

2. A victim of the Japanese Evacuation & Resettlement Study 30 June 1987 662.

Includes photocopy addendum - Photocopies of 3x5 cards in JERS Records,  
67/14 w1.23 "True names of persons hidden by pseudonyms in The Spoilage."

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c

A D D E N D U M

To

A VICTIM OF  
THE JAPANESE EVACUATION  
AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY (JERS)

By Violet Kazue de Cristoforo  
(Formerly Kazue Matsuda)

Attached is a page showing photocopies of 3"x 5" cards in the JERS File at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, under the call number 67/14 w1.23, in the folder entitled, "True Names of Persons Hidden by Pseudonyms in The Spoilage."

The existence of these cards has been witnessed and verified by Annegret Ogden, Reference Librarian, Bancroft, October 14, 1987.

These cards are proof that pseudonyms assigned to me (Kazue Matsuda) by JERS were HANAKO TSUCHIKAWA and Mrs. TSUCHIYAMA. My brother was given the pseudonym SADAO ENDO, and my husband was HIDEKI TSUCHIYAMA/TSUCHIKAWA.

*Cards copied Oct. 14, 1987  
From collection in The Bancroft  
Library by Annegret Ogden,  
Reference Librarian*

MASUDA

Tsuchikawa  
HIDEKI TSUCHIYAMA

II - p. 31

VII - p. 20

III

p. 31  
p. 20

TSUCHIYAMA, HIDEKI  
KAWA  
MATSUDA

MATSUDA (MRS.)

Hanako Tsuchikawa  
Tsuchiyama

VII - p. 3

VIII - p. 16 (MR. MATSUDA)

IX - p. 13, 31

XI - pp. 17, 54

TSUCHIYAMA  
KAWA  
MATSUDA (MRS.)

III

p. 3  
p. 16 (MR. MATSUDA)  
p. 13, 31

YAMANE, TOKIO Sadao Endo

II - pp. 33, 34

VII - p. 3

~~VIII - p. 19~~

ENDO, SADA0

YAMANE, TOKIO

II - pp. 33, 34

VII - p. 3

III - p. 19

October 14, '87

Cards copied from 67/14 -

Folder W1. 23  
in Bancroft Library by Annegret Ogden

**A Victim  
of  
The Japanese Evacuation  
and  
Resettlement Study  
(JERS)**

**Violet Kazue de Cristoforo  
(FORMERLY KAZUE MATSUDA)**

PREFACE

# AFFIDAVIT

OF

VIOLET KAZUE de CRISTOFORO

(FORMERLY KAZUE MATSUDA)

Challenging the inaccurate, misleading and denigrating references and accusations made by Rosalie Hankey Wax in Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice, and in The Spoilage, at Tule Lake, California, 1944-45

*Violet Kazue de Cristoforo*  
Violet Kazue de Cristoforo



State of California

County of Monterey

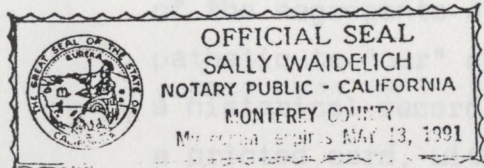
SS.

On this the 30th day of June 1987, before me,

Sally Waidelich

Notary's Name (typed or printed)  
the undersigned Notary Public, personally appeared

VIOLET KAZUE de CRISTOFORO



☐ personally known to me  
☒ proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence  
to be the person(s) whose name(s) is she subscribed to the  
within instrument, and acknowledged that she executed it.  
WITNESS my hand and official seal.

(This area for official notarial seal)

*Sally Waidelich*  
Notary's Signature

## PREFACE

The objective of this affidavit is to confute the distortions and false accusations made against me in two books on the Japanese American Internment during World War II, and to examine the perversion of what should have been scholarly and impartial research.

The duplicity did not become known to me until the summer of 1986 when I read Doing Fieldwork: Warnings And Advice, written by Rosalie H. Wax, and The Spoilage, authored by Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, with contributions by Rosalie Hankey.

Special attention will be paid to Rosalie Hankey (later Rosalie H. Wax), one of several researchers of the Japanese American Evacuation And Resettlement Study sponsored by the University of California, who gained my confidence at the Tule Lake Segregation Center, California, and then made scurrilous and misleading statements about me in the two books, to one of which she was a contributor, and the other which she authored. As a result I decided to challenge her intellectual honesty and her careless interpretation of the facts I had given her during our numerous interviews.

In order to gain my confidence, Rosalie Hankey initially informed me, and the other internees as well, that she was doing research for her doctoral dissertation, which was to be based on the lives of the segregants at Tule Lake. She also told us that she was sympathetic to "our" cause and that she would be the only one to write a historical record of our plight. Over and over Hankey showed us a printed card, with the heading of the University of California,

Berkeley, which she assured us was her credential as an anthropologist from the University of California. She promised us faithfully that all conversations between her and the internees would be confidential and that she would not release the information to the authorities or to anyone else. When we stipulated that our names or other identifying characteristics were not to be published in any manner or form she readily agreed to our conditions. As it turned out, she not only went back on her solemn promise but she also informed the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and other government authorities of what she had learned from us. Although Hankey may have used some of the material she gathered from us in her dissertation, she published the information she had evoked under false pretenses from the internees - without their consent - to advance her career.

In addition, although Hankey made a great show of using pseudonyms, they are so transparent that the true identity of the person concerned is easily determined. By way of illustration, since my name is Violet, I am referred to as Hyacinth and as Hanako (flower girl) in her studies. Hankey also cast the internees she dealt with into caricatures of their personalities, for example she changed my former husband's first name from Shigeru to "Hideki", the first name of Japan's wartime premier Tojo; she repeatedly referred to me as "Madame Chiang Kai-shek"; and Kinzo Wakayama (whom she heartily disliked) became "Kira", the villain in the classic Japanese tale of the Forty-Seven Ronin. However, the pseudonym Hankey selected for Joe Kurihara, her intimate friend and confidant, was "Oishi", the hero retainer in the same tale, who sought out and killed the villain Kira to avenge his Lord Asano's death. Thus, Hankey portrayed the unfortunate internees she had targeted, not as they really were, but to conform to the mold into which she had cast them.

I have been grievously damaged by Hankey's unethical behavior, by the lies and distortions she wrote about me, and, should my two older children read those two books, they, too, would be harmed

materially and psychologically, as my youngest daughter, Kimi, (born in the Fresno Assembly Center) has been dismayed and horrified by such iniquitous and callous accounts of the Tule Lake internees.

#### INTRODUCTION

We cannot remake history but, having helped to bring about the disintegration of three generations of my family, I feel that Rosalie Hankey Wax is morally and legally obligated to recognize her unprincipled conduct and publicly apologize to me, my three children, the Matsuda family, and the other segregants.

General of the Eastern Defense Command the authority to exclude all persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens and legal residents alike, from designated areas of the West Coast of the United States.

Over 120,000 Japanese Americans, my family and me included, were removed by the Army, first to "Assembly Centers" - temporary quarters at racetracks and fairgrounds - then to "Relocation Centers" - block barrack camps in desolate areas of the West.

This policy of exclusion, removal and detention was justified on the grounds of national security and loyalty. It was based on the fact that Japanese Americans were considered a potential threat to the United States, although not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was attributed to any American citizen of Japanese ancestry, or to a resident Japanese alien.

The relocation caused great suffering and humiliation to the internees, most of whom were American by birth, but in an unfavorable light by the false propaganda and the anti-Japanese feeling prevailing at the time.

When the evacuation took place I was a twenty-five-year-old American citizen (born in Hawaii), with a seven-year-old son, a five-year-old daughter and three young grandchildren.

# INTRODUCTION

On February 19, 1942, ten weeks after the Pearl Harbor attack by aircraft of the Japanese Imperial Navy, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which gave the Commanding General of the Western Defense Command the authority to exclude all persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens and legal resident aliens, from designated areas of the West Coast of the United States.

Over 120,000 Japanese Americans, my family and me included, were removed by the Army, first to "Assembly Centers" - temporary quarters at racetracks and fairgrounds - then to "Relocation Centers" - bleak barrack camps in desolate areas of the West.

This policy of exclusion, removal and detention was executed without individual review and continued without regard to the demonstrated loyalty of the Japanese Americans to the United States, although not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by any American citizen of Japanese ancestry, or by a resident Japanese alien.

The relocation caused great suffering and humiliation to the internees, most of whom were American by birth, put in an unfavorable light by the false propaganda fomented by the anti-Asian feeling prevailing at the time.

When the evacuation took place I was a twenty-five-year-old American citizen (born in Hawaii), with a seven-year-old son, a five-year-old daughter, and three months pregnant with a third

child. Forced to abandon our homes and all our material and personal possessions, uprooted from our familiar surroundings and forced behind barbed wire fences of the camps patrolled by armed soldiers, we could not comprehend why such an injustice was being done to us.

While I was in Tule Lake my husband was transferred to the Justice Department Camp in Santa Fe, my brother was confined in the "Bull Pen" of the Tule Lake stockade on false charges, and I was left alone to care for my three young children and my mother-in-law ill with a then-undiagnosed cancer. I was distraught and desperately needed a trusted friend I could confide in, and who could advise me or speak to the authorities on my behalf.

I became acquainted with Rosalie Hankey, one of several researchers, who professed to be my friend and who ingratiated herself with me by stating that, as an anthropologist solely interested in doing research, she could be trusted. As time went on, I bared my heart and soul to her on the strength of her solemn word that whatever information I gave her would be used exclusively for her dissertation. Instead, she capitalized on my naiveté and confusion and conveyed the most intimate and personal details I related to her in confidence to the authorities, to my great detriment.

On January 2, 1945, Major General Henry C. Pratt, Acting Commander of the Western Defense Command, issued Public Proclamation No. 21, which restored the rights of evacuees to return to their former homes, and most of them did. However, I was not allowed to do so and remained at Tule Lake until I was expatriated to Japan in the spring of 1946, due in large measure to the fact that Rosalie Hankey had stigmatized me as a leader of the "underground movement" and a "troublemaker" and reported me as such to the camp authorities.

It should be noted that prior to the time of my meeting with Hankey

at Tule Lake, in 1944, there were absolutely no derogatory reports of any kind about me in the files of government agencies.<sup>1</sup> It was only after Hankey branded me a "troublemaker", "resegregationist leader", "pressure group leader", etc., that a dossier was compiled about me (a fact which I began to suspect in July, 1944). This is substantiated by the records I secured from the National Archives under the Freedom of Information Act.

Since his repatriation to Japan in December, 1945, my husband had remarried and later entered his Japanese wife's name in his Koseki (family register) instead of listing my name and the children's. Since he had declined responsibility for our children I had their sole custody and the task of raising them. Thus, in spite of the fact that I had no job skills or business experience, I had to work at three different low-paid jobs, concurrently, because I was being paid in devalued yen.

Unable to properly raise my American-born children in the war-devastated and depressed economy of Japan, or to give them the opportunities they deserved as American citizens, in 1948, I had to make the heart-breaking decision to send my oldest child, a boy of twelve, who by then did not remember a word of English, back to America, alone and friendless, hoping he could make a better life for himself in the land of his birth than I could offer him.

In Japan we lived a life of unimaginable hardship because most of the transactions were on a barter basis and many necessities could be purchased only on the black market at inflated prices. I had no funds to pay for my son's travel expenses and I had to beg some of my brother's Army friends to loan me the money to send the boy back to America. They responded to my pleas and I was grateful for their help, but this caused a further strain on my precarious finances because I had to repay my debt to them over a long period of time as best as I could. A few years later, in 1951, again I had to make the sorrowful decision to send my older daughter, aged

fourteen, back to the United States, also alone, friendless and unable to speak English.

The Headquarters of the British Commonwealth Forces was located in Kure, where I lived, and I turned for help to the Deputy Assistant Chaplain General of the Australian Military Forces who had baptized and confirmed me in the Catholic faith. He, in turn, requested his Chaplains to raise the money for my daughter's travel expenses by asking for donations from the Australian and American troops attending Sunday services.

In both instances I was refused permission to accompany my children back to America because of the dossier Rosalie Hankey had helped to assemble concerning my alleged "trouble-making" and "pressure group" activities during my internment at Tule Lake. As the American Consular Officials in Kobe, Japan, explained to me, my name had been placed on a "Black List" (undesirables) as a result of those alleged activities and they could not give me permission to accompany my children back to the United States.

Quincy T. Alder<sup>3</sup>

My former husband and I are also mentioned several times in The Spillings,<sup>4</sup> yet we had never been interviewed by Dorothy Spilling. Quincy T. Alder says on page 10, "I was interviewed by Richard S. Nichols, who had no copy of the report." The references to me in both The Spillings and in Quincy T. Alder are quite similar and in both books I am referred to as "Mrs. Tachikawa"<sup>5</sup> leading to the obvious conclusion that Rosalie Hankey (nee) had a hand in writing both books. (Her name appears on the title page as one of the contributors to The Spillings.)

In both books Mrs. Tachikawa is represented as being a trouble-maker and a factional leader, and other references to her are strikingly similar indicating Hankey's participation in writing The Spillings. Marvin K. Unger confirms that Hankey was the primary source of information on Tule Lake in The Spillings.<sup>6</sup>

## MAIN CORPUS

Ever since I testified before the Commission on Wartime Relocation And Internment of Civilians (CWRIC)<sup>2</sup> on August 11, 1981, in San Francisco, the enormity of the suffering of three generations of my family has begun to haunt me. Prior to that time I had been too busy working, raising my youngest child and reconstructing my family life to spend much time recalling the melancholy days of the internment.

Following my testimony to the CWRIC I became interested in the socio-psychological aspects of the internment and, as I began to read extensively about that questionable segment of American History, I was astonished at the way I had been portrayed in Doing Fieldwork.<sup>3</sup>

My former husband and I are also mentioned numerous times in The Spoilage,<sup>4</sup> yet we had never been interviewed by Dorothy Swaine Thomas or Richard S. Nishimoto, nor had we ever corresponded with them. The references to me in both The Spoilage and in Doing Fieldwork are quite similar and in both books I am referred to as Mrs. Tsuchikawa<sup>5</sup> leading to the obvious conclusion that Rosalie Hankey (Wax) had a hand in writing both books. (Her name appears on the title page as one of the contributors to The Spoilage).

In both books Mrs. Tsuchikawa is represented as being a trouble-maker and a factional leader, and odious references to her are strikingly similar indicating Hankey's participation in writing The Spoilage. Marvin K. Opler confirms that Hankey was the primary source of information on Tule Lake in The Spoilage.<sup>6</sup>

For the sake of clarity it is important that I give some background about my internment in the Fresno Assembly Center, the Jerome Relocation Center, and the Tule Lake Segregation Center before I discuss Hankey's references to me in The Spoilage and in Doing Fieldwork.

When the war started my brother Richard had already been serving in the United States Army for at least six months. My former husband, Shigeru Matsuda, a legal resident alien, our two children and I were living in Fresno, and my younger brother, Tokio Yamane, was attending Edison Technical High School and living with us. My father-in-law, Gohei Matsuda, and my mother-in-law, Kameyo Matsuda, both legal resident aliens, were raising grapes in the Blackstone area of Fresno.

Soon after war was declared my husband's and my father-in-law's bank accounts were frozen<sup>7</sup> leaving us without funds. In less than two weeks we were forced to close our book store, dispose of our property as best we could and were all hastily interned in the Fresno Assembly Center.

Immediately prior to the evacuation I underwent an abdominal operation for the removal of a tumor and learned I was pregnant with my third child. I continued to be in ill health during my detention in the Fresno Assembly Center and had to be admitted to the camp hospital several times with pre-natal complications until I gave birth to a sickly child weighing only five pounds.

When the time came for our transfer to a permanent camp, my husband and my brother were sent to the Jerome Relocation Center, in Denson, Arkansas, ahead of the rest of us to do the finishing work on the still uncompleted barracks, and my father-in-law and mother-in-law were sent to Jerome separately because they lived in a different area of the Fresno camp. I was still weak and ill but our departure could no longer be delayed and, during the latter part of

September, 1942, my three children - the youngest barely a month old - and I were put on the last evacuation train to Jerome.

The four-day train trip was like a horrible nightmare. The evacuation train had the lowest priority and was side-tracked numerous times for long periods for the higher priority military and passenger trains. There was no hot water available on the train and I was forced to use vapid cold water for the baby's formula. The food was unappetizing and consisted in large part of cold sandwiches which, in addition to our immobility, played havoc with the children's digestion. There were no sleeping accommodations for the children and they, like everyone else, were forced to sleep in their seats. With the shades drawn for security reasons, the children were irritable and restless in the high temperature and humidity of the overcrowded train, which traveled to our destination via the southern route - through the hottest parts of the country. The baby suffered most and developed double pneumonia, and the doctor's prognosis was that she would not survive the trip.

At our destination we were met by an Army ambulance and the baby was immediately taken to the still-unfinished hospital where she remained for the next six months. In Jerome the barracks were of the same type as those we had left in Fresno - with doors and windows that did not fit their frames and could not be closed properly - and we suffered a great deal in the cold Arkansas winter. To add to our misery, coal was supplied only to the bath and shower area and for cooking in the mess hall, and the internees were compelled to cut their own fire wood for the heating stoves in their rooms.

The small amount of firewood we were able to provide for ourselves was green and usually wet and, not only was it difficult to burn, but it filled our living quarters with clouds of acrid smoke which made it hard to breathe, especially for my sickly baby. Moreover, the Jerome Relocation Center had been built on swampland and, not

only were we tormented by chiggers and mosquitoes, but the area was subject to heavy rainstorms, and "had some of the most poisonous snakes on the continent."<sup>8</sup> Whenever we went out of doors to cut firewood or go to the mess hall, the latrine or the shower room we not only sank up to our ankles in the ooze, but had to be on the alert for snakes. In addition, the barracks had no running water and it had to be carried from the communal facility in the center of the block to our quarters, making bathing the baby a challenging task. But, even more arduous were the frequent trips I had to make to the hospital - located at the opposite end of the camp - to visit my sickly child and my mother-in-law both of whom had to be admitted to the hospital several times.

Conditions at this camp were so bad that we were told the site had been declared unhealthy and would shortly be closed because Jerome, as well as Rohwer, had the highest mortality rate of all the camps, primarily from respiratory illnesses.

In the spring of 1943, while we were still being detained in Jerome, we were required to fill the infamous "loyalty questionnaire".<sup>9</sup> It had originally been designed for use in conjunction with an Army recruitment drive in the centers for a "Japanese Combat Team" made up of volunteers from Hawaii and the ten internment camps, but had been administered to all internees, including the young (from age 17 on), the old and those unfit for military service, as the ultimate proof of their loyalty.

The long questionnaire contained two crucial questions:

No. 27. ARE YOU WILLING TO SERVE IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES OR COMBAT DUTY WHEREVER ORDERED? This question could not be answered affirmatively by my in-laws because they were too old to serve in the military, and my husband was a legal resident alien not eligible for induction into the armed forces.

No. 28. WILL YOU SWEAR UNQUALIFIED ALLEGIANCE TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND FAITHFULLY DEFEND THE UNITED STATES FROM ANY AND ALL ATTACK BY FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC FORCES, AND FORESWEAR ANY FORM OF ALLEGIANCE OR OBEDIENCE TO THE JAPANESE EMPEROR, TO ANY OTHER FOREIGN GOVERNMENT, POWER OR ORGANIZATION? An affirmative answer to this question, in effect, "asked the Issei (first generation Japanese, including my in-laws and my husband) to become stateless persons by renouncing the only citizenship they had and by affirming their unswerving fealty to a government that had made their race the legal basis for denying them U.S. citizenship,"<sup>10</sup> and which had forcibly evacuated and imprisoned them, without due process of law, behind barbed wire for the duration of hostilities.

Under these circumstances the "loyalty questionnaire" (WRA Application For Leave Clearance) resulted in one of the most wrenching episodes of the camp detention because,

If the Issei answered no-no and their (American-born) children answered yes-yes, then families might be separated. Many Nisei (American-born Japanese) were thus cruelly asked to choose between their country and their parents... In the end, the answers to the questionnaire proved meaningless. People answered yes or no depending on what they thought the results would mean to them. Some loyal citizens refused to answer yes out of anger or family considerations. Others who might have honestly answered no gave the yes answer the officials wanted. That way they could keep out of trouble or leave the hated camp. 11

My father-in-law owned considerable property in Japan, but in America his bank accounts had been frozen and he was penniless. He and his wife had been prevented from becoming American citizens by the naturalization laws of that time and believed that if they answered the questionnaire they would become stateless persons so they decided not to answer it. My husband, also a legal resident alien, did likewise and all three decided to return to Japan as a result of the disillusionment and uncertainty

about their family's future, combined with the continuing ill health of my mother-in-law.

This was a dilemma for me. I was an American-born citizen, as were my three children but, as was customary in those days, I had been trained as a mother and as a housewife and had no employable skills. My husband was my sole means of support and I, too, in desperation finally decided to go to Japan with them in order to keep my family together, and because my primary loyalty was to my husband and his family. To repeat, my refusal to answer the loyalty questionnaire was not the product of free will, but was forced upon me in an effort to survive, to keep my family from disintegrating, and by the unlawful detention and the humiliating and degrading conditions prevailing in the internment camps.

But, among those Washington had defined as "disloyals" were those who had failed or refused to answer Question 28, or who had applied for repatriation to Japan<sup>12</sup> and, as a result of our decision, my family and I were sent to the Tule Lake Segregation Camp in Northern California.

Here it is relevant to examine my relations with my mother-in-law, the matriarch of the family. My own mother and father were in Japan - thousands of miles away - and, except for my two younger brothers, one of whom was serving in the U.S. Army in the Pacific and the other was interned at Tule Lake with us, I had no immediate family. When I married Shigeru Matsuda, his mother, who had always wanted a girl, accepted me as her daughter and we became very close.

For that reason, a detailed description of my mother-in-law's long and agonizing illness has been included in this account in order to convey to the reader some of the personal problems and mental anguish with which I had to contend during the long ordeal of my internment.<sup>13</sup>

During her final tormented days I begged the authorities at Tule Lake to allow my husband - her only child - (then being detained at the Santa Fe Camp For Enemy Aliens) to visit his dying mother but no approval was given. I sent my husband letters and telegrams informing him of his mother's critical condition and urging him to request the authorities at his camp for permission to visit his dying mother. Our letters and telegrams were intercepted by the authorities and nothing came of them. My husband was not even allowed to return to Tule Lake to attend his mother's funeral.<sup>14</sup>

These circumstances, plus my own and my children's ill health were real problems which occupied all my time. It was during this period that Hankey ostensibly befriended me and, preying on my naiveté and my need to confide in a trusted friend, took advantage of my mental agitation and made a "patsy" out of me by coloring and misconstruing whatever I related to her in confidence and reporting her fabrications to the authorities, and eventually even publishing them. (More about this later on).

In 1944 my father-in-law was in his 60's, yet he was forced to take a night shift shoveling coal for the hot water boilers of the mess hall, showers and laundry room of Ward I so he could spend the days comforting and caring for his dying wife. This was exhausting work for him, especially in the bitterly cold nights of Tule Lake. Yet, his \$16 a month wage was not enough to purchase the medical necessities his wife badly needed, the Japanese food from Ogden and Salt Lake City she craved, and the few items he and his wife might need in post-war Japan. Scraping together what little money I had available, I turned to Hankey to buy the few articles of feminine hygiene and other things my mother-in-law might need upon her arrival in Japan.

By the time Hankey left Tule Lake, in May 1945, I had discussed many of my personal problems with her because I had believed her when she told us that she a sympathetic and intensely interested

researcher who had no attachment or obligation to the camp authorities. However, Hankey mentions nothing about these circumstances or any other sociological problems in either The Spoilage or in Doing Fieldwork, very likely because by now she had not only characterized me as a "trouble maker" unworthy of her promises of confidentiality, but also because she was obsessed with the idea of playing one faction against the other rather than writing a true story of the internees - as she had promised to do.

In Tule Lake we found that living conditions were totally inadequate, more so than they had been in the other camps. All the better jobs had been taken by the initial residents - those who had not wanted to move to other centers - and there were extremely few jobs available for the new arrivals from Jerome and the other camps.

My children and I were assigned to a bare room, absolutely devoid of any furniture, because the few items which had been there had been appropriated by the original internees for their own use and taken to their quarters. Without my husband to help us manage (he had left the evacuation train to Tule Lake in Kansas to accompany his sick mother to the Hoisington Hospital and had not yet rejoined us at Tule Lake), I had to plead with the authorities for some lumber<sup>15</sup> and to have someone make a table, shelves and other items my children and I desperately needed.

To make matters worse, there was an acute shortage of food for the internees, particularly milk, sugar and meat. We were told by the residents and mess hall personnel that the food for the detainees was disappearing after being unloaded and much of it never reached the mess hall. We were also informed that part of the missing food was being sold by the Caucasian personnel on the black market and, with the connivance of the authorities, part of it was being sent to the "Co-Op Enterprises" where it had to be purchased by the internees at inflated prices. My brother Tokio, who was an assistant cook at the mess hall, also knew of these activities and it was

this knowledge which eventually led to his terrible beating and that of Tom Kobayashi by the Caucasian WRA Security Police on the night of November 4, 1943. (More about this later).

Hankey should have been aware of these thefts since it was common knowledge,<sup>16</sup> and also because I had discussed it with her several times. She should also have realized that the burglary of the foodstuffs was one of the latent causes of the November 1st and November 4th incidents.

On July 2, 1944, the General Manager of the Co-Op, Takeo Noma,<sup>17</sup> Hankey's number-one informant and the camp's foremost "inu" (informant), was murdered. Referring to this murder, Hankey gives two different accounts of how that unfortunate man met his death. In Doing Fieldwork she states, "The following night Mr. Noma, the General Manager of the Co-Op, was found lying on his brother's doorstep with a knife pushed through his larynx to the base of his brain."<sup>18</sup> But, in The Spoilage she accepts the version published in the Tule Lake Cooperator (a publication of the Co-Op) which reports that Noma was, "stabbed through his neck from (the) right side of (the) throat and cut a main artery with a sharp short sword."<sup>19</sup> These are two entirely dissimilar causes of death, although both accounts give the location of the murder as Block 35 (Ward III).

However, these are not the only discrepancies in Hankey's account of the Noma murder. An even more glaring contradiction to what Hankey states is the report of a witness to the murder who relates that Yoshikawa (another pseudonym for Noma) was attacked by four unidentified men and killed in front of Block 43, located in Ward V (at the opposite end of camp from Block 35). Following the murder the assassins escaped toward the Manzanar area<sup>\*</sup> (Ward VIII), without being identified by the witness.<sup>20</sup>

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\* This was an area of Tule Lake where the segregants from the Manzanar Relocation Camp resided.

Still another example of the way Hankey reduced everything to the trivial and the banal is this casual reference to the Noma murder:

Early in September, relations between the factions were further strained when leaders of both (Kubo, Mrs. Tsuchikawa and others from the Resegregationists; Abe, Kuratomi and Tada from the other faction) were threatened with indictment for complicity in the Noma murder. 21

In another reference to the Noma murder Hankey asserts:

During the first week in September, the old matter of their alleged complicity in the Noma murder was raised once more. An investigator from the office of the District Attorney in Modoc County came to the project and undertook intensive questioning of Abe (Kai), Kuratomi, and Tada as well as such Resegregationist leaders as Mrs. Tsuchikawa, Kira and Kubo. Several of them were taken to the County Seat for further questioning....22

In her preoccupation to cast suspicion for the Noma murder on the various factions in Tule Lake, and on the internees she disliked, Hankey entirely neglects the misadventures of a young man identified only as Hisato K., the unfortunate internee pictured playing a guitar in Carl Mydans' pictorial report on Tule Lake in Life Magazine of March 20, 1944.

This hapless youth of nineteen had been detained at Leupp (WRA penal colony), Arizona, since his arrest on February 24, 1943, as a "suspected troublemaker", then sent to Tule Lake in December of that year and promptly put in the stockade on the suspicion he "might cause further trouble".

When Noma was murdered the authorities suspected former and present stockade prisoners of having incited the murder and among those questioned was Hisato K., who was interrogated all night with the use of third degree methods.<sup>23</sup>

Hankey has nothing to say about Hisato K. preferring, instead, to allege that Mrs. Tsuchikawa (among others she called factional leaders) was threatened with indictment for complicity in the Noma murder and questioned intensively by an investigator from the office of the District Attorney of Modoc County - a patent fabrication. Obviously, either Hankey was not cognizant of all the facts or she was dabbling in partisan politics.

Several important points must be made here:

1. In both previously-mentioned quotations Hankey speaks in generalities and makes veiled accusations about Mrs. Tsuchikawa's involvement in the Noma murder, but she presents no incontrovertible facts. In other words, she plants the seed of suspicion in the reader's mind then, as an afterthought, she casually mentions, "... No indictment was made and the matter was dropped."<sup>24</sup> But, Hankey's irresponsible actions and her fabrications became known to the Justice Department and, at a Justice Department Hearing I requested in the spring of 1957, I was grilled for hours on end about the Noma murder and the spurious indictment - subjects about which I knew absolutely nothing.

2. As for being questioned by an investigator of the Modoc County District Attorney's office, that is another falsehood because I was not questioned by anyone about the murder, either at Tule Lake or at the County Seat. Nor, for that matter, was I ever threatened with indictment. Actually, the news of the Noma murder was first brought to me by Hankey herself, who was quite hysterical at the time, but I attributed her agitation to gossip of Hankey's role as a spy for the WRA, rumors which were rampant during this period.

3. Not having any knowledge whatever about either the murder (except what Hankey had told me) or the so-called indictment, I recently tried to locate Hankey's "field notes" at the Bancroft Library, at the University of California at Berkeley, but her

"field notes" are not in the library. The perplexing disappearance of Hankey's "field notes" is also noted by Dr. Thomas, who comments, "... I don't know where the mysterious 'field notes' are to be found....".<sup>25</sup>

4. Hankey's allegations that I was a resegregationist leader are also pure fabrication because, as stated elsewhere, I was not a leader of any group whatever.

Noma's death caused Hankey's embitterment and a reversal of her sentiments for the internees. Initially Hankey had sided with one group but, in spite of her claims that she avoided giving even the slightest impression that she was playing one faction against the other,<sup>26</sup> she turned against this same group after Noma's death. Thus, in her preference for playing sides in partisan disputes and for the presentation of factional claims, Hankey was unmindful of her role as an objective researcher, relying instead on her preconceived opinions.

Rather, Hankey should have examined the effect of overcrowding, isolation, barbed wire fences and guard towers, and the brutal treatment of the internees by the internal security personnel had on the mental and physical health of the detainees. She should also have considered the consequences of such factors as poor food, absence of privacy, bureaucratic obstructionism, lack of information, and the ceaseless rumors fed to the camp residents because it was precisely this lack of understanding, sensibility, and genuine communication, between the authorities and the detainees, which was fomenting the unrest and unresponsiveness among the sullen and resentful internees who were suffocating in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust.

In lieu of the tedious emphasis on factionalism and the fictitious role of the resegregationists (including my role as Hankey's Mrs. Tsuchikawa) in the Noma murder, it would have been closer to the

truth if Hankey had related that, in addition to the fact that the Co-Op was selling fashionable clothes and gourmet food at exorbitant prices, and making huge profits at the expense of the internees, a large amount of money was "stolen" from the Co-Op. Although an attempt was made to blame outsiders, no one was apprehended and many of the detainees suspected that it was an "inside job", with Noma deeply involved in the theft. Besides lining his own pockets, Noma was said to have used part of the money to gain favors from both the WRA and the Army, and many of the internees expected that "something" would happen to him.<sup>27</sup>

But, rather than considering the possibility that Noma's murder was caused primarily by his own greed and perfidy, Hankey quotes Kurihara saying that the murder took place because, "there is no law here in this camp."<sup>28</sup> And, in writing about the reaction of many residents, Hankey quotes only Kurihara and me, the ubiquitous Mrs. Tsuchikawa (the "prominent resegregationist") by name. All other respondents interviewed by Hankey are referred to as: "An older Nisei woman"; "An older Tulean"; "A Nisei girl"; again, "A Nisei girl"; "An Issei"; "An older Nisei man"; "A Kibei girl" - all broad generalizations, except for Mrs. Tsuchikawa who allegedly, "expressed disappointment at the removal of Kami, Suzukawa and Kurokawa to the other projects because it would have been better if they had met the same fate as Noma."<sup>29</sup>

In reality, this is another untruth because I had never met any of these three individuals and was not acquainted with any of them.

Thus, with her politicking, her prejudices and lack of professionalism Hankey did little except to aggravate the degradation, misery and squalor of the internees.

Referring to the profusion of individuals labeled "inu" (informer), Hankey states that, "anyone might be called 'inu' by suspicious and spiteful neighbors."<sup>30</sup> Yet she fails to grasp the underlying

reasons for all the turmoil at Tule Lake. In addition to the repressive conditions imposed by an insensitive administration, and the insidiousness of some social scientists and their evacuee "researchers", the internees were also buffeted by pressure groups made up of transferees from other internment camps; groups composed of renunciants; those who preferred to remain at Tule Lake rather than being transferred to other centers; and by committees and councils lobbying for various special interests. That, in itself, created a very unstable situation and many of the detainees were spreading rumors for their own "self-preservation" and other self-serving purposes but, in the process, damaging those they accused.

The distrust and friction among the various groups naturally played into the hands of the camp administration because the "inu" reported every misunderstanding to the authorities. This enabled the officials to apprehend the leaders of the various groups which, in turn, created more suspicion and strife - and more "inu".

But Hankey must have concluded that a more "plausible" tale had to be written and so later on she misinterprets what I had said to her and states, "... No one mentioned them (inu) except the ardent resegregationist, Mrs. Tsuchikawa...."<sup>31</sup> With the exception of some inconsequential comments by a few women, out of a population of close to 20,000 detainees, Hankey's only protagonist, "source" of information, and spokeswoman for the resegregationists seems to have been Mrs. Tsuchikawa (me) and no other woman in Tule Lake. For the record, what I had said to Hankey was that, in my opinion, the only way to have a peaceful center would be to take the "fence sitters" and those she called "loyals" and send them elsewhere, and keep only those who had decided to go to Japan at Tule Lake.

To make matters worse, Hankey herself fed the flames of dissatisfaction by planting rumors among the various groups of internees, as she confirms when she states, "another reason that people sometimes welcomed my visits was that I would be used as an informant

and advisor."<sup>32</sup> The correspondence between Rosalie Hankey and some of the Tule Lake evacuees<sup>33</sup> also verifies that she manipulated the leaders of the various factions such as Yoshiyama, Tsuda, Takahashi, Wakayama, Akashi, Sam Uchida, Kuratomi and others, to secure information and play one against the other. Thus, it becomes evident that Hankey engaged in those machinations to keep the pot of discontent and frustration boiling so she could justify her version that conditions in the camp resulted from conflict between "loyals" and "disloyals". At the same time she was using her position of trust to inform camp authorities of matters given to her in confidence.

On the subject of "loyals" and "disloyals" Opler has this to say,

... pontification about "opportunism", based on the "loyalty-disloyalty" labels, were actually misleading since these labels had long since lost any objectively significant meaning in the maelstrom of emotional reactions to consistently discriminatory treatment. <sup>34</sup>

To these yet another group of spies was added when the WRA administration approved the appointment of thirty men and women internees for the purpose of "performing intelligence work". These confidential informers, known as "Fielders", were placed on the WRA payroll and were known only by number.

According to Weglyn,

They were hired to infiltrate meetings, record incriminating opinions in boiler rooms, latrines, laundries, mess halls, and in various suspected storm centers of dissent. Dossiers were maintained on anti-administration heretics, agitators, and those suspected of underground sympathies.<sup>35</sup>

Hankey states that on February 10, 1944, Fielder K-3, "reported that Sawamura, Shiba, Tsukai, Tsuchikawa, and others were involved

in an organized plot, were obtaining signatures of the residents under pretense of giving them priority on the exchange boat (ship), were attempting to get the release of everyone in the stockade, and were discrediting the Coordinating Committee by propaganda."<sup>36</sup>

Parenthetically it should be noted that the Tsuchikawa mentioned in the previous paragraph is Hideki Tsuchikawa (my husband Shigeru Matsuda)<sup>37</sup> to whom Hankey refers only by family name, thus misleading the reader as to whether she is referring to my husband or to me.

This type of misinformation and rumormongering relayed to the camp administration by informers can easily be understood because such things happened periodically. What is astounding is that Hankey accepted the accusation as gospel truth and reported it as a fact. Yet, a reputable scholar should have confirmed the information before publishing it and, if Hankey was as familiar with camp procedures as she liked to think, she should have known that the internees mentioned in the report (of Fielder K-3) were not involved in an "organized plot", and could not have pretended to give anyone priority on the exchange ship because no internee was ever informed of the sailing date of any exchange ship. Furthermore, following the November 4, 1943, warehouse incident at Tule Lake, "Tokyo called an abrupt halt to prisoner exchange negotiations. The cutoff proved permanent."<sup>38</sup>

In any case, a Naval Intelligence Service document, dated 28 April 1944, contradicts the report (dated February 10, 1944) on the Coordinating Committee Hankey attributes to Fielder K-3. The Navy document states,

In March (1944) the KAI group, led by Mrs. Kai, requested permission of the acting project director, Mr. Harry L. Black, to circulate a petition to obtain the names of those desiring to return to Japan on the next exchange ship.... According to Mr. Black, he denied the permission for a petition, but told them that they might make "inquiries"

concerning the matter. This was accepted by the Japanese as permission to circulate the petition and they went ahead according to their original plan....

On 10 April 1944 the Coordinating Committee, composed of Japanese who had been working with the Army and the WRA in the administration of the center, submitted their resignation in a dispute over the circulation of the petition by members of the KAI faction to obtain the signatures of those desiring immediate repatriation to Japan. 39

In 1943 meetings were taking place at Tule Lake between the internee Negotiating Committee and the WRA authorities to look into the thefts of the food allotments for the detainees (who were receiving only about 50% of the food rations assigned to them), the job situation and the repair of the barracks which had fallen into disrepair.

The Negotiating Committee attempted to bridge the widened gap between the community (internees) and the administration, unaware that political rivals were busily making discrediting reports to the Commandant that they were a "Jerome faction" and not representative of the Tule Lake residents. 40

These meetings were inconclusive and rumors, suspicion and distrust spread through the camp. Tension and fear mounted among the internees so the WRA officials made arrangements for military assistance if it should be required. Public meetings were banned but, when the National Director of the WRA, Dillon Myer, visited Tule Lake on November 1, 1943, a demonstration was organized to impress upon him the extent of the internees' discontent.

On the night of November 4, 1943, a meeting of the Negotiating Committee was being held to arrange for the betterment of camp conditions. The meeting was interrupted by the news that WRA Caucasian personnel were loading food supplies from the warehouse into one of their personal trucks. Tom Kabayashi, a Nisei warder who had observed this and questioned the Caucasians had been beaten.

My brother, Tokio Yamane, had been attending the Negotiating Committee Meeting and was asked to go to the warehouse area to calm the internees who were gathering there. On the way to the warehouse he was confronted by WRA personnel, hit with a baseball bat, pistol whipped and taken to the WRA office. The warder who had first questioned those who were taking the food out of the warehouse was also brought to the office and hit on the head with a baseball bat.

In his deposition to the Commission On Wartime Relocation And Internment Of Civilians my brother stated,

Mr. Kobayashi, a Japanese American on security patrol, discovered several WRA Caucasian personnel stealing food from the internee food warehouse during the night and loading the food in their own truck which was parked alongside the warehouse. Mr. Kobayashi, who had the authority of a warder, remonstrated with the WRA personnel because they were taking the internees' food. Mr. Kobayashi was attacked by the Caucasian WRA personnel... During our interrogation Mr. Kobayashi was hit on the head with such force that blood gushed out and the baseball bat actually broke in two... The beatings continued all night long and at daybreak the three of us (a third internee was also beaten) were turned over to the Military Police and thrown into the stockade for confinement. 41

During the brutal all-night questioning at the WRA office my brother, and the others who had been asked to calm the internees, were told to "confess" that they were the instigators of the disturbance. Of course, they stoutly denied having incited the fracas but, the more they denied it, the more they were beaten because the internal security personnel resented the fact that Caucasians had been caught in the act of stealing the internees' food, and because they needed some scapegoats to blame for the disturbance. At daybreak, following that harrowing night, the three unfortunates were confined in the "Bull Pen" (special enclosure for recalcitrant prisoners) of the stockade without medical treatment or even first aid for their grievous injuries.<sup>42</sup>

My brother described conditions in the stockade "Bull Pen" as follows:

Prisoners in the stockade lived in wooden buildings which, although flimsy, still offered some protection from the severe winters of Tule Lake. However, prisoners in the "Bull Pen" were housed outdoors, in tents without any heat and with no protection against the bitter cold. The bunks were placed directly on the cold ground, and the prisoners had only one or two blankets and no extra clothing to ward off the winter chill. And, for the first time in our lives, those of us confined in the "Bull Pen" experienced a life and death struggle for survival, the unbearable pain from our unattended and infected wounds, and the penetrating December cold of Tule Lake, a God-forsaken concentration camp lying near the Oregon border, and I shall never forget that horrible experience. 43

In order to secure my brother's release I repeatedly contacted the camp authorities, but when we heard that the stockade prisoners were on a hunger strike I redoubled my efforts. Meanwhile meetings were being held in several mess halls to decide what could be done to hasten their release. At least one of the internee blocks, I believe it was block 20, decided to send women and young girls on three different days to talk to the authorities about freeing the prisoners. Men did not go because they feared they might be detained as trouble makers. 44

Hankey, of course, knew this but time and again she labeled me a "trouble maker" and a "pressure group leader", suggesting I was the leader of this group of women and young girls who were seeking the release of their loved ones.

There is no question that, "as the sister of Sadao Endo <sup>45</sup> who had been arrested on November 4 and confined to the stockade", <sup>46</sup> I was vainly trying to secure his release. However, Hankey's cavalier interpretation of facts prevented her from realizing that Sadao Endo was not involved in the machinations and political

activities of some of the other internees. He was in the "Bull Pen" of the stockade only because the authorities needed someone to blame for the November 4 incident, following which he was so severely beaten by WRA Internal Security Guards Willard E. Schmidt and Clifford L. Payne<sup>47</sup> in an all-night orgy of sadism that my brother carries the scars of that beating to this day.<sup>48</sup>

After contacting the WRA authorities I also repeatedly contacted the Army authorities in charge of the stockade, the American Red Cross (several times at Hankey's suggestion), and various government agencies, but to no avail. I even resorted to writing to the Spanish Consulate because the Spanish Legation in Washington had assumed responsibility for the welfare of Japanese nationals, but in vain because my brother was an American citizen and the Consulate's responsibilities were for non-citizens.

Finally, in desperation, and in a supreme act of trust and confidence in Hankey's friendship, I asked her to smuggle another letter to the Spanish Consul out of Tule Lake and mail it in town where it would not be intercepted by the camp authorities. Hankey promised to help me and I gave her the letter.<sup>49</sup> But she never mailed it and recently I retrieved that letter from the National Archives, where it had been deposited with my Tule Lake Internment Records. It seems reasonable to assume that if Hankey had mailed the letter, as promised, it would have been in the files of the Spanish Consulate and not in the Archives.

Under similar circumstances, it stands to reason that Hankey would have tried to do as much for her brother as I tried to do for mine. Particularly since she knew that, "the (WRA) rules mandated that residence of any individual therein (stockade and "Bull Pen") shall be for an indefinite period."<sup>50</sup> Hankey should also have known that all the mail for "Bull Pen" detainees was subject to strict censorship, and that no visitors were permitted except with the permission of the Tule Lake Director - permission which was never given to me.<sup>51</sup>

When the stockade prisoners went on their hunger strike to protest their long and unjust confinement (my brother was imprisoned for more than ten months) my kinsman had fainted and had to be taken to the camp hospital. While the strike was in progress a petition addressed to the WRA authorities was prepared and the internees were asked to sign it. However, according to Hankey, some of the more extreme resegregationists "like Mrs. Tsuchikawa" and others preferred to force a decision through legal action (even though this would delay the release of the stockade detainees) rather than give the administration an easy way out.<sup>52</sup>

After all I had gone through to secure my brother's release this was utter nonsense because she well knew I would do nothing to delay his release; so is the statement that Hankey attributes to "other informants" that the extremists tried to capitalize on the sympathy of the stockade prisoners, "to raise a fund for defraying expenses of their resegregationist organization."<sup>53</sup> According to Hankey, "there is some evidence to support this contention"<sup>54</sup> because a drive initiated by Mrs. Tsuchikawa and others, "is said to have yielded a fund of \$2,000 to \$3,000 only \$500 of which was allocated to the 'Saiban-iin' for the attorney's fee."<sup>55</sup> (Saiban-iin means legal committee).

As a matter of fact, all previous efforts to secure the release of the stockade detainees, such as individual actions, appeals to the Secretary of the Interior and the Attorney General of the United States, intervention by the Negotiating Committee, the Daihyo Sha Kai (block representatives), or the Spanish Consulate had failed, and now the families of some of the detainees conceived and carried out the plan to secure legal means for their release. However, I did not participate in this project.

Other inaccuracies in Hankey's accounts are as follows:

- (1) Apart from the fact that I was not a resegregationist and was

not involved in this fund-raising effort, Hankey's rationale for grouping me with Kira and Ishikawa escapes me. (2) Most of Hankey's statements are attributed to Kuratomi, who had become her chief informant after Noma's death. Kuratomi was in the stockade at the time the funds for the Saiban-ii were collected and could not have known the details. However, the money obtained benefited him, as well as the others, by hastening their release from the stockade. (3) Hankey vaguely lists "other informants" for the shift in tactics of the resegregationists. And, (4) She implied that I (Mrs. Tsuchikawa), Yamashita and others pocketed the difference between the total funds raised (several thousand dollars), and the \$500 allocated for the attorney's fee, yet I knew absolutely nothing about this fund-raising activity.

Hankey then goes on to say that the meeting was held at my home - inferring I was one of the conspirators. Several meetings of one kind or another were held at my home because Hideki Tsuchikawa,<sup>56</sup> my husband, was one of the Hoshidan leaders and hosted several meetings at our home. However, Hankey once again makes a gratuitous assumption when she states, "She assumed a position of leadership in the underground movement and also agitated constantly and openly for the release of her brother."<sup>57</sup> As she has done repeatedly throughout The Spoilage, Hankey disregards the fact that my husband was a Hoshidan leader but I was not.

Then Hankey states that, "In the course of time she (Mrs. Tsuchikawa) came to be regarded by the administration as the instigator of most of the troubles that later developed."<sup>58</sup> This may be quite true, but only because of the false reports Hankey was making to the camp administration about my so-called trouble-making activities, and the dossier on Mrs. Kazue Matsuda (this writer) which was prepared later as a result of Hankey's untrue stories. Obviously Hankey never checked the facts and the sources of her information.

Yet, at this time I still had faith in Hankey and, since the stockade detainees had not been allowed any cigarettes or other personal necessities for some time, I asked Hankey to purchase some of these items for my brother. She did so and, on July 2, 1944, I wrote to Hankey<sup>59</sup> to thank her for making those small purchases and for forwarding a letter I had enclosed to either Mr. Provinse, Chief of Community Services, or to Mr. Edward Spicer, the WRA Chief Community Analyst.

Because of Hankey's credentials and her aura of scholarship and objectivity, the segregants placed their trust in her and passed the word around that Hankey was a reliable friend and we could speak freely with her. Hankey herself points this out in reporting a meeting she had with Koshiro Yamashita<sup>60</sup> on 21 September 1944. He had been concerned about the possible repercussions regarding a speech he had made about two weeks previously when his wife said to him, "Why don't you tell her the truth? You know you can trust her." Hankey then relates that Mr. Yamashita looked nonplussed but decided to follow his wife's advice.<sup>61</sup>

Many of us did trust Hankey in the belief that she would record the insensitivity of the WRA authorities for the predicament of the internees and that she would act as our advocate with the camp authorities - which was what she had promised to do. However, it has since become evident that Hankey betrayed the internees' trust, with the result that their families were stigmatized and their children had to bear the burden of Hankey's callousness.

In my own case, none of the problems my family and I were having are mentioned in Doing Fieldwork or in The Spoilage. Instead, Hankey represents me as a trouble maker, an agitator, and so on. It is patently obvious that Hankey visualized a pattern and forced those she interviewed into that mold, whether they fitted the shape or not. This may have seemed like a jest to her, but she should have realized, instead, that debasing her research in this manner

would lead to a loss of all semblance of objectivity and impartiality.

As Kitano points out,

Questions of objectivity can also be raised. Is it possible to be objective without resorting to judgments of good and bad? Under the camp colonial system, it is probable that analysts saw disrupters as bad guys and cooperators and informers as the good guys. <sup>62</sup>

Here are some specific examples of Hankey's calumnies:

(1) In the 1940's, Japanese society, and the Japanese community in America, were completely male-dominated, more so than they are today, and a qualified researcher in the internment camps would have been acutely aware of that fact. In 1944 I was a young woman beset by enormous personal problems and was not in the least interested in camp politics or in affairs which normally concerned men. But the pattern had obviously taken shape in Hankey's mind and she depicted me as "bossy", "hysterical" and "not particularly scrupulous". She also referred to me as "Madame Chiang Kai-shek", <sup>63</sup> the connotation being that I played a significant part in camp politics and (like the wife of the Chinese Generalissimo) was involved in political and factional activities. This is utterly ridiculous because in the male-dominated atmosphere of the camps no one would have listened to me, even if I had tried to become involved in camp politics, especially when many of the leaders were older, wiser and better educated, and had been respected leaders of the communities from which they had come.

(2) Another reference to me states, "I could not warm to a mother who, at the first hint of danger, picked up her child and held it in front of her." <sup>64</sup> Hankey had come to my quarters several times and was aware of the lack of furniture, including the absence of a

playpen, crib, or even a high chair for my year-old baby, and my other alternative would have been to put her on the bare floor. In this particular instance, when I opened the door to Hankey I was holding the baby in my arms, as I usually did whenever I could because of her ill health. Is Hankey implying that her visit was so threatening to me that I had to protect myself by holding the baby in front of me as a shield? Furthermore, did Hankey's expertise extend to the field of psychology that she was able to determine how a mother who feels threatened holds her baby?



This is the way I was carrying the baby when I opened the door to Hankey.

(3) On one of Hankey's infrequent visits to my quarters I was sick in bed with a heavy cold but, since she wanted to talk to me, I invited her in, out of politeness, and chatted with her for a half hour or more. I spoke to her about how cruelly my family had been treated by the camp Internal Security personnel; about the beating my brother Tokio received the night of the warehouse "incident"; and about my other brother who was serving in the Pacific with the U.S. Army (and from whom I had not heard in a long time), because these were my real concerns.

Alluding to this visit, Hankey relates that she had a long talk with Mrs. Tsuchikawa,<sup>65</sup> the "lady agitator",<sup>66</sup> while she took "careful" notes. (She should have said, instead, that she was writing the

little speech she would later attribute to me). However, she glosses over the problems I had mentioned to her in favor of no less than three long quotations which she accuses me of making, "in a tone of passionate exultation",<sup>67</sup> while I "sat erect and spoke as if delivering an address."<sup>68</sup>

As in other instances, Hankey is carried away by her own creative musings, but the tale is pure fiction and the rubbish she quotes me as saying is not worth repeating because those are words she attributes to me only to make her point that I was her ideal of a "lady agitator".

It is manifest that my feelings at this time were beyond Hankey's comprehension. A homemaker who has lost her home and all her possessions and who has been violently uprooted from her environment; whose family has been confined behind barbed wire fences; who has to renounce her American citizenship to keep her family together; and who faces the dismal future of living in a foreign country, with its attendant discrimination as a citizen of another country, is not exultant about the prospects of life in an alien country.

Perhaps the statements Hankey attributed to me was her way of making sure I would never be allowed to return to the United States after the war and challenge her biased account.

Hankey should also have been aware of the fact that fear, repression and regimentation were standard procedures at Tule Lake but, in her preoccupation to "discuss" the chapter on Resegregation,<sup>69</sup> she attributes the material and psychological problems of the internees to their treachery.

Among the resegregated there was, however, a relatively small but very aggressive group, with a more positive appreciation of their status as "disloyals", who were determined to reject America which had subjected them

to the indignities of evacuation and confinement in concentration camps, to seek the earliest possible return to a victorious Japan, to give in the meantime all possible aid and comfort to the mother country, and to pursue to the limit the Japanese way of life which the administration had implied would be appropriate for "disloyal" segregants. 70

(4) The lack of Hankey's objectivity is also evidenced in the Even the saints might reasonably be expected to show at least some degree of bitterness after being deprived of their citizenship without due process of law; after being forced to abandon all their worldly possessions; after being imprisoned under conditions which were far worse than those prevailing in prisoner of war camps, and without the assurance that they would be given an opportunity to rebuild their lives at war's end. Strange that it did not occur to Hankey that some of the more vocal and pugnacious internees might be inclined to discuss the rejection of the country which had demeaned them to such a degree, and unjustly deprived them of their liberty.

Evidently Hankey also failed to comprehend that so-called "disloyalty" must be accompanied by action which threatens the safety of the nation. The mere mouthing of words, however disloyal-sounding, is not a crime, it is merely freedom of speech. And, also unaccountably, Hankey was not aware that the internees never threatened the safety of America.

However, in an effort to weave a believable tale Hankey does not realize the falsehood of her statements. She speaks of "reseggregated" when the Tule Lake internees were not reseggregated. They had petitioned the authorities for resegregation, but it never took place. She casually refers to a "possible return to a victorious Japan" without giving any indication of how even the members of the "aggressive group" could have any assurance that Japan would be victorious; and about giving "all possible aid to the mother country". How could Japan be their mother country when most of the internees were American citizens? And how could the internees of

any detention camp give aid to anyone outside the camp, let alone to a country thousands of miles away? Moreover, with the dissension and factionalism present in Tule Lake, what form could this aid and comfort take?

(4) The lack of Hankey's objectivity is also evidenced in the remark that, "for many months I myself had been waiting for the release of the imprisoned (resegregationist) leaders....".<sup>71</sup> An investigator familiar with the factionalism in Tule Lake would have known that these very vocal leaders (including the Rev. Kai and Kuratomi) had influenced the internees to answer the "loyalty questionnaire" negatively and seek expatriation/repatriation to Japan. But, after their transfer to Tule Lake, realizing it was not a segregated center (as its name implied and as they had been led to believe by the WRA authorities) Kai, Kuratomi and the leaders of groups from nine other relocation centers began to agitate for "re-segregation". That is to say, they wanted to be moved to some center designated only for those who had chosen expatriation or repatriation to Japan.

This led to dissension and friction between those who sought "segregation" and the original internees of Tule Lake who had answered the "loyalty questionnaire" affirmatively but did not wish to be transferred elsewhere. Under those conditions the "resegregationists" were unable to govern themselves or prepare themselves for their eventual return to Japan. To add to the confusion and discord, there was a third group made up of "fence-sitters" who did not side with either one or the other two groups but simply wanted to stay put for the duration of the war and, for that reason, many of them were considered untrustworthy and labeled "inu" (informers) by the other two groups. To put it simply, it was a storm waiting to break.

But, while imprisoned in the stockade, a series of circumstances induced Kuratomi, Kai, Tsuda and other leaders to have a complete

change of heart about resegregation, renouncing their citizenship and going to Japan. After having promised to cooperate with the authorities, they were placed in a separate building and accorded preferential treatment, while their followers continued to languish in another part of the jail, not knowing that their leaders had been receiving better treatment and had undergone a change of heart. In return, after their release from the stockade, these former resegregationist leaders organized an anti-resegregation movement but their influence waned, they were called "little inu" and lost out to a more extreme element.

This is corroborated by Weglyn who states, "Bitterly resented by residents were the Hokoku-Hoshidan stalwarts, who, after talking dozens of others into realizing the 'honor' of internment, had decided against it for themselves."<sup>72</sup> Small wonder their followers felt betrayed by their leaders.<sup>73</sup>

By her own admission Hankey had become well-acquainted with Kuratomi and his wife and had received a great deal of information from him. But, because Hankey's perception of reality was more important to her than reality itself, Hankey attributed "snide remarks about the 'unwise attitude' of Kai, Kuratomi and Tada....",<sup>74</sup> to Mrs. Tsuchikawa and felt it was proper to ask her to arrange interviews with these leaders - again casting me in the manipulative and political role of Madame Chaing Kai-shek.

As Opler states,

The point of these corrections... is that well-heated (sic) attempts to play sides in factional disputes which rend any aggrieved and disaffected community are only possible where the proper interpretation of factionalism is lacking....".<sup>75</sup>

It should be noted that neither Kuratomi nor Kai renounced their citizenship as they had originally planned to do. And, in 1945,

they were released for resettlement, Kuratomi on the East Coast and Kai in the Pacific Northwest.

(5) In 1944 Tule Lake had a heterogeneous population of approximately 20,000 internees, unevenly assigned to 74 blocks of buildings, divided into eight wards. In one way or another, most of the internees were affected by the actions of the various groups, and some of them were involved in camp politics. But, Hankey's character assassination continues by innuendo, as when she states, "... In this category (the internees who were actively involved in camp politics) were people like Mrs. Tsuchikawa (only my name is mentioned) and members of the 'underground pressure group'." <sup>76</sup> In another instance, discussing what she calls the "trouble in Block 54", involving Japanese policemen, Hankey states that I related to her that policemen had reprimanded some young men for doing physical exercises, "but she did not tell me those exercises were patterned on those of the Japanese Army." <sup>77</sup> This statement is absolutely absurd because the exercises Hankey refers to were part of the physical education curriculum of all Japanese elementary, high school and college classes. They were taught by physical education instructors who were high school graduates, but had nothing to do with the military.

Hankey knew, of course, that when I visited Japan with my children, before the war, I attended finishing school for the purpose of self-refinement, that is, for the study of Japanese etiquette and manners, classical Haiku, tea ceremony and flower arrangement, and I spent all my time with relatives. Yet, she chooses to disregard my involvement with cultural pursuits and implies that I was familiar with the physical training of the Japanese Army!

(6) Concerning the organization of the Japanese Language School and other study groups Hankey states,

... When the resegregationist leaders decided to

organize an innocent appearing young men's group to study the culture of Japan, I was on good terms with Mrs. Tsuchikawa... (who) could not resist telling me that her husband was doing most of the work. 78

This is sheer fantasy because there were many other instructors involved besides my husband, Shigeru Matsuda, including Z. Tachibana, S. Sakamoto and others who were experienced Japanese school teachers prior to being interned, and who cooperated with Rev. Kenjitsu Tsuha in organizing the Japanese Language School as soon as it was approved by the authorities.

The Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan (Fatherland Youth Study Group) was organized by Rev. K. Tsuha, an ordained Buddhist priest, to do research on Japan and to deepen the appreciation of Japanese culture, tradition, customs and history. It existed in parallel with a system of American schools in the Center and its aim was to prepare youths for their new life in Japan.<sup>79</sup> This group was later disbanded when a more radical group the Hokoku Seinen-dan (Young Men's Organization To Serve The Mother Country) was organized.<sup>80</sup>

A crucial point not mentioned by Hankey is the fact that the schools and the study groups had been approved by the U.S. Department of Justice and the State Department, as well as Raymond Best, WRA Project Director of Tule Lake,<sup>81</sup> who allowed the school office to be located in Block 78,<sup>82</sup> and who authorized Hidekazu Tamura to be the negotiator and spokesman for the schools and the Hoshidan.<sup>83</sup>

Instead of magnifying things all out of proportion and launching into a long diatribe about the Sokoku Kenkyu (Organization For The Study Of Culture), the Hoshidan (Organization To Return Immediately To The Motherland To Serve), and the Hokoku Seinen-dan (Young Men's Organization To Serve The Mother Country), Hankey should have realized that the American-born children of the internees had been exposed only to American education and the American way of

life and were not adequately prepared for life in Japan. But, having been rejected by America because of their racial ancestry and having been interned like common criminals, the detainees had decided to make a new life for themselves in Japan. Once that decision was made it became imperative for them, and their children, to study the language and culture of Japan if they were to survive in that country following their expatriation.

Hankey conveniently overlooks this fact preferring instead to sensationalize the histrionics of the members of the Hoshi-dan and the Hokoku Seinen-dan, including their bugle blowing, marching and chanting, and even their so-called "bozu" haircuts which, in fact, was the standard hair style of Japanese students until quite recently.

(7) Yet another example of sensationalistic reporting and careless interpretation of facts by Hankey is the following circumstance.

When I arrived in Tule Lake, in late September 1943, I requested, and was assigned, housing in what was called the Sacramento Block of Ward I, near the Administration Building and the Camp Hospital, because my mother-in-law's health was deteriorating day by day and my children and I were often sick, necessitating frequent trips to the hospital. On the other hand, the resegregationist leaders were living somewhere at the extreme end of the camp - probably Ward VI or Ward VIII, a considerable distance from where I lived. Under those conditions I could not possibly have told Hankey, "that young men of the Hokoku were guarding the apartments of the resegregationist leaders night and day",<sup>84</sup> because I had no contact with those leaders and did not even know where they lived. Moreover, I had no way of knowing whether they were guarded night and day and it is unreal to believe that those leaders, or their guards, would confide in me and inform me of their security measures. More to the point, I had my hands full taking care of my children and my dying mother-in-law and had no interest whatever in the plans of

the resegregationist leaders.

Taking care of my mother-in-law involved bathing her, cooking her special diet and feeding her, regardless of whether she was in her quarters or in the hospital, and spending hours to keep her company and comfort her. This, of course, involved finding someone to babysit my children - usually a difficult task - and, in addition, I had to work as a dietician to supplement my meager resources, comfort my father-in-law, and take care of my own needs. To put it simply, I was in an impossible situation, and certainly not one to elicit interest in the activities of the resegregationist leaders.

During this period I was emotionally drained and physically ill and I had to see a doctor repeatedly. This is verified by clinical data from the Tule Lake Hospital,<sup>85</sup> which state, in part, that I had lost 12 lbs. in the previous five months (which for a person of small stature and weighing not more than 103 pounds at most, was a considerable amount). The doctor also stated that I was nervous, my appetite was poor, I often could not sleep at night, and felt dizzy while doing housework. As part of my psychological history the doctor noted that I had a brother in the U.S. Army, but did not know what happened to him; another brother, Tokio Yamane, was in the stockade; Internal Security personnel suspected me of being an espionage agent; my mother-in-law had cancer of the cervix; my daughter was hospitalized with nephritis; and my mother and sister were in Hiroshima, Japan.

(8) One bit of casual conversation with Hankey that was used against me when she substituted fancy and fiction for fact, dealt with my pre-war acquaintance with Prince Konoye's son. I had met Fumitaka Konoye when he was attending Princeton University and had occasionally corresponded with him. During my stay in Tule Lake, when we were already expecting to be sent to Japan, I asked Hankey to buy me a bottle of Canadian Whiskey for Fumitaka, and I mentioned to her that I had met him in pre-war days. Hankey made the

purchase for me and I thought no more about it. She was the only person with whom I discussed the matter but, as we shall see later on, that was not the end of the story.

A few months earlier, on April 24, 1944 to be precise, one James Herbert Keyes came to see me. As an excuse to enter my quarters he asked me to teach him Japanese and proceeded to converse with me. He said he sympathized with the tribulations of the internees and, in order to gain my confidence, he criticized the Internal Security officers saying that they were dumb and a "bunch of old men going through the change of life." He then censured us (the internees) as being "dumb clucks" for talking about camp conditions but not doing anything about them. Then he made a startling statement, "You should pledge yourselves as loyal Americans and get out of the center. Then you could cause all of the damage (sabotage) you want to."<sup>86</sup>

When I heard those comments I was frightened and shocked that anyone would make such a suggestion, especially to me who still considered herself a loyal American and who had a brother in the Army fighting the Japanese in the Pacific. Afraid that I had been contacted by an "agent provocateur" (of whom there were several at work among the internees) I discussed the incident with Hankey and asked her for advice, but all I received were platitudes.

As a result of an interview I had with a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on July 10, 1944,<sup>87</sup> it is amply evident that Hankey reported to the camp authorities everything I discussed with her, contrary to Thomas' directive to Hankey that, "On no account (was she) to give any information or 'data' (about the internees) to the WRA."<sup>88</sup> (Dorothy Swaine Thomas was the head of the Japanese American Evacuation And Resettlement Study (JERS) in Berkeley and Hankey's superior). At this (ACLU) interview I was informed that there was a report in my file that I was an "espionage agent" (undoubtedly Hankey's reference to me as the

"leader of an underground pressure group", the fictional fiery speech she attributed to me, and her reference to the physical exercises of the Japanese Army); that I was connected with the royal family of Japan; and that I was a good friend of Prince Konoye and his family. (Hankey was the only person who knew of my acquaintance with Fumitake Konoye).

At this interview I was so distressed upon learning of this slanderous accusation that I was overcome by tears and my children, who were with me, also broke into tears, not knowing the cause of my misery and agitation. The intimidating attitude of the interviewers, plus my mental anguish, disappointment and loathing at the manner Hankey had revealed an innocuous personal conversation to the authorities (who now accused me of being a spy) were such that I could not adequately express myself and I answered most of the questions addressed to me incoherently and without consideration.

Also as a consequence of this same interview I am convinced that in the early part of 1944, while my brother Tokio was being detained in the "Bull Pen" of the stockade, Hankey must have reported to the authorities whatever comments I might have made to her about my brother's beating the night of the November 4 incident. What leads me to this conclusion is the fact that not long after that incident I was repeatedly harassed and intimidated by Internal Security personnel who ordered me to stop trying to secure my brother's release from the stockade (Hankey had stated that I agitated constantly and openly for my brother's release),<sup>89</sup> and who tried unsuccessfully for several hours, on at least two occasions, to determine if I knew the names of the security guards who had beaten my brother.

Among the details I had given Hankey - and only to Hankey - were the names of the two Internal Security guards who had beaten my brother. On the first of the two long and daunting interrogations

Willard E. Schmidt, the burly head of the WRA Internal Security, referring to my account that Internal Security personnel had beaten my brother, sprang out of his chair and asked me in a threatening manner, "Where did you hear that?"<sup>90</sup> I did not answer Schmidt directly, but I told him I could substantiate the charges.

The next day Anthony O'Brien, Project Attorney, and an agent named Sandrin (?) came to my quarters to threaten me. They came at 10:30 in the morning and stayed until 1:30 in the afternoon, and prevented the children, my husband and me from going to the mess hall to eat our lunch. At this meeting O'Brien sat down but, although I offered Sandrin (?) a chair several times, he remained standing, glowering at me the whole time.<sup>91</sup>

It should be noted that O'Brien was so rabidly anti-Japanese that on one occasion he expressed his murderous hate for the Japanese Americans by stating, "When I came back and saw the people (internees) lined up for repatriation, I wished for a machine gun for five minutes."<sup>92</sup>

The dichotomy in Hankey's mind is self-evident. On the one hand she refers to me in pejorative terms as, "poor little Mrs. Tsuchikawa looking like a thin and dusty bamboo chair"<sup>93</sup> because she knew I was a modest and unassuming housewife with no leadership skills and no training or experience in public speaking or politics, as she well knew of my personal problems, including my sickly children; my dying mother-in-law; my brother's long and unjust imprisonment in the stockade; and my long separation from my husband, who had been transferred to the Santa Fe Justice Department Camp in December 1944.

On the other hand, she refers to me as Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the bombastic and influential wife of the Chinese Generalissimo. Many of the internees had, of course, heard of Madame Chiang Kai-shek but the connotation of that appellation was not the same for the

Japanese Americans as it was for American Caucasians and, contrary to what Hankey states,<sup>94</sup> the detainees never referred to anyone by that name - not even behind their backs. A knowledgeable investigator would have known that but, in my case, I was being forced into the pattern which had taken shape in Hankey's mind because that is the way she saw me whenever it suited her purpose.

In the same fashion, Hankey refers to my former husband as "Hideki" Tsuchikawa, Hideki being the given name of the brusque and arrogant Japanese wartime Premier Hideki Tojo. Thus, between Hideki Tojo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Hankey had cast my husband and me into the characters she visualized and expected us to live up to the roles she had assigned to us.

In another instance, she creates the expectation in the readers' minds to perceive Mr. Tsuchikawa as a modern day Joan of Arc, "assuming a position of leadership in the underground movement...."<sup>95</sup> dashing about from one end of the camp to the other hatching sinister plots and stirring up discord and unrest among the "innocent" internees.

Although she lived at Tule Lake for sometime, Hankey, not having undergone the internment experience herself, could not comprehend to what extent life was regimented, with prescribed activities interspersed with periods of waiting and uncertainty, but with no viable plans for the future. Even modest choices were denied to us and it was physically and psychologically draining just to survive. Nor could she understand the degradation caused by the loss of dignity and honor. Hankey saw herself, instead, as an animal trainer cracking the whip and making each group, or individual, she disliked jump through the hoop at her bidding. This raises serious questions about her intellectual honesty, her competence and self-control. It also raises earnest doubts about her statement that, "the main problem of the study was to analyze the changes in behavior and attitudes and the patterns of social

adjustment (of the internees).....".<sup>96</sup>

Another shortcoming of Hankey's "study" of the detainees is that she has really nothing important to say about their cultural and social activities. At Tule Lake there were more than thirty Buddhist priests and they exercised an enormous influence on the religious, educational, ideologic and political life of the internee community. And, even in the drab surroundings of the Tule Lake camp there were religious, cultural and social activities, such as dances, films, poetry readings, religious programs and others, but Hankey ignores the socio-psychological impact of these activities on the lives of the detainees. A fact that is also noted by Opler, who states, "... There is practically nothing on Center art, religion, welfare and economic status.....".<sup>97</sup>

by a few of the thousands of female detainees, but again and again uses Mrs. Touchikawa (me) as her "source" of information, as the "spokeswoman for the reeducationists", and as the protagonist to whom she attributes so much of the dissension at Tule Lake, without acknowledging that Tule Lake had been a hot-bed of discord and strife since the "loyalty questionnaire" was administered in the spring of 1943 - long before I was sent there.

To further cloud the issue, Hankey ignores in Mrs. Touchikawa remarks which only Shigeru Matsuda (Hideki Touchikawa), my husband, might have made, or actions he might have taken.

Another interesting particular: My husband Shigeru was interned at Tule Lake a little more than a year and Hankey interviewed him, and Akira Shimizu (advisor to the Sokoku Kenkyu Seisaku-shin), a number of times. However, Hankey's Doing Fieldwork does not mention either my husband or Shimizu. But, although neither Thomas nor Washimoto, authors of The Spoilage, ever met or corresponded with them, The Spoilage repeatedly refers to "H. Touchikawa" (my husband Shigeru), but not to Akira Shimizu. To further confuse the issue, The Spoilage refers instead to Issa Shimizu in places now given the

## CONCLUSION

Hankey's lack of objectivity is apparent from the fact that, of the approximately 20,000 subjects available at Tule Lake for her study, she mentions by name only a few select male detainees, whom she quotes extensively. For example, Joseph Kurihara, her intimate and confidential friend, is mentioned or quoted no less than thirty-six times in The Spoilage and seventeen times in Doing Fieldwork. In addition, Hankey quotes only some trivial comments by a few of the thousands of female detainees, but again and again uses Mrs. Tsuchikawa (me) as her "source" of information, as the "spokeswoman for the resegregationists", and as the protagonist to whom she attributes so much of the dissension at Tule Lake, without acknowledging that Tule Lake had been a hot-bed of discord and strife since the "loyalty questionnaire" was administered in the spring of 1943 - long before I was sent there.

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Another interesting particular: My husband Shigeru was interned at Tule Lake a little more than a year and Hankey interviewed him, and Akira Shimizu (advisor to the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen-dan), a number of times. However, Hankey's Doing Fieldwork does not mention either my husband or Shimizu. But, although neither Thomas nor Nishimoto, authors of The Spoilage, ever met or corresponded with them, The Spoilage repeatedly refers to "H. Tsuchikawa" (my husband Shigeru), but not to Akira Shimizu. To further confuse the issue, The Spoilage refers instead to Iwao Shimizu to whom was given the

pseudonym K. Yokota.

With her distortions and unfounded accusations Hankey caused irreparable harm to me and to many of the internees she was expected to study in an unbiased manner. Even to date the damage to my reputation continues, and the mental anguish deepens, as I become cognizant of the way Hankey played on my naiveté and manipulated me and so many of the other detainees.

Perhaps Hankey's careless interpretation of facts and her lack of intellectual honesty were stimulated by her desire to make the reports about the Tule Lake internees sound as melodramatic as possible just to please Dorothy Swaine Thomas, her superior, who had been dissatisfied with Hankey's work at the Gila Relocation Center and had sent Richard S. Nishimoto (co-author of The Spoilage) to look into her activities there. But, in spite of Hankey's efforts, in the middle of May, 1945, Thomas ordered her to leave Tule Lake "immediately" because of the accusations made by a Washington official of the WRA.

The forcible eviction of 120,000 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry from their homes on the West Coast, and their incarceration without trial, without charges of wrongdoing, and without the basic protections guaranteed by the law were monstrous abridgments of their constitutional rights. Hankey's duplicity and unprofessional conduct compounded this tragic injustice and stigmatized many of the Tule Lake internees as disloyal, and by alleging they were leaders of fictitious movements, troublemakers and pressure group leaders. This resulted in a number of them being placed on the "black list" (list of undesirables) and not being allowed to return to the United States after the war, following their expatriation to Japan, or to regain their American citizenship.

However, simply because none of the former internees have questioned Hankey's reports (probably because so few of them have read, or care

to read, books on the Japanese American Internment) it is unrealistic for Hankey to assume they agree with what she has written about them in Doing Fieldwork and in The Spoilage, or that the two publications are authoritative and definitive texts on the Tule Lake Segregation Camp.

As Opler points out, "With social, cultural, economic and psychological analysis lacking at points in the record, a factional interpretation threads through the final three hundred pages (of The Spoilage)....".<sup>98</sup>

But, in addition to most of the text itself, even the Biographical Data in the Appendix of The Spoilage<sup>99</sup> are wrong:

(1) I was born in 1917, not 1914.

(2) Sadao Endo (Hankey's pseudonym for my brother Tokio Yamane) was unjustly imprisoned in the Tule Lake Stockade after being falsely accused of participating in the November 4, 1944, disturbance, not for "complicity" in that commotion. There was no trial and there is no proof of that "complicity". As a matter of fact, the FBI records<sup>100</sup> absolve my brother from participating in the November 4 incident. And, to set the record straight, Tokio and the others were arrested so the authorities would have someone to blame as the instigators of the disturbance.

(3) "Often called Madame Chiang Kai-shek by fellow internees" - that is Hankey's opinion and not fact because the internees never used that epithet in referring to anyone.

(4) I was in Japan from 1924 to 1929, not 1931.

(5) When Hankey states, "attended school there", she gives the impression I received the greater part of my education in Japan. I attended only a few years of elementary school in Japan, as a

pre-teen, and the "schools" I attended in 1940, were actually finishing schools to learn flower arrangement, tea ceremony, Haiku, and the development of mind, morals and good taste.

(6) Rather than the pejorative mention that I had "three years of schooling in Fresno, California", suggesting that I had not completed my high school education, it would have been more correct, and proper, if she had said that I attended Theodore Roosevelt High School, in Fresno, from 1931 to 1934, where I completed my studies in only three years and was an honor student each year until my graduation in 1934.

With so many errors in my rather short biography, it is not beyond the realm of probability that the lengthier biographical data of some of the other internees are also inaccurate and unreliable.

Rosalie Hankey disclaims any responsibility for writing or editing any part of The Spoilage, including the biographical notes. However, the fact remains that Thomas was never at Tule Lake and Nishimoto was there only until it became a Segregation Center in the fall of 1943. Thus, only Hankey, who was at Tule Lake from the spring of 1944 until May, 1945, would have been familiar with the tribulations of my family.

However, Hankey, whose knowledge of Japanese was minimal by her own admission, would not have been familiar with characters such as Kira and Oishi in the story of the Forty-Seven Ronin, or the derivation of such similar names as Tsuchikawa and Matsuda (my married name). This leads to the conclusion that Hankey must have collaborated with someone who knew Japanese well, perhaps Richard Nishimoto who was born and educated in Japan and was familiar with that story and with names such as Hideki and Madame Chiang Kai-shek (well known and esteemed in Japan) and who, since my given name is Violet, was able to give me pseudonyms related to flowers. For example, in Doing Fieldwork my pseudonym is

Hyacinth (a plant of the lily family), and in The Spoilage my pseudonym is Hanako (Hana = flower, Ko = child).

With her penchant for playing one faction against the other, and relying primarily on her preconceived opinions, Hankey was unmindful of her responsibilities as an objective researcher and completely disregarded such factors as the overcrowding, brutal treatment of the internees, poor quality and chronic shortage of food, lack of privacy, and the pressures generated by the rumors spread among the detainees.

Hankey herself fed the flames of dissatisfaction and resentment by manipulating the leaders of the various factions and by planting rumors among the many detainee groups. And in addition to caricaturing the internees' personalities, Hankey added to the suffering, uncertainty and humiliation of the detainees by taking advantage of their naiveté and confusion, and by reporting to the authorities confidential information she had evoked from them.

IN SHORT, THE UNRELIABLE AND SUBJECTIVE MATERIAL PREPARED BY ROSALIE HANKEY WAX FOR DOING FIELDWORK AND THE SPOILAGE HAS RESULTED IN THE FAILURE OF THE TWO BOOKS TO ACCURATELY DESCRIBE THE ABOMINABLE CONDITIONS WHICH PREVAILED AT TULE LAKE. IN ADDITION, HANKEY'S EMOTIONAL INVOLVEMENT AS AN ACTIVIST IN THE DAY-TO-DAY EXISTENCE OF THE DETAINEES, HER ADMISSION THAT, "I CANNOT SAY... THAT I NEVER TRIED TO HURT ANYONE IN THE FIELD, FOR AT TULE LAKE I DELIBERATELY AND SUCCESSFULLY TRIED TO INJURE THE MAN WHO HAD BEATEN MY FRIEND,"<sup>101</sup> AND HER INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCURATELY DESCRIBE THE FRUSTRATIONS AND THE TRIBULATIONS OF THE INTERNEES RAISE CONSIDERABLE DOUBT AS TO THE SCIENTIFIC VALIDITY OF BOTH BOOKS.

*Violet Kazue de Cristoforo*  
 Violet Kazue de Cristoforo  
 (Formerly Kazue Matsuda)

Salinas, June 30, 1987

State of California

County of Monterey

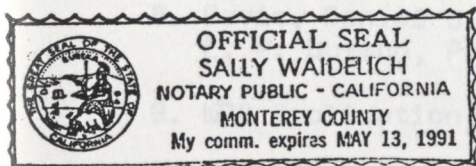
On this the 30th day of June 19 87, before me,

ss.

Sally Waidelich

Notary's Name (typed or printed)  
 the undersigned Notary Public, personally appeared

VIOLET KAZUE de CRISTOFORO



☐ personally known to me  
☒ proved to me on the basis of satisfactory evidence  
 to be the person(s) whose name(s) is subscribed to the  
 within instrument, and acknowledged that she executed it.  
 WITNESS my hand and official seal.

(This area for official notarial seal)

Notary's Signature

GENERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT FORM SV0715 6-82

attached to affidavit closing page

## NOTES

1. This statement is based on my examination of my files which became available to me through the Freedom of Information Act.
2. For the full text of my testimony, see *Amerasia Journal*, Fall/Winter 1981, Volume 8, Number 2, PP. 93-101.
3. Wax, Rosalie H. 1971, Doing Fieldwork: Warnings And Advice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
4. Thomas, Dorothy Swaine & Richard S. Nishimoto, with contributions by Rosalie A. Hankey, 1946. The Spoilage. Berkeley: University of California Press.
5. Hankey's pseudonym for Violet K. Matsuda (now de Cristoforo)
6. Opler, Marvin K. Book Review of The Spoilage in American Anthropologist, 1948, Volume 50, P. 308.
7. Testimony of Violet K. (Matsuda) de Cristoforo, Amerasia Journal, P. 101.
8. Davis, Daniel S. 1982. Behind Barbed Wire. New York: E. P. Dutton, P. 69.
9. WRA Application For Leave Clearance, WRA-126 (Rev.)
10. Drinnon, Richard, 1987. Keeper Of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer And American Racism. Berkeley: University of California Press, P. 78.
11. Davis, Behind Barbed Wire, P. 89.
12. Weglyn, Michi. 1976, Years Of Infamy. New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, P. 157 (Paraphrased).
13. By the fall of 1943 my mother-in-law became quite ill and, on September 16, as the train (Trip No. 4) which was taking us from Jerome to Tule Lake, passed through Kansas, it made an emergency stop at Hoisington and my mother-in-law was taken to the Hoisington Hospital where her condition was diagnosed as a "heart attack". (Actually she had cancer). Her son Shigeru accompanied

her. I pleaded with the medical personnel and the train commander to allow me to accompany her because she spoke no English whatever and Shigeru's knowledge of English was minimal, but I was refused permission to do so and had to proceed to Tule Lake. It should be mentioned here that, because of previous conversations with my mother-in-law, I suspected that it might be more than a heart attack and I wanted to discuss the state of her health with the doctors at the hospital.

When my mother-in-law was released from the Hoisington Hospital she was sent back to Jerome because she had not recuperated enough to be sent directly to Tule Lake. At Jerome her initial diagnosis was "acute indigestion" and her final diagnosis was "car sickness". Finally, on November 6, 1943, she was permitted to leave for Tule Lake, where she arrived on November 16, 1943. Because of her illness she was immediately taken to the Tule Lake Hospital where she remained for several months, her condition having further deteriorated because of the dismal conditions she found at Tule Lake and by her anxiety at the news of my brother Tokio's unjust imprisonment.

During the trip from Jerome to Tule Lake my mother-in-law had been unable to eat and could not even retain milk, and a stop had to be made at the Granada Relocation Center Hospital in Colorado.

For the two months she was away my father-in-law and I were frantic with worry because we had not been kept informed by the authorities and had no idea of what had happened to mother and son, or where they were.

Besides, my father-in-law, not being able to speak English, was having great difficulties trying to get some furniture for his bare room and learning the new routines of Tule Lake. This caused me great anxiety and extra work because, in addition to my own problems, I had to contact the WRA authorities and the Spanish Consulate (the Spanish Government was the protecting power for Japanese nationals and legal resident aliens of Japanese extraction) on his behalf to determine what had happened to his wife and son. Moreover, not having any means to obtain, or to supplement, our necessities of life, I was forced to secure public assistance from the WRA and to ask financial help from my brother who was fighting the Japanese enemy in the Pacific.

My mother-in-law's condition ~~condition~~ continued to worsen and I requested the WRA authorities for radium or other suitable treatment for her at an outside hospital because the Tule Lake Hospital did not have the needed facilities for her care. At first the authorities procrastinated and I contacted the American Red Cross and the Spanish Consulate for permission to have her moved to a civilian hospital. Finally, on June 12, 1944, she was given a military permit to travel to Portland, Oregon, escorted by two military policemen armed with rifles, to obtain

deep X-ray therapy at Emanuel Hospital for a period of thirty days. Again, I was forbidden to accompany her, with the result that she could not communicate with the doctors or understand what they were saying, or doing, to her and she became terrified because she had heard rumors that she had become a nuisance to the camp authorities as a result of her long illness and repeated hospitalizations and was to be executed. Upon her return to Tule Lake she told us of her ordeal of not being able to communicate with the doctors at the hospital, and of being constantly guarded by the military policemen during her stay at the hospital, while receiving treatment, when she went to the toilet, and on the train trip back to Tule Lake.

However, the X-ray treatment was not successful and my mother-in-law's condition continued to worsen to the point she had a heavy discharge of a foul smelling substance and she was isolated in a large hospital warehouse, alone, with a minimum of medical care and with her bed screened with hospital sheets. At her husband's request, she had never been told she was dying of cancer and her physical condition led her to believe she had leprosy. And, devout Buddhist that she was, she had resigned herself to the belief that her condition was in retribution for some past sin in a previous life. To make matters worse she despaired of seeing her only son before she died.

The nurses occasionally visited her bedside and took care of her, but many nights the ambulance came to pick me up so I could comfort and care for her, and reassure her that her son would be allowed to come from the Santa Fe Camp For Enemy Aliens to visit her before she died. As a matter of fact, all our efforts to secure permission for her son, and my brother (whom she dearly loved) to visit the dying woman failed. Under the Freedom of Information Act I recently learned that my letters to my husband were heavily censored and many never reached their destination.

It is worthy of note that, even under such inhumane conditions, my mother-in-law's deep respect for America never wavered and she always respectfully referred to this country as "America-San". (Used at the end of a noun SAN is a term of great respect). She would ask me again and again, "Do you think America-San will allow my son Shigeru to visit me? I only want to see him once more before I die."

Her faith in the justice and fairness of America -San was also boundless, and she believed that my American citizenship would somehow eventually solve all our problems, and that our lives would once again achieve wholeness when we were finally released from the camp.

I was distraught over my mother-in-law's illness and, following our first casual contacts in the spring of 1944, until Hankey left Tule Lake in May, 1945, I repeatedly discussed with her my mother-in-law's condition. Trusting Hankey's professed

friendship, I pleaded with her to intercede with the authorities to help me secure adequate medical treatment and appropriate food for the dying woman, but all I received from her were vague promises of aid but no actual assistance whatever.

In May, 1945, my mother-in-law was diagnosed as having cancer of the cervix, and on August 13, 1945, her diagnosis was, "C.C.: Nausea and vomiting for two weeks associated with cramp-like abdominal pain. P.I.: Far advanced cancer of the cervix for a number of months now....". Three days later the Chief Medical Officer reported her outcome as hopeless and, on August 24, 1945, my mother-in-law finally died.

14. All supporting documents are in the General Services Administration, National Archives And Records, Washington, D.C. 20409.
15. Letter from Edward Kitazumi, Associate Attorney, Tule Lake to Raymond Best, Project Director, Tule Lake, dated 8 October, 1943, requesting lumber for Mrs. Matsuda. (National Archives & Records).
16. F.B.I. Report, File No. 100-15311, San Francisco, 12/14/43, made by M.E. Gurnea, U.S. Dept. of Justice, F.B.I., Washington, D. C. 20535.
17. Hankey's pseudonym for Yaozo Hitomi.
18. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 137.
19. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 271.
20. Tamura, Hidekazu, 1984, The Japan-U.S. War Within The Internment Compounds (In Japanese), Tokyo: Aeronautics News Agency, P. 259.
21. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 329.
22. Ibid, P. 301.
23. Drinnon, Keeper Of Concentration Camps, PP. 103, 108, 296. (Paraphrased).
24. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 301.
25. Letter from Dorothy Swaine Thomas to Richard Nishimoto, dated August 11, 1944. Bancroft Library, Call No. 67/14c W. 1.25 Bx.
26. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 151.
27. Tamura, Japan-U.S. War, PP. 256-260. (Paraphrased).
28. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 272.
29. Ibid, P. 277.

30. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 135. (Paraphrased).
31. Idem.
32. Ibid, P. 123.
33. Bancroft Library, Folder containing correspondence between Rosalie Hankey and Tule Lake evacuees. Call No. 67/14c, R. 21.50.
34. Opler, Review of The Spoilage, P. 309.
35. Weglyn, Years Of Infamy, P. 207.
36. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 206. (On the Fielders, see P. 205).
37. Ibid, P. 382. (Tsuchikawa H.).
38. Weglyn, Years Of Infamy, P. 173.
39. Naval Intelligence Service, Twelfth Naval District, B-7-J-1659, 28 April 1944. From: District Intelligence Officer, Twelfth Naval District. To: Director of Naval Intelligence. Subject: Tule Lake Segregation Center - Present Situation At. P.9.
40. Weglyn, Years Of Infamy, P. 165.
41. Bernstein, Joan Z. et al., 1982, Personal Justice Denied: Report Of The Commission On Wartime Relocation And Internment Of Civilians, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, P. 210. (Deposition of Tokio Yamane).
42. Idem.
43. Ibid, P. 247.
44. See Also, Weglyn, Years Of Infamy, P. 169.
45. Hankey's pseudonym for my brother, Tokio Yamane.
46. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 223.
47. Drinnon, Keeper Of Concentration Camps, P. 142.
48. Ibid, PP. 137-38n.
49. Letter from Mrs. Kazue Matsuda to Francisco de Amat, Spanish Consul in San Francisco, dated July 31, 1944. (National Archives And Records).
50. Drinnon, Keeper Of Concentration Camps, P. 111.
51. (ACLU) Interview with Mrs. Violet Matsuda at Tule Lake Center, July 10, 1944. Bancroft Library, JERS Collection, Call No. 67/c, R. 12.12, P. 4.

52. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 298. (Paraphrased).
53. Idem. P. 326.
54. Idem. P. 347.
55. Idem. Report of John L. Swilling of the Department of Justice, sent to Attorney General Lee C. Clark, 16 October, 1946.
56. Hankey's pseudonym for my husband, Shigeru Matsuda.
57. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 223.
58. Idem.
59. Letter from Mrs. Matsuda to Miss Hankey, dated 7/2/44. Bancroft Library, Call No. 67/14c, R. 21.50 X.
60. Koshiro Yamashita is Hankey's pseudonym for Zenshiro Tachibana, the Hoshidan leader.
61. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 152.
62. Daniel, Roger; Taylor, Sandra C; Kitano, Harry H. L. 1986. Japanese Americans From Relocation To Redress. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, P. 23.
63. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 113. Also, The Spoilage, P. 377.
64. Idem.
65. Hankey's pseudonym for this writer.
66. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, PP. 120-21.
67. Idem.
68. Idem.
69. Thomas, The Spoilage, Chapt. 13, PP. 303-332.
70. Ibid, P. 304.
71. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 147.
72. Weglyn, Years Of Infamy, P. 245.
73. Confirmed in a letter from Tokio Yamane to this author, dated March 28, 1986.
74. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 147.
75. Opler, Book Review of The Spoilage, P. 310.

76. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 124.
77. Ibid, P. 126.
78. Ibid, P. 147.
79. Affidavit of John L. Burling of the Department of Justice, sent to Attorney General Tom C. Clark, 16 October, 1946.
80. Affidavit of Rev. Kenjitsu Tsuha, submitted to District Director U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Office, Honolulu, Hawaii, 19 December 1973.
81. Tamura, Japan-U.S. War, P. 285.
82. Ibid, P. 288.
83. Ibid, PP. 290-91.
84. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 164.
85. Out Patient Progress Record/Ward Surgeon's Progress And Treatment Record, dated 7/7/44, signed by Dr. G.K. Hashiba. General Services Administration, National Archives And Records, Washington, D.C. 20409.
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89. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 223.
90. (ACLU) Interview with Mrs. Violet Matsuda at Tule Lake, P. 3.
91. Ibid, P. 4.
92. Drinnon, Keeper Of Concentration Camps, P. 84.
93. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 192.
94. Ibid, P. 113.
95. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 223.
96. Ibid, P. vi.
97. Opler, Book Review of The Spoilage, P. 310.

98. Opler, Book Review of The Spoilage, P. 309.
99. Thomas, The Spoilage, P. 377.
100. F.B.I. Report, File No. 100-15311.
101. Wax, Doing Fieldwork, P. 274.

April, 1942	Removal of Japanese Americans to Fresno Assembly Center.
June, 1942	Yasuo Ishida (Takeshima) sent to Tule Lake from War Relocation Authority Center.
October, 1942	Transfer of internees from Fresno Assembly Center to Jerome Relocation Center.
March, 1943	WRA begins to administer "loyalty questionnaires" to all evacuees over seventeen years of age.
July 31, 1943	Tule Lake Center designated as a "segregation camp".
September 15, 1943	Brother Shiro Yasuno arrives at Tule Lake with his first contingent to prepare for the arrival of Japanese internees.
September, 1943	Transfer of Fujiwara family to Tule Lake. Father-in-law taken off train and sent to hospital in Kansas because of illness.
End of September, 1943	Arrival at Tule Lake, without mother-in-law or husband. Father-in-law, children and I begin to get settled. Conditions in Tule Lake very distressing. Beginning of communication with camp authorities to determine whereabouts and condition of mother-in-law, and to secure her transfer to Tule Lake. Negotiations between internees and camp authorities take place to improve camp conditions. Brother Tokio, Saw, Koi, and Kuretsu involved, as was the Japanese contingent. Beginning of re-segregation movement.
October, 1943	Kuretsu and I started the movement for re-segregation, and began visiting American Consul to arrange for separate center for those who desired to go to Japan.
November 1, 1943	U.S. Army takes control of Tule Lake with resulting more strict administration by soldiers.

November 4, 1943

Tokio is beaten following the November 4 incident and confined in "Wall Pen" for ten months. All avenues explored, without success, to secure his brother's release. He was finally released on August 28, 1944.

## CHRONOLOGY

November 16, 1943

Mother-in-law and husband arrive at Tule Lake. Arrives at conditions and dismayed at news of Tokyo's imprisonment. Mother-in-law taken directly to hospital where she remained for

April, 1942

Removal of Japanese Americans to Fresno Assembly Center.

March, 1944

Rev. Kai, circulates petition

June, 1942

Yaozo Hitomi (Takeo Noma) sent to Tule Lake from Wallerga Assembly Center.

October, 1942

Transfer of internees from Fresno Assembly Center to Jerome Relocation Center.

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Arrival at Tule Lake, without mother-in-law or husband. Father-in-law, children and I trying to get settled. Conditions in Tule Lake very distressing. Beginning of communications with camp authorities to determine whereabouts and condition of mother-in-law, and to secure her transfer to Tule Lake. Negotiations between internees and camp authorities take place to improve camp conditions. Brother Tokio, Rev. Kai, and Kuratomi involved, as was the Jerome contingent. Beginning of resegregation movement.

August 28, 1944

October, 1943

Kuratomi and Kai started the movement for resegregation, and asked visiting Spanish Consul to arrange for separate center for those who desired to go to Japan.

November 1, 1943

U.S. Army assumes control of Tule Lake with resulting mass demonstrations by evacuees.

- November 4, 1943  
(Cont'd) Tokio is beaten following the November 4 incident and confined in "Bull Pen" for ten months. All avenues explored, without success, to secure my brother's release. He was finally released on August 28, 1944.
- November 16, 1943 Mother-in-law and husband arrive at Tule Lake. Appalled at conditions and dismayed at news of Tokio's imprisonment. Mother-in-law taken directly to hospital where she remained for several months.
- March, 1944 KAI group, led by Mrs. Kai, circulates petition to obtain names of those desiring to return to Japan on next exchange ship.
- April 10, 1944 Coordinating Committee resigns (not on April 7, as stated in The Spoilage, P. 217).
- May, 1944 Hankey officially assigned to Tule Lake, after three prior short visits. (2-3 February 1944; 14-23 March 1944; 12-17 April 1944).
- Spring-Summer 1944  
August 14, 1945 (Tokyo Time) Hoshidan groups and Japanese schools organized. Hankey busy collecting data and playing one group against the other. Internal Security threatens me. ACLU Interview.
- June 30, 1944 Jerome Relocation Center becomes the first of the Relocation Centers to close.
- July 2, 1944 Yaozo Hitomi (Takeo Noma) murdered at Tule Lake while Tokio was still detained in the stockade.
- August, 1944 Spanish Consul visits Tule Lake; Negotiating Committee and Daihyo Sha Kai organized to negotiate with Army, WRA and other government agencies. ACLU also contacted to secure legal redress. Hankey reports fund-raising activities for legal fees. Supposedly \$2,000 to \$3,000 raised.
- August 28, 1944 Stockade prisoners, including Tokio Yamane, released unconditionally following three hunger strikes.
- September, 1944 Rumors circulate that those suspected of Hitomi murder will be indicted. Nothing happens. Murder investigation eventually dropped.
- Fall, 1944 Many groups and factions are organized then disbanded. SOKUJI KIKOKU HOSHI DAN (Return to

Fall, 1944 (Cont'd)	Serve Mother Country) group organized, and petition circulated to determine which families really wanted to expatriate/repatriate to Japan. Renunciations of citizenship begin.
December, 1944	First group of HOSHIDAN leaders (including husband Matsuda, Tokio, Tsuha, Wakayama and others) arrested and sent to the Santa Fe Camp For Enemy Aliens. Matsuda was in Tule Lake from November 16, 1943 to December, 1944. Upon his departure for Santa Fe Hankey pretended to sympathize with our predicament and expressed the hope the children and I would be allowed to join him soon.
January, 1945	Justice Department renunciation hearing officers arrive in Tule Lake. Camp in turmoil. (See Burling Affidavit).
May, 1945	Mother-in-law sent to Portland (Oregon) hospital for treatment. War in the Pacific in its final stages. HANKEY ORDERED BY THOMAS TO LEAVE TULE LAKE.
August 14, 1945 (Tokyo Time)	Japan accepts the terms of the Potsdam Agreement. (End of the war).
August 24, 1945	Mother-in-law dies of cancer at Tule Lake Hospital.
September 2, 1945	Japan signs Instrument of Surrender on battleship Missouri.
September 4, 1945	Western Defense Command revokes all restrictions against the Japanese Americans.
Fall, 1945	Hearings by Justice Department officials take place about the cancellation of renunciations. Kai, Kuratomi, Tsuda and others now oppose renunciation and expatriation/repatriation and use pressure tactics to cause more divisiveness among the Hoshidan groups. Their decision not to expatriate/repatriate to Japan is a complete about face from the days they encouraged the Jerome internees to answer negatively the "loyalty questionnaire" and to ask for segregation to Tule Lake. Their decision to remain in the U.S. was considered a betrayal by their followers and caused many bitter discussions - continuing even to this day. Kuratomi resettled on the East Coast and Kai resettled on the West Coast.

November 25, 1945      Tokio expatriated to Japan from the Santa Fe Camp For Enemy Aliens on S/S General Randall.

December, 1945      Matsuda repatriated to Japan from Portland, Oregon.

January, 1946      Father-in-law repatriated to Japan carrying his wife's ashes in a box hung from his neck.

March 20, 1946      Tule Lake Segregation Center closed.  
Violet Matsuda and her three children expatriated from the Port of San Pedro (California) to Japan, after authorities repeatedly refused to let her cancel her renunciation of citizenship and remain in the U.S. - the country of her birth - because her name had been placed on the "black list" (the undesirables).

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