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COMMUNITY ANALYSIS

Observation and field-interviewing among the residents at Tule Lake proceeded quickly from the outset because of two factors: the splendid groundwork of Mr. Frank Sweetser, Senior Social Science Analyst, and because of similar work formerly carried on by the Reports Office staff. It was therefore, relatively easy to convince individuals that the project existed for the benefit of the entire community and was intended to represent it as well as humanly possible. The helpfulness of the Community Services Division, in particular Mr. Paul Fleming, Division Head, and Mr. Corliss Carter, his Assistant, resulted in the setting up a strategic location in the colony.

The setting up of an office and the careful selection of staff which might have, in other circumstances, consumed much valuable time, were easy accomplishments at Tule Lake. Relationships with the colony were extended at a rapid pace through the intermediacy of go-betweens of various groupings like issei, nisei, kibel, Buddhists, etc., who spoke in behalf of this office to others and made it from the beginning a place for congregation and group discussion. Individuals chosen for this task, informally, were first ascertained to be well-respected in the community, to be in a position to speak authoritatively, and to be uncontaminated by the stigma of inu which has here an amazing currency.

The prevalent attitude toward community analysis is, at the present time, good. The W. R. A. wishes to promote better understanding of the problems facing both center population and appointed staff. To further this purpose a number of talks were given in the community upon request. Among groups visited for this purpose were the following:

- Community Activities Staff
- Y. B. A. Conference
- Y. B. A. Evening Service
- High school groups, etc.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Tule Lake Project
Newell, California

FIELD REPORT #5: August 17, 1943

The Functioning of Community Analysis
in Connection with the Relocation Team

The work of the Community Analysis Office at Tule Lake has been divided between the problem of segregation and the work of the relocation team sent to this project. The office, therefore has functioned in an advisory capacity to both groups, and also has kept both units in daily contact with each others problems so that the educational programs taken together could be synchronized. Thus we have avoided contradiction between two policies.

One example of the usefulness of this go-between function may be seen in regard to advice given the relocation team about the problems facing the segregation group. As regards segregation, there immediately arose in the colony a rumor that those moving to new projects would be forced to relocate. There were a number of slips and errors in the press which fostered this rumor. A news item from the Denver conference announced the startling news that all relocation centers other than Tule Lake would be closed down following segregation. Then, in the pages of our Tulean Dispatch, an item appeared during the Denver conference stating that Form 130, the Application for Indefinite Leave, was obligatory for all those wishing to have segregation hearings. As concerns the latter, the Japanese translation in the same paper used the customary translation of the word application which has the connotation of applying or requesting voluntarily; consequently, it was said that those who went through the hearing process would be, all of them, individuals who requested indefinite leave, and therefore on their own admission were to be booked for removal from the centers to which they were going.

In the light of this background of events and also in view of the unwholesome connotations of the word relocation at this center, it was necessary for this office to stress a compromise between the high-pressure program the relocation team had in mind and the cautious attitudes deeply rooted in

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the colony. Then too, the relocation team had thought initially of stressing the importance of relocation rather than the existence of particular jobs in particular places for particular people. We found, early in the game, that individuals here thought rather in terms of their specific family economic needs and of the more definite plans they wish to make. Along this line, Sacramento residents in two wards were specially interested in farming possibilities for small groups of friends and relatives. In Ward 7 however, there was a predominance of fruit orchardists from the Oregon valleys and small truck farmers from Washington. It was stressed that different plans, economically speaking, of relocation should be emphasized in different areas of the project.

Community Analysis therefore served as day to day advisor to the relocation team, first, telling them the nature of the district in the colony where they were about to make a direct approach; and secondly, checking in the wake of block meetings held by the relocation team to determine carefully the reactions to the meetings on the part of these neighborhood groups. We found early that the meetings were successful in this suggested direct approach, for one thing because adequate information was being presented in excellent Japanese to Issai who understood little English by Reverend Webber, a most able speaker in that language. It was obvious that Webber's presence as well as that of Mr. Old's (N. Y. and Boston areas), who was a close runner-up in the handling of this language, helped the situation immensely here. Relocation had for some time been housed, cheek by jowl, in the same office as internal placement, and people were even confused psychologically into merging the multifarious problems of work here with the outside job picture. There had never been a direct and personalized approach in the colony, and in Japanese especially, to the residents. The language presentation was given greater publicity in the colony.

We found that the meetings scheduled in a single day or part of a day did not bring a sizable crowd, and check in the blocks indicated that block managers needed two to three days in advance to advertise the meeting properly and to get questions for the question period which brought to light the things block residents wanted to hear about; and when instituted at our suggestion, produced greater rapport between speakers and audience.

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We also suggested that more than one block meet together for such speeches and questions, first, because the block is a socially rooted locale subject to resistant Issei pressures, and secondly, because more than one block gives a better cross section in questions and thus produces a more interesting meeting. We suggested further after the first few days of experience that the Reverend Webber be used consistently at all meetings, and where absent, a steady translator be employed who would get used to the types of questions and the typical material of the relocation team so as to furnish a more proper presentation to the Issei who know Japanese only. We suggested, also, that tea be served in the course of such a meeting during which the team, already introduced, could break up and meet for consultation with smaller, more intimate groups; in operation, this proved to break down a barrier in rapport which a larger meeting of speakers and audience exclusively could not do.

In summary, these suggestions were mainly three: (1) Organize the meeting well in advance. Get the block managers to prepare list of questions of what the residents want. Use the questions in initial speeches and to prevent a bogging down in the question period; (2) Then stress group relocation or fruit farming or truck farming in the areas in the colony where such plans will tally with the past experience of the group addressed. Break down the large meeting into smaller, more intimate sessions by social facilitation; (3) Use proper Japanese in discussing a problem or situation with Issei, and by all means include Japanese in the explanation of a relocation program at any project.

The proof of these suggestions is seen in the results. Attendance was doubled every evening at every meeting, and the number of relocatees went up daily at the project.

Among other suggestions of this office to the team were the following: the employment of residents with artistic abilities as consultants on the visual education side. It was felt, on this point, that Americanized advertising techniques were less effective than more familiar types of poster employing slogans in Japanese and Japanized color values and visual impressions. Also, the selection of colonists who could prepare, with evacuee psychology in mind, editorials for local publications. Those we selected know the resistant attitudes and proceed on the basis of cold realism to present the alternatives that are actually in people's minds when relocation is discussed.

Marvin K. Opler,
Social Analyst



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Tule Lake Project
Newell, California

FIELD REPORT #6: August 18, 1943

Mr. Coverley's Last Regular Meeting with the Issei

This field report is a footnote to our longer Project Analysis Report #7, dated August 5, 1943. It dates back to a meeting on July 22, 1943 of the former Project Director, Mr. Harvey M. Coverley, with Issei representatives. These bi-weekly meetings with the Issei were usually poorly attended, but this time, because of the problem facing the colonists, a very large group turned out, and the mess hall at 1720 was filled to capacity. The meeting was held at a time when the conferees from Tule Lake were about to leave for Denver, and when resident resistances to segregation were at a fever pitch. Dr. Ichihashi, formerly of Stanford, was interpreter. When he finally arrived, the group which had been waiting immediately began to answer the calls for questions to be addressed to Mr. Coverley. There was some criticism, as usual, of the auction^{eer}ing technique: "Who has the first question--this gentlemen here." ^

There was an immediate run on questions indicating resistances to movement, questions which were more in the nature of direct statements: "We have made this camp livable by collecting stumps, stealing lumber, etc." (The translator did not translate the latter clause.) There were other questions which indicated that the apartments in the several blocks had become home from the point of view of emotional attachments. The answers stressed that colonists elsewhere had improved their living quarters and that those who might move would probably inherit such fixtures.

Following the run on questions with the "this is home" motif, there was a lull. The group was thinking as a group of the next step. Besides, the absence of the usual translator (Rev. D. Kitagawa) was aggravated by the fact that Prof. Ichihashi (formerly of Stanford) dwelt on the flaws in grammar and expression, in Japanese, from those present. Often his translations were his own interpretations of the question or problem. Frequently, he would add that Mr. Coverley had omitted some statement or some fact. For a while the distance widened between the Project Director and the group. Ichihashi referred to the Director as Coverley-kun, a term used in referring to someone with whom one is intimate or who is below them in

status. (A common usage is to address a student in this way, and actually Mr. Coverley had been a student in classes of the professor at Stanford.) I am told by the two individuals who covered this meeting that Mr. Coverley cautiously mentioned the matter of an eleventh center to accommodate the segregates.

The meeting soon proceeded more definitely to questions concerning the recently announced segregation plan. In Japanese, and by "asides" questions were termed by the askers as being one step ahead of the W. R. A. Each question,--Will there be lumber for crating? Will our sons on seasonal leave be allowed to return? Can one have a choice of project to go to?--was prefaced by the phrase, "Here's another, one step ahead of W. R. A." Such questions were asked by aged men indicating that they, as heads of families, were decidedly worried about the job of packing up, the absence of their sons on leave, the kind of new project in store for them. If they didn't hustle, they would be left behind the younger group in packing and in generally preparing for the move. The questions fell into two types: the first, indicating uncertainty and a kind of distaste for segregation, and the second, more sharp and critical the feeling that they definitely didn't want to move, or were definitely critical of any plan which would leave many of them behind in attempts to prepare for the trip.

Following the next lull, the questions turned to more personal matters and random objections; these did not hit the mark on the major matter of the welfare of the majority of colonists. One or two questions were put very meekly which seemed to hint at the question of whether there would be punishment for those who refused to move. One, illustrative of this point, was: "What would happen to a person (implying the questioner) who refused because he thought this climate better-suited to his health than that of another center?" My staff reporters claim that Mr. Coverley, as usual, was most wary of committing himself. The answers began to follow ~~into~~ the repeated theme of: "Wait till your delegates to the Denver conference return." In the absence of definite information, the questions began to be put more sharply, and it was stated from the floor that the Bohrer paper of July 21st showed a very marked contrast between the amount of information given by the Project Director of that center and the information withheld, so they said, at this point.

With the turn of sentiment in the audience, the lengthening of declamatory questions from the floor, and the rising tone and vibrations of the voices, the Project Director began to stress two points. The first was that specific request would be presented at the conference. "You may be sure we want to send

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people to centers of their choice, providing there are housing facilities for them, and if such plans are feasible." Or, "We will try to provide lumber necessary for crating your movable property." The tone became even more sympathetic, and the conference to Denver were pictured as attempting to plan for segregation with others keeping the specific problems at Tule Lake very much in mind. This emphasis which had appeared earlier in answers to sharp and critical questions, was maintained to the end of the question period. Earlier it had been asked whether the decision as to the place of the segregation center might not be changed to some other plant, whether it could be changed to the so-called disloyal going out and the loyal allowed to remain at Tule Lake. The answer was: "The people's wish will be presented to Dillon S. Myer at the Denver conference. However, it must be borne in mind that, unless an eleventh camp is built, the same problem will be faced in which ever project is chosen."

Other questions concerning the status of returned internees, whether food stuffs could be transported to the new project, whether families would be split, what life would be like in the new center, the status of the C. C. C. boys, etc., were answered ~~in~~ more or less in a technical fashion.

But with the return in answers to the theme of, "Your conference are attempting to plan for you in Denver," the angry reactions died down, and personalized questions ceased. Mr. Coverley had begun the meeting by rising and calling for questions; after announcing his resignation, he seated himself, and closed the meeting.

The questions may be further grouped and analyzed. The specific questions were based largely on the notice on the Bohwar Outpost of July 31st, called ~~Further Data~~ "Further Data on Segregation":

1. Segregation center not a punishment or an internment center.
2. The Tule Lake center is so designated.
3. Segregation commencing in September and ending some time in October.
4. The War Department responsible for transportation.
5. The status of repatriates and expatriates.
6. The Segregation interviews for the ~~class of~~ registrants.
7. The appeals procedure in the segregation center.
8. The provisioning for lumber and other materials necessary for crating household effects.
9. The choice of residence for Tuleans at one of the six centers.

10. Applications for indefinite leave and seasonal leave at Tule Lake.

Marvin K. Opler,
Social Analyst



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Tule Lake Center
Newell, California

FIELD REPORT #7: OUT-GROUPS AT TULE LAKE

Community Analysis Section - Aug. 26, '43

(Special consideration is given in this report to the integration of typical out-groups at Tule Lake. Some time ago, Dr. John Provinse, Chief of the Community Management Division, called attention to the presence of such groups in relocation centers which maintain separate identity and are not accepted by the remainder of the community.)

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FIELD REPORT #7: OUT-GROUPS AT TULE LAKE

Community Analysis Section - Aug. 26, '43

Although Tule Lake has had its ostracized groups in the past, ostracism itself may be said to have driven such groups into the fold. Out-groups either respond to public pressures by conforming, or they disappear altogether. In no case do they remain aloof, or attempt to answer discrimination in kind.

The history of many of these groups is instructive. In the present report, we consider only one example of each of three types: locality group, caste group and religious group. Our specific cases are respectively, the "Hawaiians", the Eta or Suiheisha, and the Seicho-no-Iye cultists. The first group, the "Hawaiians" were made to conform, the second disappeared, as far as possible from the public gaze, and the third, the religious cultists, modified their claims sufficiently to maintain a certain amount of identity.

The fact is that there stand outside the ordinary religious and regional groupings certain small aggregates who are less completely integrated. For example, the study of regional groups has indicated that there was a rather distinct Hawaiian element which for some time in the project maintained a close in-group relationship, played their characteristic music, in the younger generation affected brightly colored shirts and longish hair, and together maintained a strong feeling of unity. The Hawaiians, so-called, tended to go out of the project on relocation in recent months, and most of them have left by now. They came in between July and November of last year. There was some criticism of their manners and dress, but it was not marked enough to cause any serious lines of cleavage. On their part, the so-called Hawaiians, reacted to the criticism by dropping their familiar marks of identification, and merging more and more into the general patterns accepted by the majority of the population.

In much the same way there has been some prejudice against the Eta or Suiheisha. Again the lines of cleavage are not sharp, and the main criticism of the Eta group is heard in relation to intermarriage between them and others. One example concerned a young couple. The husband's parents learned that the young wife was of the Eta group, and tried to separate them following marriage. The case was not successful from the point of view of the in-laws because the average nisei have little regard for such distinctions. In another case, an Eta girl of marriageable age was encouraged, it is

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said by her mother, to marry out of the group. The mother was not too successful in this attempt, and in the course of time, the girl became pregnant. Her mother wanted strongly to have her married the young man of twenty-three largely because he was not Eta. Obviously, the girl's mother had an inferiority feeling because of her connection with this outcast group. Aside from such instances, however, I have not been able to find any relationship between status and occupation in the project and membership in the Eta class. The local slaughter house is not the point at which Eta are employed nor is there much circulation of the older prejudice that Eta are descendant of Korean prisoners.

Besides the weak development of group feeling in relation to Hawaiians or Eta groups, there is no sharp demarcation of minor religious cults. The cult of Seicho no Iye (Home of Infinite Life) is not, as a matter of fact, dissociated from either Christianity or Buddhism. Neither major churches include Seicho no Iye, but actually the followers of the latter creed profess a relationship to Christian religion and to Buddhism. In some cases they attend one or the other church. As a separate cult, they grant the influence of Christian Science and Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, the so-called New Thought of Dr. Holmes, and the so-called Mental Science of Dr. Hardman. At the same time, they believe that God and Buddha are the same diety, a Universal Creator.

The cult is relatively small when compared *with* the two major churches, but it has some appeal in its profession of the universal brotherhood of all, regardless of language and cultural differences.

An account of this cult's history passed out at Tule Lake reads as follows:

"Mr. Masaharu Taniguchi, was a Christian belonging to the Congregational Church at Reinsanzaka, Tokyo, Japan. He studied philosophy and literature at Waseda University in Tokyo. After graduating from the

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university, he was working at the office of the Tokyo Branch of the American Machine Oil Company as a translator of American books and magazines. It was at this time that he studied the books of Christian Science and New Thought. While reading the American books, he was told by the American thinkers that "antagonism of different religious leaders and the bigotry of religious faiths were harmful for the progress of human society, and for the peace of the world."

Suddenly a revelation of God came to him on the night of September 27, 1931. He saw a white bearded man in his presence whom he thought as St. John, the author of the Fourth Gospel of the Lord Christ. Taniguchi wrote some lines, being led by that spiritual being. That is "the revelation of reconciliation" which we read in our meeting today.

Since that time, Taniguchi began to publish some magazines by which he would lead the lives of people to better unity with love and mutual understanding. The readers of his magazines were called "shiyu" the friends of the magazine. The Shiyu were the sponsors of his religious activities.

In the year 1940, the Japanese government recognized Seicho no Iye, as one of the Universal religions; as Christianity and Buddhism were the universal religion, (not a national religion) and the government gave a license to Taniguchi to organize his own religious body."

In the same document, the discussion of their organization and worship reads:

"In Japan, Seicho no Iye was organized, not as a church which participates with funeral and marriage ceremonies, but as an educational institute which

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instructs and propagandizes the religious and philosophical thought. When the members gather together to worship God, anyone can preach to the audience, if he feels he is led by his inner conscience, or by a holy spirit.

We use no image of God, no picture of men. We worship God in spirit and in truth. This is the same with that of Christian Friends or Moravian Brethren in America. Here in America, we have no appointed teachers, but all sponsors of Seicho no Iye are teachers and audience at the same time. We offer no money, no food to his altar, but our hearts of obedience; and nobody gets any salary to live. We treat our religion as spiritual affairs in our daily lives.

We use the Christian Bible, the Buddhist Scripture, and the Writing of Taniguchi as our text book to study "Truth." And, Nature is the best Canon of ours. We believe the revelation of God is given to us, not only in closed books, but it will be given more and more in Nature. Modern science and philosophy help our understanding of truth too.

We believe our physical problems will be solved as well as our spiritual problems by our faith. We praise Deity, love men, and strive to achieve our perfect personality created after the image of His own."

Not only is the Seicho group not ostracized at Tule Lake, but there is some evidence that the cult has grown in this community. As with Christian Science there is some profession that the Seicho no Iye not only embodies the better features of major religion like Christianity and Buddhism, but that it includes what is often referred to "scientific theory". A list of its so-called canons includes, to give just the few,:

Philosophy, Ethical Science, Psychology, Medical Science, Medicine Science, Spiritual Science, Mesmerism, Human Magnetism, Astronomy, and Zoology.

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Unlike the Hawaiians who gave up their marks of distinction, and melted more and more into the general populace, and unlike the Kta who keep the skeleton deep in the family closet away from the eyes of the older generation, the Seicho cult has never been on the defensive. Membership is open to anyone interested, and all may attend Seicho no Iye meetings. About sixty individuals are regularly in attendance at weekly gatherings. They are largely Issei from all three of the west coast states; and consequently, the meetings are carried on in Japanese. Meetings take place in a designated Recreation Hall, and for each, a chairman is chosen from among those present, all taking turns in the position of chairmanship. There are no special leaders with designated titles; all are members. Meetings consist of talks and discussions of personal experiences. The testimonial technique of religious revival groups is used. There is no definite teacher, lecturer or evangelist however, and no prayers are offered or collections made. In addition, no membership fee is required. The necessary benches were donated.

The major claim of Seicho no Iye, besides its all inclusive merging of several sciences and religions, is its special point of view on matters concerning health. I am told that so far as theological doctrine is concerned, the Seicho cult does not profess to cure illness. Rather the credo has it that sickness is non-existent and that once this is realized by the individual, it will cease to exist for him. Put in doctrinaire fashion, the purpose of Seicho no Iye is not to cure illness but to teach the Truth. Whatever cure of illness of members^{is} derived from participation in the cult, comes as a corollary to the realization of the Truth.

I am told that a number of cultists formerly depended on the local Base Hospital, but feel now that they have a sure guarantee against illness. Not a few cultists are individuals who mix their religion with somewhat typical criticisms of medicine as practiced in the local hospital. Former hospital goers testify as to the uselessness or annoyances of their treatment there, and the real relief attained with the realization of the Truth. There is no doubt that the cult provides a spurious kind of security in matters concerning health, health of course becoming one of the focal points of

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worry, and local antagonisms against hospital administration finding their solution in the religious sphere.

None of these type groups, religious, local or caste are strong centers at the project, and of them only the religious group has grown with time. While discrimination existed in some few cases against Hawaiians or Ita, there is no evidence that it applies to the Seicho cult.

(Dictated by Marvin K. Opler,
Social Analyst)



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

1308

Tule Lake Center
Newell, California

September 28, 1943

Field Report 8

TRANSFER FROM JEROME

(Initial Report from a New Staff Member)

It was hard to leave relatives, old friends, acquaintances, and in some cases members of the family. Last good-byes were said with tears as the segregants boarded the train for Tule Lake on the morning of September 20, 1943.

On the train, the evacuee were more or less quiet; they remained in their respective places and read magazines, wrote letters, or just rested. They enjoyed the scenery such as the Rocky Mountain, the river which we followed all through our journey, and the Salt Lake; but I think I'm safe in saying that as a whole the trip was not a pleasant one. All the coaches were crowded; sleep was almost impossible. Because of insufficient water supply, some people were unable to wash for breakfast.

The food was prepared by the army cooks with the help of the evacuee volunteers. Cooking for the pullman car was done entirely by segregant volunteers. Evacuee nurses' aides were always on their feet too.

The diners were empty cars with makeshift long tables and benches similar to those of the mess hall in Jerome. The food too was served "mess hall" style.

Before the first night was over many evacuee were sick. They complained of headaches; they vomited. The army doctor was kept busy. Several bad cases from the pullman car had to be left at hospitals along the route. There were those on regular coaches that were ill all through the trip.

After five sleepless nights everyone was glad to have reached their destination, but when they saw the camp many were disappointed. Comments of disapproval such as the following were expressed:

"What a place. No trees!"

"Let's turn around and go back."

RSC

P.W.

Nisei girl to another Nisei girl: "We could kick but the Issei can't since they chose to come here."

"Oh how filthy! Look at this room."

"Everything here is so dusty and dirty."

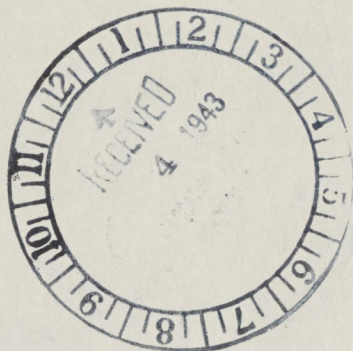
All of the comments were made by Nisei. The Issei admit that their former residence was a better place in which to live but they are not complaining. The Kibei seem to be satisfied. In fact they are encouraging the Nisei with such comments as these:

"Don't expect too much. After all we're the disloyal group."

"After you get used to this place, it will be all right."

Upon arrival, friends registered together hoping that they would live in the same blocks, but when they were told that their apartments were already assigned they were disappointed. Since the segregants were not given any choice in selecting their blocks or apartments friends and relatives were scattered all over the camp. It is natural that the people from Jerome would like to stay together rather than be tucked among strangers. Large families who are crowded are trying to obtain larger living quarters. Others would like to move to other blocks to be near friends.

There is the "Hawaiian" group who also came to Tule Lake. Whether Kibei or Nisei they do not easily mix with the mainland groups. At least this was true before segregation. In Jerome the Kibei boys from the Islands were labeled as rowdy, loud, and some as trouble-makers. Their behavior and attitudes toward the people here in Tule Lake after the segregation is over will be interesting to observe.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
1308
TULE LAKE CENTER
NEWELD, CALIFORNIA

FIELD REPORT 9: INITIAL REPORT ON HOUSING PROBLEM
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION: September 29, 1943

The problem of housing is greatly complicated by the lack of sufficient space. It is expected that 10 or 12 new blocks will be built by army contractors. They have been promised within the next month, but so far no start has been made.

The necessary crowding has brought about a flood of requests for changes most of which are being denied except in isolated cases. There is a feeling on the part of some of the people requesting changes that complete impartiality has not been the case in deciding which families were to be allowed to move. This feeling may not be founded on fact since the cases presented as parallel did vary in some respects. For example one family unit of four, composed of an older couple, their daughter and her husband were allowed to move into two rooms. This was resented by another family in which there were an aged grandmother, her daughter, son-in-law, and three small grandchildren. However in the first instance the young couple had just been married a few days before coming to this center, and felt that as a separate family unit, they should be allowed separate quarters.

The biggest housing problem seems to involve the bachelors who are required to live six in one room. The assignment of bachelors was arbitrarily made before the train movements began, presumably on the basis of age, although in some cases there are great discrepancies in the ages of room mates. There was no attempt made or no data on which to base such an attempt to discover whether proposed room mates had congenial interests or tastes. In many cases the grouping has not proved satisfactory to the people in question, and many requests come in for changes. These requests are all denied, but a method of reassigning of the bachelors in a more congenial grouping is being considered. The Block Managers are opposed to having bachelors move into their blocks as they feel the bachelors are not desirable residents. There were a few cases where single women were assigned in error to bachelor quarters, but these situations were immediately corrected.

In addition to their complaints about housing, many of the bachelors feel that they are not receiving the proper consideration in respect to employment. When they are sent by Placement to places on the project where new staff is urgently required, they have been given evasive answers, and therefore feel that the appointed personnel is waiting until all train movements have been completed so that they may survey the entire field of job applicants before doing any hiring.

There seem to be fewer problems of housing for families than for bachelors. In some cases two generations who have been living as separate family units in widely separated blocks in the project are now requesting that they be allowed to live next door to each other. This request has not been granted except in cases of aged or invalid family members who need the care of relatives in another family unit.

MCC *PW*

That overcrowding exists is immediately evident. Many have inquired as to whether they would be allowed more space when the new blocks are built. No definite promises have been made on that score, but there seems to be a general expectation that such moves will be allowed. With this idea,--of later acquiring additional space,--many have inquired as to whether some of their freight could be temporarily stored for them until they might have room for it in the future.

When requests are refused, the applicants often show antagonism toward the evacuee staff on the basis that the staff members are expecting to leave, and are therefore not really interested in the problems of the people who will stay here. An attempt is being made to obtain new staff among the permanent residents in order to combat this difficulty and to carry on the future program.

There seem to be many illegal moves, a percentage of which are reported by the movers themselves in an attempt to have the accomplished fact legalized. Such illegal movements have been reported to Internal Security who send the people notices to return to their former housing. In a majority of cases, these notices have been sufficient to effect a return, but where this has not been the case, a notice to that effect is sent back to housing. So far the Internal Security Department has no record of forcibly moving people, despite the fact that some cases are reported of people moving three times.

Other typical complaints take the form of stressing illness, age or personal inconveniences. For example there is the aged person who claims to be too far away from the mess hall or place of work. There are the newly married couples sometimes attached to an older family or sometimes connected with the young sibling. There is also the general inadequacy of data concerning people who have been sent in, recent marriages for which there are no records, and family splits because the daughter's name has become different following marriage. It is claimed at the Housing Department that only the Central Utah Project sent on records which were relatively complete on the people moving and which gave much needed sex, age, and family composition data.

In connection with housing, there is the problem of household furnishings. Lumber is scarce and freighted furniture has not yet arrived. People are already making the most of materials at hand, and new comers, unfamiliar with the regulations have made use of school building materials.

While unconnected with housing, the general problem of personal inconvenience is found in regard to personal baggage, which never arrived. When one baggage car was lost from the Topaz train which arrived on the 20th, people were left without any change of clothing for a week. The best estimate of numbers involved in this Topaz group stands at about 70. In addition, there were 10 people returned from the New York area, who, as substitute-passengers on the Gripsholm, found their trip cancelled but their baggage aboard the boat. These matters, when discovered were referred to the Social Welfare Department, though other suggestions came from the colony. One person, for example, suggested a meeting of the Block Managers to which a general call for emergency clothing would be issued. However, the supervisor of block managers and some of his

group, when the matter was broached, decided that residents would feel that this was not a matter for the residents to take care of, but was rather an instance in which the W. R. A. was open to criticism or at least should rectify the situation. This matter is being presented to the Project Director under the stipulation that emergency clothing grants may be authorized from his office.



TRANSFER FROM TOPAZ

(BY ONE OF THE STAFF MEMBERS)

October 4, 1943

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With tears streaming down our cheeks, we rolled out of the gates of Topaz waving frantic goodbyes to all of our friends.

We pulled out of the Delta Station at approximately 12:05 PM, September 29, which was pretty much on scheduled time. I was in the G coach which was next to the last coach.

The trip during the afternoon was not very interesting. We were told, however, that the food which we had brought on the train with us would be taken away by 4:00 PM. This caused quite some commotion with everyone trying to finish the food which friends had so kindly made for them. However, no one came to take away any excess food, so that worry was eliminated.

We spent a very chilly night, and although we had a heating system in our coach; the coach behind, which was the largest, did not have any additional heat during the night. I understand that the people in that coach spent a very uncomfortable night.

The second day on the train was very boring with only desert for scenery. At approximately 3:00 PM our train ran out of water, and therefore the Car Captains had to bring water in buckets from the kitchen. This shortage of water caused quite some inconvenience for the people in the train. We had to wait until we reached Alturas, which we did about 8:00 PM, before we could fill the train with water.

The trip on the whole was not too bad. We noticed that our Caucasian escort from Topaz was always on the "go", passing through the coaches, and seeing to it that everything was under control and that people were comfortable. The MP's were friendly, but properly reserved. There seemed to be no tenseness present among the people on the train. Everyone seemed quite relaxed, seemingly realizing the significance of the trip.

I had the experience of working as a waitress during one meal time. The diner was a baggage car with mess hall tables placed along the side walls. We worked with the soldiers doing KP duty, and found them very cooperative and eager to help. Although the work itself was somewhat tiring, I noticed that the people enjoyed their food. I doubt if there was any discontentment over the food.

We reached the Tule Lake Camp around 11:00 PM Thursday, September 30. It was a very inconvenient time to arrive for it was way passed the youngsters' bedtime.

To me, Tule Lake is not as nice as Topaz. It is a fairly messy camp with boxes, excess wood, etc., strewn around the place. The plumbing here is comparatively like that of Tanforan. However, after a year and a half of steady use; it is wearing out and is quite corroded. Everything seems "up-in-the-air" at the present here.

I can't say much about the people or their feelings as yet, since I have not been here very long. However, I hope to become more observant of what is happening here and also what may happen in the future.

P.W.



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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
TULE LAKE CENTER
NEWELL, CALIFORNIA

Community Analysis Section: 10/4/43
Field Report Number 11

ATTITUDE SURVEY ON THE FENCE AND GUARDING INSTALLATIONS

An initial survey of residents' feelings in regard to the new fence and gate indicates that the fence is rapidly becoming a symbol not merely of confinement, but of discrimination and distrust. It is easy enough to get colonists' comments which are critical:

"It's the sort of thing you'd expect to find around a prison, not a Japanese community".

"If we're in a prisoners of war camp, why don't we receive the compensation of professional soldiers and prisoners of war?"

"It spoils the view and makes people feel cooped up and nasty".

"Some say the face-saving fence cost the W.R.A. or the army almost a million dollars. One million dollars to make us look like tough guys and saboteurs".

"People signed up to come here; then, why put on a show and act as if they are going to escape? I've always been told that "shot while trying to escape" wasn't the American way".

Such comments can be found in any area of the colony. Only a few people say "they don't mind" the fence, and these individuals have, to date, been newcomers from other projects; three of them, for example, had come into the project late at night and had been too busy settling to look around. It should be remembered, however, that most newcomers, again young people, find much to criticize here. We find, then, that new arrivals from other projects have tended to pay less attention to the fence and guarding installations than have former Tule Lake residents. Besides those who "don't mind" among the newcomers, there are those, particularly in the younger generation, who say that such things were to be expected. The fence and watchtowers are not singled out for special comment, but instead, the entire camp set-up comes in for its share of comment:

"This place doesn't look like the California I knew; I'm going back where I came from".

"The place is more like an army camp than a camp for families".

"The only "trees" around this place are watchtowers". (Issei).

One poetic soul, at a convivial gathering of older people recently arrived from one project made up a song, the extemporaneous verse of which contained something about a sea-gull flying to this project and being quite disgusted by what he saw.

Newcomers, however, comment more about the treeless landscape (especially those from Jerome) than about the fence. One said: "We're used to fences by now; we've lived behind barbed wire long enough".

The remaining Tule Lake population, on the other hand, are extremely critical of the new project fence, for its appearance marks a visible difference in the camp as they knew it before and

P.W.

after segregation. Former residents complain that it spoils the view, -- makes the camp uglier. While the fence was being installed, there were many trips up Castle Rock, overlooking the project. Recently however, when passes began to be required, the excursions ended. The end of trips up Castle Rock was looked upon as a real hardship. The erection of the fence was further connected with the crowding and the changes made in project grounds. For example, the baseball field was cut down and people claimed that only softball would be allowed on the project under the new conditions. Tuleans add that the Center now has a more crowded appearance with the new buildings going up and the old area fenced in. When asked whether they expected a fence in view of the earlier announcement that the Center would be closed, they reply: Yes, but a fence for a boundary is different from a manproof fence with barbed wire. Those remaining also point out that those staying here expressed a desire to remain so that the fence is an unnecessary addition to the landscape. Said one person: "We had a hard enough time getting to stay here. They tried to make us relocate. Then they tried to make us transfer to another project. When we finally stuck it out, they slammed the door in our face and locked it. When you don't relocate and move according to their plans, they look upon you as a dangerous person. In the segregation interviews, they asked if you still wanted to stay in a disloyal camp. Why not, if you're afraid to go out and relocate? They said they were giving us that choice. Then the minute we made up our minds to stay, they put a lock on the gate".

The feeling about the fence is not simply passing emotionalism. Rather the fence has come to be a simple indication of the governmental attitude toward those remaining. It is taken to be symbolic of distrust and discrimination. The recent shift of attitudes concerning the fence records this feeling on the part of residents remaining at Tule Lake.

Originally, people say, the fence was thought of as a form of protection for the residents. As we have pointed out in earlier reports on segregation, the residents here began to think of remaining here as a privilege, and thought of going out as a kind of penalty. Other projects had connotations of forced relocation and army draft for youth. Movement itself was distasteful to the aged, whose recollections of recent movement were generally unpleasant. As pointed out in our last report, this center, -- war-duration, -- had a number of characteristics which reassured individuals in the remaining population: it was outside the picture of relocation, it was a guarantee of a place to stay for the duration of the war, and it was thought to be exempt from pressures and criticisms of the residents' customs, language, and way of life. Issei spoke of the new camp so much in terms of a little Tokyo (culturally speaking), that the humorous phrase among youngsters came to be: This is Japan, didn't you dream it? One typical escapade occurred when a few boys entered the women's shower-room (in the next block) and informed the ladies who protested that: This is Japan, now, and in Japan men and women bathe together.

However, as the fence went up and friends went out, and as the Center became more crowded from day to day, people felt less secure in remaining, some beginning to speak as if they were less certain of having made the best decision. The legal department reported a number of people anxious to be cleared sometime after the formal hearing. As might be expected, the fence as a symbol of the new project lost its protective connotations and came in for a great deal of criticism. A strange comment, made almost universally by people interviewed, was that the fence sloped in toward the camp rather than outward. As one person said, commenting on this fact, "It's a one-way traffic. It's not to protect us, but to keep us cooped up". The fence became an easy target for people who regretted their recent decision, but were unwilling to admit it. It became a symbol again, this time not protective, but a symbol of distrust and discrimination. Those remaining realized that they were not trusted either by the government or the outside population. One commentator stated, "When you trust me, I trust you and believe you; that's only natural. But when you doubt me, I doubt you too. That's what the fence does to the people here". (Leading Buddhist priest). Thus while the fence earlier annoyed some people sufficiently to have helped them make up their minds to move out, its current effect is to undermine the confidence of a great many people and to make them feel distrustful of both government and American people. It, therefore, bolsters up feelings that there was never any great hopes for a friendly reception on the outside. People are already declaring that they were right in determining not to relocate. If you are Japanese, they say, the government and the people refuse to trust you. After all, "we" are right in staying here behind barbed wire; there is no chance for "us" on the outside.

The project fence has had even less effect on this mode of thinking than the fence which now surrounds the farm. Comments on fence and towers around the farm area indicate even greater annoyance and injured pride. After all, the farm is the place where people work during the daytime only, and as many add, work to produce with very little compensation:

"People aren't going to want to work under the eagle-eye of watch-towers and behind high fences".

"Young folks may not mind it, because they don't pay much attention to such things, -- they never stop to think, -- but the older farmers are not used to working under guards".

"It makes people feel they aren't understood or liked. It's a silly kind of distrust. It's as if they thought we were dangerous sort of person. The Japanese people have always liked to do a job well-done, and now they feel even that is forgotten."

The effect of the fence at the farm is therefore to give people the impression that this is "prison work". As one said, "If the people in this country feel that way about us, their old nextdoor neighbors, then it's probably best to stay here and not go out". The feeling of discrimination which the fence serves to symbolize is therefore enough to swing the balance for some people who were wavering in regard to their over-all attitudes on relocation and the American post-war scene, and helps many to rationalize their decision to remain here.

Besides the fence at both the project and the farm, the MP's who guard the gate have come in for a good deal of comment. Not all the military at the gate or at the induction station in the auditorium are criticized. As a matter of fact, I have heard repeatedly that many of the officers are regarded as courteous and friendly. However, one of the MP's who checks on people's passes from day to day was widely criticized when members of the Community Activities Section assigned to the job of collecting baggage not only had passes inspected but were subjected to a somewhat critical cross-examination. On one occasion, the Chief Counsellor in Social Welfare was called down to the gate with this group. He, too, was subjected to the cross-examination procedure, and also certain discourtesies. The same MP, on ordering some children to stop climbing around on a gate which had not been installed evoked from one of the boys the comment, "What's he think we're going to try to do--escape?" The boy was about 12. The same MP answered an innocent questioner, a lady, who inquired about the reason for the tanks: "If you hang around long enough, you'll find out about it. It's a military secret." One MP made a practice of allowing a number of appointed personnel to go through the project gates because they were recognized, but insisted each time that the Project Director show his pass. On the other hand, when a detail marched in formation to the auditorium, they were jeered and hooted as by a group of newcomers to the project,--young men,--who baited them with no result.

In summary, the fence around the project has affected the remaining population more than the newcomers, while the fence around the farm is viewed as a more serious evidence of mistrust, as adding insult to injury. The military stationed here have not evoked much comment even though squads march up to the auditorium and jeeps drive on the grounds. However certain of the MP are criticized repeatedly for what the evacuees feel is highly discourteous conduct. The same individuals are criticized by some members of the appointed staff. In general, it may be said that the guarding installations are thought to be unnecessary and become symbolic of discrimination and lack of understanding of the center population. However, there have been no major incidents reported to this office connected with these new installations.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
Tule Lake Project
Newell, California

Date: October 6, 1943

MEMORANDUM TO: Robert B. Cozzens

FROM: Marvin K. Opler

SUBJECT: Field report 12: EXCEPTS FROM LETTERS OF TULE LAKE
TRANSFERS TO OTHER CENTERS

RBC

TRANSFER TO GRANADA

I arrived here ten days ago and am finally getting accustomed to the new community. This is really a grand place, however, and everyone has been very friendly and thoughtful.

Then about the report on the train trip. I have prepared rather sketchy notes but have not written up a final report yet because I thought I would like to talk it over with Dr. Rademaker first. I shall mention a few points to you which I thought should be brought out. First of all, people co-operated very well, and I think there was no trouble at all during the whole trip. Then the system of monitors and captains was very well planned. I think it helped the people in the different cars as well as the officials in charge. The food was very good--better than we received at Tule Lake,--and it seemed to give people the feeling that they were getting it because they are loyal Americans. These are only a few points but we'll send you a copy of the final report later if we prepare it.

There are hardly any young folks left in this center now, and I'm quite certain that it will not be long before all the young people from Tule Lake go out.

How do things look over there in Tule? Rumors have been going around about the hostility of those remaining toward those going out. However, that was cleared when the second group came in, and the people were told that it was not true.

TRANSFER TO TOPAZ

The train trip was pretty comfortable all the way through, but on our arrival, all the lights in the train went out and we had a very hard time in getting things together. Little children began to cry; it was about 10:30 p.m.

Few school buses were waiting for us, and we boarded the buses right after we got off the train, and after 30 minutes drive, we arrived at our destination.

We went through the routine of physical examination and hand baggage inspection, which were done very smoothly and quickly, and we were led to our respective temporary quarters. There we were given hot meals. After taking a hot bath, we went to sleep very comfortably.

I think all these things were done through the splendid co-operation between the administrative personnel and the colonists. Especially we had to thank the young people belonging to Y. M. C. A. and the Boy Scouts who assisted us in every way possible on our arrival.

This center is situated on the lake bottom, like Tule Lake center, surrounded by mountains on all sides; the soil is of salty loam with lot of alkali mixed in it. I don't think this soil is suitable for vegetables. I hear there is water available for irrigation so it will be a good plan to plant rice because, by my survey, the ground is very level. I am sure

we can raise rice with a minimum of expense and a maximum of result.

I am very glad the people here are ready to hold out their warm hand of welcome to us, and the accommodations are better than those of Tule Lake.

I heard there were some difficulties of the same nature as we had in Tule Lake, and there are some people still remaining here who may cause trouble, so I have to be very careful about what I do in the future.

Mr. and Mrs. Yoshida and some of my best friends took up their quarters very near to my place so my wife will not feel at all lonesome.

I am satisfied to take up residence here. It is better than Tule Lake.

TRANSFER TO TOPAZ

We reached Delta about 11 PM, were put on buses, and rushed to the center in about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour. The reception was just wonderful and quite systematically carried out. There was a bus and a truck (for hand bags) for each train coach. We were inducted by having our baggage inspected, the state of our health inquired into and all assigned to sleep in Recreation Halls, schools, etc. that evening because it was so late. We were taken to Mess Halls and fed noodles, "onigiri" and "otsukemono". Everyone was quite nice to us. Our family slept in the Personnel Recreation Hall. Next morning we went to the shower room. Everything was spic and span--porcelain tubs, individual porcelain sinks, shower curtains (really clean); we found out we'd gone to the Personnel shower room. But the shower rooms here are certainly wonderful throughout the center. They certainly help to maintain your "self-respect". But to tell the truth, that's the only set-up which is superior to the Tule Lake set-up. The Mess Hall system is better in Tule Lake. Over here, it is cafeteria style. You line up. It seems people like it better because they were broken into the habit at Tanforan. Food is quite fair too.

Well, going back to the train ride, we had to dismount in utter darkness as the lights on the train would go out everytime the train came to a stop. It seems that the train furnished power for lights only as long as it moved. Everytime the train slowed down, the lights would get dimmer. The food served was excellent. We had butter, milk, ketchup, berry jam, peanut butter, delicious coffee, roast beef, hash, omelette (pure eggs), stew, canned salmon, desserts, salads which were all really good. I haven't tasted the like in Tule Lake, and we had all we wanted. Also twice a day they served us fruits in the coaches. The youngsters were quite delighted when the porter came around selling Hershey chocolate bars. Remember we haven't seen them since Walerga. We thrilled to the refreshing sights afforded by Pyramid Lake and the Great Salt Lake. Especially for my family the sight of a large body of water is welcome because the youngsters had seen the ocean every day practically at their doorsteps until the evacuation so when we passed over Salt Lake, they just danced in glee and the cool breezes just brought fond memories of our homes on the Pacific coast.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the train monitor and coach captains. They certainly were fine. The MP were really civil too.

Have the Topaz group done anything drastic? I heard they had threatened to demonstrate here, but postponed it for Tule Lake. From the accounts I have gathered, Topaz certainly went through a hectic registration. It seems that 4 or 5 were shamefully abused.

When we came here they distributed a sort of handbook giving all the necessary information, maps, history of organizations, do's and don't's, and general set-up of this colony. It certainly helps to get us places. I feel that sort of thing would certainly eliminate a great deal of confusion. I would like to recommend it to Tule Lake because it is such a large colony. I shall try to get a copy of the handbook (mimeographed) if I can to send to you.

On the train I heard various people vowing solemnly to keep out of politics and to lead very commonplace life in Topaz. I think that determination is stronger than ever, now that they have heard of the Topaz hardships too. You remember, I'm sure, Topaz boasts the Wakasa 'incident'. I shall tell you some more about it later. Anyway it brought up the council vs administration picture at Tule Lake earlier.

I am glad I am out of Tule. I don't particularly like this camp, but I know I could not have been happy at Tule either after the segregation. I am especially grateful for the well-being of my youngsters. I may try to get to Manzanar, but just now, I am too tired and worn out to even think of applying.

TRANSFER TO MINIDOKA

We reached Minidoka 7:30 AM on Monday morning after a tiring trip. All I could think about on the train was that bed I was going to sleep in the minute we reached there--and what happened? No room, no bed!

You know better than most people how reluctant everyone was to move from Tule. I finally persuaded my father to leave much against his will --and you can imagine how I felt when we came upon a situation like this.

There is a shortage of small rooms for 2 and 3 people so temporarily we are housed in a recreation hall. It's partitioned off on the sides only (none in front) by screens that stand about 2 feet off the ground. Reminds me of a stable. Some of the families who came in on the 23rd are still in these recreation halls.

If two families are willing to live together, it's possible to get a room. But since we have little enough privacy as it is, we feel we should like the privacy of our own room at least and we feel entitled to that much especially since we are the only so-called "loyal" group that had to move.

Most of the Tuleans here are disappointed, disgusted, and boiling mad. Many are ready to demand to be sent back to Tule and much as I hated the thought of my parents staying in Tule, now I'm perfectly willing

to have them go back.

It doesn't make sense and it was poor policy to send us to a place which obviously has a shortage of adequate housing. I went down to Housing this morning and argued with them trying to get a room for my parents. We never expected to be pushed around like this and it is practically the last straw.

You'll probably have more resistance cases in Tule after letters from Minidoka reach Tule. The people here blame it on WRA. Part of the blame should go to the Housing Department here since people with pull manage somehow to get a room.

My blood pressure has been up since I've been here. All I've been able to see are the bad points. The camp is sprawled all over. It takes time to go any place. The ground is muddy--there are raised paths to walk on.

The utility houses are much better--the mess halls are about the same. Food seems better now but even at Tule the food was good at first. We are served cafeteria style.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
TULE LAKE CENTER
NEWELL, CALIFORNIA

FIELD REPORT #13: SECOND REPORT ON THE HOUSING PROBLEM
Community Analysis Section: October 8, 1943

Introduction to the Problem.

With each successive trainload coming into the project, the housing shortage at Tule Lake becomes more acute. A project, which at peak times contained a population in the neighborhood of 17,000, and more recently dropped to a figure of something over 13,000, now faces the necessity of supplying housing for an estimated 20,000. The housing shortage toward the end of this movement is bound to be great, and the most optimistic figures on the number of people who are at present not provided for (140 to 160) was estimated on the assumption that each room now available and space provided in addition by the partitioning of all Recreation Halls, etc., will be filled to capacity. There are several reasons why this optimistic estimate will be difficult to attain in the first place. There are those who have been living in Tule Lake for the past year who occupy larger apartments than the number in the family warrants under the present conditions. Yet there are several reasons for this occasional expansion of housing. Over a long period of time, in ~~these~~ many cases, as people relocated and more space was set free and made available, smaller families were allowed to move into large apartments where many of them still remain. They have made their improvements in these quarters, and since housing space even at its best is neither lavish nor luxurious, they feel that they have made their home habitable and have a right to stay there. In other families, several members themselves relocated or transferred to other projects leaving a smaller number in the space. Again, in such cases the feeling was that the individuals were attached to these quarters much in the sense of the ordinary connotations of the word "home". In addition

to these typical cases which are based largely on past events, a new difficulty arises from the many unauthorized moves which have recently been made by individuals newly arrived in the project. In some blocks there are ten or more apartments, which according to the Housing Department are large enough to accommodate five or six persons under present estimates, but which are occupied by one, two, or three persons, often falling into the new-comer category.

Steps taken to Meet the Problem.

On October 1, 1943, a census was taken by the block managers of all people remaining at Tule Lake. This was done for the Housing Department since their records were incomplete by reason of the many unauthorized, unrecorded or irregular moves. Housing knew what apartments had been assigned to newcomers in its own departmental operations. What they didn't know was whether Tuleans themselves had moved about in the interim. There was some talk in the colony, reported by this office, that relatives who had been widely separated viewed the present quite naturally as a good time to move closer together. When we interviewed block managers, we found that the understanding was, a few days after this date, that people would be allowed to remain in the rooms to which they had already moved, even though unauthorized, but that no further unauthorized moves on the part of the remaining population or the newcomers would be allowed. This decision on the part of someone succeeded an earlier decision by Housing to prevent any unauthorized and unrecorded moves whatsoever. As a matter of fact, this was asked to secure from the Official Translation Board a translation of a "no-move" order, which was dated some time previous to the October ruling, and which the block managers and many colonists argued had already been

disregarded in fact. Thus we had two original orders: first, a "no-move" order, and second, a ruling saying that moves already made would be countenanced, but that moves following a certain date would be regarded as "illegal".

On October 3th, the Housing Department, or Section, made a new plan in an attempt to provide more apartments. The new idea was to subdivide the D-apartments in Barracks 13, 14, and 15 of each block. The large families who might be living in these apartments would be asked to move. The block managers were, of course, staunchly opposed to this idea both because of the hardships involved in moving many large families out of places they had improved, and at a time when lumber and materials for fixing up a new place were exceedingly scarce, and also because of the arbitrariness of the proposal. Many of the families living in such designated apartments had in fact been there since the beginning of the project. In checking on some typical cases, we found that they had built closets, put up shelving, built in furniture, added porches, and even planted gardens and improved the soil around the end of the barracks where their "homes" were located. Actual contact with some of these individuals left no doubt but that it would be very unpleasant to abandon these improvements and start all over again in a new residence. In some of the interviews it even seemed as if the improvements mentioned were among the very few remaining objects of pride and even status in the project situation. The block managers, who knew these facts even better than this department, ~~was~~ suggested that if such subdivision were a dire necessity, it should be done either in apartments which are now empty, or in those where only two or three people ~~are~~ at present living so that the settled and secure living

arrangements need not be too grossly disturbed. It would seem that what was overlooked in the above plans and decisions was the necessity for making a real housing survey before disposing of people's whereabouts in cavalier and arbitrary fashion. Perhaps time was short. I think everyone concerned will readily agree that it was, and that the housing problem coming close on the heels of a series of difficult and distracting problems connected with segregation generally, was just one in a series of difficult circumstances which had to be dealt with in short order. Nevertheless, the time spent by evacuee housing personnel, located in the office at 1308-- and who made us quite conscious of their problems hourly by sharing the use of our telephone, was an excellent illustration of the story of the ambulance placed at the foot of the hill and the difficulty of "picking up the pieces" after the event. Consistent planning might conceivably have built a fence at the top of the hill, and prevented much needless waste of time in hearing the complaints of unattached ladies assigned to bachelor quarters, families assigned apartments in which the partitioning had been opened by previous residents, hardships cases where assignments to a room simply did not fit the bill, while people next door had more room than they even wanted. In addition, the change in orders recorded above was viewed in the colony as precisely this: lack of planning.

During the last few weeks of September, it should be remembered, there had been so many unauthorized moves in the community that the Housing Section decided to take a census to provide a clear record of the actual vacancies. In order to be able to house the new people as they came in, an agreement was made with the block managers to record the census in each block as of 5 o'clock on September 30th. In return, the block managers were allowed to tell people in their blocks that they might remain in their present accommodations even though some of them had not yet received

official sanction to take over these rooms. But the plan went astray. Some of the block managers informed friends that if they wanted to move, now was the time. All that day, the day before the census, and the following night as well, people were discovered moving all over the community. The situation was most serious, it is said, in Block 66, the old highschool block, where school buildings had been converted to the purposes of housing, and where no block manager had as yet been appointed because of the uncertain conditions in that area. The Housing Department was planning to hold that block for emergency use, and on the morning of the 30th estimated at least 32 vacancies there. But by the next morning (October 1st) when the deadline was over and the last minute moves achieved, only six apartments were vacant; by noon of the same day, there were only four. The same situation, of course, occurred to a lesser degree in other blocks.

On October 2nd, a new system of making housing assignments to people coming in from other centers was begun. Before this time, housing had been assigned several days before each train was expected. The basis for assignment had to be more or less arbitrary, since we found through bitter experience that the other projects sent us, in many cases, very insufficient data on the segregant families and individuals coming here. For example, most projects did not notify us of recent marriages, and already-married individuals who wished separate room space were assigned to their families as if they still remained in solitary bliss. In other cases people with the same name but in other families, would be hopelessly jumbled together. A third variant of misinformation provided was to separate out very young children from the families to which they rightfully belong^{ed}. In addition to this imposed arbitrariness, the result of insufficient data on people coming here, we were forced to fill apartments pretty much as

people vacated^d them at this center. As everyone knows, vast numbers left the project, and at the same time still vast numbers came in. It was necessary to scatter the families from each center quite widely over the project, and this of course was highly displeasing to people who claimed that they had^d been told at other projects that since they moved out^{of blocks} pretty much en masse from the other center, they could move in pretty much en masse into this. People from Jerome and Scherer, especially the latter, explained that this had been promised at the other center. Bachelor kibei from Topas, and Jerome too for that matter, claimed they were rather insistent as a group in going together with their friends. The scattering technique, though imposed by the fact that train movements out drew population from all over the project, was, as a matter of fact, welcomed to prevent the formation of such tight locality groups. No choice was allowed the newcomers as to where they might live or as to whom their immediate neighbors would be. There was a period, a brief one fortunately, during which kibei and issei bachelors thrown together viewed each other with decided alarm. (Though the kibei boys, generally speaking, are easily controlled by individuals of the issei generation, the unattached issei bachelors have frequently less status than the issei family heads.) Despite the lack of choice, some exceptions had to be made. The new cooks who had their jobs in certain blocks were sometimes housed at the other end of the project. When the exception was made to adjust the cases of mess hall workers who lived at a distance, there was an immediate run on jobs as cooks, and considerable talk in the colony that many young attached boys who didn't much care, might get the job as cook merely for temporary convenience, much to the chagrin of those who had to eat the meals.

However, on October 2nd after receiving the census results, a new method was begun. As the family heads came into the room where the housing staff was set up, they were allowed to state their preferences, and some attempt was made to allow friends and relatives with good cases to live near each other. At the same time, people who had remained here and those who had arrived prior to this date, were being refused and the privilege of moving denied them in cases where they too might wish to be near their friends and relatives. As the project filled up, the problem of meeting such requests will obviously again become more and more difficult. In fact, even though each room is filled to capacity and each Recreation Hall and former office ^{building} occupied by at least twenty-five individuals, the Housing Department reports that there will still be no place to put the last 140 to 160 people slated for arrival. Consequently, the latest arrivals will have less choice of residence and this cannot help but result in a further accumulation of dissatisfaction when the matter of adjustment is allowed only for those who happened to arrive early in October.

It should be added that actually before the first trains went out, an announcement was made that by a certain date, families living in apartments too large for their needs should make applications to move. It was said, that if this were not done, total strangers would be moved in with ^{other} people to make up the proper ^quota per room space. However, as we have said, the former announcement was difficult to publicize adequately largely because of the fact that segregation announcements ~~were~~ currently made won greater attention at the time. Besides people had a great many things on their minds during these hectic days and it was perhaps easiest for families who were remaining here together with their relatives and friends to pay attention to the matters concerning the more settled aspects of the Tulé Lake community.

Before October 4th, when unauthorized moves were discovered, a notice publicized on that date was sent to Internal Security. Internal Security in turn sent a notice to the people involved requesting them to return to their previous apartments. In most cases this notice, politely phrased, was sufficient, and even where it was not, no further action was taken. On the 5th of the month for the first time, wardens began to attempt to remove certain people. The incidents were, all of them, minor.

Today the Housing Department is proceeding with its plan to subdivide the Departments in certain barracks in each block. Because of the shortage in labor crews, it will not be possible to have the partitions erected immediately, so that there will be two families in each apartment for some time. At this date, also, only about 100 bachelors are living in Recreation Halls. More have been assigned, but have instead followed their original bent of moving into family apartments. Internal Security has been asked to see to it that they move back into the Recreation Halls, and more are being assigned to such quarters as the train come in. At this time, I am told by Housing, that there are only about sixty-five 3- and 4-^{person} apartments vacant with about six more trainloads due. Thus stringent measures seem to be necessary. The first rain of the season makes the problem more serious.

It is said by Housing that another plan is being seriously considered to take families of ten people ~~a~~ piece, or eight and twelve, etc., and move them into the Recreation Halls as dual family groups of twenty. It is unclear whether this method supplements the plan for bachelors or is a subsidiary plan to fall back upon, if the bachelors prove recalcitrant.

Problems Related to Housing.

Housing does not stand alone when residents discuss their versions of the shortcomings of the Tule Lake Center. The most generalized type of statement is that careful preparations were obviously made to make the segregation program successful, but that there seemed to be insufficient preparation in regard to receiving the incoming people from other centers.

One of the problems discussed is that nothing was done to provide brooms, buckets, mops, and etc. for the prospective residents, especially those moving into barracks which used to be used for schools. One staff member, reporting on Block 50, stated that the block manager had been put in an extremely difficult position when people assigned to such apartments requested that he supply these things for them. I believe, on checking this point, that the background of this misunderstanding is that people from some of the other projects had buckets and cleaning apparatus given them when they first arrived at the other project, and since these things came under the heading of government property, they were left behind. Consequently, they expected such materials to be issued anew at this project. (Along with this, there is still discussion of the Gripsholm "passengers" who lost their baggage aboard that boat and who were not on October 6th at least, yet provided with clothing and linen.)

The new-comers complain of lack of materials to make household necessities like stools, closets, and shelving. It seems that when people vacated their apartments before transfer, they allowed friends to take improvements from the vacated barracks. Some of course left improvements intact, but those who are assigned to apartments in the barracks where school used to be held, find no improvements and frequently no lumber to make inside furnishings. The complaint runs that: "We have nothing in these apartments and are not provided with any lumber or plaster board."

Staff members report to me that the inconvenience many are experiencing is beyond description, and includes elderly people who must begin their life at this project living pretty much on the floor level.

It was also reported by staff and in interview that contact between the Housing Department and Mass Management seemed to be somewhat lacking at many points. Again, from of the experience of Block 50, a few days passed during which the cooks had to prepare food for over 300 people with the material for about 170. On one day, there were 240 people sharing the food for 170, that is a food shortage for 70 people.

Beyond all these difficulties, some of them unavoidable, there is the fact that many newcomers came to this project with a definite feeling that their accommodations were superior elsewhere. The roads here, which were hardly improved by the flotillas of trucks which raced over the project grounds all hours of the day and night during segregation movement, leave much to be desired, and certainly add to the dust for ^{which} Tule is famous. People from Jerome, where porches were built according to a project-wide plan, complained of the rugged individualism exemplified in such improvements and some even note the fire hazard involved where porches grew up like Topsy, quite unlike the Jerome plan of building porches for all houses according to plan. Besides the need for oil or resurfacing on the roads and the lack of "morale" exemplified in the litter which has grown up around the barracks during the wholesale movement of people, there are criticisms of the shower rooms, which are said to be deteriorating as to the plumbing, and the walls of these rooms which contain in some cases, rather flamboyant inscriptions. One group from Jerome suggested the institution of evassee sanitation officers, project-wide. Other people mentioned the lack of mirrors in the wash rooms. An outside cleanup

campaign would be definitely in order, and this office is at present studying the organisation of civic campaigns of this type on the projects from which newcomers come.

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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
TULE LAKE CENTER
NEWELL, CALIFORNIA

Field Report No. 14
Community Analysis Section; Oct. 12, 1943

TRANSFER FROM HEART MOUNTAIN

Subject: WRA "Segregation" Program
Second Entrainment for Tule Lake Reloc. Center
from Heart Mountain, Wyoming
Date: Monday, September 27, 1943
Time: Departure First Scheduled for 10:00 a.m., delayed
to 6:30 p.m.
Weather: Warm Comfortable Day, Cool And Almost Cold By 6:30 p.m.
Uncertainty: Segregees were uncertain from early morning
until late in the afternoon as to time of departure:

1. First we were told train from Tule Lake
was coming in at 8 a.m.
2. Train will be delayed to about 1 p.m.
3. Finally a warehouse worker informed us,
the train from Tule Lake came in about 3 p.m.

Evening Mess: Scheduled for 4 p.m. for all.

While we were having evening mess, the Tule Lakers arrived in the area and occupied empty barrack rooms. Soon after this the WRA sedan car with a siren blowing went driving throughout the camp signaling the segregees to assemble at the high school grounds with their hand luggage.

On arrival at the high school grounds our hand luggage was put onto trucks with corresponding numbers as segregees car assignment. Segregees assembled in respective sections which were previously marked with car numbers, here we bid our friends of Heart Mountain farewell.

Next, we assembled in classrooms which were also car numbered, here a doctor and nurse examined our mouths and throats; it was done so quickly we were not aware of what they were really examining or checking. This done, a volunteer appointed teacher conducted a roll call in numerical order which corresponded to our seating assignment in the train coach. As our numbers were called we filed out into the high school yard where assigned trucks awaited us to transport us to the train which was stopped on the tracks in the warehouse area. When the trucks passed the enclosure barbed wire fence the Heart Mountain Boy Scout Band played which had a very sentimental effect ne" after 6 p.m.

The truck stopped along side of our assigned cars. We went directly into the coach and located our seats and scrambled to straighten our hand luggage.

RSC

Unfortunately seat assignments had not been carefully checked or that all coaches did not have the same number of seats; in our coach there were three people with assignments but no seats. This predicament could not be taken care of immediately, since everyone was anxiously peering out of windows waving and yelling at friends on the other side of the barbed wire fence; this our last farewell to faithful Heart Mountain. It was before 7 p.m. when the train finally pulled out of sight of Heart Mountain; as we passed the first town, Powell, Wyoming shades were pulled down and orders were that lights will be put out at 9 p.m., so in the meantime every one was to get ready for some sort of retiring for the night. It was also ordered, that if windows were opened they could be opened only five inches.

In the seating assignments some families were separated and others were without seats; this adjusting was in charge of coach captains. (assigning of the car, and seat assignment of segregates, coach captains and train monitors were done by the Welfare Department" at Heart Mountain) Then came the first complaint that some of the latrines lacked necessities, which added to the confusion, but by 8 p.m. every one seemed quite settled. The next task for the train monitor and coach captains was to get volunteer workers to assist the Army mess personal. Might add here that the coach captain in car 7 was without a seat but worked cheerfully helping others, he finally accommodated himself in the smoking room.

All train coaches were not the same, most of the cars had solid back seats and the last car 7 had split back or individual adjustable seats.

At about 8:50 p.m. people seemed cheerful and settled, then suddenly someone reported a pullman suitcase was in car 7, which needed to be taken to the pullman at the extreme front end, a job for the train monitor. (train monitor, car captains and nurses aids were identified by colored armed bands to be permitted to go through train without being stopped by M. P.'s). At this moment a request for nurse's aides came from the two Army nurses; work for the train monitor and captains. Girls volunteered willingly, the only handicap, when the girls reported for work the Army nurses did not provide the aids with specific instructions and encountered some difficulty in getting started with the babies' milk and diaper schedule; once started the schedule was well organized. (here again, perhaps preliminary organization could have been worked out before entrainment to avoid confusion enroute).

The nurses' aid reported dissatisfaction when they were asked to do janitorial work. Perhaps a more understanding supervision of the aids was lacking on part of the Army nurses. The mothers and the monitor reported that the nurses were well qualified professionally in advising mothers and in preparation of the baby foods. At the

time it was reported by the train monitor and coach captain who had occasion to work with Army nurses that they often lacked professional dignity; they would engage in kissing and holding of hands with the men Caucasian personnel in view of the segregees.

Difficulties enroute:

1. Some latrines, out of order
2. Some water tanks continually out of water. (may have had a leak)
3. It seems at Billings, Montana all water tanks were not filled.
4. First evening, the M.P. coach attached behind car 7 was very noisy and annoying.
5. Army mess sergeant, together with Lieutenant Miller issued orders "no work, no eat." This was in reference to getting together volunteer maintenance crew to scrub the make-shift baggage car diner. Train monitor passed on the orders to segregees and he himself with volunteers did the job. (probably, here again if the car captains, train monitor WRA representative, Welfare Dept. representative could have had an opportunity to get together before entrainment and organize the necessary work enroute misunderstandings and confusions could have been avoided or lessened)
6. Volunteers for mess service were car sick Tuesday a.m., and it was necessary to recruit a new crew.
7. M.P.'s going through cars at night: noisy, smoking.
8. Each coach filled to capacity.

HAPPENINGS IN THE CARS: Some people are car-sick, small groups of young men in one of the cars playing cards daily and other enjoying scenery and conversations. Some appear a bit tired but on Wednesday when we reached Seattle which was the beginning of coast scenery; everyone seemed alert and cheerful upon seeing the Pacific Ocean. By the way Tuesday afternoon, the scenery consisted of mountains which were beautifully covered, we called them "Christmas trees," and many streams, rivers, lakes and bridges were also visible. We were allowed a half and hour leg stretching period at Isaac Walton, Montana, a mountain resort center and Great Northern Railroad Center. Here we met three nisei boys working for the railroad. Some of the conversation dealt with various groups to be encountered at Tule Lake, that is from pre-evacuation localities as well as from the various Relocation Centers. Others were asking each other from what section they were first evacuated, to which assembly center, and regarding

residence at Heart Mountain and then older men seemed to talk about the war occasionally.

There were no disagreeable incidents between segregees and outsiders enroute. At train stops people just looked in silence; not even conversation was noticeable. The military police were agreeable, they seemed bored and tired at times.

The food, considering the way it was prepared under handicap conditions with volunteer segregee assistants was good. Many spoke of eating REAL butter which we had for all meals. The Army personnel ate the same food. The baked ham and the man-sized servings were a treat to many of us.

Army doctor (M), Army nurses (F), and an attendant (M) checked through the train caring for the sick.

WRA representative, Mr. Marlin Kurtz realized that the train monitor had quite a responsible and tiresome job; checking on complaints, personal requests, recruiting volunteer workers. The volunteer maintenance crew were the most difficult to obtain, due to the nature of the work.

Sept. 28, 1943: The mess Sergeant, due to lack of good working volunteer crew in baggage car diner issued an order, "alright no work, no eat." The reception to this order by the segregee was very disagreeable, but remarks were reserved for the sake of the people as a whole. Train monitor joined the scrubbing crew to get the work done. The Army mess sergeant was at fault at one time when the volunteer boys reported for work he told them to "go back to their cars." The train monitor reported this incident to the higher officer, and after this the volunteer crew and the army personnel worked smoothly.

Sept. 28, 1943: Early part of the afternoon, car captains were informed to be ready for inspection. By evening all volunteer work was organized. (planning and organization before entrainment could have avoided difficulties)

Lieutenant Colonel Geo. Itermann - one of the officer in charge
Lieutenant Miller in charge.

Sample evening meal: Cold beef, mince ham, canned salmon, sliced fresh tomatoes, bread, real butter and iced tea.

Sept. 28, 1943: At night, WRA representative, Mr. Marlin Kurtz instructed train monitor to inform coach captains "to set watch back one hour tonight."

Sept. 29, 1943: It was about 12:30 p.m. when the train stopped at Spokane, Washington for water and service. We were all awakened by the excitement that we were now in Washington; even in the dark, segregees began talking about the next large city the train will be going through. Will it be Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, etc.?

Complaint by train captain and segregee aids:

1. Regarding the two Army nurses
 - a. Their inability to give work orders and set professional working example.
 - b. The young nurse's aids were asked to clean up dirt and rubbish, as well as assist in the preparation of babies' milk and fruit juices.
 - c. Unprofessional acts: whenever Caucasian men personnel were about, the nurses flirted and even kissed in the presence of the segregees.

Early Wednesday morning about 7:30 an electric locaomotive pulled our train in readiness for the seven mile tunnel. Most everyone is enjoying the beautiful tree covered mountain scenery, often we were traveling at tree top level. After 8 a.m., September 29, arrived in Military Area, Zone 1 nothing unusual happened. At 9:40 a.m. we were allowed off at Gold Bar, Washington along side a stream for 15 minutes; this was the last leg-stretching period. Then came the information from Mr. Kurtz that we expect to reach Tule Lake by 7 a.m. Thursday, September 30, and that we would have breakfast in camp.

Wednesday, September 29 at 10 a.m. army officer, WRA representative inspecting train for cleanliness, also counting heads. Now, after 11 a.m. passing through Everett, Washington and traveling along the coast. Sea gulls, pelicans, wild ducks, floating lumber, sailboats, rowboats, steam boats, motor boats, freighter and tree covered islands in the distance filled our sight with amazement. The coast line winds a great deal. At 11:55 a.m., stopped at Seattle station, from this point we saw the famous 48 story Smith Building. After taking on water and train service at the Seattle Station, we were away again at 1:45 p.m.

Lieut. Henry Miller reported to train monitor that cars 3 and 4 needed cleaning.

Wednesday, Sept. 29, before 7 p.m. arrived in Portland, Oregon where we waited until almost 10 p.m. for clearance and to change from Great Northern Lines to Southern Pacific Railway Lines.

We were told traffic was congested. At this time we were told we will get into Tule Lake between 8 and 9 a.m., Thursday, and that breakfast will not be served on board train, another report was that there was not enough foodstuff on board to prepare breakfast.

Thursday, September 30 between 8 and 9 a.m. - stopped at Klamath Falls, Oregon. Army representative, WRA representative together with the train monitor are taking roll call of all segregates by name. It seems there was no emergency food supply on board the train; now, it was known that our Tule Lake arrival will be delayed but no food was served. By this time segregates were eating whatever they may have brought with them or had left over such as: candy, cake, oranges, cookies and sandwiches, etc. Although at Heart Mountain we were specifically told there will be plenty of food on board the train and for us not to bring any food stuff; some of the folks had brought food which served a good emergency purpose.

Then two army nurses came through the train asking segregates to return empty milk bottles and that there were too many bottles short. They said "if the bottles are not found, all will remain on board until found."

The train came to a stop at Tule Lake about 10 a.m.; while waiting, we could see at least one M. P. on either side of each coach and noisy army tanks went up and down the road several times and then onto an empty lot where smoke screens of dust was stirred up, but no guns were shot. We all wondered if this was a miniature maneuver or a Tule Lake reception.

The segregates were unloaded coach at a time into canvas covered-soldier-driven Army trucks, then transported to the nearly completed classrooms of the local high school. Here we assembled according to car number and three M. P.'s. inspected every piece of hand luggage. This done each of us were called into the hall-way where many tables were lined up with a soldier at each making record cards for each of us. After this, we stood in line to be finger printed and photographed.

As we entered the room a soldier printed our name with a black heavy crayon-like pencil, also numbers, then we stood on a photographing equipment stand which took "chest up" photo with name, number, and height included, then a side view. This done, we passed on to one of the many tables where soldiers were finger printing. Each of our ten fingers plus twice or three times extra of one of our forefingers were printed onto the previously prepared record cards, then as we left the room, just outside the door in the hall way were two soldiers at a desk taking the record cards from each of us and here our signature was taken. This was the end of Army Induction. We spent all in all about 2½ hours going through the induction procedure, and it was 1:30 p.m. before we were able to eat breakfast and lunch in one.

After Army Induction the evacuee internal security personnel assisted us with our hand luggage onto a evacuee driven truck, while the head of each segregate family went to the Housing Department and obtained 3 blankets for each and the room assignment; then we were driven to a mess hall for breakfast and lunch at 1:30 p.m. From the mess hall we were taken to our assigned rooms.

The first job in our new home was to clean up. From the block manager we received a bucket, broom, mop and coal shovel and we busied ourselves cleaning the room airing the blankets and cotton mattresses and washed the two iron beds and we were ready for the first evening at Tule Lake.

We all had notice to report at 8 a.m. on Friday to the high school auditorium for our checkable baggage. We waited and waited on the outside for our names to be called and to our great disappointment, many of us from Heart Mountain's blocks 22, 25, 27 and 29 did not receive any checkable baggage. This was the first time we realized that our baggage was not put into the baggage car at Heart Mountain. From about 10:15 a.m. we went to the various administrative officials to inquire as to what happened to our baggage or if they had any information from Heart Mountain. After we had been to the Project Director's office, to the warehouse and then back to the administration building and while waiting in the welfare office, the telephone rang and the clerk or secretary, an appointed personnel turned to us and said, "now I can answer your question, the balance of Heart Mountain checkable baggage is coming in tomorrow morning at 11 on a semi-truck."

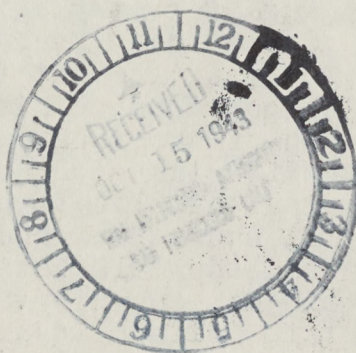
We anticipated getting our baggage sometime Saturday but no truck, and no word or truck, then finally Sunday afternoon about 3 the semi-truck came in from Heart Mountain and remained parked in the M.P. area because no one was on duty Sunday afternoon.

In the meantime the high school auditorium had been filled with Gila Segregee checkable baggage to be distributed Monday morning, so we had to wait until Monday afternoon, October 4.

We waited at the outside, side entrance to the high school auditorium for our names to be called, so two members from each family could go into the auditorium to identify and open every piece of checkable baggage for Army M. P. inspection which was courteously handled in most cases. There were some M. P.'s who did not wait for ropes to be untied but they went ahead and chopped them up to get at the baggages. This disturbed the segregees very much because much of the roping could not be replaced and some were heard to argue with the M. P. and said they would sue for damages. After waiting this length of time for our checkable baggage we are still short from one to four pieces, about which we know nothing and the Tule Lake administrative officials are not able to help us, so we have written Miss Virgil Payne of the Heart Mountain Welfare Department.

The first contingent from Heart Mountain received their freight on Saturday, October 9. The procedure regarding freight; a notice was posted at each mess hall informing Heart Mountain setregees when, where and time to claim freight, then it was loaded onto an evacuee driven truck with two M. P. and each piece of freight was opened and inspected at the segregee's home.

Then life begins at Tule Lake.



#15?

War Relocation Authority
Tule Lake Center
Newell, California

October 7, 1943

Community Analysis Section

TRANSFER FROM GILA

On the morning of October 2, a trainload of segregants left Gila River Relocation Center. They went through Los Angeles, Sacramento, Fresno and on up north and tumbled into Tule Lake Center.

During the trip two stops were made to let the passengers off the train to 'stretch out a bit'. The first stop was made in Fresno and the other at Sacramento. These stops were never made in town or at the stations; it was always in the country or where there are few or no people around.

The food was alright. The diners were like the ones used on preceeding trips; empty baggage cars converted into "mess halls" on wheels.

Some wrote letters, talked, or read; others merely sat and looked through the windows. These people also had uncomfortable nights because they had to sleep sitting up.

As all other newcomers, these people from Gila were very much disappointed in the housing at Tule Lake. However, they find the food better here.

Although Gila was exceedingly hot in summer, the new arrivals think it a better place than Tule Lake. Gila Relocation Center uses natural gas for the laundry and mess halls and oil for heating the apartments. They did not use coal at all, therefore, the rooms did not get dirty nor the wash black with soot.

The trip was not a pleasant one, but they did not think it was as terribly uncomfortable as the people from Rohwer or Jerome thought. This may be due to the fact that people from Gila had a short trip while those from Arkansas spent five nights on the train.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
TULE LAKE CENTER
NEWELL, CALIFORNIA

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FIELD REPORT #16

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS OF TULE LAKE TRANSFERS TO OTHER CENTERS
Community Analysis Section: October 12, 1943

TRANSFER TO MINIDOKA #1

Minidoka is a swell place, if you have a room to stay in. There are forty large apartments vacant and twenty-seven families of two and three persons living in recreation halls. The administration set up a ruling that if enough small apartments are not available they should be put into larger apartments in groups of four and five, with a blanket thrown across as a partition. The people in Minidoka would have done anything that the administration suggested or even hinted, but we, Tuleans, are made of sterner stuff. The rec hall residents got together and decided not to double up into an apartment and to demand individual apartments. Both the administration and the Minidoka Housing Adjustment Board stood firm for a few days, and tried to get as many to double up as they could, but not many did. The Tuleans put a man of their own, Kintaro Takeda, on the Housing Adjustment Board, and asked for a check-up of vacant apartments. The result was forty large apartments and twenty-seven small families. A partitioning program has been requested to provide more small rooms, but it'll be some time before it gets to Washington and back. In the meantime, there is no reason why small families should not occupy large apartments temporarily. There are some reasons given by the Adjustment Board: Smaller Minidoka families were moved from larger apartments to smaller ones to make room for Tuleans, and it wouldn't be fair to them to put small Tulean families in large apartments. Those families which have co-operated and have doubled up should receive consideration, too. Mr. Sandoz, the Welfare Counselor, says that there's no reason now for keeping the larger apartments vacant and that they've gotten people to double up as much as they ever will. The problem, I think, is going to be solved with a victory for the Tuleans.

The Tuleans have also taken the freight situation into their own hands. Baggage and freight were held up because of lack of swamper. Since yesterday a large number of volunteers have turned out to go after the freight of all Tuleans held up in box cars.

Moral: If you want people to be independent, to learn to take care of themselves, to learn to fight for their rights, to do it the democratic way, to cause a little trouble, bring them up the Tulean way.

After these conflicts are settled, the Tuleans should be ready to integrate themselves with the rest of the community. The process will be slow, but sure, because there's very little reason for real antagonism between Tuleans and Minidokans. I expect a conflict between the leaders of the two groups, however, for power.

With most of the young people going out for seasonal work, this place is now dead. There are much too many girls, and they disgustingly wear rayon stockings and high heels to go to work. You can spot a Tulean when they wear jeans, dirty cords, or slacks.

TRANSFER TO MINIDOKA #2

The train trip to Minidoka was pleasant, except for the fact that baggage car-dining car shook from side to side terribly, and many people had upset stomach whenever they ate. I was afraid that if I became coach captain I wouldn't be able to see much of Hattie, but as it turned out it was better because others weren't allowed to go from coach to coach, whereas I could whenever I wanted to. We didn't have much trouble on the train, although I was kept busy getting volunteers to help in the dining car, keeping the wash room clean, and otherwise keeping the people in my car happy. A girl was taken off of my coach for suspected appendicitis, and the father said at first that he wouldn't let the Army take her off at Pendleton. By the time the ambulance came to get her, I convinced him that the Army was responsible for the health of all those on the train and was going to carry out its responsibility. I said that I would find out if it were possible for someone to stay with the girl. The commanding officer bluntly said no. I then explained that the W. R. A. representative would stay with her, and that someone could be sent back later to stay with her. He didn't raise a fuss when the ambulance came for her. I had taken advantage of my study of handling of resistance cases during segregation.

I've been put in a bachelor's quarter. There were supposed to be four of us, but only two showed up. The other party left yesterday for seasonal work, leaving me all alone in a large room for seven.

The irony of it all is that there are twenty-seven families of two and three persons now residing in recreation halls. Only temporary partitions or screens have been put up, supplemented by army blankets bravely doing the duty of walls and doors. In one recreation hall there are ten families, a bundle of dissatisfaction, if there ever was any. It's really a terrible situation because there is hardly any privacy and everyone gets on each other's nerves.

The funny thing is that there are plenty of large apartments vacant, and the administration asked that families double up and occupy these vacant apartments. Minidoka people would probably have complied, but the people from Tule Lake characteristically refused to double up and demanded rooms of their own. Kintaro Takeda got himself put on the Housing Adjustment Board and at the same got the rec hall residents organized to the extent that they all agreed not to double up. An investigation of the vacant apartments was requested, and it was discovered that forty large apartments were vacant. Now the rec hall residents want to occupy a large room temporarily, rather than remain in the rec hall. Large rooms are eventually going to be partitioned, but it is going to take some time. Minidoka leaders in the Housing Adjustment Board want the Tuleans to double up because if they were put into large apartment without doing so, Minidokans who were forced to move from a large to a small apartment would complain. So far, it seems that the fight that the Tuleans have put up has been successful, and it's going to put to shame Minidokans who only think of complying with administration orders and do not try to look after the needs of the people. The people around here are so compliant that it's really pitiful. I think they're a little afraid of the Tuleans who come in and start to take

matters in their own hands. Baggage and freight were held up because of lack of swamper, and Tulean volunteers are now out to bring them in themselves.

TRANSFER TO MINIDOKA #3

We've reached here about noon on the 25th. I certainly miss all the administration staffs and some of my friends there, but people here are very nice to us, and we met lots of our old friends too. Everything is quite different from Tule. Having a tough time with the rooms. It certainly is small but we got to make the best of it, I guess. Many Tuleans are accommodated in the Rec Hall which is their temporary quarters. Everything else is just fine so far.

TRANSFER TO JEROME

Jerome W. R. A.
September 28, 1943

We arrived at our new jail safely without any mishaps. Wanted to get this letter off sooner, but after such a tiresome trip sitting and sleeping in a chair car, it's taking us quite some time to recuperate.

We are finding our new jail quite different from our original visions of the place. I'm not saying that this is a wonderful place, as no jail can be termed such, but it was a wonderful surprise to find this place was not half as bad as painted. We all gladly take back a lot of uncomplimentary remarks we made about Jerome. No wonder those unfortunate people who arrived in Tule Lake from here were cussing everything in general. What's their loss is our gain. Of course fortune is still smiling on us, as the weather had cooled off considerably prior to our arrival. The inmates of this jail are all nice and very co-operative. (Was thinking that such people did not exist anymore, outside of a few.) Really these Densonians are all okay. Haven't had a chance as yet in sizing up the Ad. personnel as I have no interests or any business with the Ad. From reports I hear that most of them are okay, but it still seems the Civil War is not over yet. I'm going to sit on the fence and maybe I might see something interesting.

TRANSFER TO HEART MOUNTAIN

Arrived okay after seventy-one hours, over 2,000 miles of very interesting and beautiful scenery. Train monitor job wasn't as bad as I expected as all the boys co-operated and the army personnel were tops. Camp here is much cleaner, grub is wonderful. So much that it makes me wonder how we existed the past fourteen months in Tule. They had a bang up welcome for us, brass bands, Boy and Girl Scouts carrying our baggage--hospitality plus--Tule has plenty to learn.

TRANSFER TO TOPAZ

I was a car monitor for the Car A on my trip to this center. For this reason, I was fortunate enough to have taken in most of the activities.

On the morning of departure, much to our surprise, our mess hall gave us a special breakfast. They gave us choice of method of preparing the egg. This was something we never dreamed will ever come.

We arrived at our departure point rather late. Already our names had been called many times. The next few minutes were spent in the confusion of rushing through the ironing room and saying last minute good-byes to many friends. When I got out of the ironing room, it was difficult for me to distinguish the faces of many people because it was dark. This situation got steadily worse as I mounted the truck. By this time, I was able to distinguish my friends only by their voices.

Our train was not yet there when we left our truck at the front gate. When I finally discovered myself on the train, there were fifty-five persons in my Coach A. I counted the number of seats in my coach to see how many seats we were entitled to. To my surprise, there were only forty-four seats. I recounted to make sure.

It wasn't as bad as it sounds. I had them seated in the smoking room, side seats, and anything else that looked like a chair. Anyhow, everybody had a seat and I had one seat left.

I think I was more fortunate than other coach monitors. One car had eleven persons standing when our train pulled out of Tule. These were distributed to other cars.

After all this excitement, I had a blank emotion when the Tule Center disappeared into the distance. I still remember waving to a few close friends who were lined against the wire fence.

The first part of the train ride was very smooth. Other two third of the trip--it seems to me that they were trying out a green engineer. Maybe they were giving him a test. However, we certainly got lots of bum "jerks". This made the whole trip very uncomfortable.

About thirty minutes out of Tule, we passed through rather thick forests. I was really glad to see nice pine trees. This, much to our disappointment, did not last very long. Shortly, we emerged into a bare waste land. We passed through some mountainous country but the rest was mostly sagebrush. Nevada was sagebrush. It was really sad.

Some of the interesting points we saw on the trip were Pyramid Lake, the Great Salt Lake, and valley near Ogden and Salt Lake City. It was a rare treat to see this Pyramid Lake. It was about six o'clock (PM) on the 22nd that we saw this lake. This lake was quite large. In the midst of the dry surrounding area, there was this still, cool, clean body of water. They were really hills in middle of the water. The rain had washed much of the top soil away so that they formed a castle like structure. Yes, they looked like castles painted in cream, brown, and brick-red colors.

The valley surrounding the cities, Ogden and Salt Lake City, was very similar to the Yolo side of Sacramento valley. There were many cotton trees growing there. The fields were covered with weeds. The familiar sight of farmers harvesting their crops made me long for my old home town of Sacramento.

Finally our train neared its destination. It was getting dark. However, we knew by now how the Topaz center will be. The train rolled through miles and miles of fine clayed land and sagebrush. We pulled into the station of Delta shortly after 10 o'clock in night of 23rd. The former Tuleans were greeted by drum and bugle corps very close to midnight.

The food on the train was very good. We had very tender roast, real honest to goodness butter, canned salmon, and plenty of fruits. Even the beans tasted good.

My duties as car monitor kept me rather busy throughout the entire trip. There were many disagreeable jobs that went along with special authority. Some of these jobs were to keep my car clean (including the toilets), keeping the toilet supply well stocked.

Topaz center is very much the same as Tule in many respects. The surrounding scenery is very similar. The rest room facilities are much better. The city is much smaller. The population is about one half of Tule. The ground is hard clay when it is dry. This necessitates the construction of very good paved roads throughout the city. Footpaths of gravel leads up to each apartment.

Everything here seems like child's play compared to Tule. Garage, sheet metal shops, and other maintenance shops are very poorly equipped. Most of the farming is livestock. The crop farming is not progressive in this valley or rather desert.

The activities here are at a stand still. Only thing which seems to be alive are drum corp and movies. The canteen here is very poorly stocked. A person feels he is lucky if he finds what he wants in the store. The dry goods department is rather well stocked.

One thing anyone will note immediately is the absence of young people above high school age. This is because most of the young people are out on seasonal work. The people live very quietly. One hardly hears a radio within a block. The people give very snobbish greetings. They act very distant. This makes all new arrivals long for warm and friendly Tulean company. A strange Tulean is better and warmer company than your close neighbor.

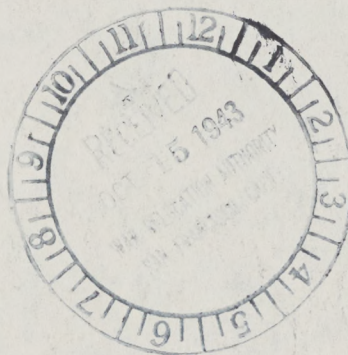
Please write to me if you should have time in your office. I heard that situation in Tule is getting bad. I feel that you will be better off to get out of Tule if you can. I am sure you will enjoy this peace and freedom.

If I am not wrong, this center, Topaz, sent quite a bunch of rough-necks. I bet they're giving you some bad times.

I have forgotten to ask you to relieve the Boy Scouts organization of the duty to raise and lower the flag at the community flag pole (the central firebreak) and at the Administration Bldg. Will you notify Mr. Oto of your decision.

I am sure that the Topaz center has nothing over Tulean CA section. All the former "Wreckers" were surprised at the state of affairs here in this center. It is really dead. Deader than a door nail.

CA here is directly under the education department. All the CA members work with education instead of working against education dept. which was common practice before the re-organization. There are approximately 75 persons employed in the CA section. Where are they? Don't ask me.



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
TULE LAKE CENTER
NEWELL, CALIFORNIA

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FIELD REPORT #17: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE
Community Analysis Section: October 25, 1943

The existence of private enterprise at Tule Lake is no new occurrence, and it cannot be said that private enterprise has increased here noticeably in the segregation period. There are, however, certain local businesses all of which seem to have made good money in the past:

Noodle Shop:

There seem to be several noodle houses in the center, of which recently two were listed. They were set up in Blocks 19 and 22, much to the chagrin of the block residents. It appears that people do not like such establishments in the neighborhood on much the same grounds as individuals do not like homes in a shopping district where everyone passes by. Since segregation one of the shops at 2202-B was closed when a group of young men, reported to be Kibei, appeared and after ordering the dish, threatened the proprietor enough to result in his later closing the shop. Noodle dishes are reported to be sold at fifteen cents a bowl, and aside from flavoring, nothing is served with the dish.

Tofu:

There are three tofu manufacturers reported. The one in Block 19 is said to produce three hundred cakes a day. They sell at the exorbitant price of twenty cents a cake which is about three times the price of tofu prior to evacuation. Besides Block 19, Block 32 is mentioned, and from different sources either Block 42 or Block 44. The Community Co-op recently sold the bean, and the materials were probably bought through this channel. There were earlier reports that people bought tofu somehow and resold it at a higher price, but the sale of the bean is probably meant. The Co-op is contemplating the manufacturing of tofu in the near future, with either a market through the Mess Halls and through W. R. A., or through the canteens, or both. It already has the equipment necessary

for manufacturing this product, but do not have an adequate building with plenty of running water both hot and cold. Sometimes in the colony, the critics say that the Co-op is selling the soy beans to the three private manufacturers. However, the Co-op, realizing the circumstances, discontinued the sale.

Barbers:

It is difficult to assess the situation as concerns private barbering. Probably it is done on a large scale. There are reports of private barbers in Blocks 55, 71, 27, and 47; where a lady barber is present. There is also an account of a barber in 4902-C who since went to Kinidoka. Again, the critics claim that barbers connected with the Co-op work privately at home after working hours and during weekends so that they can make much more than the regular \$16.00 per month. The Co-op is planning to open another shop as soon as a building can be had, and a glance at the map will indicate that the private establishments are located in wards other than the sole existing Co-op Barber Shop. Private barbers ordinarily charge twenty-five cents or thirty cents, or five or ten cents more than the Co-op price for a trim.

The Co-op barbers claim that the private establishments are full-time affairs and that their own workers do not run barber shops after working hours. They are probably right since the Co-op barber shop which originally had fifteen barbers was reduced to six following segregation and most of the chairs remained unattended while private barbers functioned full-time at their homes. Though there is possibly some exaggeration, the Co-op barber supervisor claims that the private individuals make as much as \$70.00 and \$80.00 a week.

Grocery Store:

There was only one account of the grocery store (Fujii store). The individual is said to have gone to Minidoka. Possibly this account is erroneous, but the claims are that since the individual ran a grocery in Sacramento, he sold his wares here.

Clothing:

Only one individual reported clothing sales at ESOS-B which were limited to better quality men's furnishings. The gentleman, a Mr. Oda, is said to have gone to Jerome. There was no other corroboration of this story.

Shoes:

There is the claim that one party in the center obtained second hand shoes through the gates, and further, through one or more of the appointed personnel. The story, which again may be rumor, states that the individual gets as many as fifty pairs at one time and sells them again.

Dishes:

There is a claim that not only former grocery men, but individuals who sell Japanese dishware, have had their stock sent in to the center and are selling them at high prices. The claim is that they are getting rid of their stock without sacrifice and at the same time are making money at the expense of the colonists.

Fish Market:

The claim in regard to the fish market is that it was a private enterprise before the Co-op took it over. Although there was no open criticism at the time of the transfer, so the story runs, the owners were very reluctant to turn the business over to the Co-op. This account is undoubtedly made out of whole cloth though many newcomers insist that the

Co-op bought out the fish market business.

Artificial Flowers:

At one time the Co-op tried to market artificial flowers made by the same department of the Community Activities Section. The prospective buyer was a firm in San Francisco. This firm wanted to know why ^{they} themselves could not market their own product of a similar sort since they claimed a shortage in the paper and wire necessary to make the flowers. The matter was referred to Washington, and later the Co-op was notified that paper and wire were scarce and that the marketing possibility could not be sanctioned.

It is questionable whether art work of this type (flower making, shell craft, and woodwork) are to be considered competitive enterprises by the Co-op. The answer is that generally artistic craft work is not so conceived.

Shell craft:

There is one shell craft manufacturer at 515-D, the work said to be done by a lady of mixed origin who does not speak either English or Japanese very well. According to ~~one~~ one observer, she has a stock of about three hundred pieces, some of them sold at a \$1.00 per piece. There is no difficulty in a sale of this work at that price.

According to another account, the lady in Block 3 has five persons working with her. One of the ladies, from Oregon, who also lives in the same block acts as the sales agent for the five, and works on a commission basis. Some of the articles made from shell are: lapis pine in the form of roses, lilacs, daisies, and gardenias; butterfly pins; flowers for vases; one lady specializing in bouquets of dahlias, who won first place in a recent shell craft exhibit held prior to segregation. The total

price range on such articles runs from fifty cents to a dollar and a quarter. Former Tuleans say that the price is not high when compared with the difficulty of finding and preparing the proper shells, as well as the difficulty in obtaining materials for flower making such as glue, wire, and paint. Nail polish of various shades is a common tinting agent.

Added comment: To complete an article of this sort does not take long, but the process of cleaning and bleaching the shells is painstaking work. In homes where these flowers are made, daughters often help their mothers. Women who work in the Moss Halls part of the day sometimes follow this occupation. There are many other women in this craft outside of the Block 5 residents reported to this office, and the articles are extremely well made and popular among the caucasian personnel as well. One person commenting on this were told how a good artist was once offered "\$30.00 to do a pose, but he refused. This shows that a real good artist doesn't waste his time in hopes of picking up small sums here and there." The foregoing is the only criticism heard of this particular artistic enterprise.

Carpentry and Woodcraft:

Carpentry and woodcraft have a rather limited production because lumber is so difficult to obtain. There is thus little or no competition to the Co-op. In addition, much of this work is done on a basis of friendship. In such cases no compensation is expected.

Household Employees:

A suggestion was made to the Co-op to take care of the hiring of housekeepers for appointed personnel since they were, in many cases, no longer handled through the Placement Office. The proposal was that the

employer pay the wages to the Co-op, and they in turn would pay the ladies the prevailing wages. The approval of the proposal is still pending.

It can be seen from the above account that the only widespread private enterprise is probably barbering. Noodle shops are on the wane, and tofu manufacture will dwindle when the local supply of soy beans is used up. In addition some of the items reported, like the grocery store, are possibly based on rumor. It is the opinion of this office that the sale of shoes is likewise a rumor. Clothing and dishes have been reported for some time. The above story concerning the fish market business should be amended to correct the colony's version in one respect. According to the facts, the fish markets were not bought out by the Co-op, but were put out of business by its active competition. The private entrepreneurs would order the fish from the outside by slow mail, whereas the Co-op keeps up a daily telegraphic exchange. The accounts of craft work noted above require no particular correction.

Aside from barbering, then, which represents an important problem to the Co-op, the extent of patronage toward these enterprises is not very great. People in the community actually object to the tofu and noodle shops not because they dislike the products but because the prices charged are exorbitant and the proprietors making much more than the average colony wage. According to computations, before evacuation, when the soy beans could be purchased for \$6.50 a sack, the bean cake sold for five cents if small, ten cents if large, and sometimes an intermediate price for intermediate sizes. Now, beans cost \$10.00 a sack f. o. b. Tule Lake and the bean is sold for twenty cents which represents an increase in price from 400% to perhaps 500%. As one individual told me, "People can figure that out. It makes them angry because once you have the equipment to make tofu, it lasts forever, and there is just your labor and the soy beans and no other real expenses." Concerning the problem of private barbering, the Co-op has recently decided to go on two shifts including a night shift which would accommodate day workers; it is felt that this will eliminate the private barbering which is done in evening after work hours.

The criticism of private enterprise is, in the opinion of several colonists with whom the matter was discussed, a matter of personal dissatisfaction and in a general criticism of the Co-op. The incident in the noodle shop, mentioned above, was a means of criticizing W. R. A. for the food shortage which it is maintained exists in the Mess Halls. As the boys walked out, they said, "Charge it to the W. R. A." A group is reported to have said the same thing when leaving a Co-op store in Block 27 with unpaid merchandise, but in the latter case, probably a prank, the clerk stopped the fellows and took the goods back. Some of the appointed personnel are said to be regular customers of the noodle shops but no names are mentioned.

The chief steward has approved the purchase from the Co-op of the tofu (bean cake) on an average of once a week. The man in charge of preparing the menus is preparing an estimate of ^{the} amount of tofu necessary for one meal perhaps once a week, in order that the Co-op may plan accordingly.

With the coming of newcomers from other centers, a general dissatisfaction with the camp is expressed sometimes in terms of criticisms both of private enterprise and the Co-op organization. Though no systematic survey has been made, we have noticed that most criticisms of the Co-op come from individuals who formerly resided in Jerome. It is interesting to note that the Co-op set up has been rather recent at that center, whereas at Tule Lake, the former residents have for a long time viewed the Co-op as something which they helped plan and organize and which has been supported by the whole community. On the other hand, newcomers frequently feel that the existence of private enterprise is evidence of the superiority of their former place of residence, and in addition they say that private enterprise proves how disorganized this community is at present.

The Co-op organization has always, in the past met private enterprise by expansion into new fields of activity. For example, the fish market business meant that there was the demand in the community which the Co-op itself was not meeting, and consequently when some three private businesses developed, the Co-op entered the field much to the satisfaction of the entire colony. As regards tofu, it is obvious that the Co-op made an error in selling the raw materials, but again since there is the demand for the finished product (tofu), the Co-op is laying plans for expansion into that field. The sternest critics will say that the U. S. A., and not the Co-op, should provide tofu as an addition to the diet. But such statements are connected with feelings about the alleged food shortage and the initial impression of the new center which has been generally fraught with criticism. The most extreme criticisms of the Co-op will sometimes include charges that individuals in the organization are profiting at the expense of the general public. Such charges, however, are reminiscent of the claims that were made when the Co-op first began its operations and may be expected to continue until the new community has thoroughly familiarized itself with Co-op functions, Co-op personnel, and Co-op business practices. An education campaign to achieve this end is now under way.

Attitudes of Associated Personnel in relation to the Co-op:

Besides the criticisms from the colonists, staff members have been guilty of rather immoderate statements in regard to the Community Enterprise organization. At Tule Lake the most recent occurrence of this sort was in connection with the Motor Pool organization. It seems that, on the date this report was dictated, funds ran low for the local bank. The Assistant Chief of Community Enterprises attempted to get a car to go and secure the funds. He was told rather unceremoniously that if the business was for the Co-op then the Co-op should provide its own transportation. He was also asked if the matter of a shortage of funds was a

"concern of the colonists". When an affirmative answer was given, he said, "Then it's their concern and yours." This conversation coming after a recent incident at the bank during which a shortage of funds resulted in a smashing of windows, is rather inexcusable. The fact is that some appointed personnel frequently regard the Co-op as a colonists' affair, and since that is the case, do not always co-operate.

Some weeks back a similar incident occurred which again shows peculiar attitudes toward the Co-op. The Co-op had agreed, on the request of a number of the appointed staff, to keep the store in the administrative area open during the lunch hour and until six o'clock in the evening. The new hours made it necessary for some of the employees to have cards entitling them to dine in a special mess hall (720) which serves meals at other hours for those who cannot, because of their employment, eat at regular times. The chief steward, whose signature was necessary, approved a partial list for this purpose, but refused to sign for additional clerks felt, by the Co-op Management, to be needed. Again the Assistant Business Enterprises Supervisor was told that a staff of eight in this general store was unnecessary, because if only appointed personnel were allowed to trade at the store, and evacuee residents excluded, three or four clerks could easily handle the business. In connection with this circumstance, one staff member stated excitedly that when the new Personnel Recreation Club is organized, "We'll have our own store."

It should be added that so far as the community is concerned, the Co-op is making some headway in winning confidence. The appointed personnel attitudes, limited to a small group, have existed for some time in the form of complaints that they are not treated properly in the store in the administrative area. For this charge I can find no real proof, and I believe that once the Co-op organization has covered the ground it previously had to cover when it first set up shop in the community, that the community will swing behind it with perhaps the only criticisms emanating in a small minority in the appointed staff.

