

The foregoing remarks indicate that the Issei men and women,

old and young alike, are fairly well adjusted to community life. Their tastes are simple for the most part and they do not have the restlessness and lack of stability which comes out so clearly in the Nisei groups. To be sure, there is nostalgia, some bitterness, some hopelessness, and a number of maladjusted individuals. One cannot help feeling that the Issei in the main, opposed though they are to American ways and activities, are attempting to live at peace with themselves and their children, trying to make the Gila center a habitable and pleasant place, and to understand the processes of evacuation in order to prove themselves loyal and patriotic in their adopted country. This is the rule rather than the exception. Unfortunately, the bulk of these people live peacefully in the background; the trouble makers and the maladjusted come to prominence.

It is difficult to portray the infinite number of ways in which the Nisei spend their leisure time. So much depends on the background of the individual, his tastes, his degree of Americanization, his position in the community, the locality from which he came, his associations, his religion, his education. The Nisei seem to ally themselves socially on a basis of education and interests. Sakoda's description of typical Nisei as opposed to progressive, liberal, etc. Nisei is certainly applicable at Gila. The typical Nisei finds his social outlet in his own group. At Gila the typical Nisei ranges in age from 14 to about 27-28. The interests are much the same; there is a kind of timid hold on American ways and a marked preference for them as opposed to the precepts and customs of Japan. This group is anything but constructive in its application of leisure time. Conversation, gossip, dances, dates, shows, games, entertainments of all kinds, in

short, a kind of adolescent outlook which persists into young adulthood. Some of them marry, but when they do they seem to drop out of the business of being typical Nisei and at Gila, at least, revert to a more conservative stand demanded of young married people by the Issei in the community. This group is rather typically Japanese in its fear of ridicule for failure to conform to the standards of the group. Most such Nisei at Gila have rural backgrounds, a high school education, either completed or in process. Struck with a fervent love for things American, they are at a loss to understand why they should be evacuated and have to suffer the ~~many~~ rigors of an internment camp. They are eager to be of help in the community. The boys work around the camp in semi-skilled positions, the girls are waitresses, secretaries, clerks, and assistants to a number of enterprises. In the leisure time activities, there is much to keep this group occupied. This is the group which fits exactly into the prescribed recreational program of the administration and finds a host of activities to keep themselves occupied. Games, dances, social events are their aim and purpose. They want to be amused and they succeed. Their penchant for sociability is a worry to their parents, but at least, they, of all the groups at Gila, are the busiest. Attention must be paid to the more specific ways in which they occupy their time and the number of individuals who participate in the organized recreational aspects of the community. In the main these Nisei are not intellectual. I should estimate that about half of the Nisei fall into this typical Nisei category. The rest are divided between conservative, progressive, liberal, and intellectual Nisei who rather look down their noses at such a whirlwind round of social events.

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The educated group among the Nisei seeks companionship among its own group. The group on the whole is ~~very~~ small. Attempts have been made to launch a program of adult education and university extension courses for this group. It is among these individuals that the most dissatisfaction occurs.

There is considerable further information available on the Nisei recreation problems but space and time do not allow the full description necessary. It is hoped that this section will be continually supplemented by observers in the field.

The following items were not discussed in this report because of the lack of time in which to complete it. A ~~XX~~ supplementary note will be forwarded shortly from Gila.

Elaboration of the recreation program and the discussion of leisure time for the individual and the social group.

Social disorganization

1. Gambling
2. Drunkenness
3. Rumors
4. Thefts
5. Brawls and fights
6. Malicious gang activities

Attitudes, manners, personal relations, etc.

Personalities in the Gila Center

Fears

LANGUAGE

Cooperative ~~INSTITUTIONS~~ institutions in the pre-evacuation days such as tanomoshi or kumi-ai and their present application in the Gila Center.

There are of course, many additional problems for further research which will be taken into consideration on my return to Gila.

ADDENDA TO INFORMATION ON THE CAS

As has been pointed out in previous reports, Hikida is coordinator of CAS; and under Hoffman in Butte Camp has been acting virtually as head of all activities in the center. Butte's CAS is better organized than Canal's. A change in administration has recently come about however. Hoffman, as Director of Community Services for the Gila Relocation Center, had been in charge of recreation in Butte until such time as an individual could be hired to take charge solely of recreational activities. Similarly, Gaba, Assistant Director of Community Services, had been acting in this capacity in Canal. Gaba had not been so successful in finding an evacuee to handle the recreational situation as Hoffman had been. Hikida functions solely under Hoffman in Butte. Greater strides had been made in Butte to mold the CAS, but the fact that both Hoffman and Gaba are hesitant to relegate authority to an evacuee has meant that CAS in both camps has suffered because of the lack of Caucasian headship. Beginning in February of 1943, Caucasian heads were found to take over the recreation program in each camp and, at the present writing, they are only beginning to take over their tasks, with the result that it is difficult to say what their effect will be.

The discussion of the CAS to follow here which is in addition to the material already given is understood to concern only the Butte Camp. Hikida, as coordinator, has had under him various directors of various activities. A young Issei has acted as assistant coordinator as well as the head of Nisei recreation. This is Jiro Oishi, who has not been too popular a choice so far as the evacuees are concerned. George Yamashiro had been acting head of Issei recreational activities and had been the representative of his own Kibei Club on the CAS. A head of the activities of clubs and organizations on the CAS was found in the person of Earle Yusa. Several other activity heads were represented on the CAS staff such as Boys' Director, Girls' Director, Music and Art leaders, Athletic Directors, and the like. These made up the CAS Council, a body which proved to

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be most ineffective. In addition to this, was contemplated a groups and organizations Council which has been described to some extent.

The Clubs and Organizations Council was arranged at Hikida's suggestion in order to effect a check on the activities of the two strongly opposed Nisei clubs, that is to say, the Gila Young People's Association and the JACL. It was the design of Hikida to bring these two groups closer together by mutual understanding which could^{be} effected by a Clubs and Organizations Council, thus, fomenting better relationships. It was Hikida's design to find a common objective for these two organizations in the center to break down the rivalry between them. The Gila Young People's Association, under the leadership of the Chairman of the Board of Governors, Fukamoto, was most antagonistic to this objective on the part of the CAS. George Yamashiro, in speaking to his group, denounced some of the Nisei on the CAS staff. He was reprimanded by Hikida for this with the result that Hikida's position as advisor to the Gila Young People's Club became ineffective. He, himself, became unpopular with the group at large and could exert no influence over them. Instead of bringing about better relationship, he only made matters worse.

Hikida's plan in the CAS has been all along to make use of this organization to break down the strong feeling of rivalry which exists between the two generations. In order to push this program, Hikida has brought about the suggestion of the formation of CAS wards, similar to those now in existence at Tule Lake. This plan, however, is thus far only a suggestion. It is proposed that these wards, made up of several blocks, be designed to cover activities for both Issei and Nisei. Of course, certain activities such as sports, block clubs, and the like, are spontaneous and have been organized without pressure from the administration. It is the design of the CAS to act as advisor to all such clubs and to aid in getting them started, placing what limited facilities there are at their disposal and according to them a certain amount of beneficial supervision. Although many blocks have taken spontaneous initiative in putting up basketball and volleyball courts and in formulating

their own block clubs, Hikida hopes that the CAS will step in and attempt to coordinate these activities for both generations. As the situation exists at the moment, all available space has been utilized by the Nisei. Nisei organizations made use of the mess and recreation halls. Nisei athletics come to the fore in each block as the result of the erection of these courts mentioned above, with the result that the Issei feel left out of things, and there is considerable Issei criticism.

Nisei leadership in the CAS is pretty much at a minimum. The result is that the Issei are beginning to take a more active interest in the CAS and on the intellectual side to surpass the Nisei. Hikida still hopes to bring in both activities and to attribute to them an equal emphasis. He is not, however, getting the support of Hoffman, who does not take this situation particularly seriously, and the rivalry between the two generations in the matter of recreation has only been increased. Hikida, himself, is more or less alone in his desire to bring about the formation of block clubs and of wards so that a full recreational program may be kept continually and smoothly running.

Hikida is opposed to a purely recreational program, but desirous of bringing in discussion and study groups. The Nisei block clubs make use of block facilities in order to hold parties of a recreational nature such as dances, social get-togethers, and the like, and there is considerable Issei criticism in view of the fact that the CAS itself sponsors a weekly dance in both camps for all of the Nisei. Hikida's program of attempting to organize the Issei on the basis of an intellectual level is meeting with some success. Committees have been appointed from each block among the Issei and have met with Mr. Hikida in order to launch a program of education for the Issei. This has already begun in some blocks inasmuch as requests for these programs have appeared from time to time since the inception of the Gila Project. The Issei are anxious to have forum meetings at various times during the week in each block. The difficulty lies in the problem of control of such meetings since the discussion will take place in the Japanese

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language. It is hoped that the speaker and the block residents will engage in active discussion which is important to the cause of the Issei and Nisei alike. Hikida hopes to use this plan of Issei block programs in bringing across such ideas as geography of relocation, the necessity for resettlement, problems of assimilation, and the like. He wishes to have people discuss such matters as property loss, business, insurance, and so on.

The CAS Council, being composed largely of Nisei, is unwilling to take Hikida's proposal of such Issei block clubs too seriously. Even in the CAS a split occurs between the two generations on the basis of what each wants. The CAS Council is now meeting twice weekly. Reorganization of the staff is taking place under the leadership of the new recreational director. This is the third time that a reorganization of the CAS staff has taken place. The purpose is to find adequate leadership from among the center residents, and it is difficult in a community of this kind which is composed largely of rural people to find people who have had the training and who can appreciate the problems of both generations. Hikida alone is unable to take the sole initiative, without the sanction of the administrative officials. This has not been forthcoming with the result that the Nisei side of the CAS is split between JAACL, non-JAACL, and Kibei. The Nisei have the facilities, the Issei have none. It is significant to note, however, that the Issei are organized from the point of view of the type of recreational program which they want.

A clubs and Organizations Council can draw lines for the types of activities which is most worthwhile for each generations, but a Clubs and Organizations Council has been unsuccessful in maintaining itself because so many organizations are still awaiting Hoffman's official recognition. The Kibei Club is, for example, although recognized and given a recreation hall, has not been permitted to send a representative to the CAS Clubs and Organizations Council. The same is true of the Sumu Club, the Kendo Club, and so on. Such organizations as the Model Airplane Club are entitled to representation. The result is stupidly chaotic and has arisen out of the fact that there has been lack of supervision from above in regard to the formation

of the CAS. The Clubs and Organizations Council is designed to be subject to the CAS Council proper. It is to present passage of various recommendations to the CAS Council for approval. Until the CAS Council can properly organize, there can be no function for a Clubs and Organizations Council. For example, the position of the athletic head has not as yet been filled. The CAS desires to control athletics in the various blocks but is unable to find the personnel to do it. Without the personnel and without leadership, Nisei recreation is almost at a stand-still except for a spontaneous block and organizations activities. These arise, not from above, but from within the evacuee group itself.

Issei recreation seems to have a better start but lacks the approval of the administration. Such a situation has given rise to considerable resentment among the Issei who feel that they are being left out. It is hoped that under the new administrative reorganization, a more equitable arrangement can be effected.

Robert F. Spencer
Gila

November 2, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. E. R. Smith, Project Director

FROM: Morton J. Gaba

SUBJECT: COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION report
July 21-August 31, 1942

The work of the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION in the first five and one half weeks of the Gila River Relocation Center centered about the following three major aspects:

1. The selection and development of the staff.
2. The designing, building, and equipping recreation halls and play-fields, and
3. The planning and initial development of a program.

Staff Selection and Organization

The first staff appointments were made from residents who had been employed in the recreation department of the Turlock Assembly Center. All appointments, it was announced, were temporary, pending the filling up of the Project. All appointments, in addition, were made without regard to specific assignments, and workers were appointed in all branches of the program without regard to previous Assembly Center experience. This was done both because the initial program called for all-around workers, and because in some instances the Assembly Center occupational classifications was not acceptable.

As members of the White Zone began to enter the Project, additional workers were recruited from among these applicants.

At the present time, 42 persons comprise the staff of the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION. These consist in addition to activity workers: carpenters, poster artists, office staff, janitor, Red Cross and Boy Scout leaders, librarian, needle-work leaders, and messengers. Thirty-six of these people comprise the staff of the Canal Camp and six of the Butte Camp. In addition, nine workers have been on the staff but no longer so remain, due to termination of employment both voluntary and involuntary.

Within the last week more definite job classifications have been made because of the development of the activity program and better knowledge of the Activity workers' capabilities. The staff of the Canal Camp is now virtually completed with the possible exception of the addition of a qualified Issei (Japanese born) worker, and the addition of such craft, sports, and playground instructors as the expanding program may demand. The work of selecting and organizing the Butte Camp staff is now under way.

Mr. Takeo Tada, a Fresno State graduate and former Japanese Chamber of Commerce

executive secretary has been named Assistant Supervisor of Community Activities for the Canal Camp.

Recreation Halls and Play Fields

The development of the use of recreation halls and the building of play fields has been extremely handicapped by the physical crowding of the Canal Camp. For over two weeks not a single recreation hall was available to the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION, all of them being used for housing. It is only within the last week that the Housing Department has been able to turn the recreation halls back to the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION.

Due to the unevenness of the terrain, the play areas could not be used until they were leveled. Accordingly the soft ball and other field game programs had to be postponed until leveling machinery was available. This week the leveling equipment was made available by the Farm Management Department and five soft ball fields have now been leveled, and bases and backstops made and put in position.

The following club houses have been adapted for Activity use:

1. The Go-Shogi Club. The Go-Shogi Club uses Recreation Hall 23. This hall has been completely equipped with benches, tables, screens, desks, and chairs by the Go-Shogi enthusiasts. Practically all of the lumber was secured from the scrap pile, but approximately \$10.00 was raised from among the members for the purchase of additional supplies.
2. Buddhist Church. Recreation 4 was turned over to the Buddhists for the use as a church. Benches seating over 400 were built by members out of scrap lumber and additional wood for an altar was purchased for the church at a cost of \$17.00.
3. Young People's Club. Tables, benches, card tables, chesterfields, and lounge chairs are being built by the Community Activities carpenters for the Young People's Club which will occupy Recreation Hall 8 as soon as the present housing shortage is alleviated.
4. Judo Club. The Judo Club occupies Recreation Hall 25. Mattresses and Tarpaulins requisitioned from the warehouse have been utilized to make a number of Judo mats.
5. Library. Due to the shortage of scrap lumber, the building of library shelves and receiving desk is proceeding slowly. Detailed plans have been drawn, however, and lumber supplies requisitioned.

As soon as lumber is available, detailed plans will be put into effect to develop a boys' club, women's club, men's club, several social halls and the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION office and equipment room.

As has been mentioned above, six soft ball fields have been built complete with backstops and are in daily use; horizontal bars and rings have been built; swimming pool is in the process of being developed; basketball backstops are being built by the section carpenters; and a survey for a nine-hole miniature golf course is being carried on.

Program

The staff of the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION feels that much of the leisure time program of the Project should stem from the recreation halls. The lack of adequate housing makes the use of recreation halls as substitute living rooms imperative. For this reason plans have been developed so that each age and interest group in the Project can have the use of a recreation hall which they can regard as their own, and to which they can invite their friends for social gatherings and informal entertainment.

To this end a boys' club room is being adapted to provide space for the meeting of boys' clubs and for the development of boys' crafts programs. Already a Boy Scout Troop has been organized which will undertake as its initial project the equipping of this club room. Similarly a model airplane club comprised of 45 members plan to utilize the craft section of this club room.

To date the girls' club room has not been utilized due to the fact that the residents are still living in this allotted recreation hall, but plans have been drawn up which call for the development of a girls' club room, the building of a model livingroom and a kitchen so that girls who live in the Project will be able to maintain their former domestic skills in other than classroom surroundings. Similarly, girls' crafts will be stressed.

What is hoped will be one of the most successful of the club room projects is the as yet unnamed Young People's Club. This club is designed to provide lounge facilities for young people between the ages of 18 and 35. A representative committee has been formed and plans are under way to transform the club into a typical lounge which will provide for the young people a place where they can escape the typically drab living conditions of the project. Thus, they plan to equip the club with carpets, sofas, curtains, lamps, and other symbols of civilized living. Much, if not all, of the furniture is being made by the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION carpenters but the profits from the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION dances are used to purchase materials that cannot be made locally. This club room--a name contest of which is being currently held--will also be used for informal discussion groups, music appreciation hours, etc. It is hoped that one end can be partitioned off so that informal recitals and entertainments can be given.

Go and Shogi represent two of the most popular of the Japanese table games. They are played usually by the ¹ssais. The Go-Shogi Club which is practically completed is already heavily used by at least 100 members daily. No formal publicity has been released, however, and it is expected that several hundred persons will use the club within the next several weeks. The development of this club has taken the interests and energies of a sizeable number of men who otherwise might not be assimilated into the normal camp activities.

Several meetings of the Women's Club have been held, and at the start of this week informal classes in the knitting arts got under way in the Women's Club building. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION leaders in knitting, sewing, and crocheting will be in charge of approximately 300 needle workers and regularly scheduled eight hour daily events are in progress. Within a short time groups in flower arrangement will be added to the Women's Club activity program.

The COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION has endeavored to assist the development of religious life in the Project, and a staff worker has been assigned to the purpose to facilitate the religious groups in their programming. A Young People's Christian Council and a Gila Young Buddhists Association are two of the new religious groups which have been organized within the last month. The latter group has a membership of 471. Three Christian services have been held with Caucasian ministers from nearby communities participating. The Buddhist Church was officially opened on August 30.

A number of entertainments and social events have been sponsored by the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION. Community dances have been held weekly with the exception of the Saturday night of August 22, and at the last dance over 500 paid admissions--a charge of five cents per person has been in effect in all but the first dance--were recorded. Intermission numbers were provided by the camp's 10 piece orchestra. Considerable opposition was encountered in the use of mess halls and accordingly, the dance for the evening of August 29 is being scheduled in two recreation halls. Detailed plans for an outdoor dance pavilion have been developed and it is hoped that it will be built within the next several weeks. In spite of a lack of a public address system and outdoor lighting, a community sing was held which attracted over 1700 persons of a total of approximately 6000 people. The facilities of the section office were afforded several blocks in the development of block entertainments and this type of programming will be extended. Similarly, a boys' rally consisting of skits and gymnastic events attracted approximately 1500 spectators. Several meetings of the Drama Group composed of 40 members have been held and detailed plans for an outdoor stage have been submitted to this office. The group is particularly interested in the development of Japanese theater arts.

Two soft ball leagues are at present in operation, a total of 24 teams in all--each representing 16 players. Two nightly games are played. Boys' and girls' soft ball leagues are in the process of formation.

The Judo Club composed of over 100 members have arranged three daily sessions. Under the direction of COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION'S several Judo instructors, beginners, intermediates, and "Black Belts" develop their art.

Utilizing water which flows into the canal from an overflow pipe, the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION has called upon a number of volunteers to construct a swimming pool. At the present time a warden who is a qualified life saver is in attendance at the pool at all hours and approximately 30 youngsters use the pool daily. As soon as cement can be secured, the pool will be drained, enlarged, and cemented, so that it can be used by the whole community.

Five issues of the Gila Activities News have been released by this section with an average of 1250 copies of each issue. The paper covers only activities sponsored by this section, and is not intended to be a camp-wide paper. In the absence of a staff member assigned to information work, the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION is about to undertake a twice weekly Project-wide newspaper, and twelve newspaper workers have been recruited--several of them with wide professional newspaper experience. The first issue of this paper will be released September 9. During the first week of the camp's operation schools for children between the ages

of three and nine were organized, headed by nursery and play school teachers who had had experience at the Turlock Assembly Center. Over 100 children were in attendance for several weeks until crowded housing forced the closing of the schools. These schools were turned over to the Education Department for operation.

A number of contacts have been made by the COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES SECTION supervisor in Phoenix, Arizona. Discussions with the YMCA, Boy Scouts, several church leaders, and the Red Cross have resulted in not only a development of activities at this Project, but in a promise of donations of recreational supplies. One piano, the only one at the Canal Camp, was secured with the cooperation of the YMCA executive secretary.

Chronology of Events

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name of Activity</u>	<u>Number Present</u>
July 29	Dance Band Practice	18
August 1	Get-Acquainted Dance	200
4	Dance Band Practice	10
4	Planning Committee (Young People)	18
5	Older men's meeting	15
7	Planning Committee	17
8	Benefit Dance	280
8	Women's Club Committee	24
9	Judo Club	60
10	Dance Band Practice	19
11	Judo Club (Black Belts)	15
11	Women's Club Committee	13
14	Drama Club	40
15	Drama Cabinet	5
15	Community Dance	500
18	Boys' Peanut League Meeting	40
19	Community Sing and Talent Show	1700
19	Softball League Rally	33
21	Softball League Meeting	36
23	Talent Show	350
24	Softball League Game	400
24	Softball League Game	700
25	Women's Club Committee	13
25	Softball League Game	200
26	Softball League Game	300
26	Softball League Game	76
26	Miniature Model Airplane Club	25
27	Softball League Game	250
27	Softball League Game	100
27	Boy Scout Organization Meeting	12
28	Softball League Game	125
28	Softball League Game	200
29	Midget Model Airplane Club	30
29	Community Dance	450
29	Softball League Game	150
29	Softball League Game	75
30	Softball League Meeting	31
30	Boys' Rally	1000
31	Softball League Game	500
31	Softball League Game	80
31	Girls' Softball Game	130
31	Talent Show	430
31	Women's Club Signup	250

Total participants in COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES
SECTION program to date 8942

Respectfully submitted,

Morton J. Gaba

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Robert F. Spencer
RECREATION

Mr. Híkada was appointed coordinator for the Recreation Department (C.A.S.). Mr. Hoffman, head of Community Services, felt that it was necessary to appoint some Issei who could not only direct Issei recreational activities, but function as general recreation ~~xxx~~ coordinator for the Butte community. This is particularly necessary for two reasons. The first is that as yet there is no appointed head of recreational activities for either Butte or Canal. Hoffman, as head of Community Services, has been assuming charge of all recreation at Butte, while Gaba has taken over recreation in Canal. Gaba's position is that of assistant director of Community Services. It has been felt with justification by the community that the work of the Recreation Department is ineffective because Gaba and Hoffman are not free to devote their entire attention to it and must also function as coordinators for the Departments of Education, Welfare, and the like. It was thought necessary to appoint activities heads from among the Japanese and naturally considerable opposition was raised in the community over the appointment of such individuals. Híkada's recent appointment as coordinator of Issei-Nisei activities at Butte has met with more success than Gaba's recreation program in Canal. Gaba had appointed the Kibei, Takeo Tada as recreation head. Tada's unpopularity has been described in another report. The impression of insincerity which Tada gives and the feeling that he is attempting to ingratiate himself with the community at large were two factors in the marked feeling which rose up against him. Being a Kibei and having spent most of his life in Japan, Tada naturally lacked the opportunity to familiarize himself with American sports and games and he does view dancing with some misgivings. The result is that Tada's unpopularity with the Nisei was marked. But his own group of Kibei, as well as their Issei backers, were outspoken in their disapproval of Tada who, as has been mentioned before, was

blamed for the failure of the G.I. clothing allowance at Turlock.

Hikida, appointed recreation head at Butte, has been much more successful. He is known as a recreation leader, having headed the Japanese exhibit at the World's Fair in San Francisco in 1939 and 40. At his appointment there was considerable expression of goodwill and a desire on the part of the various groups to cooperate. Hikida's prestige in the Japanese community has been considerable. However, Hoffman has a penchant for refusing to delegate authority to Japanese and prefers to supervise exactly everything that goes on. This has curtailed Hikida's work to some extent. The lack of proper organization in the Department, the necessity for bringing problems to Mr. Hoffman who, being busy with other things, is therefore unable to devote proper attention to the recreation to the Recreation ~~Department~~ Program, has made for a lack of coordination in the Community Activities Section.

Following the assumption of Project Directorship of Mr. Fryer, Robert Yeaton was taken out of Housing and placed in charge of Recreation. Yeaton met with more or less the same reception as Tada and was accused frequently of insincerity. Following his resignation from the Project staff and as there was no Caucasian supervisor in Recreation, the Issei felt very strongly the need for some proper recreational expression, some program which will go on at all times and keep the young Nisei "out of trouble". With a lack of proper Caucasian supervision, this Department is failing rather miserably. In conversation with me Hikida has emphasized this point time and again, pointing out that this Department is so important and it is so difficult to deal with and to placate the various groups.

It was not until early in December 1942 that a fully organized Japanese staff came into existence and this was only in the

Butte Community. Gaba had organized his own Recreation Department in Canal but under the leadership of Tada, as mentioned above, it was not successful. After the assault on Tada he felt obliged to resign and those who had been working with him, such as his chief assistant, Goro Yamamoto, resigned also. The end result has been that the recreational side of Canal is at the moment completely disorganized and it is most difficult to carry on any recreational program there because so many Japanese feel that the position of recreational head is a thankless one and subject to criticism and unpopularity.

In order to carry on recreational activities Gaba has been using Mr. Hikida on two days a week, taking him from Butte to Canal and going over the recreational needs with him and organizing the various programs. All recreational activities in Canal, therefore, move too slowly. The Butte picture is a little different. Hoffman is rather impressed with Hikida's prestige and although he does not give him free reign, he never-the-less does allow him a certain amount of independence in organizing the Recreation Department. In this respect Hikida has proposed a Community Activities Council to be made up of delegates from each of the various clubs and organizations which exist in the community. This group will attempt to coordinate and co-relate all of the community activities. It will vote on the use of facilities by various organizations and pass on the personnel needs expressed by this or that organization. It is essential that such a Council exist because there are now so many clubs and organizations, each with a different purpose, each composed of a membership of varying back-ground, and each making complicating demands. Some examples might be given here. It is necessary that personnel, that is to say paid personnel, be assigned to various clubs and organizations and that facilities be opened up for their use of

this or that club. To place the various officers of clubs on the payroll is hard because of the prescribed quota, that is to say the Recreation Department may have only a prescribed number of personnel. Thus, whether an individual is employed by the Go-Shogi Club or the Judo Club, he is still charged to recreation and recreation or Community Activities must justify the placing of this person to the Division of Employment. The national office has set a prescribed quota of personnel which may be assigned to any one division or section. Thus, it is most difficult to meet the needs of all the clubs in this matter of personnel. The rôle of the organization in the community must be taken into consideration and the benefit of this organization to the community at large.

Some time ago I described the difficulty which took place over the assigning of quarters to the Kibei Club in Canal. The Kibei in Canal wanted a recreation hall, which Gaba denied on the ground that the Kibei Club was a small group, that its membership was restricted, and that it was not working for the best interests of the community. At Hoffman's later suggestion, however, Gaba found it necessary to recognize the Kibei Club. The University Club which had been assigned a recreation hall was given recognition on the ground that it did work for the best interests of the community and its membership was open to all. The University Club was apparently high-pressured by the Kibei Club and came to Gaba with the request that the University Club and the Kibei Club use joint facilities. Tada, at this time, was opposed to the recognition of the Kibei Club although he, himself, is said to be a Kibei and this was one of the factors in his beingbeaten as he was. ~~XX~~

So many of the recreation halls have been taken away from the Recreation Department and are being used for other necessities; the

newspaper occupies a recreation hall, as does the nursery school, fire house, the wardens office and several other non-recreation organizations. Moreover, each block feels that its members have the right to use the recreation hall in the block, for block entertainments and the like. This has been flatly denied and preference has been given to clubs and organizations in the use of recreation halls. However, this limitation of facilities makes for some jealousy between the clubs and organizations concerned and creates ill-feeling among block members who demand the use of the recreation halls for themselves and resent the assignment of rec halls to clubs.

In the Butte Camp recreation hall 61 was assigned to the Go-Shogi Club. It should be mentioned that Go and Shogi are, of course, two entirely different games and that the Go players rather look down on the Shogi players. The result of this was that the Go and Shogi split, after some contention and jealousy. Hoffman was obliged to grant recreation hall 72 to Shogi, leaving 61 entirely for Go. Block 72 raised considerable objection to the placing of the Shogi people in their recreation hall and it was decided that the recreation hall there would have to be partitioned. This was done with the result that half of it now belongs to the Shogi Club and the other half is used by block 72 as a recreation hall.

After the arrival of the Santa Anita group, greater interest in Go and Shogi arose. The Tulare people had a number of outstanding players in Go who were anxious to meet the Santa Anita Go champions. Interest in Go particularly has become quite keen. Sixty-one and 72 are adjacent blocks and are located on the extreme north-west corner of the Butte Community. Santa Anita evacuees were placed in the 30 blocks,

a distance from 61 of more than a mile. The result has been that the Santa Anita evacuees want another hall closer to their own blocks. Furthermore, there are a great many more participnats now and one recreation hall isn't sufficient. Hoffman suggested that recreation 31 should be given to Go and Shogi which would be completely divided by a partition in the middle of the hall. Thus, there will be two recreation halls in the Butte community divided equally between Go and Shogi. The Go people felt that the Administration was backing down on its original promise to separate Go and Shogi and felt, in the main, most resentful. The chairman of the key organization, C.A.S. Council, Jiro Oishi, and the president of the Go Club, Jiro's father, M. Oishi received a threatening letter because of the proposed move to bring Go and Shogi back together again. A threat of this kind apparently came from dissatisfied Go people who did not fully understand that the elder Oishi, as president of the Go Club was really attempting to prevent the reunion of Go and Shogi in recreation hall. The supervisor of Issei recreation, ^{is} George Yamashiro, who is President of the Kibei Club and who has been mentioned before as a rather bad actor. He figured rather prominently in the Tada case, which see. Yamashiro attempted to arrange that a hall be given to Shogi and that two halls, in separate sections of the camp, be given to Go. Yamashiro was fully aware that this was impossible, because of the limited facilities, but he did succeed in enlisting considerable Issei backing for a move of this kind and when the two Oishis took the stand that they did, being aware of the limited facilities, individuals who did not appreciate the problem directed threats of beating against them. Threatening letters were also written to the head of the Shogi Club and his assistant. The elder Oishi, as mentioned above did not want the Shogi in with the Go because it cut down the Go membership

but there was no alternative and it was necessary to divide recreation hall 61 equally between Go and Shogi and to make the same arrangement in Block 31, in the Santa Anita district. The agreement to do this was most reluctant and has made for some ill-feeling. The same split between Go and Shogi had occurred in Canal some time previously but Tada had refused to agree to the placing of other facilities at the disposal of the Shogi Club. The result has been there that one recreation hall, partitioned in the center, is divided between Go and Shogi.

The above is an example of ill-feeling which has arisen over the lack of adequate facilities, but more important over the lack of well-defined leadership on the part of the Caucasian CAS head.

The Sumo Club, an entirely Issei and Kibei organization, wants to have six men placed permanently on the pay-roll. Naturally the Sumo group is a small organization with a fair amount of Issei following who give public matches once a week.

Until November 25 the Sumo people had been successful in employing 9 individuals in their group. Apparently Mr. Hoffman had been too busy to keep an eye on the activities of the Sumo Club in Camp II and it was not until the Division of Employment filed a protest against the hiring of so many Sumo assistants that Hoffman demanded a reorganization.

In Canal Camp Gaba has been able to keep closer watch of such organizations, partly through his assistant Tada so that such difficulties have not arisen. However, with this proposed reorganization there took place a meeting of the C.A.S. Council who could pass on this list of personnel. The Nisei representatives to the C.A.S. council objected strenuously to the allowing of even six men to the Sumo Club on the grounds that this gave an unfair distribution of paid C.A.S. personnel. The Council, with Mr. Hikida as acting chairman, attempted to vote down the giving of six men to the Sumo Club. However, the Issei in the Council, representatives of Go and Shogi, of the Buddhist Church, of the Gila Young Peoples Association (Kibei) and the Judo Club backed the demands of the Sumo representatives. Arguments went back and forth for a considerable time with the end result that Hikida proposed a tabling of the matter and the submission of the problem to Mr. Hoffman. Hoffman apparently did not see his way clear to make a decision at this time for fear, apparently, of offending the what has come to be powerful Issei Community Activities front. He has thus agreed to the Sumo request in allowing six men to occupy paid positions on the Sumo Club staff. This is a temporary measure to carry through the holidays, but Hoffman stated that early in the year he will present a reconsideration to the C.A.S. Council and make some permanent disposition of the Sumo Club personnel. The men demanded by the Sumo Club were as follows: it was

asked that one caretaker or janitor be placed on the payroll, that the president of the club be paid, that a secretary and three instructors be hired. This is the arrangement as it now stands but it is said to be subject to further rearrangement by Mr. Hoffman. In Canal Camp there are four on the Sumo staff and four on the Judo Club staff, in addition to those who volunteer for the benefit of the club. In Butte, membership in the Sumo Club is between 60 and 70. The Nisei who wish to see the personnel of the C.A.S. Division expanded and divided more fairly to cover the other recreational demands of the project maintain, justly, that Sumo Club membership is really too small to warrant such expenditure of lucrative jobs. In Butte the Judo Club has five on their staff. They have as many members as the Sumo organization but the following is not so large.

The above paragraph mentions the strength of the Issei recreational front. There is no doubt that Issei recreation in organized form is going to be a bone of contention in the Butte community particularly and promises to be the same in the Canal Camp. While Tada was the head of recreational activities there he was able to some extent to play off Issei demands against Nisei. Now that he has resigned, there seems little doubt that it will be difficult to replace him with an individual equally strong.

In previous reports mention has been made on numerous occasions of one George Yamashiro, a Kibei from Southern California. Yamashiro occupies a peculiar position in the community. He is what might be termed a "big shot". He is president of the Kibei Club, that is the Gila Young Peoples' Association. He is also

president of the Young Peoples' Buddhist Club and he works for the C.A.S. as head of Issei recreation. Those to whom I have talked differ considerably in their estimation of the power of George Yamashiro. It is said by some that he is just a tool for Issei agitators; that he is a spokesman for the Issei Kankyukai, that is the so-called study group. Actually some say that he has no power at all except as a mouth-piece for the militant Issei faction. Others say that he runs the Kibei Club and that he has brought the Buddhist Club and the Kibei Club together and that, working as coordinator for Issei recreation, he wields almost unlimited power in the community. It begins to appear that Yamashiro is a little of both. He is something of a demigod. He appreciates the power that he has and he is apparently willing to ingratiate himself with Issei groups in order to retain his power. There is no doubt that he does have a large backing. Issei groups look to him as the person who can get results for them from Hoffman and the administration generally. In regard to the recent alliance between the Kenkyukai and the Kibei Club, the latter backed by the Buddhist Young Peoples' group makes for a strong faction in the community which is well knit and in a position to enforce its demands. Further material on Yamashiro's position will be forthcoming presently. His relation to the community requires brief mention here in order to bring about an understanding of the strength of the Issei recreational faction. Mention has already been made of the failure of the community activities section as the result of the lack of strong Caucasian leadership, without this a split in the Recreation Division becomes apparent.

In Canal Camp Gaba, of course, had an agent in the person of Tada. However unsuccessful Tada might have been as far as the community itself was concerned, he was still recognized as Gaba's agent and his decisions, backed by Gaba, were accepted as final. Tada was beaten not primarily because of his position as recreational head, but rather, primarily, because of his Turlock Assembly Center position. Resentment against him in the Relocation Center flared up again as the result of what was called his high-handedness and smoothness, but this was not an immediate factor in his assault. Unpopularity has fastened itself on Gaba, but it is generally conceded that he is more popular than Hoffman. Hoffman's refusal to delegate authority to Japanese has given him the reputation, not perhaps without some justification, of being most unsympathetic with the evacuee population. In his speeches and in his dealings with individuals, Hoffman seems to present strong statements of policy and of plans which he will under no circumstances alter. Actually when pressure is put on him by this group or that, he will give in. His submitting to the demands of the Sumo Club mentioned above is a good example of this. The result is that these various Clubs, organizations and activities do not feel that they can depend on Hoffman. The demand for a sympathetic C.A.S. ~~director~~ head who has a full recognition of the problems at hand is growing. A C.A.S. director has, I understand, been hired for each camp and will take up the position early in the year. The C.A.S. section, that is the Japanese personnel and the Council are marking time until such a man comes in. The odd circumstances of the marked rift between the generations and the existence of the strong

Issei-Kaibei pressure group makes the administration of such a job doubly difficult in view of the limited resources at hand.

In my previous summary of the recreational life at Gila I mentioned particularly the Issei objection to dances for the young people. I spoke of this matter with Mr. Hikida who is of the opinion that such opposition might become less with a greater degree of settlement in the community and indeed, that already there is a feeling that young people are freer to do things they wish to do. Of course, the morals of the second generation was a concern in the initial Issei worry over the allowing of dances, but more important, the primary concern of each new colonist was that of settlement. It was thought that the houses should be improved, that living conditions should be straightened out and that the family group should remain close together while this process was being brought under way. Thus, the Issei did not want the Nisei to leave the family circle while these pressing problems of settlement were still in existence. There was a feeling in the initial stages at Gila that because of the pressing problem of settlement no one had a right to go in for frivolous amusement. Not only was there the desire to keep the family group in tact at all times but also by allowing children to go out to amuse themselves the Issei subjected themselves to criticism from among the members of their own generation. With the entrance of new settlers into the Gila community problems of this kind became more pressing and for a month or two, let us say in August, September and early October, the feeling against Nisei amusement was very strong. The matter came to a head in Camp I early in October.

At this time Block 13 was ordered vacated by the Housing Department because Block 13 was going to be used entirely for schools in the smaller camp. There was much opposition to this moving of people from this block because, it was argued, families were already settled. The Issei met one evening in mess hall 13 to discuss plans for the moving of the block and for the establishment of schools. The meeting was orderly and was called with good intention. In as much as these Issei felt that if schools were to be established they must make some sacrifices and agree to the proposed moving of the families in Block 13 to the Butte Camp. However, the meeting which they called was an informal one and they had not secured permission for the Housing Department to hold a mass meeting in the mess hall on that particular evening.

Tada has scheduled a community sing in that mess hall that night. Tada led the Nisei into the mess hall to hold their sing, thus interrupting the block meeting. The Nisei carried on their sing and the Issei meeting regarding housing was forced to disband. The result was that Tada was held most blame-worthy for not having been aware of the importance of the meeting in progress. It is said that he was nearly assaulted at the time by the residents of Block 13 who later did agree to move to Camp II. The question of this incident arose and was influential in bring about a marked Issei-Nisei split in Canal Camp on the subject of recreation. The Issei in Block 13 forbade their children to enter into recreational activities of any kind for some time thereafter. The Issei felt as a result of this interrupted meeting arose to such an extent that Issei pressures were brought to bear on Hoffman, on Gaba

and on Mr. Fryer to order cessation of all Nisei activities for some time. A meeting was called by Mr. Fryer to hear the matter out. Some of the more level headed Issei said that the incident was regrettable but that Issei were to blame to some extent for having failed to notify the Houseing of the proposed meeting. One young woman, a Nisei stated that although her generation could understand the necessity for settlement and the problems which worried the Issei at the time, nevertheless it was the opinion of the Nisei generally that noone should worry too much and that the Japanese should try to make this enforced life at Gila as pleasant as possible and attempt to forget about the immediate worries at hand. Mr. Fryer said ~~that~~ that both sides had a most acceptable view and that it was regrettable that a split in generation should cause such disharmony in the community. The groups went away satisfied with the end result that all of Block 13 was moved out and is now the school block.

Incidents of this kind, even the one sighted, were somewhat extreme and have done nothing to make the Issei at large more tolerant of the Nisei recreation. The Issei, therefore, feel that their recreation is more important and that such Nisei expressions of amusement as dancing are not only unimportant, but also immoral. The Issei who make up the recreational pressure group have ~~be~~ protested to Hoffman, to Gaba and to Hikida on the whole pattern of dances which is followed in the camp. Naturally a dance in the accepted American way usually implies a date and it is this by-play which gives rise to more resentment than does the actual evening of dancing.

The Issei are not so opposed to the dances themselves but have asked that young men and women come and go alone and that some Issei be there as aprons or chaperones at the dance. As it is now pressures against boys escorting girls to dances are growing. Many Issei, with their typical Japanese back-ground, are at a loss to understand the idea of a young man escorting a young woman to some affair. The result is that boys do not usually go to girls' houses to pick them up before a date. Rather, the couples meet outside somewhere and on returning home from an evening, the boy generally leaves the girl about a block away from her home because of his fear and timidity of her parents. Most dates carried on in the Gila community take place in this way. Very few of the Issei families are sufficiently Americanized to allow their daughters to follow the accepted American pattern.

In discussing the matter of dances with Mr. Hikida I was interested in knowing just what he, as a younger Issei, thought of dances and dancing. He said that he felt very sorry for the young people who had to meet in such a clandestine way. I was surprised to learn that Mr. Hikida himself has attended dances in this country while at high school and college and considers himself to be very adept in the ballroom. He is, therefore, sympathetic with the Nisei desire to hold dances and he is anxious that his young daughters, in a year or two, learn how to dance in the accepted American way. His wife, however, having come to this country more recently than he, raises rather strenuous objections to his mention of the idea that his daughters learn how to dance. Mr. Hikida says that he is very unusual among the Issei for this attitude, but that the Yobe-yose group, to which he belongs, is inclined to be far more tolerant of Nisei activities

than are the older Issei. In fact the only Nisei activity which is encouraged by the bulk of the older people is that of sports. Games which take people out of doors and give them exercise are considered to be very beneficial. Judo and Sumo are, of course, very popular. Kendo is about to be begun, as soon as equipment can be made and archery is also proposed. It has been suggested by many Issei that Nisei should take greater interest in activities of this kind. The one American game which has a large Issei following is base ball and base ball games go on at all times, irrespective of season, and have large Issei audiences. Foot ball is approved but there is little Issei interest in it. The statement has been made that it is too complicated a game.

My previous paper mentioned the talent shows or Engekai. It should be mentioned that there are two kinds of talent shows which take place, and these are very clearly Issei and Nisei. The majority of Nisei are opposed to attending Issei talent shows or to participating in them. Both types were described in my previous report but at that time the distinction between them was not so clearly delineated. The Issei talent show is nearly always composed of Issei audience and Kibei nearly always attend. The strong Kibei group has talent shows of its own, designed to please the first generation. Such talent shows are nearly always conducted in Japanese. (See the description of engekai in Block 9, in previously submitted report.) These consist of Japanese songs, dramatic presentations, flute playing, drum playing and the recitation of the well known dramatic poems, the Naniwahushi. Nisei talent shows take the form of community sings, American song presentations, and the like that are nearly always conducted in English. In this respect the most interesting point is

that the line of division is strongly marked and when a talent show is announced, it is always announced as Issei or Nisei and obviously a different type of entertainment takes place in each. In the early stages of the camp development an attempt was made by the Recreation Department to bring about a certain amount of community harmony, thus, in the talent shows they tried at random to enlist all kinds of talent whether it was Issei or Nisei. These presentations were most unsuccessful. The Nisei boys would boo the Issei talent and the Issei would hoot when popular songs were sung and so on. Mr. Nishida has an idea that a refined classical program of joint English and Japanese might be appreciated if it were well done. In this respect no popular songs or presentations would be given but rather the classical spirit would be retained. He is going to try this to see if it will be successful and thinks it will appeal to all the Issei who try at least to be appreciative of anything that might be called cultural and to many intellectual Nisei. Otherwise there is a definite split in generation between both Issei and Nisei factions in regard to these talent shows.

The use of ironwood and cactus roots for decoration and for working into art forms has been described to some extent. This is the biggest source of leisure time activity for most of the unemployed Issei men. Now that grass seed is being distributed many such Issei men take pride in the gardens, lawns, pools and other improvements which they can make. This is a big source of the solution of the problem of what to do with leisure time for the older people. Of course, as the result of enforced leisure time gossip and talk are emphasized and both men and women, especially of the first generation, are very

fond of expression of this kind. Up until now there have been no stoves in the houses and the evenings are cold. The result is that fires are built at night in every block around which many people congregate to sit and talk. It is interesting to see that each block generally has two fires, the Nisei sit around one, the Issei around the other. The one group speaks in English, the other, in Japanese. I am told that many Issei look forward to these evening gatherings around the fire, some of which last until quite late.

An attitude regarding work is expressed by many Issei. They feel that the work corps offers them a hobby rather than an actual livelihood or than actually putting them to work. There is an increasing drive against too much leisure time on the part of many formerly active Issei and many more Issei are now applying for work than did so in the first stages of the community. Many Issei felt that they were entitled to a short vacation after having worked in their homes, farms, and businesses for so many years.

Unfortunately most of the jobs available have already been given to Nisei with the result that a purely Issei works program has been unsuccessful to some extent. As a result of their inability to speak English members of the first generation are available chiefly for work in mess halls and on the farms. It is difficult for the employment Division to reach many of the able-bodied Issei who now express willingness to work. The farm program has been slow in getting under way. The curtailment of transportation and the inadequacy of supplies has made for difficulties in disposing of the farm properly. It is said by many that a properly farming program could arouse great Issei interest and it is hoped that classes can be begun to further Issei interest in the Southern Arizona type of farming and also in live stock raising. It might be mentioned here parenthetically that even though a large farm and reclamation project is under way it is difficult to dispose of the crops, once they are ready for harvesting. In early December the root crops were ready for camp use, as well as for export to other projects and to the outside. Because of the shortage of boxes and the lack of proper harvesting equipment, these products were simply left to lay on the fields with the result that many fields have been lost and must be re-sown before another crop can be realized. This matter of the farm will be taken up further in another report. It is sufficient to say here that this situation of inadequate tools and supplies has made for much bitterness and discontent in the community, especially now since many Issei want to go into farm work as a hobby. Because conditions have now reached a state of settlement, it should be apparent that many Issei are in need of a better organized recreational program, something which up until now has been subordinate to Nisei

recreation. It is my own belief that if such a program were fully organized so as to take up Issei interest much of the Issei discontent might be alleviated. The only formally organized Issei recreation program in existence to date is that which has been briefly described above.

Community Activities Section Council

Mention has been made of the plan now in existence for the formulation of a Community Activities Section Council which would coordinate all activities and clubs. Such a Council is already in existence but it has not as yet met with the full support of every organization. The ideal plan is to bring about a C.A.S. Council which would coordinate activities of both camps and be made up of activities representatives from both camps. A governing body or committee could then be elected to determine the recreational policy for each camp and to bring about a certain amount of coordination. Recently the C.A.S. Council was called together at the suggestion of some of the already employed C.A.S. managerial personnel. Mr. Hikida, Jiro Oishi, Earle Yusa were active in the formulation of this council. The first meeting was held late in November, following the Thanksgiving holidays and 20 organizations from Butte camp sent representatives. Jiro Oishi was elected C.A.S. Council president. The Issei present, however, objected to this election and asked that Mr. Hikida act with Oishi as advisor. An organizing committee of 8 persons was appointed to draw up plans for the structure of the Community Activities Section. This plan was to be submitted to the Council for approval. Mr. Hikida was made chairman of this committee of 8 and they have met several times in order to formulate this plan. There are 25 different clubs of various kinds in the camp, in addition to church groups and it is hoped that a plan can be reached that will include all of these organizations and that a council representative can be elected from each one. The council is going to meet once a month to discuss and dispose of some of the problems which arise out of the necessity for correlating facilities and personnel and otherwise to avoid inter-group and organization conflict. It is hoped that by this plan the Activities Section in both camps can control and properly administer the recreation program.

Some of the Nisei, however, have raised the question why should there be a council, pointing out that there are so many differences and degrees of importance between the various activities. For example, the Go Club is purely a hobby organization while the J.A.C.L. and the Boy Scouts have a higher purpose. The objection has been, therefore, raised that the J.A.C.L., Boy Scouts or the church groups who seek to reach the entire community should have greater representation. The primary objection raised by the Nisei in regard to the Council is the fact, however, that there is the feel of Issei control of the C.A.S. The question was brought to Hoffman who decided in favor of the Council which might direct community activities. The organization will act not so much for the groups and organizations themselves as it will endeavor to take a united stand and to feel out public opinion and to supply recreational facilities where they are needed. The council assures representation of all groups and all activities of the community and promises to back up all C.A.S. decisions. Thus, one of the first problems for which the council has expressed a need is that of an expanded recreational program for Issei. They have, therefore, proposed an educational program for the Issei to be conducted in Japanese, taking the form of forums and lectures to be held periodically in each block.

The various C.A.S. representatives to whom I have spoken so far agree that the C.A.S. is in a great state of dis-organization and that strong public support for a well organized C.A.S. should be fostered. Mr. Hikida believes that through the C.A.S. a program for constructive public opinion might be brought into being. Issei block forums can be useful in supplying the general public in the community with the needs and difficulties of the administration and preventing the outbreak of disharmony and the results of dissatisfaction, as in the Tada case. Some of the topics which have been suggested for Issei deliberation are as follows: The training of children along social lines with an

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idea to make them understand the needs of the community, the problems of the post-war settlement and the like. Hoffman, is going to be asked to select an Issei who might foster the Issei recreation program. The Issei in each block could thus be reached instead of a purely intellectual group. It is thought that this would make for greater sociability as well as for greater intellectual stimulus.