

Wax, Rosalie (Hankey),  
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Tule Lake Fieldnotes, Dec. 1944 . pp. 1-107

N.B. Readers must not disclose identity of individual evacuees

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TULE LAKE FIELDNOTES

Rosalie Hankey Wax

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1944

TALK WITH YOUNG CAUCASIAN SCHOOL TEACHER

This young woman told me that things had been "very tense" in the past week -the Army is supposed to have been put on the alert and the Internal Security tearing into camp on several occasions. I suspect this is just Caucasian jitters over the expectation that something violent was being planned in camp for December 7. Nothing at all happened and the camp was very quiet over the 7th, except for the mass meetings of the Sokuji Kikoku, the Sokoku Kenkyu and the celebrations in the Japanese schools. There had been an epidemic of head shaving. Even Mr. Tachibana is now sporting a bald pate, I hear from Mr. Noyes, the project Attorney.

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN, SOCIAL WORKER

I discussed the "tension" with Mrs. Deschin, who said that in her opinion it was a lot of hooey and that many of the rumors had been started by Miss Newberry. She said also that there had been an increase in the number of people asking for leave clearance openly. (Social Welfare is now in charge of this activity.) The increase is not large, but it is noticeable. Formerly, evacuees had been much more secretive about it. People who come asking questions "for other people" come in quite openly now. "Before it was definitely hush-hush."

She told me that she had had several more interviews with Kuratomi, regarding his clothing allowance grants. She pointed out to him that in making this request he was asking for special privileges. He said that he would be willing to take a job (which would make the clothing allowance unnecessary) which would help the people in the colony. Mrs. Deschin is seriously thinking of giving him a job in Social Welfare, which she considers would be very good for him, psychologically, providing that the other evacuee employees in social Welfare would not be too afraid of him and providing that he had sufficient respect and prestige with the people.

TALK WITH NOYES AND BURLING OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Called on Noyes, one of my best Caucasian informants, and was lucky to find him eating dinner with a Mr. Burling. We had a long conversation in which the following facts came out. Burling is now interviewing applicant for renunciation of citizenship. Only those persons who filled out the proper form correctly before a certain date are being interviewed. So far, after about three days activity, 35 persons have been interviewed. Burling guessed that the actual number which he will handle on this trip will be between 200 and 250. Many of these will be from unacceptable forms, forms which were meticulously copied from the proper ones by persons desiring to renounce citizenship. Burling thinks the number of actual applications may eventually reach 1,000.

After Burling left, Noyes told me that in his opinion Burling was doing a very good job. He was telling the young men that if their decision was made of their own initiatives, O.K., if due to pressure, they should reconsider it.

Noyes also said that Tachibana had come up to see him with an ex-service man (Japanese) who had been honorably discharged from the service and now wished to remain in Tule Lake. Tachibana did not get his wish, and agreed that the fellow would leave peacefully. Mrs. Noyes interjected here that she had noticed that the attitude of the Co-op Board must have changed. The Board had become much less insistent that canteen 4 (the Caucasian canteen) be closed. Noyes added that he had also seen Matsumura, the treasurer, the other day and that he had been cheerful, pleasant, friendly and dignified, a great contrast to his attitude of a month ago, when he had been very much on edge.

The new stockade, built at the west end of the project, is now filled with 67 excludées from Hawaii. They had been detained in Hawaii but since martial law was lifted there they can no longer be kept there. Consequently they have been brought here and are housed in the



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new stockade which is also known as block 99. Mr. Schmidt is no longer head of Internal Security but has taken over the job of managing block 99. A man named Cook is now acting head of Internal Security.

Noyes also told me that the real hotheads of block 54 (where the Sokuji Kikoku has its headquarters) were the ones who sent in their applications on incorrect forms. Neither Wakayama nor Kuratomi have as yet renounced their citizenship, or even sent in a form. Noyes told me confidentially that Burling planned to call the "hot-heads" who had not applied into his office and ask them how come. If he does, their reactions, which I shall naturally pick up, will be interesting indeed. Burling, however, is taking no new applications during his stay here.

TALK WITH ROBERTSON

Robertson told me that Best has just returned from a week's visit to Minidoka. Robertson had also checked up on the rumor, which he says is current in the colony, that the Matsudas had been kicked out of the Sokuji Kikoku. He stated that he had asked Mrs. Matsuda point blank, the other day, and she had insisted that they were still active. In fact, she asked Robertson if he could help Mr. Matsuda get four bicycles to help him in his work. Robertson, like Noyes, told me that people in camp were saying that both Wakayama and Tachibana had been kicked out of the resegregation group. There is also a rumor that there is going to be a pick-up of agitators soon. I'll find out in next few days if they really are current.

PERSONAL NOTE

I arrived safely, but managed to get the crying babies we had missed on our way to Salt Lake. Had them next to me on both train and bus. The bus trip was not too bad though. I am so pepped up, however, that I worked all the way on the train on the revision of my manuscript and made four calls the evening of my arrival. I heard that Fagan [a staff member] was going to move the furniture out of my room to storage (the bastard) but I arrived just in time.



DECEMBER 9, 1944TALK WITH KURIHARA

(The following is verbatim)

Since you left I have been looking forward to an incident almost any day or any hour. When you came on the 20th (of November) I was already looking forward to an incident any day.

When the families left for Crystal City they were on the very verge of causing a riot. It was between two factions, the [Resegregationists] seinen-dan and the Tsuda group.

Mr. Kimura (of the Tsuda faction) is the one who approached Mr. Uchida that night. They say that Mr. Kimura threatened Mr. Uchida that night and approached him for a showdown. There were several on each side and they surrounded Mr. Uchida. Mr. Uchida (who is the dansho or leader of the Sokoku Kenkyu seinen-dan) had quite a number of seinen-dan members with him. They say he had about 500 of his members around him. They in turn surrounded the Kimura bunch. If they had come to grips there would certainly have been a killing.

As the story is told, Uchida came out of messhall 8. Kimura stepped forward and accused Uchida of branding him as an inu. So the argument started.

As I see it right now, the Tsuda bunch is rather trying to start an incident against the seinen-dan. The seinen-dan is rather trying to avoid the incident.

The size of the Tsuda group is not known. But they have quite a number of gamblers in it. Tsuda, as you know, is running the gambling houses.

On the other hand, I feel that Tsuda's bunch has a certain amount of backing from the Administration. They are so arrogant because they have the backing of the Administration. If anything should happen, they know mighty well that the leaders of the Seinen-dan will be picked up and segregated. Wakayama and Tachibana know that. So, as you say, Tachibana has been holding them down, trying to avoid any violence or any incident. The Administration is doing this because they want to get the leaders of the seinen-dan out of camp.

Now I do regret to see that they have the backing of the Administration. The Administration itself is playing with fire.

Personally, I'd like to see them come to grips. Then the Administration could get rid of Tachibana and then the people would get rid of the gambling group.

The people have reached the point where they are now very careful of what they do and say and they will look for justice. Since you left, this is the only thing causing some sort of unrest in camp.

In regard to the rumors about people going to be thrashed, everything died down completely.

They (Tachibana and Wakayama) are terribly worried. A man (one of the advisors of the Sokuji Kikoku or Resegregation group) came to see me on Friday, November 17. On Saturday, November 18, Wakayama resigned from both organizations. I heard just recently that Tachibana also resigned and they've got new leaders now.

The Seinen-dan has changed its name. I told them that it wasn't the name that was important; it's the leader that's important. I told them that if they get the right kind of leader, the Seinen-dan will again start to grow.



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A man like Ishigami who is sincere and unselfish and a few others, who would devote their time solely to the development of the young men, if they got men like that they would succeed and flourish. With Wakayama and Tachibana, and Akashi, they are just going to drown the whole thing.

I hate to see the seinen-dan broken up. But I also hate to see the radical leaders taking hold of it. I'd like to see them come to grips because then we'd get rid of those guys.

The gambling group will have the upper hand because they have the backing of the Administration.

I've also heard the rumor that the agitators were going to be picked up. They were scared stiff. But how true it was, we don't know.

I got a warning that they were trailing me and watching me closely every night.

Kurihara knew about the establishment of block 99 for the Hawaiians and added that he had spoken briefly to Mr. Tsumida, the leader of the group.

Renunciation of Citizenship

I can't say as to the general opinion of the public. But those who are really sincere and wish to renounce are very pleased. I haven't been interviewed yet.

On Rumors About Mr. Matsuda

My guess is that Mr. Matsuda became active because the other boys resigned. If he is active, I'm glad to see that he has been reinstated. Matsuda is not so radical.

On Togo Tanaka

While discussing our conference at Salt Lake I mentioned Togo's name just for fun. Kurihara said that Togo had probably said harsh things about him. I said, "No." Kurihara said:

I respect Togo. According to his standpoint I can see what he was doing. I condemned him because he deliberately stated and said, 'What can he do?' (Togo was referring to Kurihara.) So I concluded I'd show him what I could do.

On the Coordinating Committee

I believe they were distrusted from the start. Before they even were organized, people said it wasn't necessary. The people didn't have any confidence in them.

I've heard some good things about Akitsuki. He probably wanted to be a leader here because he had good family connections in Japan. I think he wanted to gain the confidence of the people.



TALK WITH THE MATSUDAS

Thought I'd call next on the Matsudas to see how they are reacting to the pressure. They were very tense when I came in. Mrs. Matsuda made a speech on how she had told Mr. Robertson how she and others in camp were still heart and soul for going to Japan, "whether Japan wins or loses." I had managed to procure some films for her to send to her brother who is in the U.S. Army in the South Pacific. She remarked that if her brother should come to visit her in camp, she would be very embarrassed. Mr. Matsuda then proudly showed me the paper issued by the Sokuji Kikuku's office in block 54. He appears to be the editor. He also informed me that Mr. Bigelow and Internal Security had come to the office and asked for a copy of the letter. The Matsudas looked so apprehensive and sad that I really felt sorry for them. I had to get the story of the setback their group has suffered, so I remarked that I had heard from my friends that an evil bunch of gamblers was causing them trouble. This was all the lead they needed and the tale of their persecution poured out:

Tsuda tried to pick a fight just to cause trouble. If anything happens they'll blame it on the Hoshi dan (Resegregation Group). They (Tsuda's group) have been telling the Internal Security that the Hoshi dan is a bunch of roughnecks.

About a week ago, tension was very high. Mr. Shimizu, who works in block 4 as a dishwasher - Tsuda's boys went to get him. He told them he was on duty. But they grabbed him by the shirt and called him a dog. But Shimizu saw all the boys they had around. He figured that the boys were there to see him move his hand.

Tsuda, Kuratomi and the stockade roughnecks are going to see Mr. Best so often.

When the seinen dan went to see the people off to Crystal City, Kimura got a hold of Uchida and said, 'You're a dog.'

Mrs. Matsuda repeated several times that they "were having such a difficult time holding the boys back, telling them to be patient, and stressing that patience is also a Japanese virtue." Mr. Matsuda said that their home was guarded at night during the past two weeks.

Said Mrs. Matsuda:

The gamblers are saying, 'You can't do anything to us. Who do you think we got behind us?' The big boys like Tsuda, aren't admitting it, but the small heads do. It's that bunch, the Jerome group.

When the subject got around to current rumors I remarked that I had heard the ridiculous rumor that Mr. Wakayama had resigned from the organization. Mr. Matsuda looked embarrassed and finally said, "Well, he's been sick." But he did not deny the rumor. I then asked about the change in name and was told that the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan, had recently changed its name to Ho:koku Seinen dan. Ho:koku means (serve the mother country). Mr. Matsuda explained that he had first used the terms "Hokoku" in his newspaper and that it was also the name of an organization in Japan. Mrs. Matsuda added that :

The boys now figured that they had passed through the stage of Kenkyu (learning) and were ready to take up Ho:koku (service).

Mr. Matsuda had also had his head shaved. Mrs. Matsuda poked fun at him. I asked if it wasn't cold. He admitted it was cold at first but he soon got used to it and now it was a great convenience. He didn't have to comb his hair and he could wash his head right along with his face. Mrs. Matsuda said I should go and see Mr. Tachibana's head. She had no hesitancy in implying that the looks awfully funny with a shaved head and his handle-bar moustache.



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Renunciation of Citizenship

During our talk neither of the Matsudas had mentioned the renunciation of citizenship.

After we had talked for over an hour, I brought up the subject. It was rapidly dismissed with the remark, "Of course the boys are very happy about it."

TALK WITH SALLY AND GEORGE YAMASHIRO

I should insert here a letter I received from Sally.

I had asked Sally if she knew of anyone who would like to do domestic service work, for the lady I have copying cards for you [for D. S. Thomas].

Upon your request George and I have done quite a bit of scouting, but are more than sorry to say we were unable to locate anyone. They all seemed unwilling to work over the fence because of rumors that start. We really regret the fact that we couldn't help you. George sends his regards.

While we waited for George "who is a man and knows what's going on", Sally and I gossiped. I asked her about the attendance at the meeting at which the Daihyo Sha Kai members were elected. She said she had attended and that the attendance was very large, "because people wanted to know what was going on."

Renunciation of Citizenship

The renunciation is going on very well. The boys next door (strong Resegregationists) have all gone. The Sokoku bunch wants to go earlier than any of the rest. I think the majority of the boys will send them in. George has sent for his blank but it hasn't arrived yet.

Sokoku or Ho:koku Group

The Sokoku bunch seems very strong. On December 8th I heard they had a very fine ceremony. Of course we couldn't attend it because only the Sokoku Kenkyu could go. I heard they all knelt down in the frost and that it was a very touching scene.

George came in at this point. (It appears that after I told Mr. Kurihara on November 13 that the boys were planning to beat up the inu, he decided to take action. He had apparently been warned from other sources also.) George told me that Mr. Kurihara had come to see him that same afternoon (the 13th) and had told him, 'Now I am going to fight. You stay out of it George, because you're married. I'm a bachelor and have no one to depend on me if I get killed.' George said that Mr. Kurihara was very fidgety and upset. He tried to get out of George and Sally who it was that I had been seeing. Sally, however, said that I never told them the names of the people I spoke to. When we were discussing the tension between the gamblers and the Sokoku Kenkyu, George said:

Our organization is keeping very quiet right now and waiting.

George has also decided to give up teaching in the Japanese school. He has not cut his luxuriant hair, a fact upon which I hastened to congratulate him. Sally was very glad that he's decided to quit, saying, "He wants to work for WRA for a while."



Said George:

After the Sokoku seinen dan organized, my students changed. They got very bad to teach, very bad. I don't care what they do, but they're not led right. That's why I want to resign from the school. They are too hot headed. They say, 'Teacher Yamashiro says so-and-so.' Besides they pay only five dollars the first month, the second month seven dollars and the third month it was twelve dollars. I wouldn't care about that, but they don't appreciate it. So I'm going to rest for about six months.

I like to see more people here Japanese than American. This is my duty to make them to be good Japanese. But somebody else wants to make everything upside down. Even the Yes-Yes men I'd like to be good Japanese. But the Sokoku say: 'The Yes-Yes must get out.' But who can tell what they think in their hearts? Who can tell whether they're dodging the draft?

One of the leaders in the Sokoku here worked on the camouflage net in Gila. When he came here, maybe his conscience hurt him and so he had to do something about it. It's not for the people. It's for himself.

George also told me why he disapproves of the Sokoku and Sokuji policy. He said,

They keep everyone out. I'm Japanese, and I'd like to go and pray on December 8 too. But they want to keep everything for themselves.

#### On Kuratomi and Kai's Place in the Picture

I asked George outright if he thought Kai and Kuratomi were tied in with the gamblers. He said:

Kai and Kuratomi and Tsuda and the rest were together at the funeral.

#### On Signing the Sokuji Kikoku's Petition

George asked me for my personal opinion if WRA or the U.S. government would pay any attention to the names put on the petition. I said I thought not.

I went to see Mr. Robertson. I asked him about signing. He said it wouldn't do any harm and I should sign if I wanted to. But I don't want any person over me. I don't want anybody to boss me around. I didn't sign.

#### Renunciation of Citizenship

I'd like to sign but my form hasn't come yet. The Sokoku bunch typed their forms on the typewriter so that they could be the first ones. I told our neighbors that their forms wouldn't be any good.



On the Uchida-Kimura Encounter

Uchida couldn't fight. The other gang was too big.  
(George smiled as he said this.)

On Photographs Taken During Funerals

Sally remarked when I raised the question that many Issei had told her that it was wrong to take pictures during a funeral. She also said sadly that she had heard that the shipment of Omochi gomi (rice cakes) had been cancelled and that there wouldn't be nearly enough Omochi for the people in camp over New Year's. Now they couldn't send any to the Japanese prisoners of war either.

Concerning the way Kurihara had coped with the people who threatened him, George quoted the following proverb: 'Yabu wo tsuzuite hebi wo dasu.' The implied meaning is: 'One sets out to kill a man but one gets exterminated oneself.'<sup>1</sup>

[1. A more literal translation might be - "He who beats thickets brings out a snake."]



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Went to deliver shoes to Yoshiyama but did not find him at home, he being at a meeting.

ENCOUNTER WITH NOYES - PROJECT ATTORNEY

Noyes told me that one of the big shots of the Seinen dan had come storming into Burling's office, demanding to be heard as representative of the Sokoku Kenkyu. Noyes was quite pleased over the manner in which Burling had put him in his place. The young man (I found out it was Uchida) had said, "I'm a representative of the Sokoku Kenkyu." Burling said, "Here you are representing only yourself. If you have no appointment, I cannot see you."

TALK WITH MISS HOBBIE AND MRS. DESCHIN ON CO-OP ISSUE - CLOSING CANTEEN 4

Miss Hobbie as a member of the Caucasian committee is concerned about this matter, for since the meeting the Caucasian committee had with the Co-op Board on November 25, nothing has been done. She had approached Mr. Gunderson, Head of Community Management, and Gunderson had told her, "There's nothing to be done. Wait until I meet with the board." (Gunderson, I hear, did not like the idea of the Caucasians forming a committee.) Miss Hobbie then had a second interview with Gunderson after his meeting with the board and he said, "They're not going to close the canteen."

Mrs. Deschin chimed in here, saying that she had heard Mr. Best's wife's sister say that Best had said, "Let them try to close the canteen. Just let them try." I let the ladies talk themselves out. They thereupon decided to make an appointment with Mr. Matsumura, Co-op treasurer, and feel him out on the issue. I'll send along notes of the November 25 meeting, which I must have copied.



DECEMBER 11, 1944TALK WITH HELEN SASAJIMA IN BEAUTY PARLOR

Helen who is in no way a super-patriot, felt quite differently about the renunciation of citizenship from those persons who have always insisted about their "eagerness to return immediately." Instead of ignoring the subject she bent down and whispered in my ear while she was doing my hair, asking what I thought about the matter. Would she have to renounce her citizenship in order to go back to Japan? I said I certainly did not think so. She then said that she had been talking it over with her father and they had come to the decision that it would be different if she were a boy. If she were a boy they would question the reason for her decision. So she is not going to apply. She added that there was a big rumor in camp that those who did not renounce their citizenship would not be allowed to return to Japan. (This rumor sounds like Sokuji Kikoku propaganda.)

She also asked me about conditions on the coast. How were the Japanese who came back being treated? Some Caucasian friends, said she, had asked her to come to Berkeley and live with them, but she had decided to wait and see.

During the course of the conversation we began to speak about the Manzanar section. Helen said they were still holding themselves aloof. "Yes, said I, "They pride themselves that they had no part in the trouble here." "But we tell them," said Helen, "that things would have been much worse if they had been here." Helen had heard only vaguely of the trouble between the "gamblers" and the seinen dan.

TALK WITH MRS. TACHIBANA

Mrs. Tachibana was much more cautious than usual. Mr. Tachibana, she said, had gone to block 54, the headquarters of the Resegregation Group.

She told me how Mr. Sanborn and Mr. Pierson had gone to see Mr. Wakayama at the time of the high school graduation and had told Mr. Wakayama that they had been informed that the Sokoku boys intended to break up the high school dance. Mr. Wakayama referred them to Mr. Tachibana, saying that Tachibana was the leader of the organization. This appeared to anger Mrs. Tachibana very much. In any case the Internal Security men then waited on Mr. Tachibana and although she said she was not a bit scared, I doubt it very much. Mr. Tachibana assured the officers that the Sokoku boys would never do such a thing.

The resegregation people have nothing to do with Mr. Best anymore. They write to Mr. Myer, and he alone is not sufficient, so they write to the Spanish Embassy. Of course, all of our letters come back to Mr. Best but we don't care.

The Trouble with the "gamblers"

At last Mrs. Tachibana began to talk about the gamblers. She told me:

The boys are not going to stand for this much longer. It all started with the Jomei, the withdrawal. They were told they were not Japanese and were asked to withdraw (from the organization). They got sore. Three or four of them came to Mr. Matsuda's, demanding why they were withdrawn from the organization. I think this is the cause of it all.



(Curiously, this was corroborated by Kuratomi later in the day when I called on him.)

My husband says he can't understand why they take Mr. Kimura's word for it. He says their words don't mean nothing to them.

(Tsuda or Kimura have apparently never been members of the Resegregation Group.)

We closed our talk with Mrs. Tachibana's hopeful remark, "I think it's too late to find the Hitomi murder now."

#### TALK WITH KAYO IIDA - NISEI GIRL

Kayo said she didn't know of anyone well who was applying for renunciation of citizenship. Evidently she is not going to renounce hers. We got into a talk on the Sokoku boys, and I noted that her previously favorable attitude had changed.

To my mind they are not acting for the good of the people. They are trying to do everything in a spectacular way, such as cutting their hair. They are overlooking the really important thing. I believe there are a lot of people in camp who wish more sincerely to return to Japan but aren't making such a noise about it. I think it's selfishness.

Most of the educated men are being quiet here.

#### TALK WITH KURATOMI

Kuratomi had gone over all the Daihyo Sha minutes for me and pointed out errors in the margin. That is, he'd gone over all those held before he had to hide and is going to have the others checked by men present at the later meetings. I asked him to clear up some of the questions Mr. Nishimoto had raised about the October 27 meeting with Best. He complied willingly, being in an unusually affable mood.

#### Firing the Farm Workers

If Mr. Best hadn't fired the farm workers - - We realized that if the farm acreage was to be curtailed, some workers had to be terminated. We asked Mr. Best not to terminate them right away but he just went ahead and did it.

#### The Funeral

The Japanese people feel very honored to have people take such a direct interest in a birth or death. However, they have a tendency to refuse out of modesty. (Kuratomi is speaking of the widow's statement to Mr. Best that she didn't wish a public funeral.) So if Mr. Best had known Japanese psychology a little more thoroughly, there wouldn't have been that bad feeling.

Mr. Takahashi was closely attached to the Kashima family. He brought up the suggestion that the funeral should be on a center wide scale. It was voted on and so decided in a Daihyo Sha meeting.

Takahashi was head of the Jikko-iin [Executive Committee], and took an active part in executing the funeral. My name was put in as head of



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(the following is verbatim)

the Sogi iin [Burial Service Committee]. Anybody who was head of the Daihyo Sha - I being the head, naturally my position would be at the head. But actually the work was done by Mr. Takahashi and his friends.

Mr. Best was afraid of another outbreak at that time. We explained that the funeral was considered a sacred thing and that there would be no trouble.

Those boys who lined up and attended the funeral - we didn't know they would attend the funeral in that manner. The conspicuous point was they lined up and marched toward the funeral ground in military fashion.

I asked Mr. Best later why didn't he let the people know he was going to have a picture taken. He took the pictures without letting anyone know what he was doing. The boys thought he was taking the pictures for propaganda purposes.

The Block Manager Question on October 27

The people knew and the Administration knew that the block managers are more or less figureheads. They are just go-betweens between the Administration and the people. And when the time comes for any major grievance to be presented, whether it be to the Administration or the Spanish Consul, the block managers should act only as go-betweens.

Even now that feeling exists. The people feel if there should be a central committee, here, the block managers should take no part in it.

The reason this point came up - if they were put under the Central Committee, supposing the block manager should step outside of his capacity? The Central Committee would be able to quell such an attempt on the part of the block managers.

Right now the Civic Organizations has been taking steps curtailing the expenses of marriages. Such things are not their jobs.

We intended to keep them (block managers) as figureheads. The only result of that would be if something came up that the Central Committee felt was not their duty, the Central Committee could tell them that the problem should be under the Central Committee.

The American Flag Matter

The American flag in the center was brought down by one of the Boy Scouts. He felt that the flag of any nation should command that much respect. He feared that some rude boys would get hold of it and trample on it. He took it down.

There was a rumor however, that somebody might tear it down.

There is a small group of young kids in camp - 17 or 18 years old - radicals from Jerome. They came with the later group and I think they were sent here just to get rid of them. This camp is becoming a regular dumping ground.



Renunciation of Citizenship

I'm not going to renounce mine. If a man doesn't have Japanese citizenship, if he renounces it, he'll be without a country. (Helen Sasajima said the same thing this morning.) I'll tell you this much. When I did declare my intention to go back to Japan I wouldn't want to fool this country or evade any obligations in this country by saying that I wanted to go back to Japan and then stay here.

Whatever the outcome, I shall go back to Japan. The only thing is, I want to be honest with myself.

Resegregation Group and Ho:koku

What they're trying to do is very ungentlemanly and very cowardly. I think I can just about tell what they're up to.

There are some people being expelled (from the Sokuji Kikoku) for no concrete reason. One man was expelled because he worked under Mr. Tateishi trying to get people out of the stockade. Now he's been termed informer and expelled from membership. Worse still, one of the responsible men said this in a written statement and gave it to this man. He's really angry.

(From Kuratomi's attitude I am inclined to infer that the rumor that he is connected with the opposers of the Resegregation Group has some truth in it. He appeared very sympathetic to the man who had been expelled.)



DECEMBER 12, 1944VISIT TO RESEGREGATION GROUP OFFICE

Went down to the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi dan office this morning on Mr. Matsuda's invitation to talk to Uchida. I arrived rather early and found it to be about a five barrack office with a half dozen shaved headed boys busily assembling the pages of a newspaper or pamphlet. Matsuda was very cordial and explained to me that the persons coming in were applying for birth or marriage certificates, a service which is rendered free by the "organization". The walls were decorated with patriotic scrolls and on the west wall was a small paper Japanese flag. Mr. Ige came in but ignored me and began to collect the papers for his block. After about fifteen minutes wait Uchida came in and apologized for being late. I could take down none of the long conversation which followed but it was characterized chiefly by questions from Uchida which reflected anxiety over "administrative persecution" of the Ho:koku seinen dan (Uchida used the new name which has not yet been taken over by the other people I have visited). He seemed very concerned over whether those boys who had filled in copied forms or had already been called in for questioning would be given another chance to apply for renunciation. He was also concerned over the fact that Mr. Tachibana had been called in for questioning this morning. Ige then came over and joined in the conversation, asking much more technical questions than Uchida, who seemed chiefly to want reassurance that the Ho:koku boys were noble and gentlemanly and had never considered any violent action.

Since my answers are of little importance I shall attempt merely to remember and note the questions put to me. Uchida asked me why Mr. Best was so set against the Ho:koku boys. They had been perfectly above board in the organization and had never made any trouble. Ige then pointed out that according to the Geneva Conference, interned persons were permitted to have any type of organization they chose to have, providing its purpose was peaceful. He added that he had investigated the organization carefully before he joined it and felt that it was the only kind of thing which he could join with his whole heart and soul. Uchida then wanted to know why some of the boys on seeing Mr. Burling were first asked, "Are you a member of the Sokoku?" He thought they should only be questioned on their desire for renunciation. Both boys frequently burst out with threats against Mr. Best, like they'll get him after the war if they can. Or the Japanese government will get him. Ige also asked me what chance there was for the Department of Justice taking over the camp. Interestingly, Uchida asked me how the Nisei on the outside were getting along.

When the subject returned to Mr. Best's disapproval of the Sokoku, Uchida remarked that the whole group of Ho:koku boys were ready to go to Santa Fe if necessary. They weren't afraid. The "despicable gamblers and sake makers" then entered the conversation. Uchida told me that unfortunately they (the "gamblers") were tied in with Internal Security. He remarked that he had had an encounter with them, but he had refused to pay any attention to them. I congratulated him. Said Ige, "They went around later saying that Mr. Uchida had tried get 200 Ho:koku boys together to beat them, but that isn't true."

Just to see what would happen I remarked that it was too bad that the people were not organized. The Ho:koku could be a great force for peace and order in camp, since they have such fine aims. "But", replied Ige, "If we did organize to get the camp together there would be a riot between the two factions and we'd be blamed for it." I admitted the wisdom of his reasoning. After having admitted the existence of factionalism Ige went on to assure me that the Ho:shi-dan membership had been steadily increasing. New members are applying all the time. "We haven't been influencing anybody to take out repatriation papers, even though the Administration says we have."



TALK WITH MR. YOSHIYAMA

Yoshiyama was out when I arrived but his wife informed me that he was very pleased with the shoes.<sup>1</sup> "He's showing them to everybody." When Yoshiyama came in he poured out a great deal of information in rather chaotic fashion, but I managed to ask several of the questions raised at the conference [at Salt Lake City].

February 28 - Letter referred to in meeting between Internees  
and Coordinating Committee

That was a letter I wrote to Larry Kataoka of block 6, because he was the assistant representative of block 6. Of his conduct, I have no proof, but I think it was very un-Japanese and very funny.

I wrote to him, 'You dogs holler too much' - It was some terrible letter I wrote to him. I didn't know that the Army or the WRA would understand what "dogs" meant at that time. I said, 'Someday I'm going to have to thrash all the dogs in this center.'

He showed the letter to Mr. Kozuma who was working in behalf of the Negotiating Committee at that time.

When Mr. Harada left the stockade, he was transferred there from Leupp, I gave him two letters: one to the block manager of block 6, telling him, 'You do as I tell you or you'll be sorry.' Then I also sent another letter to my friend telling him he better kill all the dogs in the center. When Mr. poor Harada left at the processing building, he was searched and they got hold of those letters and the FBI got photographic copies. Was I in a hell of a spot. Oh man.

Then on December 14, I think, I met with the Spanish Consul and the Meeting was very unsatisfactory. The Spanish Consul, Colonel Austin, and the man from the state department was there. I wrote a letter saying 'I've met with the Spanish Consul and that stubborn and dumb Mr. Best and that son-of-a-bitch of a man from the State Department.'

Well, the soldiers got hold of that letter too. Poor Harada was brought back to the stockade again. I felt sorry for him. He said he was stripped naked and a photograph taken of him and of the letters.

Then an FBI man came to see me. He said I could be put in jail for three years for writing those letters. Only I hadn't put a postage stamp on it.

Approach of Pierson and Turnbull of Internal Security

I had a long talk with Mr. Pierson and Turnbull yesterday. They are investigating something - under Mr. Marht. First they wanted to know how the Sokoku Kenkyu Seinen dan was organized. They wished to know the purpose and I told them bluntly. Then they asked how I felt about the police force. I told them the police had no support here. I told him the first thing I'd do if I were head of the force is wreck all the gambling joints and sake business. There are so many family troubles and unpleasant situations arising there. Gambling and every sort of

[1. I had bought a pair of shoes for him when I was in Salt Lake City.]



(the following is verbatim)

trouble is caused by the gambling and sake business. He agreed with me 100%. He asked me, 'Why don't you play politics and take charge of the Police Department?' I said, 'That's pretty impossible at the moment. This center is split in half and unless the resegregation process is completed, there is no way we can get control of the police force or of the Civic Organization.

I told him that our group is the group willing to return to Japan at the first opportune moment and that from 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. every morning the younger people, like myself, are exercising themselves virgorously for one full hour in order to meet the requirements of any of the Japanese soldiers both mentally, physically and spiritually. Whether Japan loses or wins we are ready to serve our mother country - that's Japan.

The other group is a group sitting on the fence, looking at the war. Some young people came here because they didn't want to serve in the United States Army. Others came here for the climate. Some old Tuleans didn't want to leave here because it was too much trouble. We cannot get along with that sort of people.

I said, 'I want no Caucasian police to even patrol inside the center, except one who might stay in the office and look after the work. I don't want no advice from the American police. If you will let me take care of the center, in six weeks I'll change the whole center. There will be no burglaries and no trouble-makers.'

I'm really ashamed of the Japanese people here. The Internal Security (Japanese) do nothing here. The people have no confidence in them. They run to you (Caucasian I.S.) all the time. That is considered shameful in our country. So I told them resegregation is the only thing.

#### Gamblers

The gambling groups have been trying to pick a fight with me.  
(I asked why and received the following interesting information.)

The Sokoku is opposed to gambling. We're trying to stop it. We are even opposed to dancing and going to movies because the soldiers in the front are having no luxuries at all. We're constantly thinking about this. We want to take life serious.

#### Renunciation of Citizenship

Mr. Best double-crossed me again. Mr. Best told me definitely that type-written copies (of renunciation papers) would be sufficient and for me to send in the type-written copies. I was on the spot because I reported this to the people. If he didn't know it he should have told me about it.

(Yoshiyama then showed me a brief note to him from Best, which curtly stated that he should find the enclosed information interesting. Enclosed was a teletype from Myer stating that 117 type-written applications had been received and that these were not acceptable. Teletype dated 11-24-44).

A month later he tells me it's no good. I had to report it to my people and they got burned up.

About a week ago I wanted to see Mr. Best about the renunciation but he wouldn't see me. So I went to see Mr. Noyes. He said flatly that WRA had nothing to do with renunciation.



(the following is verbatim)

Best had told me that the representatives of the Department of Justice would bring the forms. He told me not to worry but that the form will be available. Well, John Burling came, but there are no application forms.

(I asked Yoshiyama if he had had an interview with Burling. He said he had been called in yesterday. I asked what happened.)

First he said, 'Why do you want to renounce your American citizenship?' I said, 'I am Japanese and during war time you cannot serve two countries at one time.' He said, 'You are pretty well educated. In the newspapers you're seeing that America is victorious.' I said, 'You cannot believe everything you see in the newspapers or hear over the radios. If Japan should lose she'll need me more.' The other questions were about the Ho:koku. He kept asking me how I became spokesman for the Ho:koku.

#### Camp Sentiment about the Harvesters in November 1943

Since we believed the people left behind in the other centers were loyal Americans, naturally we did not like loyal American Japanese breaking our so called strike. That was the main thing. We didn't care about the food. We felt that since we were in camp the government was responsible for seeing that we were well fed. Of course, the harvests of this center were being sent to the other centers. We were opposed to that because we didn't want to feed the loyal American Japanese. It was like feeding the United States Army or Navy.

And then at that time the carpenter crew started going out to the farm. They went there to build little shacks for the convenience of the harvesters. (privies) We were definitely opposed to that. Three of us went to all the carpenter foremen to stop it at once. We said, 'All right, let them harvest it. But for goodness sakes we don't have to build shacks and put them in comfortable living while the farmers were on strike.'

#### Antipathy to Kai and Kuratomi

Out of the 14 who came out of the stockade, only four of us are in the Ho:koku. The rest are more or less against us. I don't care to hear about what they are doing.

(Yoshiyama again told me about the Resegregation Groups plan to make Kai a Shiji [Advisor] and Kuratomi a Dancho: [group leader]. He also said that all during the incident he had often not agreed with Kuratomi but had supported him for the "sake of the incident.")

In the stockade I almost got into a fight with four fellows. But I said, 'I'm not supporting George or Reverend Kai. I'm supporting the incident.' I said, 'Once we are out of the stockade, if Reverend Kai and George continue, I'm going my way.' Because George was the chairman I always wanted to see him my way. George really wanted the resegregation program as you can see from the meeting with Mr. Best.

When he brought out the statement thanking the people (statement has been sent along some time ago in notes) he didn't even show it to me. He used my name without showing it to me.

(I asked Yoshiyama about the July hunger strike in the stockade.)



Hunger Strike - July 1944

There was something fishy after the hunger strike. Best was always glad to see Kai and Kuratomi and he wouldn't see me. On September 4 he saw Kuratomi and Kai and Sugimoto and on the 5th he saw me. For goodness sake, why doesn't he see us together!

Not only that, when Wayne Collins came I told Reverend Kai and George, 'Say, I think it would be a good idea if I asked a written apology from Mr. Best since he just said he made a blunder in putting us in the stockade.' But Reverend Kai said bluntly, 'This is no time.'

Funeral

There was a So:gi-iin committee (Burial Service Committee) but it didn't do any of the work. It was the Jikko:-iin (Executive Committee) of which Mr. Takahashi was chairman, the preparations committee which did everything. There was also a Kaijo Seiri iin.<sup>1</sup> We were conducting the funeral against Mr. Best's wishes. We decided that we would see that no Army, or Internal Security or any Caucasian came to disturb it.

If he (the photographer) had asked for permission it might have been different. I chased him to block 18 (about four blocks). And I was wearing my best suit and my overcoat too.

Yoshiyama then told me in confidence that Uchida was probably going to resign from the position of dansho: of the Ho:koku. I asked why he should do this when he had done nothing wrong. "He has a bad reputation in Poston," said Yoshiyama.

TALK WITH NOYES - Project AttorneySokoku (Ho:koku) boys call on Noyes

Noyes informed me that a group of eight Sokoku boys had called up and asked for an interview with him. He said that their questions could be answered only by the Department of Justice. However, he said he would see three of them. (The boys making the request were Uchida, Yamane, S. Matsuo, Yoshiyama, Kiyashi (probably Hayashi), Ishizaki, Shiroyama and Tamura.) Uchida, Matsuo, and Yoshiyama came up and Yoshiyama acted as spokesman. When the boys arrived, Noyes was busy. (This was on November 28) His secretary asked the boys if they would wait and they asked if they might ask questions which Noyes would answer in writing.

Noyes showed me a copy of the questions asked - I was able to make only brief notes of some of them.

1. Can 16 year old people renounce citizenship?
2. Were the typewritten copies of blanks that had been sent in valid?
3. Would the boys be allowed to send application in a group? Could they send them all in one envelope?
4. Could people apply as a family group? What about children?

(It should be remembered that this was before Burling made his appearance.)

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[1. Literally, this would be Caretakers. But in his next sentence Mr. Yoshiyama describes the genuine function of this particular committee.]



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Noyes told me that he intended to answer these questions in writing but did not have time. So three days later the eight boys called up again and Noyes saw the three above mentioned. I noted the following from the minutes of this meeting which has also been described by Yoshiyama. Yoshiyama stated that 3,000 people were ready to renounce citizenship. When questioned on the Sokoku, and why it had closed its membership Yoshiyama said:

There are quite a few who want to come back in but we closed the membership because we believe if you are loyal to American you should be loyal to America before the war started.

Noyes said that on the question of minors, he did not have the correct information at the time because the definition of a minor in this case had been erroneously omitted from the act. It has now been determined by [Attorney General] Biddle as 18 years. Noyes also stated that they were not accepting any applications by or on behalf of minors.

Minor Explosion in Office

One boy stormed into the office today out of turn and said, "I want to renounce today, and not tomorrow." An Internal Security man approached him and several of the Japanese boys present looked as if they might take his part, but the Internal Security man just laughed and Burling took care of the fellow out of his turn.

Wakayama Forced to Renounce

Wakayama was called in. Noyes was full of admiration for the way Burling had handled him. Burling asked him if he were loyal to Japan and ready to give his all. Wakayama said yes. After more questions, Burling put forth the blank and said, "Well, if that's the way you feel, here's the blank." So Wakayama signed.

Present Police Situation

I asked Noyes and found that the idea of asking Kuratomi and Yoshiyama to take charge of Internal Security is Sanborn's idea. Sanborn is head of the Colonial Police Force. Noyes thinks it a good idea. Noyes also told me confidentially that in a short time there are going to be some raids on the gambling joints. Schmidt is definitely out and will leave soon. Incidentally, James Washington, head of Internal Security is also on the project now.

CAS Situation

Dimon, Huycke's successor, Noyes informs me is doing a fine job.

He's managing to do things never done before. The people like him. He's even settled the troublesome movie situation having worked out a deal with the Co-op, in which the Co-op is selling its movie cameras to the Tri-State association which plans to put on some decent movies.



DECEMBER 13, 1944TALK WITH JOHN BURLING

Had an interesting experience this evening. John Burling, of the Justice Department had asked me if I'd talk to him on "general topics." I had no objection and called on him at 7:30. He then apologized for not having anything to drink to offer me. Since I'm well supplied with vodka which I haven't been able to find anyone to help me consume, I invited him to my place. He said he had been occupied here twelve hours a day with nobody to talk to. Nobody on the WRA staff seemed to want to talk to him. He continued to talk and drink vodka until midnight, while I sat by and listened.

He said that he had come here as a sort of unofficial spy for Biddle. He did not know how much his recommendations would be followed, but he said that he had the ear of Biddle's chief advisor. Biddle, he said, is a "bird-like" man who keeps hopping from one thing to another. Burling doesn't know which way he'll decide to hop. He also said that the form of this present renunciation act was his idea. The Department of Justice, it seems, feels that something has to be done about Tule Lake and the WRA. In the first place, WRA's position as far as Public Relations are concerned, is seriously hampered by having Tule Lake on its hands. Taking care of a place like Tule is not WRA's job. Moreover, Burling feels that a man of Myer's temperament should devote himself to the relocation centers and not be bothered with the peculiar problems of Tule. Moreover, if the Hearst Papers or the Dies Committee find out about the Emperor Worship and drilling going on here and decides to investigate there will be a stink such as there has never been before. Therefore, it's Burling's idea, and he intends to recommend it, that the super-patriots be moved out of Tule - resegregated in otherwords. With this in mind he's done his best while here to get the names of the officers of the organization and appears to have done a pretty good job of it. If his recommendation is accepted, one of these days, those who have renounced their citizenship will without much warning be put on a train and taken out. He said that he realized that this act would sacrifice some of the boys who had been led into the business by their own emotional resentments and by the leaders. But he didn't see how this could be helped. Either this had to be done or, in time, the reputation of all the people in Tule would be ruined as far as public relations are concerned. He is definitely convinced that taking out the "super patriots" is preferable to trying to move the moderates out of Tule. Moreover, the public would not stand for that now. He also said that he thought that segregation had been badly handled and had certainly not accomplished its end.

He asked me what in the world was the matter with the WRA here. Why hadn't they made a complete report to Washington about the growth of the Sokoku here? Why had they let the matter slide along like this? Didn't they realize the danger? I explained that I did not have the ear of the Administration here and that any attempt on my part to find out such things would jeopardize my position here. He also wanted to know what was the matter with Internal Security. Yesterday a hothead had come into his office and demanded roughly to be seen out of turn. Mr. Ross had come into his office and suggested rather timorously that Burling see the man immediately. Burling told him to wait his turn. He said that three big Internal Security men with guns on were standing by and that they appeared flabbergasted by the situation. What was the matter with them? Here they had let the guy come through the fence without a pass, and let him burst into his office and then seemed afraid to make him behave himself. The intruding Japanese represented no one and he was, moreover, taking advantage of his own people. What in hell was the matter with the Internal Security?

He said he had seen about 100 young men. He remarked that almost all had assured him that they had made their own decisions and were not being pressured. Almost all had also told him that they hoped Japan would win the war. This, they did almost gayly, giggling when they said it. He said they seemed to have no regard for what feeling he might have in the matter. Not that this annoyed him; he merely wondered why they hadn't considered this. I explained that this statement was seldom made to me. But in his case, they were probably



anxious to make sure that their applications be accepted.

He remarked that he had felt very sorry about a Nisei brother and sister who had come to see him. He did his best to convince the young people not to renounce and felt for a time that he had succeeded. However, they had talked it over again with each other and decided to go through with it.

He then asked me about Ennes' visit here in July. (Ennes was Ickes' personal investigator who came here after the Hitomi murder.) What in the world had Ennes told the people that had started so many rumors? Ennes had been in the midst of a nervous breakdown while here (according to Burling) and had made some ungodly statements and promises to the Japanese. This business of dividing the camp into three parts, particularly amazed Burling. (I did not know the answers to his questions.)

He then brought up the subject of the Hitomi murder. "Why," he wanted to know, "should anyone here be interested in halting the investigation? Why did it appear that an arrest was almost about to be made on the basis that it was a personal feud and then why was it dropped?" "You got me there," said I.

We discussed the outbreak of the trouble here in October and he remarked he had read the FBI report and that he was pretty sure that there had been some "carelessness" in the matter of the food. He also agreed with me that it did not seem logical that the "agitators" had come here with a pre-arranged plan to take over Tule Lake.

He said something very interesting and somewhat puzzling. In discussing evacuation, he remarked that if he had had better spies in the Navy, evacuation would probably not have taken place. The Department of Justice did not know that the Navy did not want the evacuation. When they found this out it was too late. Now they have an excellent "spy" but it's too late.

Near the end of the discussion I brought up my own concern on being forced to leave here if the Department of Justice takes over. He, unfortunately, was still too sober to give any hint as to whether this actually would take place and when it might take place. Nor would he tell me anything about the matter of re-opening the coast [to relocating Japanese Americans]. But he did tell me that as far as the Department of Justice was concerned, I didn't need to worry. As far as he was concerned, I could stay here as long as I liked.



DECEMBER 14, 1944TALK WITH MR. TOKUNAGA

Mr. Tokunaga was in good health and very high spirits. He could hardly wait to tell me the good news:

I've heard WRA has called in 18 of the Resegregationists. The people first thought they were arrested by the FBI. All of them are pleased. Excepting those who are members, of course. They want them to be taken away. Kurihara was most pleased of all.

I then told Mr. Tokunaga that I had heard that Mr. Wakayama had not applied for renunciation of citizenship. Tokunaga was amazed, since Wakayama has been making such a tremendous show of his super-patriotism. He forgot himself far enough to exclaim,

Why, that dirty son-of-a-gun. I thought he renounced it a long long time ago.

I then asked how the young people who were not Sokoku members were taking the renunciation:

Naturally, the young people should be willing to renounce. But I don't have any contact with them. There are a lot who are not members of the Sokoku. They are willing to renounce anytime (non-Sokoku people). They actually made out applications last summer on blanks given them by the WRA.

People still don't know what the outcome will be. It will take a few weeks to see what the outcome will be.

The members of the Sokoku are narrow-minded. Many of them were sorry after they signed and found out what was inside. But if they cancel their signatures, they're scared. So they can't cancel their signatures, not even if at the same time they didn't want to be one of them.

I understand that Wakayama and Tachibana have both resigned.

Tokunaga then asked me if I had heard how Kurihara had stopped Wakayama. I said I had heard some of the details but not all.

Well, said Tokunaga, maybe I shouldn't tell you if Kurihara didn't.

But, said I, Kurihara is such a modest man that he won't tell me because it would seem like boasting.

Tokunaga agreed that Kurihara would never tell me the full part he played and so he proceeded to give the following account:

Wakayama was in Terminal Island before the war and so was Kurihara. So they know each other for a long time and Kurihara knows the personality of Wakayama and that he is always for himself only.



(the following is verbatim)

He knew everything that he did in Manzanar. He knew Wakayama was a coward. And still he bragged himself. But Kurihara kept quiet as long as Wakayama didn't do any big wrong. But since Wakayama's followers had attacked me at night Kurihara was as mad as a bulldog. He came to me immediately the next day and said he's going to either kill him or have him arrested because he knew everything what he did in the past. I told him to be quiet and see what will happen in a month or two.

Then a young boy was slashed. And the fellow who attacked him was one of the men who attacked me.

And then Wakayama tried to attack Kurihara. He planned it and Kurihara found out. And then Kurihara was kind of alarmed. And of the Sokoku men, a mean fellow, he and one other went to Kurihara early in the morning. Both went there and stayed there talking until two o'clock in the afternoon. And Kurihara said to them, 'I might be attacked and killed but in the meantime I might kill a couple of you. I dedicated myself to the justice and welfare of the camp. That's the only way we can keep the peace in the camp.' When Tokunaga and Aritaka were attacked I was ready to punish Wakayama. But at the request of Tokunaga and Aritaka I withheld. But now I am ready.

And then he told these two men who were representatives of Mr. Wakayama all that he knew about Wakayama and his movements. He said, 'You are having as leader such a man as Wakayama. Do you know about this?' These two men were surprised.

Before this, these two men had said, 'As long as we let you alone you shouldn't mind what happens in camp.' Then Kurihara was madder than ever. 'What!!!' he said. Then he told them all about Wakayama.

And that was Thursday or Friday. The next morning Wakayama resigned for the reason that his wife had a baby and there was a lot of work to do in the house. And the baby was born about four months ago.

Ever since Kurihara has told all about Wakayama a lot of people found out what he was. They people didn't know (before) and they worshipped him highly. But now they've found out that he's a coward and just doing everything for publicity.

#### The Slashing Affair of October 30

Everybody was mad that he was given a light sentence. I understood the boy's father is a Sokoku man. He didn't know that the inside of that party was so rotten. When he found out how rotten the inside was, he was indignant at Wakayama, and was speaking about it openly. That's why his son was attacked, I heard.

The main reason Kurihara was mad was that they wronged the young people. The young people don't know anything. They do as the leaders say.

#### Gamblers

I said I had heard something about the gamblers. Mr. Tokunaga looked alarmed and said, "Everybody knows it's going on, but I don't know anything about it." He added, "Even the Japanese police department can't do anything with the gamblers."



(the following is verbatim)

Group Formed by Kurihara

Since I was attacked there has been born a new party in the spirit of justice. There are two men who say they will dedicate their lives for the peace of the camp. And especially because these Sokoku people were destroying the peace of the camp by attacking innocent people.

Soon after we were attacked, even among the Sokoku people, there were two parties - one extreme and one mild. Those who were mild were indignant at the radicalism and both were in feud among themselves. A big trouble was looming at that time.

Then another party of justice appeared. That's why these radicals were scared to death.

(Mr. Tokunaga gave me the impression that Kurihara has started a unobtrusive organization. The same impression was given me by George Yamashiro.)

TALK WITH MELBA KAMINAKA, Nisei girl and Jimmy Takeuchi's friend

On Relocation

We had a farewell party in our block - a party for a man who was leaving. And he was going to make a speech. Then a man, a Resegregation agitator started to boo him. You could just see how mad everybody was (at the Resegregation man). Oh, my goodness, we all felt horrible. The poor man couldn't finish his speech.

Even if people approved, it's just common courtesy. And yet there are people who will listen to him (the agitator) and you can see how people feel about leaving yet. They do it after dark.

Sokoku-Ho:koku

The seinen dan is pretty strong though. - On Sunday morning they certainly make me mad. It isn't the marching or the Washo, it's that horrible off-key bugling.

Even the mild Kokumin Gakko: (Japanese school) separate from ward VI (which has it's own much more radical school) and Manzanar - the boys have had to clip their hair and the girls wear pigtails and skirts two inches below their knees.

My goodness, this is war time. Where are they going to get the material? Many of the kids are thinking of quitting. They haven't got the skirts. They can't wear any makeup or anything. They look like old hags.

(I asked Melba if this ruling on the girls' dress had actually been adopted by the schools.)

It's up for discussion. I'm not sure if its gone through. They (the schools) are afraid they'll get behind the others (Sokoku and ward VI) and be criticised.

You can't even go to a movie without being mauled and pawed.

I think there are more WRA rulings being made to treat the people mean in here. Have you heard about their cancelling the shipment of Omochi (rice cakes)? They seem to think we shouldn't even celebrate the holidays.



It's quiet on the whole though, I think.

(Melba, apparently, has no idea of the precarious position of the Sokoku. Being an Americanized Nisei she does not follow the political developments and it may be several weeks or a month before the news seeps through to her.)

#### No More Large Parties in Mess Halls

Our ward isn't having any parties at the mess halls anymore. There are to be no wedding receptions or parties. Everything is to be very private and very small. Gifts are to be limited to coins. There aren't to be any elaborations anymore. At least that's what's been decided here in ward V.

(Ward V is one of the quietest blocks in camp, being largely old Tulean in population. What's behind this feeling for economy I don't know.)

#### Reverend Kai

What's happened to Reverend Kai and that bunch? You don't hear about them anymore. Are they still angling for control of the peoples' minds and attempting to formulate what the people should do?

#### Renunciation of Citizenship

There was a man going around? We don't seem to hear much about it here. I just heard a rumor that there had been a man going around, canvassing the camp.

(I asked if the man had been Japanese and was told he was. My guess is that he was a Sokoku official.)

#### Gambling

(Melba told me that there was a really big gambling joint right next door to her. However, she seemed to hold no grudge against the gamblers, and remarked:

The boys don't have too much to do. Since they have terminated so many people. The young boys just loaf around all day. They have nothing to do on their hands all day long. And think of the money some of them make.

#### Relocation

Do you know if people are still relocating? A boy who's a friend of mine told me that some of the girls in Chicago are really wild.



TALK WITH BURLING

Attended a small impromptu party to which Burling was invited. Others went home but he, Mrs. Deschin, and I sat talking until 5:30 in the morning. Much was said, but I'm damned if I remember any of it. It wasn't too significant, anyway.

He did however tell me that at his interview, Tachibana had stated that "he was going to force the Japanese government to send an exchange ship."

DECEMBER 15, 1944

CALL ON YAYOI NISHIKAWA - Nisei girl from Gila

Yayoi seemed tired and depressed and looked almost ill. She has stopped her post-graduate work in high school this semester. She remarked that she felt that Tule Lake was making her very lazy. She never feels like getting up in the morning and she doesn't feel like taking a job although Opler has offered her one. She also said,

I don't feel like going back to Gila. I'm afraid I've gotten too lazy.

Renunciation of Citizenship

Well, I haven't heard much about it. Many people are talking about it though. We don't know whether it's better to throw it over yet. We want to discuss it. Don't some boys want to throw it away right away?

Some people think that it (renunciation) will help them to get to Japan first. If you don't throw it away it looks as if you want to stay here. However, when you come down to doing it, you have to think twice.

We haven't taken any steps yet, but we will (make up our minds) at the end. I notice lots of people talking about it.

The Resegregationists

I don't see how anyone can act as they do. They've planned a government of their own in here. They think they have more power than the Spanish Embassy. They say it's faster and more efficient to join their group and then they'll get the Japanese government to get them there first. They say they're sending all the people in their organization back to Japan and they'll go first.

A lot of people tell us to join, but we don't. We think they are an insignificant organization. We feel we should go through the Spanish Embassy.

We feel they're having trouble in their organization. Some people were removed from the organization and so I think they're trying to stir up trouble. They (Resegregationists) are telling people to resign.

We noticed a notice in the laundry telling them (some members) to resign. Until now, they really thought they were the only people living around Tule.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

It would be a good idea to have an organization like that if it has the power to get us to Japan. Gee, but I hope we get to Japan or we get somewhere.

The worst part in camp is that the leaders aren't outstanding enough. So far, I'm glad because we're (her family) not involved.

Resegregation Rumor

Do you think there will be resegregation?

(Yayoi seemed very concerned over the fact that the renunciation might be used as a method of resegregation. She said that when they had signed the military registration they had not been told that it would be used as a method of segregation. There seems little doubt that this question is being hotly discussed in camp.)

Sokoku Kenkyu

I think the Sokoku Kenkyu people had a good group at first. But now they seem to be having trouble of their own. However, I think some people in here should know more about Japan.

(Yayoi means the educational aims of the Sokoku were worthwhile and some of the Nisei need instruction in Japanese history and culture.)

Employment

Why don't they (WRA) have more work for the people. If the people had jobs it would be better.

(Yayoi said that she felt sure her family would go back to Japan eventually - yet she spoke of relocation as if she had half way considered it. She also told me she was attending the Tea Ceremony class.

TALK WITH MRS. NAKANO - moderate - ex-councilwoman from TopazSokoku Kenkyu

The Sokoku should be open to everybody because after all we're the same race. I know that many folks think that through studying and preparing for Japan we'll be much better off because we must prepare for the hard life in Japan.

I also heard that their leaders were being pulled in. But we don't discuss those things openly. It isn't healthy. In other words, they say, 'You're not Japanese.'

My husband refused to join. He said, 'It's all right. There'll be all kinds of different groups in the organization and soon they'll be fighting each other. He said that's the characteristic of Japanese groups.



(Mrs. Nakano has been made head of an attempt to establish a YWCA organization in camp. She was extremely enthusiastic and told me she had worked very hard on her plans which she outlined to me.)

I want to have clubs all over the camp. And I want to have a string on each one. We are going to be given a special club house. I'm going to go around and recruit members for this club. That is, if the super-patriots don't crack down on me. I'm going to send out personal invitations. The Friends organization is behind us too. I'm going to have inter-camp meetings so that our ideas will come together. I'm going to start with a rummage sale which I think will interest the girls.

I took the job because the young kids are going to pieces. If more than two girls get together these days they are always talking about something, tearing somebody down. Their feelings are just something inside.

When I said to them (the young girls in the Japanese class Mrs. Nakano is attending) 'Party?', They say, 'Phooey.'

I heard that the Sokoku was going to organized the girls. But my idea is going to be dramatic. My assistants are being paid by WRA. Mr. Dimon (Huycke's successor) is a go-getter. But he has to fight for his requests. The people say he doesn't keep his promises. I say, 'Give him a chance.'

I'm going to have a club in each block, or if there aren't enough girls, a club for each two or three blocks. I want a strong, large, active organization and also have a feeling of block competition.

(Mrs. Nakano said that the Caucasians YWCA advisor did not take too kindly to her large plans. She thinks she ought to start more modestly.)

I'm going to Japanese class. The girls there are 15 years and up. They were kind of leary. They said their parents didn't think much of it. I said, 'I'm not here to impress you by giving a party.'

### Renunciation of Citizenship

They say it's so hard for you to renounce your citizenship because they want to see that you are not evading the draft. There's a rumor going around camp that those who do not renounce citizenship are going to be drafted. Why are they making it so hard for you to renounce your citizenship? A lot of people feel that if you don't renounce your citizenship you will be drafted. Why are they (the authorities) refusing?

(Mrs. Nakano was very incensed and excited as she asked these questions. This is interesting because she shows no interest in going to Japan. Does she fear that her husband will be drafted? She herself seems very American in speech, thought, and attitude.)

I heard a person say yesterday - a Nisei, 'You know, I denounced my citizenship and I hated to go to the hearing.' Why?, I asked. He said, 'I have to say awful things about America or they won't give me my renunciation and I don't want to do it (say awful things about America.)'



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

While we were talking a woman friend came to call on Mrs. Nakano. She did not stay long but Mrs. Nakano did not explain my presence honestly, saying I had come to discuss the club with her. She apologized later, saying that you don't dare say a thing before anybody.

RESEGREGATIONIST ATTACKED

Heard today from two Caucasian informants that there had been a serious beating in camp. It occurred in the block 54 mess hall at noon. A group of boys attacked a Sokuji man [Kaichiro Miyamoto] with two by fours and beat him up. The Police acted immediately and arrested 11 assailants taking them to the Klamath Falls jail. Kimura, two Yamamotos and two Shitanishi brothers were arrested. Kozaka was taken too. Before the arrests were made leaders of the Sokuji and Ho:koku notified the Administration that if steps were not taken immediately, they would take matters into their own hands. They said they have 1,000 young men to call on. One informant, Mr. Noyes, seems very excited and worried about this. He assured me that he had lost no time in seeing that the assailants were arrested and is now hoping that the Sokoku men will keep hands off. The Sokoku has hinted at possible killing, he told me.

Mr. Best, I hear from Mr. Robertson, is tremendously afraid of publicity.

DECEMBER 16, 1944

TALK WITH NISEI LIBRARIAN - Miss Higaki

All this young woman knew about the beating yesterday was that posters had been put up in the laundries stating that such and such persons had been ganged up on and had suffered slight injury. She had no idea which groups were involved.

TALK WITH MR. KURIHARAOn Kuratomi or Yoshiyama serving on Internal Security

Personally, I don't think it will work. The Japanese are not foolish enough to take chances. I don't think they'll care to jeopardize their own life. Of course, a lot depends on their influence.

Possibility of Sokoku Seinen dan going wild

I was informed that the Kimura bunch didn't have anything to do with that beating. The man who was attacked was Miyamoto and his son. And Miyamoto is one of the very ardent supporters of the Ho:shi dan. Now he was beaten by one of the former members of the seinen dan who was dismissed or asked to resign. And the people who did the beating, although the notice is placed on the bulletin boards could never have beaten this person. I heard there were only 6 men in the group which attacked Mr. Miyamoto.

So there is an internal trouble among themselves.

There are quite a lot of rumors. That the attacking group was Tsuda's group and Mr. Kimura is considered one of those that did the beating. From the rumors circulating through camp now, Kimura would be



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

(the following is verbatim)

picked up. In reality he's innocent, from inside information.

So I think it's up to the Administration to release these boys. Quite a number of people were right on the spot of the beating and through them the information will leak.

From what I heard, the person who did the beating has spoken before the crowd, openly denouncing the Ho:shi dan policy. He was denounced as a spy and asked to resign and was dismembered. He wanted to know the reason he was dismembered. They couldn't give him the reasons. So the secretary Miyamoto couldn't give the reasons. So the other person beat him. This is nothing but an internal explosion.

I think there will be more trouble. This is the beginning of the disintegration of the organization. If the leaders are picked up now and thrown behind bars the camp will quiet down. If not - the fire has started. It will be depending on the way the wind blows. The whole building will be burnt down.

If the U.S. government wishes to avoid any extra trouble with the Japanese government (and there is bad trouble in camp here), undoubtedly the Japanese government will step in and do something to the United States citizens over there. The trouble is very little now. But if this trouble gets big enough for them to take an interest in, the government here as well as the people will suffer.

Attitude of the people on the beating

I think the people are now disgusted to some extent and are glad to see things of that nature (like the beating) happen. If they were opposed to it, I think the men who thrashed Miyamoto would have been mobbed on the very spot. But I heard they stood and listened to what he had to say like a good audience. He made his speech after he had beaten Miyamoto. He spoke against that organization - how crazy they were, etc.

Sokoku and gamblers

The Sokoku is against the gamblers so naturally they would invite their opposition. They (Sokoku) have been talking about that for some time. They intended to clean out the gamblers but I don't see why they didn't take the action.

Kurihara's Renunciation of Citizenship

I don't want to be questioned again. I've been questioned so much. I don't want to go through that rigmarole again.

Kurihara Questions Me

[Mr. Kurihara suddenly asked me how, in November, I had found out that a series of beatings was being planned. I hesitated to tell him, for while I had squared my betrayal of Mr. Yoshiyama with myself, I did not want to mention names and I was afraid that stern-



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

principled Mr. Kurihara would think I had behaved like a sneak or, possibly, like an immoral woman. But I felt a strong obligation to him and so, hesitantly, I told him what had happened, adding, 'I was afraid that you would scold me.'] He replied:

Do you think I would scold you when you saved my life?  
Then he smiled and remarked: Young men are certainly foolish.

TALK WITH NOYES - Project Attorney

Noyes gave me the names of the men arrested. He said it was on the testimony of Sokoku members. I advised him to get some non-Sokoku witnesses. The men arrested are, Mitsuho Kimura, the Shitanishi brothers, Toshio, Kawasaki, Tetaye Abe, Mikio Yamamoto and his brother Yamato, Tomio Kazama, Michio Iwashii, and Obata. Imachi, the man accused of instigating the attack is also arrested. Noyes said the beaten man was not hurt very badly. The Sokoku boys first said that the attack had been made without warning at all; but later admitted that Imachi had come into the office and asked why he had been expelled. The Colonial Police had been called, but refused to come, saying to the Caucasian Police, 'You take this, it's too hot for us.' The Sokoku boys stated that they held off and did not attack Imachi's group 'on orders.'

DECEMBER 18, 1944

TALK WITH KAYO IIDA - Nisei girlFracas in block 54

According to the announcement made in the mess hall it sounds as though Mr. Miyamoto and his son was for the Ho:koku and that the people who beat him were not. But I hear that some members who are also Ho:koku are also in it.

Opening of the Coast

One little girl knowing that I'm from San Francisco asked me, 'Are you going back there.' I said, 'Oh no.' She said, 'Why do people want to go there anyway?' She means they (Japanese) seem to be having a tough time there.

People like my father were very surprised. They didn't expect it. Knowing how the mayor of Los Angeles feels and that that group is still strongly against us. We were very surprised.

We all thought it's going to be a very bad thing. Knowing the shortage of housing, father says they would have to open some sort of camps for the Japanese to go back to if they wanted them working where they used to work. Knowing how the people still feel, except for the church people.

The ordinary laborers [residents of California] like the farmers and nursery men - they will be against it. For the people [of California] have preferred Japanese up till now for laborers and janitors because they worked so hard. The farmers too; all the Japanese farmers were considered better. When evacuation came up, all the people thought good riddance to the Japanese. If they come back, they'll resent it.



It really was a shock though. I wonder if they're receiving grants and if the government is paying for their transportation. They'll have to do something about it like permitting only those who have been promised positions to go back - but it still will be hectic.

The kind of descrimination they got before the war won't seem like anything compared to what they will receive.

Kayo also asked me anxiously if I knew anything about whether the Department of Justice would take over the camp and how they would be treated if this took place.

#### TALK WITH MAY IWOHARA

Unfortunately things are not too good for talking to May. I had written her a letter and received no answer. So I dropped in and found her with a bad cold, the house full of men playing mah jong and May in a state of fear and trembling because she had heard that some woman had referred to her as the worst inu in block 18. She was very depressed, and wondered whether people were going to call her an inu for the rest of her life. I tried to cheer her up but did not succeed very well. Obviously it was impossible to discuss the matters I had in mind with so many people there. She had not, however, heard of the re-opening of the coast and for a few seconds looked tremendously happy when I told her. She remarked, however, that she thought very few people would go back. I had not realized that the persons formerly connected with the Co-ordinating Committee were still so scared of seeming to appear inu. I'm beginning to have my doubts now about my chances of talking to Mr. Akitsuki.

#### TALK WITH MR. TACHIBANA

Tachibana seemed a bit subdued but not particularly nervous or apprehensive.

When this trouble of three days ago happened, (block 54 beating) people were very much upset about it.

I think your stay here is going to be very interesting from now on, for now they have rejected the exclusion act for the Japanese so the Japanese can go back to their California homes and they can also give up their American citizenship if they want to.

#### Exclusion Repeal

It's very surprising. I had a chance to see Mr. Pierson. He tells me Mr. Best is already going to send out some kind of memorandum in regard to the exclusion act having been revoked. Mr. Pierson told me anybody who pleased could go out.

#### Talk with Mr. Burling

I was the 4th or 5th man to be called by Internal Security to see Mr. Burling and in my mind I thought I gave him a very good idea of what the Japanese here think about the attitude taken by the government of the United States and that the Japanese have to make up their minds according with the disposition taken by the United States. The United States have expected things that even a loyal American originally to. . . I expected words or criticism by the Japanese people. Of course he questioned me about the Ho:koku and the Sokuji Kikoku formerly Resegregation Group. He called all the members of the standing committees in,



17 or 18 of them.

#### Exclusion Act

Something was expected by the Japanese people in general, but they never expected it so soon. It seems the individual can if he desires, decide right away.

#### Block 54 trouble

(The following long tale is in essence the story the Sokuji Kikoku is giving the Administration regarding the block 54 beating. Later, Mr. Tachibana showed me a statement he plans to send to Mr. Noyes which was essentially what he told me here. He told me that the Sokuji and Ho:koku had already sent a statement to Noyes and Best on November 27. Noyes told me he has received three statements from the Resegregationists.)

The truth is that the so-called gangsters - because we can call this group gangsters in every sense - they were identified so far as 17 of whom 14 are from Jerome who came together with Mr. Kai and three of them were from Leupp. Seven of them were formerly interned in the stockade. Clear evidence shows this attacking not only Mr. Miyamoto but that attacks on other members of the Sokuji were being planned out.

On December 15 - that five of those attackers ate lunch at Kai's place prior to attacking. Four or five of them also ate at the block mess hall.

The attack took place about 12:20. Mr. Miyamoto himself has been threatened by the same group of persons definitely four times. The last threat prior to this attack was the morning before. A couple or three of these gangsters were out to see him before breakfast when it was still dark. They followed him and he saw the bunch of young people scattered around block 54. (Miyamoto lives in block 54.) But Mr. Miyamoto was fortunate on that morning and he came out without any trouble.

After attacking him and two or three onlookers, the group of these gangsters who had finished attacking Mr. Miyamoto gathered at block 21 where they often meet. Here Mr. Tsuda was seen among the group. These gangsters are followers of Kai and Tsuda, and they were fed by them with drinks - even some money because the leaders are also the leaders of the gambling houses and manufacture and sell the liquor in camp. So they have all kinds of money.

Coming out in broad daylight with a gang of 20 or 30 gangsters with sticks can be considered as a deadly weapon. Some sticks had big nails in them. This is nothing but an act of violence and of gangsterism.

They wanted to fight with the members of the Ho:koku Seinen dan and tried to make and spread these troubles in the camp in general. That is what they had in mind. As they were the group, even though they came out of the stockade by the big assistance of the Sokuji Kikoku Hooshi-dan, they turned their faces against this organization and have been instigating a foolish thing. So they came out first.



It is a necessity of any organization to have such regulations as expulsion, especially so with our honorable organization. And while this group was making all kinds of remarks about our organization, like Kai, Tsuda and Kimura, Tsuda and Kimura was never a member. But Kai is a member as his wife signed while he was in the stockade. He doesn't like our organization which was existing in this way when he came out of the stockade. He had intention of breaking up our organization because the existence of any organization makes it very inconvenient for him to become leader in this camp. So he is utilizing this opportunity and those who were stricken off of the membership by trying to form some kind of an organization to stand against our organization. But in my opinion it couldn't be done with their simple minds.

But they are very strong because they have connection with the gamblers and liquor manufacturing joints.

But the idea is the people don't have very much of the facts. It's easy enough to prove them guilty and bring them to justice. What's the matter with Mr. Best and Internal Security? Drinking is making this camp very nasty and Mr. Tsuda is responsible for that.

If Mr. Best doesn't do anything, if once our organization has to stand up they will give up their lives. If these gangsters get only a 90 day jail sentence, the boys will do it. They'll say, 'Let's do it. Let's make big trouble.'

Mrs. Tachibana interjected here:

I'm afraid bombs won't be able to stop them or tanks either.

(Mr. Tachibana then showed me a long statement, in numbered segments, which he said had not yet been shown to Mr. Noyes and told me that I was to keep absolutely quiet about it. I promised. On reading it, I found it contained the gist of the long dissertation he had just made.) Two mimeographed statements have been sent out by the Sokuji since the beating. One is only in Japanese and I'll get it translated. The other is in Japanese and English - the English is as follows:

On December 16, right after lunch, Mr. Yaichiro Miyamoto and his son of Block 54 has been attacked by a group of 20 or 30 gangsters and both of them received injuries on the body and faces. This matter has been reported to Internal Security by witnesses together with weapons they used in this attacking. Requesting special investigation of the matter, Mr. Miyamoto and his son has personally reported and sent in formal accusation for attackers to the Internal Security. Therefore, the members of the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi dan and the Ho:koku Seinen dan should remain sane and refrain from disorderly actions.

Mr. Tachibana then asked me:

Don't you think the case should be tried outside of Alturas? We don't want it tried by Mr. Best's judgement. We want it maximized instead of minimized. Ninety days and so forth - the people here will not be satisfied and there is going to be big trouble.

Mrs. Tachibana: I'm afraid there will be bloodshed.

Then, it'll be good for the others. They won't start anything again.



TALK WITH T. NAKAMURA - Assistant at Legal Aid Dept. (Evacuee Property)

Mr. Nakamura was hard at work when I came in. He said he'd been very busy lately. Many people seem to be taking action about their property. But he was glad to see me.

Lifting of Exclusion Act

It's at least one step forward to realizing the mistake they have made. I knew it was going to come before the final decision of the Supreme Court on the Endo and ? cases. If the Military had to abide by the decision of the Supreme Court it would put them in a very difficult position.

But even if the order were cancelled the next day after evacuation, the damage was done. For a Nisei who wants to remain and make his home in this country, its one of the greatest steps to the return of their rights.

I was kind of surprised myself too. The policy of the Exclusion Act should have been the one followed before evacuation.

I think all this they're saying about hysteria in California (violence which awaits Japanese who return) is a lot of bunk.

The big trouble is going to be in the other camps. The people will be afraid that now the WRA might force them to get out of the camps. That will disturb them very much. That would place the Japanese people in a difficult position. I don't think more than half will return anyway. I think the Nisei, having been in other parts of the United States, will prefer to live in other parts of the United States. We had a hard time getting jobs in California even before the war.

It looks as though they won't even force them to return to Japan now. They seem to have another process of determining "loyalty" now. Whether you have repatriated will not be used, I think. I think they're figuring that if a person expresses disloyalty under duress, the decision is out. And being behind a barbed wire fence should be duress. It just shows that the segregation policy was a lot of bunk.

Renunciation of Citizenship

I don't think the renunciation of citizenship will go far either. In a way, renunciation was a lot of hokey too. They won't allow you to renounce it if it isn't in accord with the national policy of the country. That's a lot of bunk. Like giving you an apple and taking it away from you.

The Sokoku bunch is really the 1935-37 Kibei, who left Japan to escape the draft. You can't deport them to Japan if Japan won't take them. And Japan doesn't want those draft dodgers. Those fellows without citizenship will just become another International Problem.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

(the following is verbatim)

TALK WITH MR. NOYES - Project Attorney

I talked to George Kuratomi and Tsuda today. I heard that they wanted to see me, so I sent the word along that they could if they wanted to. So they came up. I told them to get their witnesses together. I told them I was interested only in this case, not in fighting among factions. I told them I'm sorry it's taking so long but that I've dropped all other work to handle only this case. I told them the information received warranted the issuance of warrants. No man is guilty until he's proven so. So they've gone out to get their witnesses. They say they could bring in 50 but I told them a few good ones - actual eye-witnesses would be better than many poor confusing ones. I also told them that they could hire a lawyer if they chose, but that would drag out the case.

The group says (group behind Kuratomi and Tsuda) 'Unless those guys are let out and let out quickly, we won't be responsible for what happens.'

I said: 'You can tell those guys for me that this will be a trial on the facts. We don't want any witnesses who are not eye-witnesses.'

Noyes told me that it was going to be a project trial.

The Kai and Kuratomi group kept tearing them (the Sokuji) down, saying, 'This is a violation of law.'

The guy whose most worried is Sanborn (Internal Security) because his evacuee police department is made up of a lot of the Kai and Kuratomi bunch. (I didn't know this).

Kai and Kuratomi said indirectly, so that the word got to me, that if both principles, Imachi and Miyamoto get 10 days suspended, everybody will be happy.

From testimony it seems that Imachi went to the block and started to quarrel with Miyamoto in front of the mess hall. Both of the men grabbed for a mop and Imachi got it. The mop broke and Imachi got the business end and banged Miyamoto over the head and the hand with it. Then a group which had come with Imachi made a ring around the fighting men so there would be no interruptions from the Sokoku bunch. Sort of referees. Imachi's son and wife got hit too, trying to stop the fight. We've got all the weapons including the broken mop and sticks.

I'm going to swear in every witness and warn them about perjury.

Lifting of Exclusion Order

Kuratomi and Tsuda asked me about the Exclusion Order. I said they will get full information in a letter from Dillon Myer. Who's to be free to go will be determined by the Army. Boy, were they glad. They said, 'Boy, what'll that mean to those fellows (Ho:koku boys).'



Various Reactions to Lifting of Exclusion Order as Recounted by Caucasians

A Kibei working in housing was alone with his Caucasian supervisor. This boy has always been very nationalistic (pro-Japan) in his expressions. The Caucasian said none of the boys were willing to discuss the matter, but when all had left but this boy, he asked him about it. The Kibei broke into tears.

Reaction of chief cook in Caucasian mess

The chief cook knew nothing about it until one of the Caucasians showed him a newspaper. He then kept throwing the newspaper up in the air, bellowing, 'I'm going back to San Francisco. I'm going back to San Francisco.' (He was formerly caterer at the St. Francis hotel.)

Mrs. Kawaii, domestic in Noyes' home

Mrs. Kawaii did not seem enthusiastic at all. She said stolidly, 'When we go - no home - no money - Just like tramps.'

Caucasian reactions in general

The Caucasians are much more excited than the Japanese. People are barging into my room at all hours asking me how the Japanese are taking it. The mess buzzes with rumors - the chief one being, 'what's going to happen to us. Will we lose our jobs?' A compulsory staff meeting was held last night, probably to reassure the staff - I'll find out what it was all about today. Many of the more naive staff members expect an exodus on a grand scale. Well, we'll see.

Incidentally, Noyes told me that the Army is already starting to serve notices of exclusion in camp. I fear many of my friends will be getting them.



DECEMBER 19, 1944

Spent a hard day listening and memorizing what I couldn't write down. I really feel a little tired, but will try to get it all down. The preliminary hearing of the block 54 beating was held today. I received permission to attend tomorrow - so I will be there to hear Kuratomi and Tsuda cross-examine the plaintiff - Miyamoto. Incidentally, Kuratomi and Tsuda are acting as attorneys for the defendants.

TALK WITH MR. ODA - Conservative block manager - old Gilan friend

Mr. Oda immediately began to talk about the block 54 trouble. With those persons in camp who are at all interested in camp politics - this beating looms larger as a topic of conversation than the reopening of the coast. With young Nisei, however, the reverse is true. The Nisei don't follow the camp affairs so closely on the whole.

The 'Big Trouble'

A boy came into my office on Saturday afternoon and said there had been a big fight. I heard one fellow who went over there was kicked out of the Ho:shi dan. I heard he went over to find out why. They started an argument. I heard two of them were hospitalized.

They (Hooshi dan) stated in their regulations that their organization is not political, but gradually they stepped into politics. I didn't like it and the people don't like it either. After I see this incident I feel it's better to stay out. They've been sticking their nose into education and into the hospital, etc.

What they say and speak is opposite from what they do. I also heard that the man who started out to ask was not a gambler.

I believe most of the members are really disgusted about the way the organization is running. They just have one track minds (the leaders). They push the people. They don't think over that they start correctly. Their idea is wrong. I don't like the idea. They are forcing all these things.

From time to time I talk to my wife. I say, 'We must act like Japanese since we are here, but my opinions and the opinions of the rest of that bunch is a little different.'

After all, we all came here just for one object.

Renunciation of Citizenship

The people don't say very much. They don't talk about it very much. They all are doing it among themselves. I might apply for renunciation but I haven't done it yet.

Opening of the Coast

They heard about it yesterday. But when they think the reason why



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

they were here, from that point of view they made up their minds to stay here. Personally, I feel it's too late - If they went outside they will find they should have gone before. That's the way I feel. I segregated and made up my mind to stay here for the duration.

I know they have started hearings. Four men were called today by the Army. They asked them questions like, 'Do you want to go out or do you want to renounce your citizenship?'

I believe many people have applied for renunciation of citizenship.

After we came up here we must do this thing for giri anyway. I must go through with it. If I change my mind I'm not otokogi (manly). If I change my mind people will think I'm weak minded and criticize me.

A lot of people are doing it though, but I don't like to because I once made up my mind. Women change their minds all the time but if a man makes up his mind, whether good or not, he must carry it out. That's otokogi (manly). Maybe I'm wrong. But I made up my mind at military registration and I'll carry it out to the end. Otokogi is closely related to bushido.

Ho:shi dan

The fight within the organization is pretty bad. Everybody is disgusted with them. Since then, I'm not going to any of their meetings. The leaders are just working for their own power and their reputation. If an Issei becomes a big man in this center, he'll probably be satisfied.

Everybody is criticizing the Sokuji now. This is a good time to jump off.

(Mr. Oda had not heard any rumors of hostility between the Sokuji and the gamblers.)

I heard that the night after the 54 beating, there was another fight in ward VI. I heard it was in block 44.

TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIRO - George and visiting Buddhist reverend, ex-Santa Fe internee

This was all in all a frustrating interview because the reverend dropped in and I couldn't ask the kind of questions I wished to ask. I picked up what I could though. Before he came Sally started to tell me about the "trouble".

I heard there was another fight. (When George came in he told me there had been two more fights since the 54 trouble.)

The Sokoku bunch had a special meeting after the fight and put out announcements.

I also heard Miyamoto was very unpopular before evacuation. A lady living in his block told me all about him on the outside. She said, 'Very few people have pity on him.' Most people are glad the Sokoku bunch was beaten up.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

I heard some people were taken out of the Sokoku. So they were angry and they started something on Miyamoto. Miyamoto said, 'If you say another word, I'll knock you flat.' The boys went back and told Kai. Nobody knew it was Kai's gang. George says it was Kai's gang because the Sokoku put out a notice some time ago that something will happen and Kai was the one who took the notice to the police. The Colonial police said it was a political issue and they wouldn't handle it.

The people in this block say that the defendants saw Mr. Kimura there. (This was corroborated by Noyes who says Miyamoto has named Kimura as one of those who attacked him.)

The reverend entered here and immediately began asking me questions using Sally as interpreter. He wanted to know what I knew about the hearings the Army was conducting. He wondered if the people being heard would be sent to Santa Fe. He said (through interpreter, Sally) that he had been in Santa Fe two years and had nearly gone crazy there. He asked me how the Germans were being treated outside now and if I had had any chance to talk to the German P.W.'s near Tule Lake. He also wanted to know if I thought I could make a living on the outside after the war, since he knew things were going to be so difficult. He remarked that it was probably because I was German that the WRA didn't want me to work for them.

George came in here. He was convinced that the Kai-Kuratomi-Tsuda faction was behind the fight. He added that it was easy to recognize the two factions - the Seinen-dan boys by their shaved heads and the others by their rather long hair. He remarked that there had been two more fights - in fact the boys were getting pretty sassy. Yesterday when he was in the fish market he heard a boy saying as he put on leather gloves, 'Well, I'm going over to 54 and I hope I get two of them.' 'He had long hair,' said George, 'So I knew which side he belonged to.' George also asked me about the hearings and whether the people who were excluded from the Army would be allowed to remain in Tule Lake or would be sent to some other place. People seem to be talking about this a great deal. Someone at the processing office had apparently picked up the rumor that 4,000 people were expected to stay in Tule Lake - George thought it would be closer to 14,000. George also wanted to know if those excluded would be put under the Department of Justice and treated just as internees were treated. He didn't seem to like the idea of being sent to Crystal City.

TALK WITH HARPER OF INTERNAL SECURITY

Had a chat with Mrs. Harper today and it lasted until Mr. Harper came in. He had been at the beginning of the Miyamoto-Imachi trial. First of all he said he did not approve of the fact that the trial was being speeded up so much. He thought it would have been just as well to postpone it 30 days. The boys wouldn't make any more trouble either way. He seemed happy over the fact that Best was scared to death about the whole business. Harper feels that both groups would give their eye-teeth to get this matter into the newspapers and hope to do Best great harm thereby. Harper also told me that it was Wakayama who came up and laid the Sokuji ultimatum of instant "justice" or else before Best. Then Kai asked to see Best but was refused and told to go to Internal Security. This Kai would not do but sent his "disciples" [Harper's term] to Internal Security in his stead. Evidently it was Noyes who finally invited them up to see him. Harper believes that either group is capable of starting deliberate trouble to get the matter into the newspapers.

TALK WITH MR. NOYES

The defendants have been accused of assault, assault and battery, aggravated assault and battery, disorderly conduct, and disturbance of the peace. They were to be accused of riot



but Noyes scratched this out, lest the newspapers get hold of it and start more fuss about more "riots in Tule Lake". The defendants are all being housed in the Internal Security office tonight. Noyes believes he has both groups up a tree because they have both threatened that they will not be responsible if their side does not win. Noyes feels that since they have admitted they could hold their boys down if they got justice, they have taken the responsibility for any trouble. These statements, I think, were made in writing. According to Noyes, Mr. Tachibana came to the trial of his own accord today. The business conducted was the testimony of Uchida and the questioning of the plaintiff, Miyamoto by Noyes. Tsuda and Kuratomi started in on Uchida and he broke down on the stand and couldn't say a thing. Uchida had signed the complaint naming the attackers. But Tsuda (who used to be evacuee head of Internal Security) made him admit that he had seen nothing. Uchida was so scared he trembled. He wouldn't look at Tsuda or Kuratomi. "If you didn't see them" said Tsuda, "how come you knew all their names." Uchida tried to get out of it by saying that he had only acted as interpreter for Miyamoto. But it turned out that Miyamoto had only recognized a couple of his assailants, among them however, being Kimura. Tachibana did his best to tell Noyes the case should be tried in Alturas, but Noyes said it was a government case and besides, the Alturas court didn't want it. Tachibana also wanted to bring in more witnesses. All in all, it did not sound like a very good day for the Ho:shi-dan. (Noyes told me that I could attend tomorrow and see Tsuda and Kuratomi question Miyamoto.)

Noyes also told me that Sanborn, head of evacuee Internal Security, keeps saying to him, "Turn them all loose and I'll guarantee there won't be any trouble."

#### Hearings going on

The processing office was buzzing like a beehive what with Army hearings and hearings by WRA. People being served with exclusion orders are called in and also people who are either to be cleared absolutely or to be designated as segregees or put on the stop list.

Noyes thinks that there are four categories into which the people of Tule Lake will be put:

1. Those who receive exclusion orders and cannot return to the coast but can go out anywhere else. Those may be either citizens or aliens.
2. Segregees. These persons will be frozen in Tule Lake. These will be those who have renounced their citizenship, undesirable or dangerous aliens, and parolees.
3. Those put on a stop list whose cases have not yet been determined.
4. Those free to go after January 20.

(Everything now is pretty confused. Myer's statement was distributed throughout the camp today. I read it but could not get a copy for myself. Do you still get the Newell Star? People are always stealing my copy.)

#### MEETING WITH AKITSUKI

Met Akitsuki today by chance. He looked very well - as if he'd gained 15 pounds. He still wore his beautiful white scarf. I talked to him briefly and he seemed very friendly. I told him I'd write him a letter. We'll see. I couldn't talk very freely under the circumstances.



DECEMBER 20, 1944HEARING OF 11 BOYS - accused by Ho:shi dan

On entering the room where the hearing was to be held I saw only the defendants present. They were eating breakfast in a happy-go-lucky manner, and put on a good show of bravado and self-confidence. After a while, Kuratomi, Tsuda, Sugimoto and some witnesses from block 54 entered among whom was Bill Nishino my old friend from Gila. Bill stopped and talked cordially to me, explaining that things had been so bad he had not dared have me visit him, "but now it was all right." He is going to resign the block managership at New Years and then I can come as often as I choose.

Next - in stalked the Ho:shi-dan witnesses with Tachibana, their advisor, Matsuda, Uchida (who looked rather sick) and Yoshiyama who looked calm as usual until he saw me when he blushed. The contrast between the normal haired defendants and the shaved Ho:shi boys was striking.

Miyamoto had given his testimony yesterday and today's proceedings opened with his cross examination by Kuratomi and Tsuda:

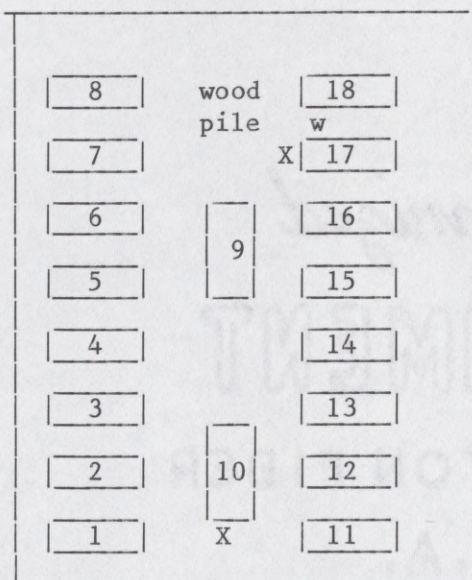
Gunderson: (hearing officer) Yesterday afternoon, Mr. [Yaichiro] Miyamoto stated that when he met Mr. Imachi he also saw Kimura, and that when Imachi yelled, Mr. Kimura came running. What did Mr. Imachi say?  
Miyamoto: He said 'I must apologize for what I said.'  
Gunderson: How did he know Mr. Kimura came running?  
Miyamoto: It was while Mr. Imachi was talking I noticed.  
Gunderson: It looked as if he (Miyamoto) had his back to him (Kimura).  
Miyamoto: As I was coming out of the mess hall I was facing in that direction.

(Mr. Miyamoto used an interpreter for all his testimony.)

CROSS EXAMINATION

Kuratomi: What is your present capacity in the Sokoku Kenkyu Ho:shi-dan?  
Gunderson: Has your question anything to do with the fight?  
Miyamoto: I am president of the Jochi-iin.  
Noyes: (Project Attorney) You may cross examine him only on [several words lost] which he testified.  
Kuratomi: How many of the defendants did you see at the scene of the crime?  
Miyamoto: I saw many but I recognize only four faces.  
Kuratomi: Tell me their names.  
Miyamoto: Isamu, Kimura, Michio, Yamamoto -  
Kuratomi: How did you know Mr. Yamamoto?  
Miyamoto: Mr. Yamamoto was introduced to me once before.





scene of 1st fight between Miyamoto and Imachi

Kuratomi: What is his first name?

Miyamoto: Person who introduced him did not tell me his first name.

(Plaintiff points out Yamamoto.)

Kuratomi: Where did you get the mop?

Miyamoto: It was at the scene of the fight.

Kuratomi: Did you take the mop with the intention of hitting Mr. Imachi?

Miyamoto: No.

Kuratomi: Isn't it true that you can move a bunch of boys at your fingertips?

scene of speech

Noyes: Objects - no business in testimony.

Tsuda: On the morning of the 14th what time did you meet Mr. Imachi at Block 54?

Miyamoto: At the latrine.

Tsuda: Inside or outside?

Miyamoto: As I was washing my face Mr. Imachi approached me and said, 'I have something to say to you.'

Tsuda: About how long a conversation did you have at that time?

Miyamoto: I don't think the time was very long.

Tsuda: During the conversation you have stated you didn't use any threatening words against Mr. Imachi, is that true?

Miyamoto: Yes.

Tsuda: On December 15, as you came out of the messhall and saw Mr. Imachi, did you notice or didn't you whether Mr. Imachi had any stick or club in his hand?

Miyamoto: At that time I don't think he had anything in his hand.

Tsuda: In your statement yesterday you stated from the time you saw Mr. Imachi and the time you were first struck was about five minutes. After Mr. Imachi approached you, you said you had one minutes talk with him. Do you remember whether Mr. Imachi struck you with his fist or with a club?

Miyamoto: The time was about five minutes as it was something that happened so momentarily.

Tsuda: Do you think or have you actually seen whether Mr. Imachi reached for any club or any stick that you might have struck first? Do you think Mr. Imachi had that chance of grabbing a weapon in such a short moment?

Noyes: Objects - his opinion wouldn't matter.

Kuratomi: In yesterday's testimony you stated you did not strike Mr. Imachi?

Miyamoto: I did not.



Kuratom: In yesterdays testimony you testified you did not threaten to strike Mr. Imachi?  
Miyamoto: Yes (did not threaten).

Kuratom: On the morning of December 14, when you had a conversation with Mr. Imachi, isn't it true that 16 or 17 young boys surrounded Mr. Imachi?

Noyes: I object - the trial here is not for any assault that took place on the 14th.

Kuratom: On the morning of the 14th, was anyone present but yourself?

Miyamoto: At the beginning only two. Later people began to gather. So with my good intentions of avoiding a fight, I advised Mr. Imachi very earnestly to go away.

Kuratom: On the morning of the 14th, during the conversation you made no threatening gesture or words. Is that true?

Miyamoto: I did not.

Gunderson: When you sent Mr. Imachi away (on the 14th) did you make any statement, 'Go and never come back'?

Miyamoto: I said for him to come to the central committee.

Kuratom: Pardon me - he also stated, 'Come back at anytime at all' (Kuratom was correcting the interpreter here.)

Gunderson: Please repeat the statements.

Miyamoto: He asked me what time he should come back and he. . .

Tachibana: (interrupts) When Mr. Imachi came to see you at the latrine on the 14th in the morning, that time you told Mr. Imachi that you can come back anytime to see me or to the central committee of the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi dan.

Miyamoto: It's no use to come over to see me because I don't know. I said, come to the Central Committee of the Organization.

Ross: (corrects Kuratom's translation) He said, 'It's no use asking me at all.'

(I should explain here that Kuratom first put the question to Miyamoto in English and then in Japanese. Then Miyamoto answered in Japanese and Kuratom translated in English, checked by Mr. Ross and Miss Newberry, interpreters.)

Tsuda: I wish the court would remember the statement Mr. Miyamoto has just stated now.

Noyes: It's on the record.

#### NOYES CONTINUES EXAMINATION FOR THE PROSECUTION

Noyes: On December 15, when you were assaulted and struck by Mr. Imachi, you stated you didn't remember whether he struck you first with his fist or with a stick or mop. Do you remember clearly he struck you first?

Miyamoto: I know that he struck me and I did not so much as make a gesture.

Noyes: Didn't you state that you saw Mr. Kimura with some kind of board or club in his hand?

Miyamoto: I did see.

Noyes: Could you identify the board or club if it were shown to you?

Miyamoto: That it was a large stick I could determine, but as it was rather far I cannot be sure. But since, it was a rather large white stick, it's possible.



(Here Noyes produced three exhibits - one a 2x2 about 30 inches long with a nail 1 1/2 inches long protruding from one end, one a 2x4 about 2 feet long and one a large flat board about 6 1/2 by 1/2 inch and about a yard long, and asked Miyamoto if he could identify either of them as the stick carried by Kimura.)

Miyamoto: Without a doubt he had a stick in his hand, but since the distance was great, I cannot identify any of them.

Gunderson: When did you notice that Mr. Kimura had a stick in his hand?

Miyamoto: I noticed it after I had been struck.

Gunderson: You didn't notice it when you first saw Mr. Kimura?

Miyamoto: As it was just a short interval I didn't notice, but he might have had it behind him.

Gunderson: Are you sure Mr. Imachi didn't have a club behind him?

Miyamoto: I'm not certain whether he had one but I didn't see it.

Gunderson: How far was Imachi away from you?

Miyamoto: Two or three feet.

Noyes: Do you remember sufficiently to be able to tell me if it was any of these three sticks Mr. Kimura had in his hand?

Miyamoto: As the distance between us was great I could not clearly detect what he had, but I'm certain he had a stick in his hand.

MIYAMOTO - PLAINTIFF - DISMISSED.

NOYES CALLS MIYAMOTO'S SON - MORI - FOR PROSECUTION.

(The father is Yaichiro Miyamoto) -

Noyes: On December 15th at 12:20, did you see an assault upon your father in block 54?

Mori Miyamoto: When I came out from the mess hall, they both had the same stick and one was going down.

Noyes: How far away were you?

Mori Miyamoto: About 10 feet.

Noyes: Did you hear either your father or Mr. Imachi saying anything?

Mori Miyamoto: (Misunderstood question but finally said No.)

Noyes: How did your father fall?

Mori Miyamoto: Imachi went to the wood pile. My father was alone.

Noyes: Were you with your father?

Mori Miyamoto: I didn't go that far.

Noyes: What did you do?

Mori Miyamoto: I didn't have time to do nothing. Somebody struck me.

Noyes: How many people did you see standing around?

Mori Miyamoto: About ten.



Noyes: Where were those people standing?  
Mori Miyamoto: Around my father.

Noyes: What were they doing.  
Mori Miyamoto: They were keeping others from stopping it.

Noyes: In other words there were other people too?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes.

Noyes: Do you know any people who were standing there?  
Mori Miyamoto: Kimura, Imachi, Yamagishi and Kozama.

Noyes: Did you know these people before.  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes sir.

Noyes: Can you identify any of these people.  
Mori Miyamoto: No, I saw some later at the other end of the block.

Noyes: What time? How much later?  
Mori Miyamoto: I can't say.

Noyes: What were they doing?  
Mori Miyamoto: They were keeping other people from going in.

Noyes: Where was this?  
Mori Miyamoto: (Points to place on map drawn on blackboard between barrack 2 and 3.)

Noyes: After you ran toward Imachi, what did you do? Did you go to Imachi?  
Mori Miyamoto: No, somebody struck me from the side and I went down.

Noyes: Can you identify him?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes - (points to Mikio Yamamoto.)

Noyes: Do you know what he struck you with?  
Mori Miyamoto: With his fist.

Noyes: Where was Yamagishi?  
Mori Miyamoto: At the side.

Noyes: Did he have a stick?  
Mori Miyamoto: They all had them.

Noyes: Were they standing still or moving around?  
Mori Miyamoto: They were moving with Imachi.

Noyes: (Asks him if he can identify any clubs.)  
Mori Miyamoto: (Identifies two by two with nail as one wielded by Kimura)

Noyes: As you went toward your father did you try to get into the circle?  
Mori Miyamoto: No.

Noyes: Why?  
Mori Miyamoto: They had a circle and I couldn't.

Noyes: Were you afraid?  
Mori Miyamoto: I knew I couldn't get in. I didn't have anything with me.



Noyes: Did your mother come on the scene also?  
Mori Miyamoto: I didn't see my mother then.

Noyes: When did you see her first?  
Mori Miyamoto: I saw her at home later.

Noyes: What did you do after you got up?  
Mori Miyamoto: I went around barrack 17 - and outside of the block and home.

Noyes: Did anybody follow you?  
Mori Miyamoto: I didn't look back to see.

Noyes: Did you run?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes.

Noyes: When you got near your home did you see anybody?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes, Imachi and a group were coming.

Noyes: Did they say anything?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes. Imachi.

Noyes: What did he say?  
Mori Miyamoto: He said, 'You're the one that was there that other morning.'

Noyes: Did he do anything?  
Mori Miyamoto: I heard the others say, 'Get him.'

Noyes: What did you do?  
Mori Miyamoto: I went back home and they tried to circle me. Then a crowd came and I went behind the crowd.

Noyes: Whom besides Imachi did you see approaching you?  
Mori Miyamoto: I didn't have time to look at all of them. All I saw clearly was Yamagishi.

Noyes: How many others?  
Mori Miyamoto:

Noyes: Did you at any time in this period have a club or weapon in your hand?  
Mori Miyamoto: No.

Noyes: Did you strike anybody?  
Mori Miyamoto: No.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION BY KURATOMI

Kuratomi: When did you see Mr. Uchida?  
Mori Miyamoto: I didn't see him.

Kuratomi: In other words, you did not see him on the 15th?  
Mori Miyamoto: I saw him later in the office.

Kuratomi: What time?  
Mori Miyamoto: I can't say.

Kuratomi: Can you give the approximate time?  
Mori Miyamoto: I couldn't tell exactly.



Kuratomi: Was it after the fight?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes.

Noyes: Was it immediately or some time after?  
Mori Miyamoto: (Nods to indicate some time after.)

Kuratomi: You testified you did not know which piece of wood Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto were struggling with?  
Mori Miyamoto: I couldn't tell what it was.

Kuratomi: You testified you saw Mr. Uchida in the block 54 office. What did you do?

Noyes: Objects -

Kuratomi: When you came out of the mess on December 15, and first saw the circle, you said you saw about ten persons?  
Mori Miyamoto: About ten. At that scene - I wasn't there too long.

#### NOYES - RE-EXAMINATION

Noyes: Did you see that man (points to Kazama)?  
Mori Miyamoto: No.

Noyes: Did you see any others?  
Mori Miyamoto: (Identifies one of Shitanishi brothers.) I saw him later - (at scene of speech.)

Noyes: Did he have any object in his hand?  
Mori Miyamoto: I didn't see it.

Noyes: (Points to other Shitanishi brother) Was he with Mr. Imachi at the time?  
Mori Miyamoto: Yes.

#### NOYES CALLS MRS. MIYAMOTO TO THE STAND.

(Mrs. Miyamoto was a very little woman, middle aged. She spoke very little English and required an interpretor.)

Noyes: Where were you on December 15, at about 12:15 p.m.?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I was in the messhall.

Noyes: Were your husband and son also there?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: We ate lunch together and they left before I did.

Noyes: Who left first, your husband or your son?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I didn't notice.

Noyes: About how long after they left did you leave?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I finished my own lunch. I have two other children. Afterwards, I went to get lunch to take to them.

Noyes: When you left the mess hall were you carrying lunch for the other two children?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes.



Noyes: Which way did you go?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: (Indicates she came between the 17 and 9 barracks).

Noyes: What did you see when you came out of the messhall?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: As I came out of the mess carrying the lunches I heard a great noise. I went along and I heard that Mr. Miyamoto had been attacked.

Noyes: What did you do?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I didn't do anything.

Noyes: Where did you go?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I came along down the road and saw Mr. Imachi and I heard Mr. Imachi calling out in a loud voice.

Noyes: What did Mr. Imachi say?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I couldn't tell what he was saying. He was just letting out a big voice. I thought my husband was being killed.

Noyes: Did you see your husband?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes.

Noyes: Where was he?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: (Points to spot north of barrack 10.)

Noyes: Was he standing up, walking or lying down?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: He was standing up.

Noyes: Were there any people around then?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: There was no one immediately right around, but there were others in a circle nearby.

Noyes: Did you try to go into the circle to help your husband?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: There was not a complete circle.

Noyes: Did you see the faces of the men?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I saw definitely two of them who were carrying sticks. There were many others. (She points to Imachi.) I saw Mr. Kimura swinging a big stick. (points to Kimura.)

Noyes: Describe the stick.  
Mrs. Miyamoto: It was a big long stick, not round.

Noyes: Was it a stick like this? (Shows 2x2 with nail)  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Definitely I cannot state. Mr. Imachi had a stick like Mr. Kimura.

Noyes: Did you see that your husband was hurt?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes, he was hurt on his head and his hand.

Noyes: Do you know whose mop this is (points to broken mop with handle about 1 1/2 inches thick)?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: No.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi or Mr. Kimura make any attempt to strike you?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: They were standing there and Mr. Imachi had a stick and I asked him if he was going to strike me.

Noyes: What did he say?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: (Uttered a phrase in Japanese which caused the defendants and spectators to



burst into tremendous guffaws. Miss Newberry explained that the phrase was very profane. The Sokuji people did not laugh.)

- Kuratomi: (asks to speak) In the Japanese language, men being considered superior to women, so a man can say about anything which would not be considered profane. Those words are mild when they are spoken by a man.
- Noyes: I am inclined to disagree under the circumstances described in the case.
- Tachibana: (asks to speak) As the defendants' advisor just spoke of such language used in Japan more or less familiarly. Please do not misunderstand. Profane language cannot be spoken in public. It can be considered just as bad as any language. Please do not be misinformed.
- Kuratomi: I'm sorry to disagree. I happen to be a common fellow. Nevertheless I have certain ground to contest that statement.
- Gunderson: If the statement has any bearing we can take it to a place where we can get it interpreted.
- Noyes: Did you try to assist your husband?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes, I did, because I thought he was going to be killed. I tried to take the stick away from Mr. Imachi.
- Noyes: What did Mr. Imachi do to you?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: After he said dirty words, he shoved me aside.
- Noyes: Did you fall down?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes, I fell. My back was hurt and is still painful.
- Gunderson: What happened to the lunch?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: I put it on the ground.
- Gunderson: Did you actually know your husband had been struck?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: No, I didn't know he'd been struck but I saw blood on his head and his hand.
- Noyes: And the only one you saw very close to your husband was Mr. Imachi?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes.
- Noyes: Can you point out some of the other men who were there?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: I can't point out any one else except Mr. Kimura.
- Gunderson: After you were knocked down what did you do next?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: I got up. My head was befuddled.
- Gunderson: Did you eventually pick up the lunch and take it home?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: I left the lunch there on the ground. I never took it home.
- Gunderson: Did you go home then?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: No I didn't go back soon.
- Gunderson: Did your husband talk to you.
- Mrs. Miyamoto: No, he didn't.
- Gunderson: Did your husband see you knocked to the ground?
- Gunderson: Did he help you get up?
- Mrs. Miyamoto: No.



Noyes: Was there anybody between you and your husband?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: No.

Gunderson: Could he see you?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes, he could.

Noyes: Did he appear to be dazed?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: He seemed in a dazed condition.

Noyes: Did you observe whether his glasses were on or off?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: His glasses were on but one lense was broken.

Noyes: Was there any blood on him?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes, I saw blood on the right side of his temple and on his right hand.

Noyes: How old are you?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: 43

Noyes: How much do you weigh?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: 100 pounds.

Noyes: How tall are you?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: 4'8".

Noyes: (Asks Shitanishi to stand up.) Did you see him?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Yes.

Noyes: Did he have a stick or a club?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: I don't know.

Noyes: (has other Shitanishi brother stand up) Did you see him?  
Mrs. Miyamoto: No.

## KURATOMI - NO CROSS EXAMINATION

Mrs. Miyamoto: Since their father was beaten up my children don't want to eat. (She begins to cry.)

Noyes: How old are your other children.  
Mrs. Miyamoto: Six and ten.

(Noyes advises her to see a doctor about the children.)

## NOBORU SASAKI - SEINEN DAN MEMBER - CALLED FOR PLAINTIFF

Noboru is 10 years old.

Noyes: At 12:15 on the 15th of December, where were you?  
Sasaki: I came out of the mess hall.

Noyes: Describe what you saw.  
Sasaki: I saw Mr. Imachi hit Mr. Miyamoto about two times. Mr. Imachi pushed Mr. Miyamoto.



Noyes: How did Mr. Imachi push him?  
Sasaki: With his hand.

Noyes: Was he holding him?  
Sasaki: He just pushed with his fist.

Noyes: Did you see any clubs or mops?  
Sasaki: No.

Noyes: What did Mr. Miyamoto do?  
Sasaki: He stepped back.

Noyes: What did Mr. Imachi do?  
Sasaki: He hit Mr. Miyamoto with his fist.

Noyes: What did Mr. Miyamoto do?  
Sasaki: He fell down.

Noyes: Then what happened?  
Saskai: Mr. Imachi picked up a stick or club and hit him.

Noyes: Did Mr. Miyamoto do anything to defend himself?  
Sasaki: No.

Noyes: Did Mr. Miyamoto have any board or stick?  
Sasaki: No.

Noyes: Can you describe the stick?  
Sasaki: No.

Noyes: Did you see the stick break?  
Sasaki: No.

Noyes: Was it a round stick or a square stick? Was it a mop?  
Sasaki: I saw a mop near barrack 17.

Noyes: What happened to the mop?  
Sasaki: It was laying on the ground.

Noyes: Was it broken?  
Sasaki: I couldn't see.

Noyes: Did anybody pick it up?  
Sasaki: I couldn't see.

Noyes: What did you do if anything?  
Sasaki: I didn't do nothing.

Noyes: Did you see any other people?  
Sasaki: I imagine four or five.

Noyes: Where were they?  
Sasaki: Around Mr. Miyamoto and Mr. Imachi.

Noyes: What were they doing?  
Sasaki: They were just standing.



Noyes: Did any of them have a stick or club?  
Sasaki: I didn't see any.

Noyes: Were there any other people standing around watching?  
Sasaki: Not that I know. There were quite a few around but I couldn't recognize them.

Noyes: How long were you there?  
Sasaki: About five minutes.

Noyes: Then what did you do?  
Sasaki: I went home.

Noyes: Can you point out Mr. Imachi?  
Sasaki: Yes (does so).

Noyes: Can you point out any of the others who were there?  
Sasaki: (points to Yamagishi, Kawasaki, Yamamoto and Kimura)

## NO CROSS-EXAMINATION

## GUNDERSON ASKS MORI MIYAMOTO TO RETURN TO THE STAND

Gunderson: When you were there did you see Mr. Sasaki?  
Mori Miyamoto: I wasn't looking at the outside.

TOKYO ABE CALLED FOR PLAINTIFF - WAS NOT PRESENT  
YUKI YABUCHI CALLED - ALSO NOT PRESENT

(Uchida got up and said that Internal Security had told them not to come. Noyes asked that they come in the afternoon.)

KOICHI MORIMOTO CALLED - lives in block 54 - 26 years old.

Noyes: Did you see anything unusual on December 15, at 12:15 p.m.?  
Morimoto: I didn't know the time. I heard large voices so I went out. I saw a big crowd, 9 or 10 people.

Noyes: Did you go up to see?  
Morimoto: Yes, I went up to Mr. Kazama. He was by barrack 9. He wasn't doing nothing and I went up to him. I said, 'You better stop the fighting.' (Kazama is one of the defendants.)

Noyes: Were there any others there?  
Morimoto: Yes, there were many people.

Noyes: Were there any people around them?  
Morimoto: Yes. Mr. Miyamoto was holding a stick like this and going backward. Mr. Imachi was holding a stick and going forward.

Gunderson: What kind of a stick?  
Morimoto: I can't say.



Gunderson: Did each have a stick?

Morimoto: Yes.

Noyes: Did Mr. Kazama have a stick in his hand?

Morimoto: No.

Noyes: Did you ask him what he was doing there?

Morimoto: No. I said, 'Let's stop the fight.' He said, 'It's a personal fight so you better not go in.'

Noyes: Did you try to stop it?

Morimoto: Well, I tried to stop it but there were men around holding sticks and shouting loud saying, 'We are not gangsters.' I was afraid to go in. They were swinging sticks and moving around.

Noyes: Who were these men?

Morimoto: Mr. Kimura (from now on whenever a witness mentioned Mr. Kimura, as they almost invariably did first, the spectators and witnesses burst out laughing. The Seinen dan members, however, kept a stony immobility.) Mr. Yamagishi (he didn't have a stick) Mitsuo Yamamoto had a board.

Noyes: Anyone else?

Morimoto: No.

Gunderson: Did you see the incident Mrs. Miyamoto related?

Morimoto: Well, Mrs. Miyamoto tried to take Mr. Imachi's stick. I think he shoved her and she fell down.

Gunderson: What did Mr. Imachi do?

Morimoto: I don't know.

Noyes: Did you see anyone else go from the outside to the aid of Mr. Miyamoto?

Morimoto: No.

Noyes: He was defending himself?

Morimoto: Yes.

Noyes: Did you see him fall?

Morimoto: No.

NO CROSS-EXAMINATION

RECESS TILL AFTERNOON SESSION

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

I should add here that Yoshiyama was taking notes during the proceedings. The general impression of the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution was not favorable. They seemed frightened, very ill at ease and extremely unsure of themselves. If this is Yamato Damashii, I'll have none of it.

I arrived early in the afternoon before the hearing began. Kuratomi began to josh Sugimoto, who was present, by telling one of the Internal Security men that Sugimoto had offered to serve all the sentences which might be meted out to the defendants. Kuratomi explained that Sugimoto had gained so much weight since leaving the stockade that he'd decided



to go to jail to lose weight. These sallies caused loud laughter on the part of the defendants and the friendly witnesses. (The Sokuji hadn't come in yet.) Then Kuratomi said, 'You don't need to worry, we'll take care of your wife for you.' This got the loudest yells of laughter. Sugimoto replied lamely, 'All he's interested in is my wife.' 'You shouldn't let the last joke out of your pocket,' said Kuratomi. When the Ho:koku boys came in, however, everything became solemn again.

MR. ABE WAS CALLED FOR THE PROSECUTION - 18 years old, lives in block 54.

Noyes: What did you see when you left the messhall?

Abe: I saw a crowd.

Noyes: How many were there?

Abe: Quite a few.

Noyes: What was unusual about the crowd?

Abe: Mr. Miyamoto (father) was walking in front of me about 20 feet away. There was a man there talking in a loud voice. (Identifies Imachi.)

Noyes: What did Mr. Miyamoto do while he was walking?

Abe: He was just walking.

Noyes: Which way was Mr. Imachi walking?

Abe: He was walking toward him. Glancing back I saw Mr. Imachi hit Mr. Miyamoto four or five times.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi have anything in his hands?

Abe: No.

Noyes: How long did you watch?

Abe: Until he faced him and walked toward barrack 17. Mr. Miyamoto picked up a mop to defend himself.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Miyamoto strike Mr. Imachi with the mop.

Abe: No.

Noyes: Did you help Mr. Miyamoto in any way?

Abe: No.

Noyes: Can you identify any of these boys?

Abe: Yes (Identifies Kimura - crowd laughs.)

Noyes: What was he doing?

Abe: He was standing near Imachi.

Noyes: Did he have any weapon?

Abe: I didn't notice.

Noyes: Was he standing there to assist Mr. Imachi?

Abe: He was more or less protecting him.

Noyes: From whom?

Abe: From interference.

Noyes: By whom?

Abe: Anyone who would try to help Mr. Miyamoto.



Noyes: Did you see anyone else?  
Abe: Yes, Yamagishi.

Noyes: Anyone else?  
Abe: I didn't notice.

Noyes: Did you notice that he struck anyone?

Gunderson: What makes you think they were there to protect Mr. Imachi?  
Abe: They formed a circle facing outwards. The people were on the outside of the circle.

Noyes: How many were in the circle?  
Abe: Eight or nine.

Noyes: Is there anyone else you recognize?  
Abe: No.

Noyes: Did anyone threaten you?  
Abe: No.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION

Kuratomi: You testified that there were eight or nine people in the circle. Were there any more or less than that?  
Abe: I couldn't say exactly.

#### HAYASHI CALLED FOR PROSECUTION

Hayashi spoke no English and the oath had to be administered to him in Japanese.

Hayashi: At the time of the incident I came to see. I saw some of it - a little bit.

Noyes: Tell us what you saw.  
Hayashi: When I came to 54 I saw Mr. Miyamoto walking down to his own house.

Noyes: What was he doing?  
Hayashi: He was just walking along.

Noyes: Did you see anyone walking towards him or with him.  
Hayashi: No.

Noyes: Did you notice any blood?  
Hayashi: I didn't see any.

Noyes: Was Mr. Miyamoto walking or running.  
Hayashi: He was walking rapidly.

Noyes: Were there other people walking toward him or following him?  
Hayashi: When Mr. Miyamoto entered his house, Mr. Imachi came down on the west side of block 10.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi have a club or stick?  
Hayashi: I think he did not. I said it that way because I only looked at his face and not his hand.



Noyes: Did you see anyone with a club?  
Hayashi: I did not.

(Noyes asked him to identify Imachi and he did so.)

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Kimura?  
Hayashi: I saw Mr. Kimura following Mr. Imachi.

Noyes: Did he have a club or stick?  
Hayashi: Yes, I saw that he had one.

(When asked to identify the stick held by Kimura, Hayashi picked up the long flat board - later Kimura admitted using the 2 by 2 with the nail in it.)

Noyes: Did Mr. Kimura strike anyone with that stick?  
Hayashi: No.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Imachi strike anyone while you were there?  
Hayashi: No.

Gunderson: Did Mr. Miyamoto have a stick in his hand?  
Hayashi: No.

Noyes: (Asks Oshida to stand up.)

Hayashi: I have no memory of such. (Hayashi then stated he had seen M. Yamamoto.)

Noyes: Did Mr. Yamamoto have a stick or club in his hand?  
Hayashi: Yes.

Noyes: What type of stick?  
Hayashi: I think it was a flat type. (The flat board had been brought to Internal Security as the one used by Yamamoto.)

Noyes: Did you bring this board to the Internal Security Office?  
Hayashi: No.

Noyes: Did you see this board prior to seeing it in court?  
Hayashi: No.

Noyes: (pointing to Yamagishi) Did he have a club or stick?  
Hayashi: Yes. I don't recall what kind.

Noyes: Did you see whether he struck anyone with it?  
Hayashi: No.

Noyes: What was Yamagishi doing?  
Hayashi: When Mr. Imachi came down along barrack 10, he was followed by seven or eight other young men. Yamagishi was among them.

Noyes: Did he appear to be pursuing Mr. Imachi or was he friendly with him?  
Hayashi: There was a certain distance between them.

Noyes: Did it seem as if he and the others were chasing after Mr. Imachi?  
Hayashi: When Mr. Imachi came down the west side of barrack 10, seven or eight men behind him were following along. When he came to the end of the barrack these seven or eight men kept off the other people and pushed them aside.



Noyes: So it appears they were friends of Mr. Imachi?

Hayashi: It seems they were.

Noyes: Is there anybody else in this group you can identify as being there?

Hayashi: That's all.

NO CROSS-EXAMINATION

NOYES CALLS MASARU YAMAMOTO FOR PROSECUTION - lives in 54 - 20 years old.

Yamamoto: I had a cold so I was home in 54. I saw Mr. Miyamoto backing up and Mr. Imachi walking toward him.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi have anything in his hand?

Yamamoto: I think so - they were about three or four feet apart. I didn't see Mr. Imachi strike Mr. Miyamoto.

Noyes: Did Mr. Miyamoto appear to have been struck?

Yamamoto: Yes, he had a bump over his right eye.

Noyes: Did you notice a ring around Mr. Imachi?

Yamamoto: Yes, but I didn't know how many - there were more than two. I didn't notice any faces.

Noyes: Can you identify any of these men?

Yamamoto: Mr. Kimura (laughter in courtroom) was standing on the opposite side facing the inside. He was standing with a board in his hand. He was holding it down.

Noyes: Was he swinging it?

Yamamoto: No. (He also identifies Yamagishi.)

Noyes: What was he doing?

Yamamoto: Walking around. He had nothing in his hand. (Also identifies Kawasaki) He was standing around. I didn't notice anything in his hand. (Identifies Mitsuo Yamamoto.) He was with Mr. Yamagishi. I didn't notice anything in his hand.

Noyes: Did any of the men you have identified make any threatening remarks?

Yamamoto: They were telling others to stay back at times.

NO CROSS-EXAMINATION

NOYES CALLS Y. YAMAMOTO - age 22

Yamamoto: I saw Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto come out of the kitchen. I came out before they did.

Noyes: Tell us what you saw.

Yamamoto: As Mr. Miyamoto came out, Mr. Imachi was by the wood pile. They started talking. I didn't hear what they were saying.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Imachi or Mr. Miyamoto make any motions.

Yamamoto: No.



Noyes: What did you see?  
Yamamoto: Mr. Imachi started punching him. He hit him two-three times with his fist and knocked him down against the wood pile.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi or Mr. Miyamoto have any clubs?  
Yamamoto: After Mr. Miyamoto fell, Mr. Imachi picked up a stick. I did not see a mop around.

Noyes: Were there any other men around?  
Yamamoto: Yes, the mess hall people started coming out.

Noyes: Did you notice any men form a ring around Mr. Miyamoto?  
Yamamoto: Yes, there were about seven or eight. (He identifies Imachi, Kimura) He (Kimura) came walking fast and picked up a stick from the woodpile. I don't remember what he did after that. (Identifies Yamagishi) He came to pick up a stick too. He told the people to keep away from the two men. (Identifies other Yamamoto - not Mits) When I saw him he had a stick in his hand. (Also identifies Kawasaki) He was just walking around.

Noyes: Did you see any of these men strike anybody?  
Yamamoto: No, just Mr. Imachi.

Noyes: Did any of them make any threats?  
Yamamoto: No, they just told them to stay away. (Identifies Oshida) He was just standing around.

## NO CROSS-EXAMINATION

NOYES CALLS MRS. S. KOZUKI of block 54

Mrs. Kozuki: I got lunch for my mother-in-law and sister-in-law. I saw Mr. Miyamoto and Mr. Imachi fighting. Mr. Imachi struck Mr. Miyamoto with his fist three times. I did not see either with a weapon. I noticed other men around whom I had never seen before.

NO CROSS-EXAMINATION (Kuratomi stated that 'he would spare the young lady.')

NOYES CALLS MASUMI HAYASHI FOR PROSECUTION

Hayashi: I heard someone running across my block saying, 'There's a fight in block 54. So I went over. I didn't see anyone hit anyone else. I saw Mr. Imachi shouting loudly with another group. I didn't hear what he was saying.

(It is amazing that nobody for the prosecution "heard" what Mr. Imachi said, though he was shouting so loudly. It is also interesting that nobody saw a mop.)

I heard Mr. Shiroyama threatened. Imachi said something to me. I don't remember what it was. He had no club. The older Shitanishi too said something to me. I don't remember what it was. It was something threatening and dirty words. The younger Shitanishi brother held my jacket and threatened to hit me. Another boy held my jacket too.

Gunderson: Did anyone hit you?

Hayashi: No. But Mr. Yamagishi, Yamamoto and Kimura with a stick, they attempted to hit me.



He didn't raise his stick but pulled it behind. I said something to them but I don't remember what it was.

Noyes: Were you there when the police arrived?

Hayashi: Some of them threw their sticks on the ground and started to run away.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION

Kuratomi: What center are you from?

Hayashi: Jerome.

Kuratomi: These boys (defendants and Hayashi) all come from the same center. That's just a reminder. (Whether this was a threat or not I do not know.)

Tsuda: Did you go from block 52 to 54 alone?

Hayashi: Two boys came with me.

#### NOYES CALLS SHIROYAMA FOR PROSECUTION

Shiroyama lives in block 82 and is 29 years old. (Wakayama's block)

Shiroyama: I was getting lunch at 82 - people came and said that Mr. Miyamoto was fighting. So I went to the block. I saw Mr. Imachi and others. I saw Mr. Kimura (laughter) with a stick - (identifies stick as like 2x2.)

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi or Kimura make any threatening remarks?

Shiroyama: He was explaining about the reasons. I did not see Mr. Imachi hit anybody. But he was going after Mr. Miyamoto. But I don't remember. He was saying that was the son of Mr. Miyamoto. I did not see anyone threaten or strike at that time.

Noyes: Were there others behind you who formed a group?

Shiroyama: No.

#### NO CROSS-EXAMINATION

TAMURA CALLED - lives in block 15 - 24 years old. (for prosecution)

Tamura: I was on the way to the office (Ho:shi dan office). I didn't see the fight. Imachi was shouting something to Mr. Miyamoto. Ten or fifteen minutes after I got there, somebody said: 'That's enough, let's go home.'

Gunderson: It seems to me that there are a lot of witnesses coming here who know little or nothing about the case.

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DEFENSE - IMACHI TAKES THE STAND - lives in block 54 - 30 years old.

Kuratomi: On December 14th did you have any conversation with Mr. Miyamoto?

Imachi: Yes.

Kuratomi: Where?

Imachi: Mr. Miyamoto was in the latrine. I went in and said, 'Good morning,' I waited until he had brushed his teeth. We were outside by the coal pile. Well, I said, 'Mr. Miyamoto, I came to straighten out a matter of expelling me from the Ho:shi-dan. I've seen you twice before. You told me you didn't know anything about it. But the night before I had received the minutes of the Ho:shi-dan meeting of October 11. According to these minutes you are the one who stated in the meeting of the committee that I'm to be expelled.' Mr. Miyamoto said, 'I don't know nothing about it. It's a frameup.'

When he said that I noticed about 16 boys behind me. Mr. Miyamoto said: 'You haven't any business in 54. Get the hell out.' One boy said, 'Are you looking for trouble in this block?' and he shoved me.

I said: 'Mr. Miyamoto, why don't you stop these boys?'

He said: 'If you don't get the hell out I'll sock you.'

I said: 'I'll come back with the minutes and show you definitely what you said at the committee meeting.' If I'd gotten into a further argument with Mr. Miyamoto I'd been mopped up.

Gunderson: When you were pushed on December 14th, did you make no complaint to the Colonial Police Force?

Imachi: No.

Kuratomi: Can you recognize any of the boys who were there?

Gunderson: That has no bearing on this case.

Kuratomi: Yesterday Mr. Miyamoto testified that he did not strike you on the 14th?

Noyes: Objects.

Kuratomi: On December 15, why did you go to block 54?

Imachi: I went there to straighten out a personal matter. I brought over the minutes.

Kuratomi: Tell the conversation that took place.

Imachi: I went in 54. I went up to him. He wouldn't look at me. I said, 'We can't get any place. Why don't you stop?' He did stop. With his right hand he swung out at me. Defending myself, I gave him a left jab on the jaw.

Gunderson: You just struck him once?

Imachi: As I did that he swung round. I noticed his glasses were hanging over his right ear. He turned around to the woodpile. His glasses dropped into the woodpile. He picked up the mop, holding the side with the rag. I ducked. He hit me and the mop flew off. I tried to get the mop away. I stumbled and fell down. He hit me on the knee with the jagged end and tore my pants. (shows torn pants). I sprang away and grabbed the mop end. I hit him on the head.

Kuratomi: Was it Mr. Miyamoto who struck you first?

Imachi: Yes.



Gunderson: Do you have any scars?

Imachi: No. But my back hurt me all the next night. After I struck Mr. Miyamoto on the head, I saw him facing toward me. It was the only thing I could do. I picked up a lathe in self-defense. He backed away and I followed him. He stopped (around barrack 10). I saw him gesturing to somebody, saying 'Come and get him.' Mrs. Miyamoto came out and grabbed my stick. She said, 'Why don't you strike me?' I said, 'I have nothing against you, Mrs. Miyamoto.' I said, 'I'm man enough not to strike a woman.' She wouldn't let go of the stick. I pulled and she fell to her knees. Then she got up and walked away.

Mr. Miyamoto went back to pick up his glasses. Then I walked around this way (north of barrack 10) I wanted to know why a certain boy pushed me yesterday. I wanted to get his explanation. I spotted him. It was Mr. Miyamoto's son. I said, 'Weren't you the boy who pushed me yesterday? At that time a fellow (Mr. Hayashi) came out and said, 'Explain.' Then I explained.

Gunderson: Was it Mr. Hayashi?

Imachi: Yes. - Mr. Hayashi looked as if he understood my side of it. He said, 'What's going on here?' He said, 'Let me handle this matter.' He said, 'I'll call Mr. Uchida. He would fix it up.' At this time 150 fellows (of Ho:koku) were there. Somebody said about three times, 'Slap that fellow down - get him.'

Tsuda: Was there a pretty big crowd?

Imachi: There was approximately 450 to 500 people.

Tsuda: How long did you make a speech?

Imachi: It wasn't exactly a speech. I thought I'd explain to everybody. I spoke about 25 minutes to 1/2 hour.

Tsuda: What kind of response did you get from the crowd?

Imachi: I heard three different times, 'That's right - sure he's right.'

Gunderson: Asks for description of beginning of fight.

Imachi: When he came out of the mess hall I told him to stop. I saw about a half dozen boys rushing toward me. Mr. Miyamoto said, 'I told you to get the hell out of my block before.' That's when he swung on me.

Gunderson: Did you go alone?

Imachi: Yes. - Well, because of the day before incident I went to Kimura and I told him what happened.

Gunderson: Did you tell Mr. Kimura that you were going to block 54 that noon the next day?

Imachi: Yes.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION

Noyes: How much do you weigh?

Imachi: 132 pounds.

Noyes: Do you engage in any exercise or athletics?

Imachi: I did when I went to high school.

Noyes: Do you work here?

Imachi: Yes, in housing. I'm a water adjuster.

Noyes: Do you do any wrestling?

Imachi: No.



Noyes: When did you last see Mr. Kimura before the 15th?  
Imachi: On the afternoon of the day before.

Noyes: When you had the tussle with Mr. Miyamoto where were your friends?  
Imachi: I didn't see them. I first saw them when Mr. Miyamoto picked up the mop and struck me.

Noyes: How long was it after Mr. Miyamoto struck you that you delivered the speech?  
Imachi: Eight or nine minutes.

Noyes: Who else left with you?  
Imachi: I left by myself.

Noyes: What happened to Mr. Kimura? Did you see him?  
Imachi: He disappeared someplace.

Noyes: When did Kazama leave?  
Imachi: I don't know.

Noyes: When did Yamamoto leave?  
Imachi: I don't recall.

Noyes: Do you remember seeing any of the boys leave before you left?  
Imachi: I don't know.

Noyes: All of these boys were with you at the time?  
Imachi: Yes.

Noyes: Is this the mop?  
Imachi: Yes.

Noyes: When you grabbed hold of it was it broken?  
Imachi: It was busted.

Noyes: Did you talk to any of the other boys about going to block 54 but Mits Kimura?  
Imachi: No.

IMACHI DISMISSED. MITSUHO KIMURA CALLED.

(Imachi is a medium sized Japanese of slender build. He made a colorful witness and gave an impression of frankness. M. Kimura is quite tall and enormously strong. Both of the men speak good, if ungrammatical English. Kimura lives in block 66 and is 28 years old. He is a former prize-fighter and was Judo instructor at Jerome and here. He has the black belt.)<sup>1</sup>

Kimura: Sometime on the afternoon of the 14th Mr. Imachi had saw me about the incident of the morning. He told me he was going back and settle the argument the next afternoon. And according to his story I felt bodily harm would be done so I proceeded to block 54 on the 15th and at that time I didn't know if Imachi was in the block. I waited around.

Noyes: How long would you have waited around if you hadn't seen him.  
Kimura: Oh, all afternoon, I guess. (laughter) Then I spotted Imachi. I saw a bunch of fellows come out of the mess hall. I just stood there. I stood there until

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[1. I had been told that he had served as a bodyguard to the leaders of the Daihyo Sha Kai, before they were imprisoned in the stockade.]



Mr. Imachi was swung at. Then they had a scramble as Mr. Imachi described. It looked as if the boys standing there were going to rush in. Some of them said something about getting a knife or a stick. So I went to the wood pile and picked one up.

Tsuda: What made you pick up the wood?

Kimura: One fellow said something about a knife and ran toward the kitchen. Seeing that this was a personal matter I just let Imachi and Miyamoto have their argument. All this time I could see fellows gathering around. They were all bald headed (shouts of laughter from all defendants and friends) and we were very much outnumbered.

Kuratomi: How many were there?

Kimura: About 50. After we moved to this section (lower part of block) there were about 100 to 150 fellows - all bald headed.

Gunderson: What is the significance of these clipped heads?

Kuratomi: I don't know. I belong to the organization, that is, I pay my dues. Of the eleven boys here only one belongs to the Sokuji. I don't know who it is.

Kimura: After the argument, they both got up and Imachi had picked up another piece of lathe. Mr. Miyamoto was backing up. He kept signalling for some of the fellows to jump in. They didn't care to fight. Mrs. Miyamoto came in. We let her past. I thought she was just one of the people living in the block. She went for Mr. Imachi's stick. She grabbed the stick. Mr. Miyamoto was making every effort to hit, strike Mike (Imachi). He pulled on the stick and she stumbled. Seeing it was a man to man affair - Mr. Miyamoto threw down his mop and Mike threw his stick away. Mr. Hayashi came along. He had no business there. I missed one part - when Mrs. Miyamoto went down she called for the Emergency Bugle call. It might have been a bluff.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Imachi strike Mr. Miyamoto?

Kimura: After Mr. Miyamoto had flung his arm.

Tsuda: Then you merely went over there to see that Mr. Imachi wouldn't get hurt?

Kimura: Yes.

Gunderson: Did you take anyone with you?

Kimura: No sir.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION

Noyes: When did you first see Mori Miyamoto?

Kimura: I don't remember - but I did see him later.

Noyes: Did you see anybody trying to help Mr. Miyamoto?

Kimura: No.

Noyes: Was there a group of friends there trying to help you or were you alone?

Kimura: I presume there were some friends.

(Noyes got Kimura to admit that Yamagishi and Mits Yamamoto were there. - Also that the boys formed a circle to keep people from interrupting.)

Kimura: There was really no circle until we thought there would be trouble.



(Noyes here went into detail on how Kimura and the boys were not worrying about the safety of Mr. Miyamoto, that they didn't go there to protect Mr. Miyamoto. He then asked Kimura if the 2x2 were the one he was holding. Kimura admitted that it looked like the stick he held.)

Noyes: (Asked him if he held the stick by the end with the nail in it or the other end.)  
Kimura: At first I held it by the nail end, but afterward I held it by the other end because it was more protection. (laughter)

Noyes: Did you say anything to anybody?  
Kimura: No sir.

Noyes: Did you tell the people to keep away?  
Kimura: No sir.

Noyes: Then there were other fellows standing around as part of a circle?  
Kimura: I don't know.

Noyes: You didn't keep running around the circle protecting Imachi all by yourself?  
Kimura: (Smiled enigmatically, as if to imply that he was capable of this.)

Noyes: When Mike went to the other end of the block did you follow him?  
Kimura: Yes.

Noyes: Did any of the other boys follow him?  
Kimura: I don't know. With me were Mr. Kawasaki and Mr. Yamagishi. I noticed no others while the speech was going on.

Noyes: Did you keep the crowd away while he was delivering the speech?  
Kimura: Yes.

Noyes: How did the people react to the speech?  
Kimura: It seems as if the older people were with Mike, but the younger people didn't look friendly.

Noyes: How many were there in the group whom you thought would gang up on Imachi?  
Kimura: About 150.

Noyes: How many of you were there?  
Kimura: The whole bunch here. - They hadn't shown until we came to the end of the block.

KIMURA DISMISSED - MIKIO YAMAMOTO CALLED.

(M. Yamamoto is a tall strong boy - lives in block 70 - [far away from 54] 20 years old.)

Kuratomi: Mr. Yamamoto has been going to English school ever since he came out of the stockade. He was watching the fight.

Gunderson: Why were you in block 54?

Yamamoto: I went to see Mr. Shitanishi of block 49 to congratulate him on having a son. Some people were rushing by and I followed the crowd. There already was a big crowd. I stood at the end of barrack 5 watching. Mr. Miyamoto and Mr. Imachi had sticks. Then Mr. Miyamoto disappeared. Then Mr. Imachi also broke away. He went to the end of the block. I went there and heard Mr. Imachi making a speech to Mr. Shiro-yama. I saw a woman hanging on to the end of the stick. As she was shaken loose she let out a yell to blow the bugle. I heard Mr. Hayashi tell one of the boys to



report this thing to Mr. Uchida.

Gunderson: Did you hit anyone or have a stick?

Yamamoto: No.

Noyes: Did you see anyone else besides Mr. Imachi?

Yamamoto: I saw Mr. Hayashi and Marumoto.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Kimura?

Yamamoto: Yes - he was facing Mr. Imachi.

Noyes: Was there anyone standing between you and Mr. Imachi?

Yamamoto: Yes.

Noyes: Did you have any club or weapon?

Yamamoto: No.

(Mr. Yamamoto explained that four of the defendants were in the same room in block 70 and all four went to Mr. Shitanishi's place to congratulate him on the son.)

Noyes: Do they go to school also?

Yamamoto: I think they were going before but they didn't start till Monday. They are beyond the age limit and have to go to a special class which didn't start till Monday.

(Kazama, Abe, Oshida are the other three boys.)

COURT ADJOURNED TILL NEXT DAY.

#### Encounter with Sanborn

On my way home I met Sanborn, head of evacuee police. He said that he was most displeased that this matter had been made so much of and that there was so much fuss. Everybody knew what the Ho:shi dan was, said he. He felt that the Administration should tell the Wakayama gang to go to hell. He told me 160 families had resigned from the Ho:shi dan. Later inquiries in the colony corroborate this. In fact, even more may have resigned since the fracas in 54.



DECEMBER 21, 1944

## YAMAMOTO RESUMES STAND IN HIS DEFENSE

Kuratomi: Did you strike Mori Miyamoto?  
Yamamoto: No.

KAZAMA CALLED IN HIS DEFENSE - He lives with Miyamoto in block 70, is a small man, 21 years old. Both he and Yamamoto needed interpreters.

Kazama: (In reply to what he was doing) I went to school last semester, but because of the age limit I could not start this semester until Monday. I was at block 54 on December 15. With the other boys in my room I went to see Mr. Shitanishi's baby. When I saw the people I went to block 54. I saw Mr. Miyamoto and Mr. Imachi talking. Both had something in their hands. Mr. Miyamoto had a mop and Mr. Imachi had a stick. It appeared to me they were having a personal quarrel. Then, as Mrs. Miyamoto testified, I saw Mrs. Miyamoto hanging on to the stick. As she was hanging on to the stick I heard her yell out to blow the emergency bugle call. Then the crowd followed. I saw Mr. Imachi speaking to Mr. Shiroyama. Mr. Oshida came up and Mr. Oshida told me some of the things Mr. Imachi had spoken. A little after this I saw Mr. Abe. We didn't feel we should go back to Mr. Shitanishi's.

## CROSS EXAMINATION

Noyes: Mr. Kazama, did the three boys from your apartment go with you?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Did all three of you leave block 70 at the same time?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Did you know what Mikio was doing up to the time he left?  
Kazama: He was studying - mostly his English.

Noyes: What were you doing that morning?  
Kazama: I was practicing making Japanese characters. (laughter)

Noyes: How long were you practicing?  
Kazama: Two or three hours.

Noyes: Were you out of your apartment at all that morning?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: Did Mr. Miyamoto leave the apartment that morning before you went to see the Shitanishi brothers?  
Kazama: He spent the morning studying.

Noyes: Did Tatsuo Abe leave?  
Kazama: I think Mr. Abe spent the morning studying.

Noyes: Did Omiji Oshida leave?  
Kazama: He also was in the apartment doing letter writing.

Noyes: Are you positive none left the apartment at all before you went to see the Shitanishi brothers?  
Kazama: I think none of us went out.



Noyes: Where did you eat breakfast that morning?

Kazama: In the mess hall.

Noyes: Then you are not positive you stayed in your apartment all morning?

Kazama: Oh, of course we went out of the apartment to go to breakfast and the latrine.

Noyes: Whom do you think I thought you went to see?

Kazama: I didn't think you meant anything about my going out for any particular purpose.

Noyes: Did you eat lunch on the 15th?

Kazama: After I went back from 54 I ate.

Noyes: Where?

Kazama: In my room.

Noyes: Do you know Mr. Shitanishi well?

Kazama: Not intimately. But I knew the brothers in Jerome and since I've come out of the stockade I've known them.

Noyes: Did Mr. Shitanishi know you were coming to his home that day?

Kazama: I think he probably didn't know.

Noyes: Did you intend to have lunch at the Shitanishi home?

Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: All four of you expected to have lunch?

Kazama: Yes.

Gunderson: At his home or in the messhall?

Kazama: At his home.

Noyes: Did any of you bring presents for the baby?

Kazama: No, we just went to speak congratulatory words.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Imachi in block 54?

Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: When did you see him last before seeing him in 54?

Kazama: I don't remember exactly. I met him at the bank some time ago. I don't remember exactly.

Noyes: How many days before December 15 did you see Imachi?

Kazama: About a month before.

Noyes: When did you hear about Imachi's trouble with Mr. Miyamoto?

Kazama: When I went to 54 the first time.

Noyes: Did you know why Imachi and Miyamoto were having trouble up there?

Kazama: I heard their conversation up there.

Noyes: Then you did know what they were saying?

Kazama: A little.

Noyes: Did you see the struggle between the two men?

Kazama: I didn't see the exact struggle. Mr. Miyamoto was holding the mop and Imachi had a stick but there was some distance between them.



Noyes: Did you all remain together as a group of four?  
Kazama: All four went up together. But when we got there, there were so many people around and we circulated and got separated.

Noyes: Where did Mikio go?  
Kazama: I don't know. (Nor did he know where the other two boys went.)

Noyes: Did you pick up a club or a stick?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: Did you see Kimura there?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Did you talk to him?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: When was the last time you saw him prior to seeing him in 54?  
Kazama: I can't tell exactly. I see him frequently.

Noyes: Did you see him on the morning of the 15th?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: Did you see him in the messhall that morning?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: Did you, and Yamamoto, Oshida and Abe go home from block 54?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: When you left was there still a crowd?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Yamamoto before you left?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: Where did you meet Abe and Oshida?  
Kazama: At the west end of barrack three. Mr. Imachi and Hayashi were talking.

Gunderson: Did you hear Imachi's speech?  
Kazama: Yes.

Gunderson: Did the crowd seem friendly?  
Kazama: Yes. Two or three persons shouted encouraging exclamations.

Noyes: Did you shout out encouraging exclamations too?  
Kazama: I didn't shout out words. Inside I felt very much in favor of what he was saying.

Gunderson: You weren't worried about going and leaving Mr. Imachi in the hands of that crowd?  
Kazama: I didn't know the reason of the argument.

Noyes: You heard the speech. Didn't he say something in the speech to give the reason for the dispute?  
Kazama: His speech was very personal. He had no fear.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi mention Mr. Miyamoto's name in the speech?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Did he speak nicely of Mr. Miyamoto?  
Kazama: He didn't say things very good about Mr. Miyamoto. But Mr. Imachi's attitude was gentlemanly and straightforward.



Noyes: Was he stating a complaint and grievance against Mr. Miyamoto?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: So you really did know there was a difference between Imachi and Miyamoto before you left block 54?  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Besides discussing with Abe and Oshida the question of whether you should go to see Mr. Shitanishi, did you also discuss whether you should wait until the police arrived?  
Kazama: I didn't even think about that part.

Noyes: Did you see the police arrive before you left?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: When did you first know the police were looking for you?  
Kazama: They came for Mr. Oshida about two or two-thirty. I didn't think they were going to call me until they actually came around and got me at five or five-thirty.

Noyes: Where were you at 2 o'clock?  
Kazama: I was in my room studying.

Noyes: Did the police talk to you then?  
Kazama: No.

Gunderson: Was Mr. Imachi a good friend of yours?  
Kazama: I just know him.

Gunderson: Is Mr. Kimura a good friend of yours?  
Kazama: He's not a close friend but at Jerome he was my judo teacher.

Noyes: Do you study every morning making Japanese characters.  
Kazama: Last semester I studied English - Now I'm. . ?

Noyes: Do you work?  
Kazama: No.

Noyes: Do you study every morning.  
Kazama: Yes.

Noyes: Every morning from the time you leave the messhall until noon?  
Kazama: In general, yes.

Noyes: Do the other boys in your room study every morning?  
Kazama: Yes we all study.

Noyes: Do you study in the afternoon and do the others study in the afternoon?  
Kazama: Yes, they study as a rule.

Kuratomi: If you want to know how studious these boys are you ought to go to their room. In the stockade they studied five to six hours a day - every day.

Noyes: If they studied English a little bit I would be able to question them better.



Noyes: I don't recall if you were asked if you saw Mori Miyamoto at block 54?  
Yamamoto: No, I didn't see him. He might say that I did, but I didn't.

Noyes: Did you hit him?  
Yamamoto: No. Absolutely not.

Gunderson: When you boys went toward the noise did you say anything to each other?  
Yamamoto: Yes, we did. But what was said I can't remember. Naturally, we wouldn't walk along in silence.

ABE CALLED - Lives in block 70 with other boys - 21 years old.

Kuratom: What do you do?  
Abe: I go to school. As stated by the previous boys I went to block 54, after we heard the noise and watched the commotion. In 54 I went to the latrine. When I came out I saw Mr. Imachi and Mr. Shiroyama asking him for the reason. Mr. Imachi said, 'If you want to ask the reason.' There were many boys behind Mr. Shiroyama coming toward Mr. Imachi. Then Mr. Imachi started in with his speech. 'I came to see Mr. Miyamoto and talk as man to man and this is a personal affair.'

Gunderson: Did you hold a club at any time?  
Abe: No.

Gunderson: Did you hit anyone?  
Abe: No.

Gunderson: Did you take any part in keeping back the crowd?  
Abe: There were lots of children listening to Mr. Imachi's speech as if they were listening to a principal's speech.

Gunderson: Did you try to keep the crowd back?  
Abe: No, all around me were nothing but children and Mr. Marumoto was in front of me.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Imachi with a stick in his hand?  
Abe: When I came into the block he was carrying a stick.

Gunderson: Did Mr. Miyamoto have one also?  
Abe: I don't know. I'm not sure.

Noyes: Did you see any kind of fighting while you were there?  
Abe: No.

Noyes: Did you leave together with the other two boys?  
Abe: Yes.

Noyes: You went home from there?  
Abe: Yes.

Noyes: Did you see or talk to Yamamoto while you were there?  
Abe: No.

Gunderson: Do you know Mr. Kimura very well?  
Abe: Yes.

Gunderson: Was he your judo instructor?  
Abe: Yes, in Jerome and here also.



Gunderson: Do you know Mr. Imachi well?

Abe: No, after I came out of the stockade I met, became acquainted with, Mr. Imachi in September.

Gunderson: How?

Abe: When I came out of the stockade many people came to congratulate me on my release. He was one of them.

ABE DISMISSED - OMAJI OSHIDA CALLED - Oshida is 24 years old.

Oshida: I went into 54 with the other boys. I saw Mr. Imachi. I didn't know Mr. Miyamoto but I saw him holding onto a stick held by Mrs. Miyamoto. She was shaken to her knees. As she got up she began to call for the emergency bugle call. I came down to barrack one but the crowd was so big I couldn't see anything. But I heard some people saying, 'That's right.' Then I noticed that the crowd began to disperse.

I saw Mr. Hayashi. He had a paper. Hayashi told a boy to go after Uchida. Then I tapped Mr. Hayashi on the hand and said, 'From what I can see this is a personal argument. To get Mr. Uchida is not very commendable.'

As Mr. Hayashi was walking north, I noticed Mr. Imachi standing, so I thought if I could take Mr. Hayashi over to Mr. Imachi, Mr. Imachi would be able to explain it better. I took hold of Mr. Hayashi's right elbow and took him up to Mr. Imachi.

Then I noticed that Mr. Abe was standing by. So he and Mr. Kazama and I went home.

Gunderson: Did Mr. Imachi explain to Mr. Hayashi?

Oshida: Yes.

Noyes: Did you hold a stick or club or did you hit anyone?

Oshida: No.

Noyes: Did you threaten anyone?

Oshida: No.

Noyes: Did you have a club in your hand?

Oshida: No.

(Gunderson asked for Hayashi to return to the stand but he was not present).

JOHNNY YAMAGISHI CALLED - ONE OF DEFENDENTS - Lives at 407A - 23 years old.

Yamagishi: Well, I was home around twelve o'clock. My friend told me that there was a rumor that my friend Mr. Imachi had gone to 54, on the morning of the 14th, and that something had happened that morning. I usually see Mr. Imachi every day. I didn't see him on the 14th or 15th. I was worried.

I went with two other boys, Kawasaki and Yamamoto to 54 to Mr. Imachi's house. When I went there I asked for Mr. Imachi. His wife said he went to 54. With the two other boys I went to 54. I saw Mr. Imachi and another man and it looked like they were talking. I saw a hand fly out. I saw Mr. Imachi back up. Mr. Imachi poked him one. Mr. Miyamoto hit Mr. Imachi with a stick five or six feet long. I



saw a few boys over here (near messhall). I tried to stop the fight but both had sticks. I figured that the best thing to do was to stop others from coming into the fight. Mob psychology would have led to a big fight.

Gunderson: Did you see Mori Miyamoto?

Yamagishi: No.

Noyes: When did you first see Mr. Kimura?

Yamagishi: Down at the end of the block.

Noyes: What was he doing?

Yamagishi: He was just standing there.

Noyes: What did your other two friends do?

Yamagishi: I don't know. We were separated.

Noyes: Did you have any discussion as to what to do?

Yamagishi: No.

Noyes: Did you have a club?

Yamagishi: No.

Noyes: When did you last see Mr. Kimura before this incident?

Yamagishi: Not for a week or ten days.

Noyes: Who told you about the visit of Mr. Imachi to Mr. Miyamoto?

Yamagishi: His wife. Two of my friends told me that while they were in the canteen they heard somebody jabbering about the incident at 54.

Kuratomi: Before you went to 54 did you eat?

Yamagishi: Yes, I ate in block 4.

KAWASAKI, DEFENDENT, CALLED - Lives in 516 - 25 years old.

Kawasaki stated he had the same story to tell as Johnny (Yamagishi).

Gunderson: Did you hit anyone?

Kawasaki: No.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Miyamoto strike Mr. Imachi?

Kawasaki: Yes.

Gunderson: Did you see Imachi strike Mr. Miyamoto?

Kawasaki: I didn't see Mr. Imachi strike him.

Noyes: Did you come before the fight started?

Kawasaki: Just before. They were discussing.

Noyes: Were there other people around?

Kawasaki: About ten or fifteen.

Noyes: How close were you?

Kawasaki: About 10 feet away.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Kimura?

Kawasaki: I think he was standing at the end of barrack 9.



Noyes: Did you see Mr. Kimura and Mr. Imachi go to the woodpile to get clubs?  
Kawasaki: Yes.

Noyes: Did you see Mori Miyamoto?  
Kawasaki: No.

KAWASAKI DISMISSED \* MITSUO YAMAMOTO CALLED - He lives in 407A and is 22 years old.

(I'm not sure but I think Yamamoto said he ate lunch at 54.)

Yamamoto: As I was going out I noticed five or six shaveheads standing behind Mr. Miyamoto. I believe Mr. Miyamoto struck first. Then I believe Mr. Imachi gave him a jab. I saw Mr. Miyamoto pick up a mop. About ten shaveheads were there when the fight started. I was between barrack 9 and 10. A lady came out and took hold of Mr. Imachi's stick and was shaken loose and fell on her knees. She got up and called for the emergency bugle call. By that time there was quite a few crowd.

Gunderson: Where were you when Mr. Miyamoto swung his hand out at Mr. Imachi?  
Yamamoto: About at barrack 13.

Gunderson: Did Mr. Miyamoto say anything?  
Yamamoto: I didn't hear.

Noyes: Did you see Mori Miyamoto?  
Yamamoto: No.

Noyes: Were you watching while Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto were talking?  
Yamamoto: I was looking all around.

Noyes: Did you have your back to them all the time?

Tachibana: (interrupts with a question and Kuratomi objects - Noyes quiets them and says that only questions pertinent to this case may be asked.)

Gunderson: Is the question important?

Noyes: Were you keeping other people from trying to keep the men from fighting?  
Yamamoto: Sometimes I looked this way and that way.

Noyes: Did you have a club in your hand?  
Yamamoto: I think I had a club.

Noyes: What kind?  
Yamamoto: A white club.

Noyes: Did you threaten anyone?  
Yamamoto: No.

Noyes: Why did you have the club in your hand?  
Yamamoto: I saw one of the shorthaired boys pick up a stick so I picked up a stick.

Noyes: Did Kawasaki have a stick?  
Yamamoto: I didn't see him.

Noyes: Did Yamagishi have a stick?  
Yamamoto: No.



Noyes: Did you strike anyone?  
Yamamoto: No.

YAMAMOTO DISMISSED AND YOUNGER SHITANISHI BROTHER CALLED; A DEFENDENT.  
Toyoni Shitanishi - 49-13-A - 26 years old.

Kuratomi: Were you at block 54 on December 15th?  
Shitanishi: I was ill and in bed. I went to the latrine in 49. Then I heard a noise and saw a big crowd around 54. So went to 54.

Noyes: Were you in bed all morning?  
Shitanishi: Yes, I had a bad cold.

Noyes: Did you see any of these boys when you got to 54?  
Shitanishi: I saw Imachi, Kimura and my brother.

Noyes: Did you talk to any of them?  
Shitanishi: No.

Noyes: What did you do in block 54?  
Shitanishi: I didn't do anything. I watched and listened.

Gunderson: Were the police there when you left?  
Shitanishi: I don't know.

Gunderson: When did the police come to get you?  
Shitanishi: While I was having my evening meal at home.

OLDER SHITANISHI CALLED - He is 37 years old.

Kuratomi: How many children do you have?  
Shitanishi: Oh, about five.

Kuratomi: When was the youngest born?  
Shitanishi: November 26. I was bringing food for my family from the messhall and then I went to get some hot water. I heard a bunch of boys coming from the Manzanar section. I took the water home and then I went to 54. There were about 200 people there - shaved heads.

Gunderson: Do you know Mr. Imachi?  
Shitanishi: Yes.

Gunderson: Are these boys good friends of yours?  
Shitanishi: Yes.

Gunderson: If they were in trouble would you help them.  
Shitanishi: Yes, I'd help them.

Gunderson: Do you know Mr. Miyamoto?  
Shitanishi: I don't know him well.

Gunderson: Did you see any other people from 49 in the crowd?  
Shitanishi: (Hesitates - then says) I don't know.



Gunderson: Did you have a stick or club?  
Shitanishi: No.

Gunderson: Did you hit or push anyone?  
Shitanishi: No.

Gunderson: Did you see the police come?  
Shitanishi: No.

Gunderson: What time did the police come to your home?  
Shitanishi: After I had fed the children and was having my evening meal.

Noyes: Did you see your brother in 54?  
Shitanishi: Yes.

Noyes: Did you hear that Imachi had trouble with Mr. Miyamoto before this fight?  
Shitanishi: No.

SHITANISHI DISMISSED - OTHER WITNESSES FOR DEFENSE CALLED.

Kuratom: Many witnesses refused to come for fear of retaliation.

Gunderson: What do you mean by retaliation? Is a person afraid to get up in the witness stand for fear of what might happen?

Kuratom: It's difficult to explain.

Gunderson: Are you people coming down here in fear?

Kuratom: Concerning this problem, your honor, since the people had to testify for Mr. Miyamoto, they are afraid they may offend some of them. Some are rather hesitant.

Noyes: (suggests subpoena).

Gunderson: Of what are they afraid?

Kuratom: That point is rather difficult for me to testify to because some of them may have personal reasons or reasons we don't know. Since there is some sort of friction - there is a little trouble in 54.

Noyes: Are they afraid of getting between two groups?

Kuratom: You could say that.

Noyes: Can you tell me whether they are afraid of a group of individuals?

Gunderson: Are they afraid of any group of people?

Kuratom: I couldn't say so.

MRS. NISHINO of block 54 called - witness for defense. Mrs. Nishino is my Gilan friend, Bill Nishino's mother-in-law.

Mrs. Nishino: On December 14th I did not get to breakfast. I went to wash my face and hands. I heard a noisy commotion outside the latrine. I don't belong to either side.



Tsuda: At the time when you saw Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto, was there any threatening words given by Mr. Miyamoto to Mr. Imachi?

Mrs. Nishino: Yes, I heard it.

Kuratomi: What did Mr. Miyamoto say?

Mrs. Nishino: When I came out of the latrine I saw a man in a black coat standing quite a distance away. He said, 'I didn't come here to fight. All I want is a reasonable answer.' I saw Mr. Miyamoto and three young fellow following him. Mr. Miyamoto stated, 'Should I give it to you (hit you).' Some seven or eight boys made threatening gestures toward the man with the black coat.

Mr. Miyamoto said, 'Shall I let you have it?' again. 'If you have any evidence bring it over.' Mr. Imachi said, 'I have evidence. I'll bring it over.' Mr. Miyamoto said, 'Get the hell out of here.' Mr. Imachi said, 'I may bring a man with me.' Mr. Miyamoto said, 'You can bring anybody over.'

GENJI NOSE CALLED - Witness for defense - 26 years old.

Nose: I was a member of the Ho:shi dan but I quit. When I came out of the mess hall I saw Mr. Imachi standing by the coal pile. Then I saw Mr. Miyamoto coming out. Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto started to talk. I thought it was kind of funny (peculiar) and watched.

I heard Mr. Miyamoto say: "I think you're the one who posted that pamphlet this morning." Mr. Imachi said he did not post it. 'For what purpose are you coming over,' Mr. Miyamoto said. Then he said, 'What? Did you come over here to fight?'

Mr. Imachi said, he didn't come here to fight. Then Mr. Miyamoto shook his (Miyamoto's) arm.

Noyes: How?

Nose: (Shakes his arm in not very threatening way) He said, 'You did come here to fight.' They were close together.

Being a boiler man I had to go to the boiler room. So I took a minute. When I came back Mr. Miyamoto was holding the mop. He was backing away. Mr. Imachi had a stick.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Miyamoto strike at Mr. Imachi?

Nose: No, I was in the boiler room.

Noyes: Was the stick whole or broken?

Nose: It was broken.

Noyes: Did you notice if Mr. Miyamoto had on his glasses?

Nose: No.

Noyes: Did you see either man strike the other before going to the boiler room?

Nose: No.

Nose: No. None was struck.

Noyes: Did you hear Mr. Imachi make any threats before you went to the boiler room?

Nose: No.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi raise his arm or make a fist?  
Nose: No.

Noyes: In your opinion was Mr. Imachi calm or belligerent?  
Nose: He was very calm.

Noyes: Was Mr. Miyamoto calm and friendly or was he hostile?  
Nose: In my opinion Mr. Miyamoto was definitely hostile.

Gunderson: Who are block wardens for 54?  
Nose: No one.

Gunderson: Why aren't there any?  
Nose: I don't know.

Noyes: Did you see any of these men here with Mr. Imachi at the scene?  
Nose: I don't know - I think I saw Kimura and Yamagishi when I came out of the boiler room.

Gunderson: Did he have anything in his hands?  
Nose: No.

Noyes: After coming out of the boiler room did you see any of the boys?  
Nose: I saw some of them.

Noyes: Were they carrying sticks or clubs?  
Nose: Two or three had clubs and they were going here and there.

Noyes: Were they threatening or hitting anybody?  
Nose: No.

Noyes: Did you know what they were doing standing around there?  
Nose: In my opinion, I thought that the boys were there to help Mr. Imachi.

Noyes: What did they do to help Mr. Imachi?  
Nose: In my opinion, because of what took place the previous morning, when Mr. Imachi was surrounded.

Noyes: What were they doing?  
Nose: They were in scattered positions, standing.

Noyes: Were they keeping people from stopping Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto?  
Nose: I did not see anyone doing that.

ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH.

Before I left the courtroom, Mr. Tachibana who was standing near me remarked that the notes I was taking ought to be of great use to me "after the war." I nodded.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

As I came in and waited, Noyes came up and asked me jokingly if I thought anyone would object if the hearing were finished off today. I replied in a mock sententious tone that his object was to see that justice was carried out. I heckled him a little bit on not having an opposing attorney to object to some of his questions, and said that if I didn't hear what was said in Imachi's speech I'd be willing to start a riot. He took this rather seriously and



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

later told me he had approached Kuratomi who promised to get Imachi to write out the speech. Then Kuratomi will translate it for Noyes who will pass it on to me. The atmosphere of the room gloomed and tensed as the Sokuji faction stalked in. All sat down and waited silently for the proceedings to begin.

MR. MASAICHI MURASHIGE CALLED, witness for the defense - 54-11-F - 50 years old.

Tsuda: On the 15th of December, about 12:15 did you see anything unusual in block 54?

Murashige: As I left the messhall I heard a loud voice. Therefore I walked over to the end of barrack 17 and stood there and watched.

Tsuda: What did you see?

Murashige: I saw Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto arguing. I heard Mr. Miyamoto say to Mr. Imachi, "You're the one that posted the pamphlet." And I heard someone shout 'What?' Immediately later - it happened so fast, I don't remember who struck first. As Mr. Miyamoto gestured with his arms as expressing of saying 'What' at the same time it seems as if Mr. Imachi punched Mr. Miyamoto. As Mr. Imachi's arm stretched out toward Mr. Miyamoto, with that shock Mr. Miyamoto's eyeglasses fell on the ground. And both parties got in a wrestling type and both fell on the ground. As Mr. Miyamoto got up he grabbed the mop and Mr. Imachi approached Mr. Miyamoto at the same time.

I couldn't notice for sure whether Mr. Imachi grabbed the other end of the mop. At the next instant I saw Mr. Miyamoto with the broken mop in his hand.

Tsuda: Is this the mop?

Murashige: Yes.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Miyamoto strike Mr. Imachi with the mop?

Murashige: No. The next instant Mr. Miyamoto was holding the mop and Mr. Imachi was holding some type of stick. Mr. Miyamoto was retreating to barrack 10.

Tsuda: Then you did not see who struck first or whether or not Mr. Miyamoto struck Mr. Imachi with the mop?

Murashige: At the time I was looking the other way.

Tsuda: Did you see any of these boys in that vicinity?

Murashige: After I left the messhall, quite a bit later I noticed a few strange young men (at bottom of block).

Tsuda: At that time were these young men holding any kind of weapon, stick or club?

Murashige: They didn't have any stick.

Tsuda: When you came out of the messhall was there a big crowd?

Murashige: At first I didn't see a big crowd. Several people were standing around.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Kimura there?

Murashige: No.

Gunderson: Did you see Mr. Nose there?

Murashige: Yes.

Noyes: Did you hear what Mr. Miyamoto and Mr. Imachi were talking about?

Murshige: All I heard was what I've already said.

Noyes: Did Mr. Imachi seem belligerent?

Murashige: No.



## Tule Lake Fieldnotes

Noyes: Did Mr. Miyamoto sound threatening?

Murashige: Yes. I think he did sound threatening.

Noyes: Did you see anybody come up to help Mr. Imachi?

Murashige: No.

Noyes: When did you first see some of the boys sitting here?

Murashige: After the fight began. I saw two or three of the boys - around barracks 17 and 9.

Noyes: What were they doing?

Murashige: Just standing there in a sort of circle, holding back the crowd.

Noyes: Did you see any other boys there outside of the circle, threatening and belligerent?

Murashige: No.

Noyes: Point out the boys you saw holding the crowd back.

Murashige: I don't remember. Since there was a fight on I didn't look at the boys faces.

Noyes: Did you see anybody strike anybody else?

Murashige: I did not.

Noyes: Did you see Mori Miyamoto?

Murashige: No.

Noyes: Did you see Mrs. Miyamoto?

Murashige: No.

Noyes: Did you see Mrs. Miyamoto?

Murashige: Yes.

Noyes: What happened to her?

Murashige: She was carrying trays with food. She put the food on the ground and came toward Mr. Imachi. He had a stick in his hand. She took hold of the stick. He said, 'Let go' and jerked. She fell.

MR. MASUO MITSUDA - 36 years old. Witness for defense.

(Mr. Mitsuda was in my opinion the most capable individual who gave testimony. He spoke clear, vivid English and although it was obvious that he was strongly biased in favor of the defendants, he managed to give an impression of honesty, clarity, and intelligence. In appearance he was small and insignificant, but for putting on a good act he gets the award from me.)

Mitsuda: I went to see the block manager. I saw two men start talking from a distance. I heard Mr. Miyamoto say, 'You come for a fight?' Mr. Imachi said, 'No.' Mr. Miyamoto moved his right arm (in fighting pose). I saw Mr. Miyamoto's hand go straight (as for a blow). Mr. Imachi's left hand went out. They had a scramble. This time Mr. Miyamoto took a mop. Mr. Imachi was down as I saw the mop hit Mr. Miyamoto on the back. The stick broke. I saw Mr. Imachi hit Mr. Miyamoto on the head.

I saw Mr. Kimura come. Mr. Imachi was going to him. I heard four or five boys running. Somebody said, 'Let's get a knife from the kitchen.' He looked at the boys and then ran to the pile and picked up a piece of wood. He picked up a 2x2.



Mr. Imachi was saying, 'Why don't you apologize.' I don't remember what Mr. Miyamoto said.

- Tsuda: By the time Mr. Miyamoto was walking toward here (bottom of block) and Mr. Imachi was following, it seems to me every witness could point out that the eleven defendants were around here. I haven't heard yet anybody stating that this group was around there (scene of first squabble).
- Mitsuda: I saw a lot of boys around here - shaved heads - about 9 or 10. They said, 'Let's get in the fight.' Then they saw Mr. Kimura. He looked so tough, they didn't.
- Tsuda: To your personal opinion if Mr. Kimura hadn't been there, the trouble would have been bigger?
- Mitsuda: If they hadn't seen Mr. Kimura, I'm sure there would have been a great big trouble. I saw one big man, a shaved-head, with a stick. He saw Mr. Kimura and he threw away his stick. I don't know his name.
- Kuratomi: Was it one of these boys here (shaved-heads)?
- Mitsuda: No.
- Tsuda: This big boy had a stick?
- Mitsuda: Yes, but he dropped it when he saw Mr. Kimura.
- Tsuda: To your estimation are these boys with short hair (that Mitsuda saw in 54) are they residents of block 54 or of other blocks?
- Mitsuda: When I saw the boys they were so excited I don't think they were residents of 54. They were panting (as if they had been running.)
- Noyes: Do you see these boys here (defendants) very often?
- Mitsuda: I think I see Mr. Kimura once a week, Yamamoto, Kawasaki and Johnny, about every two or three days. Imachi I see about every day.
- Noyes: Did you see them in 54?
- Mitsuda: Not all of them.
- Tsuda: Our remaining witnesses statements will be very much alike.

#### GUNDERSON RECALLS HAYASHI

- Gunderson: When you were on the stand before you mentioned that Mr. Oshida grabbed your arm. When he was on the stand he stated he led you up to Mr. Imachi.
- Hayashi: Yes.
- Gunderson: You stated you asked for an explanation of the trouble. Did Mr. Imachi explain the trouble to you?
- Hayashi: No.
- Gunderson: Did anyone try to strike you?
- Hayashi: Yes - the younger Shitanishi, Yamagishi, Yamamoto and Kimura.
- Gunderson: What stopped them from striking you?
- Hayashi: Someone stepped in to stop it.
- Gunderson: Did they attempt to strike you with their fists?
- Hayashi: The three boys with a fist and Kimura with a stick.



Gunderson: None of the blows landed?

Hayashi: No, they grabbed my leather jacket and started to hit me.

Gunderson: Did you see anyone grab their arms?

Hayashi: Someone interfered. I didn't see who.

Noyes: Before you went to see Mr. Imachi or after?

Hayashi: After I was circled.

Gunderson: Why did they circle you then?

Hayashi: I do not know.

Gunderson: Is any member of the Seinen-dan a young man?

Hayashi: Yes. (Hayashi is secretary of the Seinen-dan.)

SHIROYAMA OF BLOCK 82, VICE-PRESIDENT OF SEINEN-DAN RECALLED.

Gunderson: Did you say that you were in block 82 and someone told you about the trouble?

Shiroyama: I heard voices outside.

Gunderson: Did anyone grab you or threaten you?

Shiroyama: No.

Gunderson: You asked Mr. Imachi for an explanation?

Shiroyama: Yes.

Gunderson: Did he give you an explanation?

Shiroyama: ???

Gunderson: He made no threat towards you?

Shiroyama: No.

Gunderson: Was Mr. Imachi excited?

Shiroyama: He was excited by his talk.

Gunderson: But he did give you an explanation?

Shiroyama: Yes.

Gunderson: Did you see anyone grab Mr. Hayashi?

Shiroyama: I wasn't looking then.

Gunderson: Do you know of anyone who saw the boys grab Mr. Hayashi?

Shiroyama: I didn't see.

Gunderson: Did Mr. Kimura attempt to strike anyone?

Shiroyama: No.

Tsuda: Did you go to block 54 by yourself or with other boys?

Shiroyama: All by myself.

Tsuda: Did you notice any of the young men of the Manzanar district going with you?

Shiroyama: There might have been, yes.



## GUNDERSON RECALLS MIKIO YAMAMOTO TO STAND

Gunderson: You stated four boys came together I believe you said you didn't get any further than here.

Yamamoto: Yes.

Gunderson: Mr. Kazama went up to here (near scene of first squabble)?

Yamamoto: I don't know.

Gunderson: It would be possible for you to go to here?

Yamamoto: I stood over by 5 and watched. I didn't go any farther. I absolutely did not see the commotion (at top of block). It was all over.

## GUNDERSON RECALLS MR. MIYAMOTO

Gunderson: Did you tell Mr. Imachi to get out of the block?

Miyamoto: No.

Gunderson: Did you tell Mr. Imachi he could come back?

Miyamoto: I told him to come to the office.

Gunderson: You said (in first statement) that you did not see the mop. Is that right?

Miyamoto: Because my glasses had fallen off I couldn't identify the mop.

Gunderson: Do you remember striking Mr. Imachi and hearing something break?

Miyamoto: My glasses had fallen off, I didn't know whether Mr. Imachi was standing there.

Gunderson: Did you hear anything break?

Miyamoto: No.

Gunderson: Do you know of any reason why there shouldn't be a warden in block 54?

Miyamoto: I asked the committee about that.

Gunderson: Who is the committee?

Miyamoto: I don't know all of the members of the committee. Mr. Toyoki is one.

Noyes: Did you see Mr. Imachi fall to the ground?

Miyamoto: No.

Noyes: Did you strike Mr. Imachi at all?

Miyamoto: No.

Noyes: How could you see Mr. Imachi strike you if you didn't know he was there?

Miyamoto: I knew it because of the hurt on my head.

Noyes: Earlier you positively stated it was Mr. Imachi who struck you.

Miyamoto: I'm sure it was Mr. Imachi. There wasn't anyone between us.

(During this testimony, two Issei men sitting next to me, who appeared to be sympathetic to Imachi kept turning to me and smiling, as if to make sure that I appreciated the difficulty Miyamoto was getting into. To pay this kind of attention to a strange Caucasian is very unusual -- at least at Tule Lake.)



Gunderson: You are to have me understand that you could walk back and find your glasses and yet couldn't see a man the size of Mr. Imachi or an object the size of a mop?

(Loud laughter from the defendants and their sympathizers - sour looks on part of shave-heads.)

Miyamoto: It was not so much that. At the moment when my glasses fell off, were knocked off, my nerves were upset and I couldn't see.

Noyes: Mr. Imachi says you struck him on the knee with the jagged end of the mop. Did you do that?

Miyamoto: No I didn't.

Noyes: Do you know if Mr. Imachi was in any way hurt?

Miyamoto: No, I didn't hurt him.

Noyes: Did you see anything happen that might have cause hurt to his knee?

Miyamoto: No.

Tachibana: Mr. Miyamoto wishes to present his personal opinion before the honor and you.

Noyes: If he has any additional facts . . .

Gunderson: Go ahead.

Miyamoto: (with Tachibana interpreting) Because of the fact testified of, the witness did not come to his satisfactory understanding. Therefore I wish to state my opinion. I saw Mr. Imachi standing by the coal pile as I came out of the door. Mr. Imachi stated as in testimony, 'There is something I wish to talk about with you.' Yet I went forward.

Mr. Imachi also stated, 'I told Mr. Miyamoto to stop.' When I stopped I saw Mr. Imachi and I also saw Mr. Kimura and Mr. Yamamoto right in front of messhall 18 - the other side of the coal pile. I know particularly Mr. Kimura was behind that coal pile. (Kimura had denied this.) Mr. Kazama and Mr. Yamamoto and two others were standing with him.

They stated that they are to be enrolled in school on the following Monday, but I feel there is some doubt.

Tsuda: I object - I think this is irrelevant.

Gunderson: Why does he doubt it?

Miyamoto: (via Tachibana) That Mr. Mitsuda who lived in ward II and the others living far away from 54, when at such a time they should be eating lunch. . .

Kuratomi: I don't think this has any bearing on this case. Plenty of the plaintiffs witnesses come from other blocks.

Noyes: (To Tachibana) You are trying to interpret the evidence for Mr. Gunderson.

Miyamoto: There was some statement that I told Mr. Imachi about a paper or a pamphlet. I don't know anything about that paper.

Gunderson: Did you make any motion towards Mr. Imachi that would make Mr. Imachi think you were going to hit him?

Miyamoto: Not any at all.



Gunderson: Did you tell Mr. Imachi to get out of the block?

Miyamoto: Yes, I did.

Gunderson: How long had you know Mr. Imachi?

Miyamoto: I've known him for a short time.

Gunderson: Do you know who called the police?

Miyamoto: No.

#### GUNDERSON RECALLS UCHIDA

Gunderson: You stated you live in 32. Someone told you there was a fight in 54. Did you call Internal Security?

Uchida: Yes.

Gunderson: Is there any feeling on your part that this was anything but a personal matter, between Mr. Imachi and Mr. Miyamoto?

Uchida: I don't know.

Gunderson: Personally I'm asking - all the witnesses for the prosecution have had clipped heads and all the witnesses for the defense long hair. I'm judging a case between two individuals and not between two political organizations. To the best of your knowledge do you feel it is a personal matter?

Uchida: (Looking indescribably uncomfortable and woebegone) I don't know.

Gunderson: If it were on a larger basis would you be in a position to know?

Uchida: I don't understand. (Asks that question be put into Japanese.)

(Tsuda asks Uchida to put the question to Tachibana.)

Uchida: I'm very sorry but I don't understand. What do you mean by larger?

Gunderson: Is this a personal matter or is it between two groups?

Uchida: I don't know.

Gunderson: You made the telephone call and I wondered if you as an officer had made the call?

Uchida: I know Mr. Miyamoto myself.

UCHIDA DISMISSED - TEN MINUTE RECESS FOR PREPARATION OF HEARING OFFICER'S STATEMENT.

[Here, one page of my notes has been lost.]

#### TALK WITH KURIHARA

I gave Mr. Kurihara a quick resume of the highlights of the trial, part of which he found very amusing. On the rumor that Wakayama was still active he said:

Why didn't he (Best) chuck him into jail? Giving way to him really makes me disgusted. I've heard that they rounded up the boys with the bugle and summoned the members of the organization. It looks to me as if block 82 (Wakayama's headquarters) was informed immediately. So he immediately summoned the boys who are his ardent supporters. I heard



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(the following is all verbatim)

that Genji led the group on a forced march to block 54. (Gad - this gets crazier and crazier.) And directed them to take positions at various points. Therefore, Genji is acting as Wakayama's lieutenant in that block no doubt. After he got there he listened to what Mr. Imachi said. After listening he felt there was good sound reasoning back of it. Indirectly he admitted he couldn't order the boys to proceed with the fracas and Wakayama at that time was standing far away and taking in the sights. The ridiculous part is that he didn't take part in it. He said he didn't take part in it.

Reason why Seinen-dan Made Such Poor Witnesses

The Seinen-dan was coerced to go as witnesses. They didn't see all of it or know the story. They were probably picked by the leaders to go and they went without know the true story.

Families Leaving Sokuji Kikoku

I heard many families have resigned. They used to be very strong in block 54. Formerly there were only six families who were not members. But now - today there are only five or six families belonging. In block 25 the members seem to have protested very strongly about some people there and they were asked to resign. One hundred more did resign.

All those who had been asked to resign are willingly resigning or breaking away. Many are breaking away whether they are asked to or not.

My conviction is that there will be more trouble, but probably not on a large scale.

Leaders of Sokuji Kikoku

They're trying their best to keep this down. To what extent they will succeed I don't know. But that man Wakayama will continue to agitate and cause trouble. He's insane in that particular way.

What I am afraid of is that in these boys who were released (gamblers) there will be a certain ahrd feeling implanted in their minds through their arrest and that the grouch will not be released until they take action.

Part of Imachi's Speech

He said, 'This organization is making hoodlums out of the boys here, a bunch of gangsters. Are you people who are the fathers and mothers of these precious boys going to permit this organization to make hoodlums out of your boys?'

The people that I've talked to are very happy over this. It's wonderful that this has happened. This is the beginning of the end of the organization.

But I hate to see it disband. With a good leader and organized right it would be all right.

In general, the people are rejoicing over the fact.

They tried to make a new start by changing the name of the organization.



I said, 'If you put in a very good leader you won't have to change the name of your organization.'

The more they trust Wakayama now the better it will be, because when they finally find out that he isn't what he says he is, the greater will be the repercussions.

#### Opening of the Coast

There has been quite a disturbance here. Of course we expect that quite a number of people will go out. But the majority will remain.

They seem to know that the Army and the WRA will kick them out anyway. But they're not going out voluntarily.

You'll find probably 99 families out of a hundred are financially embarrassed. If they had any kind of work to go to when they leave, that would be some protection, they might not be so worried. But if they have no work promised - they will be tremendously worried in their minds. You can't blame them for refusing to go out.

I blame the United States government. It ought to know that after three years working for a mere pittance, people can't go out. many have spent their money and are utterly destitute.

If its a single man like me, I could get any kind of a job. With a family that cannot be done. I could do manual work. If it's permitted me to go back to the coast, I could jump on any boat and make my living as an ordinary fisherman. Or I could be an accountant. But with those who are not trained - - -

Anyway, the United States has done a most disgraceful thing in history. It repeats it again. It is one of the blackest things in the history of the United States.

I'm pretty positive I'll be detained in camp so I have nothing to worry about. Financially I'm provided to leave camp and get along for a year without working.

I then asked Kurihara how the people would feel about the release of the eleven boys on parole:

If the boys are released, we don't care what the verdict is.

#### TALK WITH NOYES

I knew Noyes would be very excited and communicative after the trial so went over to pick up what I could.

We had a long conference with Tachibana, Kuratomi, Uchida and Tsuda after the hearing at which time it was again explained why the men were being parolled to Sanborn. Sanborn asked Uchida whether he could control his boys. He asked Tachibana whether he could control the situation. They also asked Kuratomi and Tsuda - and Kai and Wakayama were mentioned too. It was explained to the leaders of both sides that if any incident occurred they would all be responsible.



Each one (Japanese) delivered a little speech which was taken down in shorthand. Tachibana said that he was only a member of the Ho:shi-dan, 'You gentlemen probably don't understand I'm not the head,' he said.

Kuratomi and Tsuda made very eloquent speeches about the point that ever since the stockade incident they had been campaigning and practicing peaceful methods. 18,000 people ought to be able to live together with peace and harmony.

Uchida explained that he called the police, which is indicative of his intention to follow peaceful methods.

Gunderson gave them a very very effective speech, better than he gave in the courtroom. Sanborn suggested that they could have a good colonial police department, if all were co-operative.

Slim Tsuda wanted to talk to me. And he said, 'Is there any legal recourse here if someone calls anyone else an inu?' I said, 'That's just an insult, isn't it?'

'Oh, no,' said he, 'It makes a man lose his social standing.' I said that slander depends on the case. If a man calls another man a criminal, then we can punish him for criminal libel. I would prefer that each case be handled as a separate case.

Noyes also informed me that it had been Uchida who swore out the complaint, swearing that the eleven men were responsible. Kimura, Tsuda, Imachi and Kuratomi had all asked Noyes who had made this complaint. Uchida, Noyes tells me was not going to sign the statement, but Tachibana, who was present when the complaint was made, said, 'Sign it, sign it.' So poor Uchida signed. . .Noyes also told me that Miyamoto is one of the men whose names always appear on the Ho:shi-dan petitions along with Ono, Matsuda, and Akashi.

#### State of Segregees

So many people are coming up to ask me how they can get on the segregation list. But they don't realize that the die is already cast.

I then asked Noyes for a rough estimate of how many of the present people in Tule Lake would remain as segregees. He said about 25%. These fine-combed segregees along with people from other centers whom the Army will segregate, will eventually be moved to the same center somewhere.

I've heard rumors that some have already been served with orders excluding them from the West Coast, the Gulf Coast and the Atlantic Defense Areas.

Noyes also told me about a hospital racket that somebody has uncovered. It seems that some racketeers visit persons whose relative is hospitalized and say, "You must pay us \$25 before your relative will be allowed to leave the hospital." Noyes thinks that some of the doctors might be in on this. The people who are approached are so terrified they will give no information.

Noyes also said that before the hearing Kai and Kuratomi, through go-betweens, had tried to make a deal with him for a suspended sentence of ten days for Imachi and Miyamoto. He refused to listen. I asked for his guess on the possible sentence which might eventually be meted out. He said his guess was that Imachi and Kimura would not get more than 90 days at the most.

Noyes was very curious about the kind of orders which were being served by the Army. It seems that nobody on the WRA staff has seen any of them.



SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1944TALK WITH GEORGE MATSUMURA - treasurer of Co-op and friend of Mr. Kurihara

George Matsumura has played an important role in the Co-op after the murder of Mr. Hitomi. I have tried several times to arrange an interview with him but have always been unsuccessful. Today, however, I received a letter from him inviting me to come over and talk with him. He was very cordial. However, as it turned out, he wanted me to work for him as an unofficial go-between with the Caucasian canteen committee. He emphasized that the Co-op is determined to close canteen #4 eventually. His chief suggestion is that the personnel take over the canteen themselves and avail themselves of all the help the Co-op can give them which will be buying power, help with auditing, warehouse space, etc. I explained that the Administration was at present preoccupied with other important matters and said that I suspected that they'd probably try to drag the issue out as long as possible. He agreed, but insisted that if the Co-op were closed, it would take a very heavy loss if it kept on serving the canteen 4. It's a matter of financial efficiency according to him. After talking for some time on this subject I switched to topics of current interest.

Co-op Board of Directors' Policy

There is a difference in the attitude of the people. We try to keep absolutely away from all political things. But now we are pretty much on the safe side. I think that the only thing that could make it (the Co-op) shaky is the financial condition. If somebody had some policy of over-expense and so on, at the end of camp we would take a big loss.

Reaction of Opening of Coast on Co-op

We don't anticipate any special changes though. It will be just a change of membership. People just going out and coming in. The only time we'd face a big difficulty would be after the war.

On canteen #4 we didn't want to oppose Mr. Best. We wanted him to understand. We don't want to cause the Caucasians any difficulties. But the other people (those on the committee) seem to understand our position. Maybe after Mr. Perkins (present supervisor) gets back we can jump right into the problem.

The important thing is we want to make a conclusion after a thorough understanding between both of us. We're not trying to force anything on them. This is a matter of financial foresight. If we keep operating canteen 4 eventually we'll take some losses. There are only 150 Caucasian members and they will only lose about 157 dollars. In the Japanese canteens we are limited to necessities. We cannot handle luxuries.

I understand the recreation club (Caucasian) could even operate it. Probably the best thing would be for them to operate their own Co-op.

We will give them the help of our buying power and a rebate of \$3,000. At the same time we'll help them with budgeting, accounting, etc. Whatever they need we'll give them.



Eventually we'll have to get rid of canteen 4. We don't want to close it. The easiest way would be to transfer it.

George then asked me if I knew whether they had Co-op's in Internment Camps. I said I did not know.

Right now, if we close, we'll take a 100,000 dollar loss.

#### Change in Attitude of People in Last 4 Months

Right now the attitude of the people has become that we should live quietly until the end of the war. Of course, you'll always find certain groups who want trouble. But the majority don't want trouble.

George spoke in favor of the morning exercises. He would say nothing against the Ho:koku:

The people have the spirit to keep their health up. If they go back to Japan weak and sick they'll be pretty silly looking.

#### Opening of the Coast

Personally I think that will make a strong turn toward betterment in this camp. Those who do not belong to the camp should go out. I think this will be a step towards exchange too. As long as the camp is as it is (with so many fence-sitters in it), it is impossible for the Japanese government to consider exchange.

I think personally it is a good thing. I feel about half the population will go out. And then, of course, they will let the families join us from the other centers. Then the people will all be of one mind and it will be easier for the Administration to oversee the camp.

#### TALK WITH MRS. MATSUDA

Mrs. Matsuda was really worried and when she's worried she's always very communicative. The release of the 11 boys [accused by Ho:shi Dan] was a great blow.

Sanborn rode around the block 54 office with some of those boys in his car and they were all giggling and laughing.

Mahrt told me that Tsuda, Kuratomi and Sanborn were taking charge of the boys. Why should they do such a thing? I told Mahrt, either you bought them or they bought you.

Lot's of men (of the Ho:shi dan) have been threatened personally. Mr. Yamagishi grabbed Mr. Shimizu's neck. Now they're spreading rumors that Mr. Matsuda and Toki (her brother) informed on the 11 names.

Those three clubs came from Reverend Kai's house. They have been seen there.(1) They told the boys (defendants) over and over

(1. The clubs exhibited at the trial were very inefficient looking. I doubt that Reverend Kai would keep such objects in his barracks.)



(the following is all verbatim)

again what to say. And they also asked the bread man to take them chicken and things to the Klamath Falls jail. You can just imagine what kinds of notes they smuggled.

The boys (Ho:koku) are really mad. We had a hard time stopping them. We say, 'They aren't worth picking fights with.'

When we heard Gunderson was the judge, we said it was plain that they (gamblers and Administration) were together.

Mr. Wakayama said right away, 'This trial is a flop.'

I'm sure we're going to send a letter to all the different departments, telling them how unfair this thing was.

The second day, when some of the boys came from the hearing, they said, 'Oh what a shibai, (performance) what an act they put on.'

And Sugimoto came over and said he wanted to hold hands with us. I said, 'We're happy as we are and we don't want to have gangsters in our social life.' And he laughed at Mr. Miyamoto because he made that statement. He said he (Miyamoto) had tied himself into a knot. He said he was going to see Reverend Kai and see if then we could get together. We should hold hands. He said, 'We're not going to apologize and we are going to have our own way too.' But nobody listens to them.

Reverend Matsumoto and Akahashi, who are Ho:shi-dan leaders, wrote to Reverend Kai and told him never to call on them or speak to them again. His father and mother renounced him on the day of the trial.

#### Lifting of Exclusion Act

We think it's another of America's giman (trick). Nobody's enthusiastic or glad over it. It's just another method of fooling the people. How could they on this day, when they have forced us about naked - now they want to force us out.

Today they asked my husband if he wanted to renounce his answer at Military registration. He said no, 'I'm Japanese and I want Japan to win the war.' He has been called twice this week. Then they called him again today. The Internal Security brings type form to the people and tells them to come to a certain building. It says, 'Memo to Mr. Best: Please have the following people appear at a certain building.' It is way back by the warehouses someplace today. The Colonel asked my husband questions.

He's an alien. I don't see why they want to keep on asking. They asked what clubs he belonged to in Fresno. They asked if he had any connections with Japan.

#### Reactions Which Mrs. Matsuda Hears From the People

The fence sitters say they are going to grab on with their hands. They are not going to go! They say, 'Let the others go first and start a Japanese colony. And then when everything's all



safe, we'll go.' That's what they're saying now.

Even if you're a repatriate it will make no difference. They asked my husband if the exchange ship wouldn't come even at the end of the war would he want to go back to Japan. He said Yes. If we all get killed here by the Americans after the war - anyway, what do we care?

Mrs. Matsuda said that her family (she has three children, I think) were not going to celebrate Christmas this year. They were going to celebrate only New Year. She was unable to keep some regret out of her voice, however.

#### Return to Feud

We want Kai and Kuratomi to feel that the WRA is purposefully using these boys to disorganize the center. WRA wants to make use of this in propaganda against the Japanese. If these people don't realize that they just must be stupid Japanese. If they want to fight personally, we don't care, but to see them who think they're so intellectual, playing into WRA's hand - -

#### Return to Hearings

They don't come in any special order - the hearings. They take about 50 per hour, I hear. Some people I've talked to say they're not even going to the hearings.

One of the boys was saying to me that he didn't know what country he wanted to live in after the war. He will go anyplace where it's easiest to make a living. And some don't say the truth because they are afraid. They don't want to hurt the Americans' feelings. They say they just said what might please them.

#### Mrs. Matsuda's Chief Cause for Anxiety

Mrs. Matsuda now told me what was really torturing her, the possibility that her brother might be arrested for perjury because he signed the complaint against the eleven boys.

Mr. Peterson just forced them to sign the statement. Sugimoto told us, 'Why did you sign it?'

What do you think he will do?

They said they didn't know anything about it. They (Internal Security) said it was nothing, just to sign it. Peterson took him (Tokio) to another room and made him sign it.

Sugimoto threatened us with perjury about the statement.

(Mrs. Matsuda told me Uchida, her brother Tokio Yamane, and her husband had signed the complaint.)

The other side is talking about a perjury charge. This boy (indicating a young man who had been present in the apartment when I arrived) just came and told me. It said on the statement that Tokio and Uchida and Mr. Matsuda presented the eleven names to have arrested.

Tokio and Uchida and my husband didn't go to the Internal Security. Uchida went to the colonial police. Neither was there.



How could they present eleven names? Now they say that Tokio was an informer and that he informed on the eleven names.

I said to him, 'Why did you sign?' He said, 'Mr. Tachibana knows I said I didn't want to sign.' There were lots of other boys there.

The gamblers are going from house to house making people leave the Seinen-dan.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1944

Paid two calls today, chiefly to break the monotony and see what I could pick up on reactions to the announcements on opening the coast and to the hearings. I didn't have much luck because, as I expected, the situation is not one in which it can be forgotten that I'm a Caucasian.

Miss Iida had heard that the 11 boys were released but gave no opinions. Her Issei mother however, laughed heartily when I mentioned a few of the details of the hearing which showed that the Ho:koku had received a rough deal. Her attitude is definitely against the Ho:koku. When I led the conversation around to the hearings and possible expulsion from Tule Lake, (which is not easy to do), Kayo said that she and her families weren't really worrying because they considered themselves genuine segregees and knew that they were among those who would be left at Tule. A little later though, she asked me if I really thought the WRA was going to try to push them out of camp. She seemed worried by the results of some of the hearings to which some of the young men she knew had gone. In spite of their very pro-Japanese statements, they were not told that they would be segregated. She remarked also that she heard they were just pushing them through - they talk only a few minutes to each boy.

CALL ON LILLIAN MANJI'S SISTER AND BROTHER - NISEI

This young woman's news were very like those of Miss Iida. She, however, did not appear so confident that she would be left in Tule Lake. 'What shall I do?' she said, 'What would you do if you were me.' Her brother, who had been called for his hearing, told me that the soldier had just asked him if he wanted to renounce his citizenship. So he said he was going to renounce, because he figured he could then stay in Tule. He was somewhat worried by a story he had heard from a friend who had told the soldier he was loyal to Japan and a repatriate but was still handed a permit to leave camp providing he did not go to certain exclusion areas.

'They're very easy,' he said.

His sister said: 'They won't force us out, will they? I think the majority of them are staying in though. What can you do after everything is sold and everything. If you have about five boys it's OK, but still that won't do any good because they'll have to go into the Army.'

TALK WITH MRS. DESCHIN, SOCIAL WORKER

Mrs. Deschin told me that the majority of people who talk to her are convinced that a renunciation of citizenship will keep them in Tule. (She is a very good informant.) She is concerned over this and feels that the Administration should make some statement. If it is



not true, a statement to that effect should be made.

She also told me that there are rumors of a special Relocation Division being sent to Tule Lake from Washington. She does not view this effort by outsiders very optimistically. Some of the other appointed personnel are going about saying, "If they don't get out why we'll just close the mess halls." Everything is still very much up in the air and nobody knows what's what. The staff (she tells me) spends a great deal of its time wondering if Tule will close in three months, six months, eight months or a year.

Mrs. Deschin also told me of an interview she had had with Kuratomi in which he had brought up the subject of community government in camp and his desire to take an active part in bringing this about. He was quite frank about his wish to be in on it. She made what I consider a pretty astute guess of why he wants to go back to Japan even though he is so American. She guesses he will feel that with his American education and his obvious ability he feels he can become a really big shot in Japan, while in this country, with only a high school education, he'll always have to buck better educated Americans. She also related the reaction of some of her Super-patriot Kibei workers to the prospect of leaving camp and going to work on the outside. They said:

Why should we go out and participate in the U.S. war effort?  
We will never be able to get back face in Japan if we do. We can't  
leave. Any job we take now will be helping the war effort. The  
Japanese think in terms of spiritual things. The Americans are all  
very materialistic.

Mrs. Deschin thinks that some of the younger super-patriots have been driven into a serious neurotic state by the pro-Japanese organizations. (If the state of mind of the witnesses at the hearing is any criterion, she's right. They're in a sad way. Poor Uchida's crack up is a good example.)



DECEMBER 25, 1944NEWS FROM NOYES

Noyes gave me two interesting pieces of information this evening. First -Reverend Kai has filed a complaint that he has been threatened by the Ho:shi-dan. Second, on Wednesday, the 27th, the leaders and officers of the Ho:shi-dan are going to be picked up and taken out of camp. I could get no other details because the information was whispered to me at a Christmas party.

DECEMBER 26, 1944TALK WITH KURATOMI

First off, Kuratomi gave me the following announcement which was read to the people on October 20, 1943.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY  
Tule Lake Center  
Newell, California

October 20, 1943

To be read at dinner, Oct. 20 and at breakfast, Oct. 21 by Block Managers and posted in each Block Manager's office and in all mess halls.

On the afternoon of Oct. 15, an accident occurred in transporting workers to the farm area. Many workers were injured. Later one worker died from injuries received. Immediately all reports and notices necessary were made to the U.S. Employment Compensation Commission for all the workers injured. The next day no farm workers appeared and none have reported since. To date no official spokesman of the farm workers have come to discuss the matter with the Administration although the administration is ready and invites such discussion.

It is the administration's intentions to work with the residents in adjusting problems and making Tule Lake as comfortable a place to live as possible.

In the immediate situation, the entire farm crop needs to be harvested. These are the vegetables that the residents of Tule Lake will be eating this winter. The crop will not be lost. If evacuees do not harvest it; the Army will be asked to. This means that the W.R.A. will have to ask the Army Quartermaster for vegetables for the evacuee's tables this winter. These requisitions must be prepared for 50 days in advance of the period to be used. We would not be in a very good position to expect our demands to be filled if we fail to harvest the splendid farm crop now available.

The situation is the responsibility pure and simple, of the residents of Tule Lake Center. The administration is ready and willing to discuss and work out on a fair basis any and all difficulties that may arise. If the farm workers are not interested enough in the settlement of this problem to send official spokesman to the administration by 8:30 A.M. October 21st, it will be necessary for the W.R.A. to request harvesting by the Army and consequent loss of the crops to the evacuees.

/s/ R. R. West.



Kuratomi was in excellent spirits and we had a better talk than ever before. I asked him about the rumor I had heard that a group of shaved heads had come rushing to the scene when the trouble started. He said it was true:

About 30 fellows came. Tamura came from block 15 and about 30 fellows came from Manzanar. I was told that Tachibana and Wakayama were there too.

This whole incident (trouble with shaved heads) would have been ten times easier if Best had realized the background of the November 1 incident and if he had released us in April. I don't think if he'd done that these men [Resegregationists] could have gotten control like they did.

The only thing I feel sorry for is the young fellows who knew nothing of the intentions of the leaders and also for the old couples who had no knowledge of the conditions, who are following the leaders as if they were their sole saviors. Among the group there are about ten or twelve people from the Poston gang - among them are Ono, Uchida and Tachibana.

I've told Uchida repeatedly to refrain from such activities. But he's stubborn and he doesn't use his stubbornness in the right place.

#### Questions On Events of October and November, 1943

#### Best's Interest in Internal Security at October 27 [1943] Meeting

His fear was because of segregation, so many went out. The force was supposed to be 140 people (Japanese) but at that time there were only 78. That was just a fraction over half.

#### Farm Meeting Minutes

Kuratomi had some sloppy looking minutes in Japanese from the farm workers meetings of late October. He translated some for me to clarify the farm problem.

27 or 28 of Oct. - Farm Meeting decision - "Without any reason we don't see any necessity of returning our badges."

The following minutes were written after Kuratomi had reported on the "successful" conference of the 27th:

Since the Administration has the intention of a cooperative spirit, I think the colonists should support the Administration as far as the farm group is concerned. The negotiations have been completed very favorably. As far as guarantee of life is concerned, there should be no worry in the future.

Mr. Kallum [Callum?] the supervisor, has the interpretation that the stoppage of work was not considered a strike. It's possible that all of us should return to work. I don't believe any of us (farm group) would have any objection to returning to work.

However, on the 28th, it was announced that the farm group had been terminated. The farm group has been requested to turn in their



badges. But there has been so much contrast between what the Negotiating Committee had reported and this action that we are very much disappointed about this action. Since we did not stage a strike, we see no reason why we should be terminated. Mr. Zimmer should know very well what transpired during the conference.

With the foregoing reasons, we request that by tomorrow, Saturday noon, (Oct.30), we want the Administration to retract the announcement of the previous day and at the same time nullify our termination from work. If this problem cannot be settled, concerning the graveness of the situation, we will again have to turn the matter to the peoples' hand.

#### Badges

The badges if not returned, took .50 from the pay check. There was a sincere effort on our part to try to minimize the grievance toward the Administration and we had to have some ground to appeal to the farm group to be more patient. If Mr. Best made some concessions, we could defend the practice at this time.

#### Referral to Poston Strike

During the night of November 4, when the committee was in session, the suggestion was made from the Poston segregates that the condition which took place in Poston in and around the strike - the pattern was more or less set in that manner.

#### November 4th Riot

If I had known anything like Nov. 4th would have happened I would have sent Mr. Tsuda down. I didn't think it was such a bad condition. Mr. Tsuda felt about the same as I did.

#### 5th of November

On the 5th the M.P.'s lined up about five feet apart. The majority of the people knew nothing of what had happened and wanted to go to work. Some were just standing and trying to find out the reason. The girls working in the hospital were kept in the hospital. Their families and the families of the boys arrested wanted to know what had happened.

#### Best's Promise to Let People Know What Means He Took To Harvest Crop

Kuratomi could think of no reason why the people got the notion that Best had promised this. He had never had that idea, he said. The only possible source of the common notion that he could think of was that Best might at some time have made this statement to the farm group. Through Kuratomi I may be able to get in contact with some of the men on the farm group and ask them about this.

#### Kuratomi and Kai's speeches on November 1

This is a matter on which I have very little information. Kuratomi was very glad to tell me:

I made a very short speech. I said we had an opportunity to negotiate not only with Mr. Best but with Mr. Myer also. I just



briefly summed up the points in the majority of cases. Mr. Myer promised he'd conduct a thorough investigation and said we'd be notified. In general, the requests brought up were received in a harmonious manner. In due time, I was positive, everything would be ironed out.

The recognition of a centralized committee was important to the people. I mentioned that and also about the food and the hospital.

Mr. Myer spoke then. Then Reverend Kai spoke last. He refrained the people from going into any unreasonable acts and to always maintain their true virtue as real Japanese. The negotiations were well conducted. At the last he said, 'This is the end for the time being,' and told the people to disperse.

Yamane told the people to take a bow. The people took a bow not only in gratitude to Reverend Kai but also as a gesture of gratitude to Mr. Myer.

Kuratomi then told me that Sugimoto has been going around telling the big shots in the Ho:shi-dan to resign. He's suggested the idea to Tachibana and Akashi, but it doesn't seem as if he's having much success. Kuratomi also stated that he still believed the camp people could get along, if the Ho:shi-dan hadn't made so much trouble; he, he felt, could get along with the "loyal" people.

#### Present Hearings

I did notice people are receiving different papers. Many are receiving excludee notices from the Pacific Coast, Gulf and Atlantic defense areas. Then there's a small group of people whose status in the eyes of the Army is not clear. (These are probably on the stop list.) I've heard of no one whose been given a segregation notice yet, except those people in block 99.

#### Representative Government

Kuratomi also brought up the need of representative government here. He feels that the people are ready for this now and that all they need is the right leader. He added, jokingly, that he was probably going to be sent (forcibly relocated) to the Middle West, which he hated. His wife said:

I don't want to go there. I want to go home.

Kuratomi is the first person I have talked to, except Nakamura, who has looked at the situation realistically and doesn't try to fool himself about the possibility of being sent out of Tule Lake.

#### STATEMENT RELEASED TO CAUCASIAN CO-OP COMMITTEE BY GUNDERSON - about a week ago

Mr. Gunderson suggests that our committee, due to Mr. Perkins' absence from the project, withhold their report to the personnel members of the co-op until his return. The reason being that the agreement under which the co-op operates is now up for change and that it is only in a tentative plan at present and awaits Mr. Perkins' return. Some statement he felt should be forthcoming from the committee to the members to this effect.



He gave the following reasons why we, as the committee of personnel members of the co-op, could do nothing further at the present time.

1. The Manual provided for the present co-op association to operate canteen no 4 for the personnel. The Manual does not provide in any way for any other store being set up for the caucasian personnel. The Manual is a composite of the rules and regulations set up in Washington under which this project is operated and it can only be changed or approved for changes in the Washington office. This project is considered under the direct control of Washington and does not come under the state laws, so for that reason all laws governing this project are set up and administered from Washington. Under this set-up, the project director is the administering officer and has the power to make rules or regulations that are not covered by the Manual.
2. Washington has provided for the administration to take action so that the personnel will not suffer. But this can only be used after the co-op association closes the present Canteen No. 4. The colony controls the co-op so we can say after they close the co-op Canteen No. 4.
3. The agreement tentatively submitted excludes the caucasian personnel as members of the co-op association. So he does not see how under this plan it would be possible to work out any plan with the co-op in the colony. So for that reason alone it is paramount that they act first in order that we know just what they intend to do and after that we can work out our problems.
4. The administration has already taken action to insure the continued operation of Canteen No. 4 if and when the present one is closed. By first securing authorization to set up a joint store to be financed by the caucasian personnel and the government of WRA. The tentative price or cost of the shares to be \$25.00. Each member could apply his present equity in the co-op against payment of a share. The manager is already hired. The goods for the continued operation is on order in Klamath Falls. The store is not to be a private enterprise or to be operated by the Rec. Club. The plans are so set up that it would be in operation the following morning and the detail to be worked out later. For these reasons he feels we have nothing to worry about.
5. Since the Manual states that we have no power to act in our own behalf, we will have to stall along and see what happens. I do not wish to be quoted as saying this is right or wrong but it seems to me that our hands are tied at present as far as our taking any steps is concerned and until some action is taken by one side or the other there is little we as a group can do. On the other hand we can make suggestions to both sides in order to try to get closer cooperation between the two factions.

(On copying this I see it must be a report written by Mr. Coup, chairman of the caucasian committee after a conference with Gunderson.)



DECEMBER 27, 194470 MEN TAKEN TO SANTA FE

Doom, in the shape of the heavy hand of the Department of Justice descended early this morning. Seventy men, including all of the officers of the Sokuji Kikoku Ho:shi-dan (Resegregation Organization) and the Ho:koku Seinen-dan (Young Men's Organization) and certain other persons whom Burling had on his list were notified between three and four o'clock in the morning that they were to leave for Santa Fe immediately. All were apprehended immediately except one young man who apparently was warned from the next block and ran about camp warning other members of the organizations. He was caught eventually.

Promptly at 1:00 pm the men left the gate. They were accompanied to the gate by their families who were soon joined by crowds of curious school children and adults. The Seinen-dan arrived marching en masse to see them off. Banzai's and cheers were heard. The men are reported to have said that they were very glad to go, that this is what they have been waiting for. Among my friends taken were Tachibana, Wakayama, Mr. Matsuda and Yoshiyama.

Immediately, some men who appear to have had orders what to do in case this happened, approached the Administration with a request to send a telegram to the Spanish Consul. This request was denied. When I asked the reason, Noyes told me that the telegram could not be sent while the men were on the train en route. The opposition (Kai - Kuratomi) report that Reverend Kai has been threatened with murder, since (they say) he is considered responsible for this. The Administration is very anxious and worried. Kai had been hidden somewhere in the colony by his friends.

TALK WITH SALLY YAMASHIRO

The day was dreadfully cold with a terrific wind. However, I thought that peoples first reactions were worth risking freezing. I found Sally nervous and depressed but she told me a great deal.

It as a shock. George stayed in bed this morning until ten o'clock. Then a friend came and told him and he got right up and ran out without even washing his face. He wanted to see the crowd. It was a shock.

It's too bad Reverend Tsuha was taken. They took about 70 or 80 men I hear.

It's not nice to be picked up.

There are a lot of Sokoku people in this block. There are a lot who weren't too. But they all seem pretty sympathetic. When George went to see them off he seemed to think some of the people would laugh and jeer. But they didn't. . . It was a shock.

Effects of Block 54 Fight

There certainly are a lot of people getting out of the organization because of the trouble in block 54. In ward II I hear 200 people resigned. I believe in blocks 53 and 54 almost every member got out.

I heard they also threatened Reverend Kai. George told me that Kai had about 30 people around his house. George went to see him but he couldn't get in. They were just like the Sokoku



people who have been guarding the leaders.

Everyone was just laughing about the trial. It was the talk of the camp.

#### Reverend Tsuha's Wedding

At Reverend Tsuha's wedding there was only one other reverend present. That is besides the one who was officiating. And you know there are countless reverends in camp.

But the Ho:koku boys were standing all around in their uniform, you know, grey sweat shirt and pants. They were just glaring at George and me because they know George has been an opposer. There they were, all lined up.

#### Return to Pickups

Tsuha's father was also taken. Well, at least father and son will be together.

#### Hearings on Renunciation of Citizenship

I've heard that some of the boys have been called four or five times. I also heard that they made an announcement that soon only about 30 people will be left in Tule Lake.

They can't force anybody out if they haven't signed for repatriation, can they? There is one family in this block and they're awfully worried.

#### Fence Between Ward VII and Camp

Sally told me that the fence here had been put up in December sometime, something I had not known before. I suppose it is in Oplers reports though.

#### Return to Pickups

It seems that everyone is saying that Mr. Best is at it again. (Evidence the pickups are being blamed on Mr. Best.)

#### The Effect of Sokoku (Ho:koku) On The Young Men

Mr. Doi came over yesterday. He told about one of his students, a boy about 19 or 20 who was a real brainstorm, a very nice student. Then Mr. Doi noticed that he wasn't getting such good grades. Then he had a history test. And he found that this boy wasn't writing anything down. Mr. Doi got angry. When the test was over the boy wouldn't give his paper in. So he had him stay after school. Mr. Doi said, "You have always been one of my finest students. Why did you change?" The boy said, "I don't respect you anymore." "Why?" said Mr. Doi. The boys said, "I'll tell you, but don't feel bad about it. I've been told by my parents and friends that anyone who isn't in the Sokoku isn't Japanese. He's koshinuke (a coward). When I heard you weren't in the Sokoku I knew you weren't Japanese."

Mr. Doi said, "So you think a Japanese can be made by just signing a paper?" I don't think Japanese people are so cheap."



Then Mr. Doi waited for two days. He was really worried. He even got thin in his face. Then the boy came to him and cried in his lap and said, "I understand now that Japanese people aren't made by just signing names. I just signed my name saying that I'm not a member anymore." Then he thanked Mr. Doi for leading him to the right road.

Isn't that terrible. I think that's terrible. The way they've misled those boys.

You know they have a paper to sign if you get out. It says, "I will not be loyal to the emperor of Japan." You have to sign your name to that! Why no one even in Japan has the right to do that!

I'm anxious that there may be big trouble because of these pickups. It seems something big has to happen every year.

#### Letter From Gila - Repatriation

I had a letter from a friend in Gila - She said the Army has been checking up on the people who signed for repatriation. She said, "It's terrible. They keep calling them and calling them."

#### CONVERSATION IN LIBRARY

It was now almost five o'clock and George had not come home. He was out talking to people. I dropped into the library hoping to talk to the librarian a good friend of mine. However, three young men were there. They began to talk in Japanese about the pickups and one kept saying that he thought all the people who had signed for resegregation would be taken. I managed to join in the conversation and soon saw that they were really very much afraid and stunned. They seemed particularly appalled at the number of men who had been picked up, and were afraid that all persons who had renounced their citizenship would be taken. One said,

You know, those guys can be accused of being traitors because they tried to make other people renounce their citizenship. They can be shot.

another young fellow was worried over the hearings.

"Why have some fellows been called up twice?" he wanted to know.

They were all obviously upset, tense, and worried. This is probably why they fell into conversation with me so easily. [Young men rarely talked to me without an introduction..]

#### TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes was really worried and scared. First of all he told me that a batch of new Ho:shi-dan leaders had stepped forward and taken charge of the organization. These men had evidently been delegated to do this, if a pickup occurred. They are older men. One of them, Seisuke Okamura, of block 61, had come forward and wanted to send a telegram to the Spanish Consul. His request was refused.

Moreover, Ishigami, who was among those taken today, was reported to have detailed four men to murder Kai. Kai had been hidden by friends in the colony. Noyes was awfully worried. He showed me the list of those taken. On it I did not see the names of some of the boys purported to be in Wakayama's gang. They are tough, but I don't know that they'd tackle



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murder when they are certain to be turned in by the opposition. In fact, I doubt it very much. Among the names of the two new leaders are Tsutome Higashi and Koichi Yarumoto. Noyes said that these men had complained because they wanted to go too [be interned]. All those taken, were loud in their joy at being taken said Noyes. Tachibana, however, was angry because he hadn't had lunch. He was told that he could get a fine lunch on the train. He was not told that a guard armed with a sub-machine gun would follow any one who moved and that the windows would be painted black.

DECEMBER 28, 1944

I have developed one hell of a cold from walking around in the extraordinary bitter weather yesterday. This gripes me - since I almost never get colds from cold weather. Anyway, I went out to see Kurihara, who was in a mood of gloomy justice. If I'm any worse tomorrow I'll stay home. I received the following letter from Yoshiyama, mailed five days before he was interned. Poor fellow. Note the barb in the postscript. At one of the court sessions, Sergeant Yeramian, a member of the Internal Security had sat next to me and had addressed a few remarks to me.

Dec. 22, 1944

Dear Miss Hankey:

Received your letter of December 18, 1944. You must forgive me for my long negligence in writing you.

I will not be able to see you for about two weeks, for undoubtedly you already know my time will be pretty well occupied, especially after the court hearings. However, do not "give up the ship" for I will let you know sometimes early part of the next month. I promise I shall see you during the early part of January.

I was indeed glad to see you at that hearing. Kindly express your sincere opinion without reserve as to the atmosphere of that court hearings. As an impartial audience I wish you to give me a frank and sincere opinion concerning those 11 defendants and their witnesses. Do you think the incident of December 15 was premeditated and every detail carefully planned? Do you think that the W.R.A. may had something to do with it? Sometimes I cannot think straight. I feel pretty bad about the whole darn affairs. It's a shame that a thing like that should happen amongst the Japanese. I can see Mr. Best grinning at our blunder and our behavior. At any rate I wish to know what impression you got out of that court hearings.

Christmas is near and a sad one at that. Last year we had a New Year in the Stockade. Instead of warm foods we was on a "hunger strike." This year it is bad. I am getting pretty well fed up with everybody in here and out. Well, in spite of everything I still wish you a very merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Tom S. Yoshiyama

P.S. I will write again and let you know when I can see you. In the meantime please write to me again. My regards to your boy friend Sergt. Sam Yeramian. I saw Mr. John Burlings. Thanks to you.



TALK WITH KURIHARA

Kurihara was not feeling regretful or sympathetic.

They (Department of Justice) made a pretty clean sweep.

I asked if he thought any one in camp would be capable of committing murder over this. He said nobody he knew would except perhaps Tsutome Higashi, who is an unbalanced fanatic. Higashi, incidentally was the man who stormed into Burling's office and demanded to be seen. He is now the new head of the Ho:koku Seinen-dan (young men's organization).

I expect a little trouble. There may be threats made. Whether they will be carried out, I can't say, but they will create fear and unrest throughout the camp.

The Administration may figure that since some of the leaders have been picked up, things will quiet down. But I think there will be more troubles.

As to killing - I doubt very much if Ishigami said that. He's not that type of person. But undoubtedly, threats have been made.

The people have experienced a little fright after the incident (last November). They are not starving for excitement and will not demonstrate as a mob.

If the gamblers were raided and cleaned out, then the Ho:shi-dan (Resegregation Organization) would come to see that they (Kai and Kuratomi) are not dogs. It depends on who they would bag.

Of course, quite a lot of injustice was done in picking up the boys. The boy next door had just joined the Seinen-dan and in less than a month he was picked up. His wife is pregnant and that causes tremendous worries for her as well as him. Although I don't sympathize with none of those boys personally.

Prospects In Santa Fe

As far as Tachibana and Wakayama are concerned, I foresee if they are quartered in the same barrack in Santa Fe (and there probably will be 30 to 50 men in one barrack) I predict those guys will have a nasty time fighting among themselves. I sure would like to be there and listen to the arguments. It will surely be comic. Undoubtedly Tachibana will blame Wakayama for transforming the organization into a gang of hoodlums and probably Wakayama will blame Tachibana because he didn't have enough guts. Constantly they will fight among themselves. They're caught and in a place where they will experience hardships. Leaving their wives and children like this, they have lots to worry them.

I suspect something about Mr. Best permitting those boys to organize. In Gila, they had a young men's association. They were engaged in political matters and harming the peace of the camp. Their leaders were sent to Leupp. Afterward Best found out there were many more of the (Gila) Seinen-dan who were loyal



to the U.S. than those who were not. Probably he figured it would be a good thing to have it here too. He consented to Yamashiro and Fukumoto to organize their Seinen-dan here. Then when these guys (Ho:koku-Seinen-dan) approached, he couldn't refuse them. Probably he thought it would be a good thing too. But the doggone thing has grown to such an extent it was a nightmare for a while.

I would say this, if they didn't have such a person as Wakayama for a leader or an advisor, that organization would have been a wonderful thing. But they had bad leaders so radical in nature they wanted to use the strength of the organization to gain their own power.

People are sympathetic with those who were picked up but they are rejoicing too. To be sympathetic is natural. And that will die out soon. Personally, I think it's a very good riddance.

#### TALK WITH NOYES

Noyes was still worried. It seems that several delegations of the new officers of the super-patriot groups have been calling on him most of the day. They want to know why they were not taken to Santa Fe also. They also want to know why they cannot telegraph the Spanish Consul. About being taken to Santa Fe, Noyes recommended they get Burling to send them. Burling is arriving on the project in about five days. Noyes told them to write the Spanish Consul. They wanted his statements in writing, but he refused to give them in writing.

There has been another serious beating - this time in block 40. The assailants are not known but the victim, who almost had his jaw broken, has long hair and it is rumored his assailants also had long hair.



DECEMBER 29, 1944CALL BY MARY (KIMI) HOSHIMOTO

I'm staying in my room to nurse my cold, and Mary, an old Gilan friend, found me at home. We had a long and depressing chat about the present state of things. The first words out of Mary's mouth were,

Well, are they going to kick us out?

I said that I thought that that was their eventual intention although they were going to try to sugar coat the process by bringing a relocation group here.

What good will that do, when the people don't want to get out, said Mary. A lot of them would rather go to Santa Fe.

Her mother, she said, says that segregation was a dirty trick: bring them here with so much trouble and now it doesn't mean a thing. Many people, she said, hope that by renouncing citizenship, they will be allowed to stay here, but they're not sure. WRA should tell them about this.

Moreover, WRA should tell them out and out that they really will have to get out. This way, everything is so vague, people keep hoping against hope.

People are flat broke and what with what they hear about descrimination and shortage of housing and everything, it's pretty bad.

I remarked that people in the other centers were probably feeling just as bad and this surprised her because, she said:

They ought to be loyal. Tule Lake is the segregation camp.

On the renunciation hearings Mary said no women had yet been called except by mistake (mistaking girls name for boys). Boys of 14 years had been called up though. Her own brother was given a paper excluding him from the defense commands. She wondered if everyone was going to be called and when they were called, what would the WRA do?

During the course of the long conervation I remarked that the people ought to sue the government for their losses.

But, said Mary, That would be admitting that they want to get out and none of them will admit that.

She too had heard the rumor that perhaps all those who renounce their citizenship will be taken to Santa Fe.

They all say they want to go, she added again. Well, I guess the best thing to do is sit quiet and see what happens, she concluded.

I believe that the attitudes which she expressed are common to a large part of the more "passive" residents of the camp. I suspect, however, that there is a great deal more bitterness and anger expressed than I pick up. Most of my informants now are too good friends of mine. I must try to talk to some folks who don't know me so well.



We discussed the attitude of the people toward the Coordinating Committee immediately after its formation. Mary said that the people had suspected them from the very beginning, just as was suggested at the conference.(1)

DECEMBER 30, 1944

Spent most of the day at home writing and sleeping. However, managed to pick up the following information from staff members during dinner and calls made later. Mr. Best, says one of his present group of confidants, believes that the strongest leaders of the Ho:shi-dan (Resegregation Group) are still in the colony. The fact that these boys keep coming to see him asking to be sent to Santa Fe, convinces him of this. Moreover, I was told by this friend of Best's, by Noyes (the project attorney), and later by Cook, present head of Internal Security, that another wholesale pick-up and Santa Fe internment is anticipated. I gathered that the Administration strongly approves of this internment. They are all waiting for Burling to arrive to take the action.

Also heard from Noyes that a large and successful raid on a sake-making joint was made today. A great deal of liquor was confiscated. This will probably ruin a great many peoples' New year celebration.

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[1. The conference held in late November by members of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.]