

THE FIRST SIX MONTHS IN TULE LAKE

Social Change and a Chronology of Events

CONFIDENTIAL: Not for release.

This report is in preliminary form. One might say that it is "lousy with generalizations." Many of the comments are subject to checking and correction. The conclusions drawn, and the accompanying remarks are at best tentative.

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Evacuation and Resettlement Study  
Structural Report, Section II  
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THE FIRST SIX MONTHS IN TULE LAKE

Introduction

Many individuals and groups are there whose lives and habits have been disrupted in this war-torn world, and certainly the Japanese and the Americans of Japanese descent in America cannot be said to be an exception. During the past year their routines have been broken by one crisis after another. The insidious attack on Pearl Harbor was the first shock, bringing fear and a feeling of emptiness--a feeling of not knowing what to do. Then came the savage attacks by misguided Filipino patriots. Then came the hysteria in the spring of 1942 that swept aside all who stopped to question, a wave that culminated in the indiscriminate internment of everyone of Japanese descent. The period of the hysteria was a hard one, a period of insecurity and indefiniteness. Many felt relieved when they finally learned of the day of judgment. Once in the centers, however, the evacuees met another shock--living conditions such as they had never dreamed that they would experience.

In the centers, the evacuees were forced to suffer inconveniences in housing and sanitation facilities. The barracks were monotonously uniform; all members of the family were crammed into a single room with personal possessions limited to little more than what they could personally carry. The dust, the heat, the cold, and the high altitude was more than what some could stand.

Most of the evacuees had to find new jobs and had to work at a restricted wage scale. There could be no private enterprise in Tule Lake even though someone might have had the initiative to start something. The available consumers' goods were limited; prices charged were the same as the prices outside, but the wages paid could not be compared--in fact, at first there was no assurance that anyone would be paid at all.



The families were thrown together so closely that the proximity of the neighbors seriously restricted one's activities. Rumors of all sorts were rampant, and it became difficult to determine what to believe. Parents had a greater opportunity to exercise control over their children, but they could not select the environment they desired. The older women had more leisure time, while the girls found ample opportunity to work if they so desired. Privacy became a wish-fulfilmentdream, and courtship and similar activities had to operate in a different pattern.

It was under these conditions that the evacuees adjusted themselves to the life in Tule Lake.

#### The problem

In this section we are not concerned only with presenting a chronology of the events that attracted the attention of the community during the first half year of its existence, although a rough chronology will be presented. We are interested also in the nature of the goals in the minds of the evacuees upon their arrival in the project and the manner in which those goals were sought. We are also concerned with the obstacles preventing the realization of the goals.

We seek answers, then, to the following questions:

- 1) What were the goals and aspirations of the evacuees when the first arrived in Tule Lake?
- 2) What were the factors that impeded the reaching of these goals and how were the impeding situations brought about?
- 3) What were the factors that contributed to the reaching of these goals and how were these situations brought about?

In any section dealing with social change we would be interested in whether or not there were any significant changes in the rules governing behavior. However, that question will be dealt with elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See chapters on Social Disorganization

A half year in Tule Lake

On May 27, 1942, the colony received its first group of evacuees--an advance crew of 197 people from the Puyallup Assembly Center in Washington, and another group of 250 from Portland Assembly Center in Oregon. On June 1, 38 people came directly from their homes in Medford, and on the following day, 249 more came from Oregon. On June 3 and 4, 646 more people came in from Washington, bringing the total population well over 1,000. Many of the members of the Caucasian administrative personnel had already arrived and were busy helping the evacuees adjust to the new life.

The weather was still cold, dismal rain poured, and snow could still be seen in the hills. The camp was far from complete and the construction crews were busily putting up the new barracks. Scrap lumber for making furniture and fixtures was plentiful and a huge pile was made opposite Block 4. A canteen was opened for the benefit of the colonists on wholesaler's credit and essential equipment was sold for cash.

Between June 6 and 15, 482 additional colonists came in from their homes in Clarksburg. The colony was still relatively small. The contacts between the evacuees and the administrators were plentiful, and both were determined to make Tule Lake the best relocation center in the country. For those who had come from the Assembly Centers, Tule Lake seemed like the heaven for which they had waited. True, things were not as good as they were before, but more equipment was on the way. People strained their minds to improvise ways to overcome the inconveniences. Block competed against block--in neatness, in the cooking in the mess halls, in cooperation with the Caucasians.

One of the Caucasians remarked:

"It's amazing how the Japanese people have adapted themselves. They are cordial and helpful. It's a pleasure to work with them."

Some of the comments of the colonists were:

"Of course, it's not like home, but in time we'll be one of the best centers of the W.R.A."



"You can't complain about a few inconveniences. We're lucky to have what we have. These Caucasians are here living with us to help. We should in turn cooperate with them."

"The people in the next block think they have a good mess hall, but ours is cleaner. Besides we have the best cooks in the camp."

"Did you see our farm? It's huge. WE'll have fresh vegetables and everything we want pretty soon."

When people began coming in from Wallerga Assembly Center on June 16, the editorial in the Tulean Dispatch addressed to them read as follows:

"....For surely, you must realize that this project is ours, you and you and all the rest that may come and us who are here. It is up to us whether this, the Tule Lake Relocation Center, becomes a Shangri-La or not. This camp is shooting for the stars to outdo Hilton's fantasy."<sup>2</sup>

During this initial period there was a rush to purchase tools and fixtures to make the rooms as comfortable and attractive as possible. Men ingeniously solved unexpected problems, and out of scrap lumber built chairs, tables, shelves, and closets. Daily, men and women and children walked out to the woodpile to pick out lumber that seemed useful for their purpose.

One of the difficulties was water. The hard water caused many to suffer from diarrhea. Some got rashes on their skin. On the whole, however, the people seemed to be content. The terrible conditions of the Assembly Centers were not repeated; their anxiety over where they were going had come to an end. Their desire seemed to make the center a comfortable place for them to stay until the end of the war. Naturally, no one was happy about being locked up, but Tule Lake seemed to be the least of evils.

The major interest seemed to be in the new friends that were to be made. As might be expected, the young people mixed rather easily although there was some difference between the sophisticated, city-bred northerners and the "hicks" from California. There was curiosity about the habits and the dress of the strangers. Through casual inquiries over matters such as the construction of a porch or the

notification of the Justice Department of change of address friendships were struck up. Perhaps the most common question was, "Where did you come from?"

On June 16, the people from Wallergera began to come to Tule Lake--500 a day until by the end of the month they had increased the total population to over 6,500. On June 18, Mr. Rachford, who was slated to direct the project, visited the project, but after a week's stay left for another center. On the 20th, the Legal Aid department was started to help colonists in their problems. The Christian Churches initiated an ambitious program of services, young people's groups, and Sunday schools. Classes began under the Adult Education program in various commercial subjects. Block managers were appointed in large numbers by a committee of Caucasians. Wardens for police and fire duty were organized. As the various blocks began to fill with evacuees, councilmen for the City Council were elected.

By this time, the recreational activities were beginning their program. A softball league with eight teams had already started. The teams represented various communities from which the players had come; such as, Clarksburg, Salem, and Longview. Groups such as the 4H Club, tennis enthusiasts, photography club, Boy Scouts, handiwork, choir, and Issei-senryu (humorous poetry) clubs were already under way under the Recreation Department.

To help young women who had to work, the Nursery Schools were organized and opened with a staff of inexperienced but eager Nisei girls as teachers. Furniture displays were held, and contests to see who could make the best furniture out of scrap lumber were held. During this time, new members of the administrative personnel continued to join the project.

The Saturday night dances were well under way, and it was here that the first open breach and animosity on a large scale broke out. The dances had been held since the first week to the music of a nickelodian. On June 19, couples from Sacramento made their first appearance and the trouble began.



The northerners were apparently accustomed to dancing to soft, slow, and smooth music; whereas those from central California preferred to jitterbug. Since the people from the north had arrived in camp first and were in charge of the dance, the Sacramentans objected to their style of dancing and demanded that they be given an opportunity to jive. The northerners objected that there was not enough room for jitterbugging and a heated argument arose over who was to put a nickel into the juke-box. Fear was struck into the minds of those from the north-west when someone reported that a gang of tough Sacramento boys were waiting outside to beat up the principals concerned in the argument after the dance. Although no one seems to be too definite, rumors had it that there was a big fight after the dance and that someone from the north had been seriously injured.<sup>3</sup>

Another conflict broke out in the office of the Tulean Dispatch. The staff of the Walleriga Wasp went into the office of the director, Mr. Shirrell, with a letter of introduction from a Caucasian in Sacramento and demanded that they be allowed to take over the Tulean Dispatch since the paper was nothing more than a bulletin board put out by unexperienced newspaperman. When the staff from the northwest heard of this, they became very unfriendly to the Sacramentans and the editor refused even to speak to the newcomers. Members of the Caucasian personnel had to step in to settle the issue and to give everyone a fair chance on the basis of ability. One of the Sacramento boys remarked, "Most of the Washington guys are O.K.; it's just that dumb bastard T\_\_\_\_\_ that gets me." Many of the colonists from Washington admitted that the paper was not too good and remarked that the editor was not particularly brilliant; however, they seemed to resent the manner in which the Sacramento boys tried to take over.<sup>4</sup>

Apparently the Issei from the two regions did not have much difficulty in getting along. The sectional strife was one that involved primarily Nisei. The northerners thought:

3. Field notes (TS), June 23, 1942

4. Field notes (TS), June 23, 1942 and July 2, 1942

"Californians are sure funny. <sup>I</sup>hey don't have any common sense. Anybody knows that it's hard to jive in a crowded room."

"Do they always jitterbug in California? It's all right once in a while, but not for every dance. Jitterbugs remind me of savages."

"Californians are fast aren't they? I hear they always go around the whore-houses in Sacramento."

"I wouldn't be seen with a California boy. My reputation would be spoiled."

"Gosh they're black! Don't the girls know how to dress?"

Californians thought:

"Washington girls sure fix their eyebrows a funny way. They smear something on there and it look funny."

"Washington people are snooty. <sup>T</sup>hey think they're somebody."

"God! They must be in the stone ages. They never jived before!"

"Do we have to live with those guys! Hell!"

Thus, the first major misunderstanding broke out with the arrival of colonists from Wallerga. The Wallergans came well-knit together. They had all lived in Sacramento prior to the evacuation and knew each other quite well. Furthermore, in Wallerga the individuals had established themselves in various positions and wished to maintain their status in Tule Lake. Naturally, this meant conflict with those who had come before. Furthermore, there seemed to be a difference in the background and the outlook between the more sophisticated, urban people from the north and the rural people, born and reared in a community almost entirely of Japanese.

Dissension also broke out in regard to work in the farm. One June 18, Acting Director Shirrell made an appeal to the colonists to work in the farms. <sup>He</sup> pointed out that the W.R.A. had purchased \$80,000 worth of potato seeds and that unless they were planted at once that money would be lost. On June 19, the Tulean Dispatch ran an extra on <sup>M</sup>r. Shirrell's appeal. It was in the reaction to this appeal that the sincerity of the War Relocation Authority was first openly questioned.



Many of the colonists volunteered for work eagerly. Some said:

"Why aren' you out there working? If I were an able-bodied man, man, I would go out there and work. Think of it! All that potato going to waste'. It's for the good of the people."

"After all, they brought those seeds in here for our benefit. The least we could do is to plant them. I've been a farmer all my life; it's wasy work for me."

Thus, many of the colonists volunteered for work on the farms to save the seeds.

On the other hand, the elements of dissatisfaction also began to make known their feelings:

"Why should I give a damm what happens to W.R.A. money? I had a farm for 30 years and they took it away from me and shoved me in a dump like this. You city people don't understand; you never owned anything and raised anything like we do."

"Why should I work? There are others to do it if they want to. Now that I'm here, I'm going to take life easy and wait for the war to end. They have to feed us anyway."

" Why should we cooperate? The dirty keto put us in here. We should have put up a fight. We are now at the mercy of the damm keto. They could starve us if they want to. They are telling us to work in the farm or starve. I'm going to show them that I'm a real Japanese with a yamato-damashi. I'm going to show them that they can't bluff me."

This is not to say that feelings of antagonism did not exist before; they certainly did after the evacuation began. However, up to this point those who had felt antagonistic had managed to keep their ideas to themselves or to their intimate friends. It may have been because of the fear of reprisals. However, with this issue, heated arguments arose between groups of colonists. Issei argued against Issei; Kibei argued against Kibei--it was a disagreement between those who wished to cooperate and those who did not particularly care.

Thus, we can see that during the period of initial adjustment, on the whole, the colonists were cooperative. However, after the arrival of Sacramentans in large numbers, dissension began to arise and those who questioned the wisdom of cooperating made known their opinions. Goals to make Tule Lake the "Best relocation center in the country" were set, but by the end of June sectionalism and suspicion of the keto crept in as threats to the realization of that goal.

One June 24, the movement from Wallerga was completed and there began a long period that we might roughly label as one of "random behavior." It was a period in which people seemed to be disturbed about one thing or another and yet a period in which there was not unity in defining the situation or in action.

On that date, the W.R.A. officially announced the wage scales which were to be effective in the centers. Professional workers were to be paid \$19; skilled workers, \$16; and unskilled workers, \$12. It was also announced at that time that everyone would be expected to work 200 hours a month and that anyone who did not work would be charged \$20 a month for himself and each member of his family for room and board.<sup>5</sup>

Many other significant things occurred during this period. The post office on the project was officially named "Newell"; the work in the hospital got under way and a regular schedule was announced; the library got under way with donations; the building of a factory was announced. On the 27th, 18- and 19- year olds registered for the Selective Service. The Buddhists began their services. A plan for a shoe repairing shop was announced. The University of California Club was organized.

On the 25th of June, 2500 evacuees from Arboga center in Marysville began to come into Tule Lake. These people, along with those who arrived from Wallerga, had a considerably more difficult time in adjusting themselves than those who had come before. Lumber was now no longer as abundant as it was before for those who first came had taken the best pieces for their porches and other fixtures or, if they had enough for themselves, were hoarding lumber for friends whom they expected. There was a serious lumber crisis. The latecomers naturally objected when they were unable to get even scraps, while the others had porches and piles of lumber heaped up besides their barracks. Construction work was nearly over, and left-over lumber was dumped opposite blocks 36 and 37. Wardens were posted to guard the

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5. Tulean Dispatch, June 24, 1942



scrap pile. In order to give as many people as possible an equal opportunity to get lumber, the officials decided that no one would be allowed to go into the lumber area until 6 o'clock p. m. During the day, the trucks dumped the wood in piles. The demand for lumber was so great, however, that wardens were simply unable to hold off the mobs after 5. Once there was a break, there was a mad rush for the wood by hundreds of people who tore at each other to get as much as possible. The daily rushes were wild scrambles--the people resembling packs of hungry wolves tearing after the only food left in the world.

The newcomers also flooded into the canteen and the daily sales soared about \$1500. Many who had thrown things away had to purchase many items since they expected to stay in Tule Lake for the duration. Many who had come to the project expecting to find nothing flooded into the store to buy convenient items. Household furnishings and tools sold rapidly. As we shall see, the tremendous sales raised some apprehension in the center about excessive profits.

On June 29, the Army began to censor mail leaving Tule Lake. Apparently a corporal had started censoring cards personally and when reprimanded by Mr. Shirrell had taken up the matter with his commanding office--Captain Patterson. The Captain and Mr. Shirrell had a heated argument on the matter and it seems that the latter won; not to be outdone, however, the Captain went to his superior officer and secured permission to censor all letters. While this controversy was going on, all letters were held up for several weeks. An official censor was supposed to come to do the work, but when he was late in coming Captain Patterson decided to let his own men read the mail. There was apparently no set standard of what one could write and what one could not write; the men who were censoring the letters did not know themselves.<sup>6</sup> The matter was finally taken up with the San Francisco office of the Fourth Army and on July 7, the censorship was lifted.

The incident did not upset the colony too greatly. Perhaps this was because

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6. Field Notes (TS), July 1, 1942

many of the Issei and Nisei expected something of this nature anyway. When the block managers announced that all letters except business letters and mail headed for Army camps were to be mailed undealed, there did not seem to be too much objection. Naturally, a few were disgruntled, but this issue attracted less attention than many other seemingly less important items.

In July the weather became unbearably hot. The mess halls were so hot during lunch and supper that everyone was just bathed in sweat as he came out. During the days the workers had to lose themselves in whatever they were doing to forget the heat, while the older people and children sat or played in the shady side of the barracks. It was in this terrific heat that the many conflicts occurred.

Because of the loose control exercised by the administration, many of the pro-Japanese elements in the center began to get more articulate. This pro-Japanese feeling became very apparent at the Fourth of July celebration, paradoxically. In spite of the very patriotic items listed officially in the Tulean Dispatch,<sup>7</sup> the sentiment of many Issei and Kibei came out strongly in the program for the day. The day's celebration began with the singing of songs such as the "Star Spangled Banner" and "God Bless America". During the afternoon, sumo and a number of softball games attracted attention. It was in the evening that the feelings came out.<sup>8</sup>

About 7 o'clock, on the outdoor platform, Mr. Shirrell gave the address of the day in which he stated that the Americans would triumph in the war. As the interpreter began to translate that section of the talk, he was greeted by phrases such as "Sore de ii!", "wakata, wakata," ('that's enough' and 'we understand'), indicating that the Japanese-speaking audience thoroughly disapproved of what was being said.

Later in the evening, during an Issei entertainment, naniwabushi and aho-

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7. The official program can be found in the Tulean Dispatch July 3, 1942

8. It was not for almost a month that the officials found out that actually went on during the July 4 celebration.



dangkyo were sung praising Japanese soldiers and glorifying Japan.<sup>9</sup> The administration thought that they were doing the colonists a favor by letting them celebrate in their own way, but some irresponsible people, realizing the language handicap, committed this rash act. Besides this performance, a bon odori was held in the firebreak opposite block 4; this, however, was innocuous.

During early July, the interest of the colonists varied. For the first two weeks, long lists were issued every day or every other day containing the names of people who were to receive their "i. d. tags." (identification cards) so as to facilitate the payment of wages. There was considerable speculation over what center was to be relocated in Tule Lake next; many expected Portland or Puyallup, while some even expected Tanforan. Many were interested in trying to get their friends or relatives transferred to live with them on the project. A demand was made for rice and tsukemono in the mess halls. There was considerable interest in the bon odori which were still being held.

A barber shop was opened next to canteen no. 1. A second canteen was opened, and the discussion of canteen profits increased. The City Council created a Judiciary Committee to handle misdemeanors in the colony, and a few days later a heated fight broke out in mess 26. Registration for school began, and the Student Relocation Committee got under way in the center. On the 6th, some of the people who had worked in May were paid, and this increased the talk about wages.

On the 4th of July, Salinas people moved in, and on the 10th, some evacuees from the "White Zone" began to pour into the center at the rate of 500 a day. This once again brought to fore the problem of hoarding lumber and more conflicts occurred. On the 15th, the "White Zone" movement was over, and on the following day, people began coming in from Pinedale Assembly Center. This stopped most speculations about who was coming to the center next.

9. Ahodarakyo is an impromptu performance, the primary objective of which is to make people laugh. It is not necessarily patriotic and can be on any topic.

On July 11, those who had worked in Wallergera were paid. On the following day, the hour of Recorded Classical Music made its debut: this program continued to be held weekly until cold weather in November made it impossible to continue. The first Community Forum was held on July 13 on the topic, "Nisei Citizenship-- How Can We Preserve It?" and featured Mr. Edwin Fergusson, regional attorney for the W.R.A. The Forum was highly successful, drawing a larger crowd than any subsequent discussion. On July 15, the possibility of repatriation to Japan was announced, but this did not cause much disturbance in the routine. On July 19, a bon-odori festival was held at the Outdoor Platform, and on the following day, the education for cooperatives began under the direction of Mr. Elberson. On the 20th, the Tulean Dispatch became a daily paper. On the 24th, it was announced that the camp was almost full now that the Pinedale movement was over.

During this period, the discontent was obviously growing. The days were extremely hot, the temperature ranging far over 100 degrees. Since it was so hot, the people began adopting the practice of sprinkling water on the grounds. This practice and the frequency at which people were forced to take showers created a strain on the water supply, and the administration had to make a warning about wasting water.<sup>10</sup>

One of the major bones of contention was the wage scale. On the one hand, there was the complaint on the part of many of the older Nisei that they were not being paid enough. On July 15, the City Council, demanded a new wage scale setting \$40 as the maximum wage level. This, however, was not the major problems.

Serious problems were created when many competent people, especially Issei, refused to take responsible positions. Since those who were supervisors and foremen were disliked by many of the men; the competent men often refused to take the responsibility if their compensation was to be only \$3 more per month. Many people felt that since the difference in the wage levels was so small anyway, everyone

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ought to be paid a uniform wage. Many of the Issei claimed that they did not mind being paid a few dollars less than some young Nisei college graduate, but that it was the idea of being subordinate in status that bothered them. The discussion went on very heatedly until the middle of July and then began to die down. Many had already forgotten the issue when it was discussed at the second Community Forum on "Uniform Wage Scales" held on July 27. The forum revived the interest, but the subject died down.

Another topic that was the center of concern during this period was the matter of excessive canteen profits. This issue made it very difficult for the cooperatives to make any headway in the colony, since the issue was closed. The complaint was that the canteen was making so much profit that it ought to cut its profits. The colonists felt that since most people did not have too much money anyway, it was much better to have low prices at once than to get vague promises from the W.R.A. (which they had begun to distrust by now) that the profits would be distributed to the colony. The complaints became so bitter that on July 17, the Tulean Dispatch revealed the amount of profits in June--\$5313.00

This announcement, as might be expected, brought out a new barrage of protests. The arguments pro and con then began to involve the cooperatives which had been announced. Some felt that the W.R.A. should operate the stores and sell things at cost; others felt that the coops should take over and distribute the profits; others felt that canteens were entirely unnecessary since the W.R.A. was supposed to provide all essentials anyway. The most frequent argument used was that children could not resist candy and soda water and the fathers of large families were to be destitute unless some change is made. Accusations were made against the W.R.A. for not providing such items as clothes hangers, which were on sale in the canteen. This issue, which began in June, continued even to winter and did much to discredit the sincerity of the W.R.A. in the eyes of the colonists.

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Now were the difficulties only those between the administration and the colonists. The colonists bickered among themselves as well. Early in July, in the Sacramento area, Wards II and III, tremendous resentment was developed against two professional men--attorney Walter Tsukamoto and Dr. George Iki. Both were older Nisei who had dealt with Issei before and had built up a reputation in Sacramento. Because of their age and reputations and because of Mr. Tsukamoto's connections with the J.A.C.L., the two men were given considerable authority in Wallerga Assembly Center. They were in many ways the liaison men between the administration and the evacuees there. The conditions in Wallerga were apparently none too good, food being terrible for one thing, and no one being paid or receiving clothing allowance for another. Since the two men were on such good terms with the Caucasians, many of the people concluded that the administration, with the cooperation of Iki and Tsukamoto, had chiseled in on the government allowances to better their own personal ends.<sup>11</sup> This accusation, which they had conspired with the hated keto to rob their own ~~personal ends~~ fellow Japanese, was a serious charge, and since it was a charge that was difficult to disprove, the stories spread rapidly and the resentment became very strong. Some of the comments were:

"Dr. Iki is a good doctor, but he mixes in with politics. It's too bad that he can't go straight."

"Tsukamoto and his cigar-smoking cronies were always a bunch of grafters anyway."

"The sooner we get rid of inu (dog) like that the better."

By the time the stories reached other sections in the camp, they had grown considerably. "Actual proof" was presented; such as, the men and their families ate "sukiyaki" in the hospital with the keto, and people who could have been saved died of neglect. The feeling against these men proved to be very important in the subsequent happenings in the center.

11. The writer is of the opinion that the charges were not true. The colonists took them so seriously, however, that Dr. Iki was unable to eat in his own mess hall. Certain personal characteristics of these men made it difficult.



The fight in mess 26 early in July and the one in mess 4 toward the end of the month created some antagonism between Kibei and Nisei elements in the center. In mess 26, the chief cook (a Kibei) had told his crew to take home the meat from the mess hall since the deliveries were not large enough to feed the whole block meat anyway. He apparently felt that it would do little good to give the people small driplets of meat. Unfortunately, one of the cooks who was carrying the meat home in a can dropped it where several people were looking on. Immediately a protest went up, and the mess crew walked out. When the people in the block got together to cook themselves, the chief cook came back to watch and heckled them. Words led to more words and finally some blows were struck. In the eyes of the Nisei, the hot-tempered Kibei cook was at fault.

On July 27, one of the residents in block 4 complained in the Tulean Dispatch that he was fed up with the beans, stew, and "slop suey" that was served in rotation. The Kibei and the Issei in the block ganged up on the editor of the paper for including such an item that was a "disgrace to the colony to complain to the keto," and threatened to beat him up. Only the pleading of other Issei who thought it would be a greater disgrace to commit violence saved the man.

These two incidents were widely discussed in the colony, and many Nisei were of the opinion that the Kibei were too "hot-headed" and were trouble-makers. Needless to say, this did not improve relations in the community.

Another matter that became the source for concern was the fear on the part of many mothers that their daughters were not behaving as well as they might be. Rumors were going about the camp that there were 200 unmarried girls who were seeking abortions in the hospital. The mothers in block 4 held a meeting early in July to plan ways and means of combatting the matter. They decided not to let their daughters out unless some better arrangements could be made. Mothers complained that dances ended at 11 and their daughters did not come home until



3 in the morning. They complained that the conditions of the camp were too conducive to misconduct. Some suggested that each block hold dances of their own and have them invitational so that some control could be had over the type of people attending. Rumors continued to circulate and mothers continued to worry and complain, but the interest in the matter gradually died down.

During the latter part of July, the Census office (Records Office) began to survey the camp. All persons over 16 were required to answer questions. On July 28, the Red Cross Investigating Committee came through the center. It seemed that the State Department had become perturbed about an article in the New Republic about the centers and had requested the Red Cross to investigate. The staff was notified ahead of time and straightened out things before they came.<sup>12</sup> Interest was also high in some circles during this period about absentee voting; a comparatively small number voted, however. On July 31, considerable grumbling went up when, in accordance with Army orders, a midnight census was taken in the city. Many felt that people could have been counted just as well at 9 o'clock.

By this time, the feeling of the colonists toward the center had changed considerably from that of May and early June. There was no longer the feeling of thankfulness to the Caucasian staff. There was in its place growing distrust and fear. Many felt that the place was unbearable, and the news of July 31, that citizens would be allowed to leave the center was taken with considerable glee. The anti-keto feeling was beginning to rise, and those who were closely associated with them were considered "inu" (dog).<sup>13</sup> Many feared that in the winter, the snow might block the trains and that the Caucasians might leave the Japanese to starve to death, and they began drying food that they got from the mess halls.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Field notes (TS), July 27, 1942.

13. By "dog" the Japanese are not referring to the canine. They mean that the person is a "stool-pigeon". This is one of the most serious charges that could be made.

14. See the Tulean Dispatch, July 23 and July 30.



Several minor items occurred that were irritating to some of the colonists. Toward the end of July, mosquitoes swarmed over the camp. Since the barracks were without screens, some of the people were considerably inconvenienced. Another thing that irritated many was the bank. The Bank of America in Tule Lake had complained to the project that there was not enough business in the camp to warrant their sending a man once a week. However, every time the bank man came people stood in lines for hours in the baking sun to transact business. The bank man often came several hours late; sometimes he did not come at all on the appointed day. The bank charged 10 cents for every check cashed--even for deposits. Some of the comments were:

"So re mi. Keto no yatsu wa baka ni shite yagaru." (Look at that. The keto are making fools out of us.)

"These bastards think they got us by the abills and do anything they want. Just wait and see. Some day, they'll get theirs."

"What the hell is this anyway? These guys are robbers. I don't have to do business with them. I'm not going to. The hell with them."

It was difficult to find anyone who had kind feelings about the bank. They patronized it only because of necessity.

Anxieties grew about this time. There was apprehension about the pay checks early in August, for June workers had not yet been paid. In spite of the unbearable heat, there was some anxiety over what would happen in the winter and people began banking up the sides of their barracks. This was finally done throughout the camp under the supervision of the block managers. Grumbling about the canteens continued, and the people in Ward III signed petitions requesting that no canteen be set up in their ward. It was about this time that organized protest began.

Thus we see that by early in August the life in Tule Lake had changed. There was one disagreeable incident after another making it extremely hard to live happily. Attitudes had changed considerably from cooperation to antagonism and distrust. Strife was plentiful.



On August 7, plans were begun for self-government in the colony through the City Council. Unfortunately the W.R.A. made the error of giving all the power to the Nisei--many of whom did not want it anyway. About this time, the huge cast iron stoves for the winter cold were distributed throughout the camp. On the 10th, a Community Forum was held on education in Tule Lake.

The delivery of the huge coal stoves (three feet high) caused many to think of the winter. There was some concern about food deliveries and about coal. The administration experienced some difficulties in recruiting coal workers because it was a dirty job and only paid \$12.

There were other seeds of discontent. The Pinedale people who had just come in found themselves without lumber or even plaster board in their rooms. Furthermore, they found that most of the desirable jobs were already taken and that it was difficult to break in. As those who had enjoyed a relatively high status in the Assembly Center tried to maintain their status, conflicts ensued. These conflicts, however, were largely among the Nisei. Many of the Issei did not seem to care enough about working to make an issue out of jobs.

Another source of dissention was the breaking of the cesspool opposite block 34. The concrete structure had been built by Army Engineers. When the Nisei engineers in the center pointed out that the ground was too soft and the water level too high for such a heavy structure, the Army men and the administration ignored them and went ahead. The ground was too soft and one part of the structure caved in, breaking pipes and creating a stench that could be smelled in all of Ward III. This odor did not help.<sup>15</sup>

The weather did not help the situation either. It was still almost unbearably hot. However, when the wind blew, the dust became so thick that sometimes it was difficult to see the next barrack. Whirlwinds swept through the camp, breaking windows and spraying on a new layer of dirt and dust. Need-

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15. Field notes (TS), August 8, 1942.



less to say, this did not help the morale.

On August 11, a Mr. O'Brien of the Office of War Information came to the center. He indicated (privately) that the O.W.I. was concerned over the fact that American prisoners in Japanese hands were being mistreated and that they wished to have some of the people in the relocation centers broadcast to Japan to assure the warlords that everything was all right here. He met with a group of Issei and Nisei on the following day and was advised not to ask publicly for volunteers for such a broadcast. He did not do so at the time and avoided a great deal of confusion.

On August 12, the Tulean Dispatch carried an item stating that the canteens had done \$74,000 of business during the month of July. This naturally irritated those who had been arguing against canteens. The interest in the subject was heightened the next day, when canteen #3 burned in one of the biggest fires in the history of the camp.

At about 4:30 in the morning of the 13th, the siren screeched the fire warning. Since it was the first major fire for most of the inhabitants, many ran out to see what it was. The flames were so big that they would be seen several wards away, shooting into the sky. There was a bedlam of noise. Firewagons dashed toward the fire from the three firestations. People ran madly in the direction of the fire, dressing on their way. Those who lived nearby quickly began packing their valuables.

Fortunately, the firemen and the wardens were able to keep the situation under control. The wardens immediately cleared the vicinity of the fire of all spectators. Armed with sticks they patrolled the area. The firemen efficiently fought the flames and brought them under control within a few minutes. Thanks to the fine work of these crews, only the front part of the canteen went down.

Among those who were watching, there seemed to be three theories as to how the blaze began: (1) electrical trouble, (2) spontaneous combustions, and (3)



fire-bug (including two possibilities: a maniac and a person against canteens).

Among some of the typical comments were:

"I'm certainly glad it wasn't someone's home that burned down."

"Lucky no one was hurt."

"The canteen burned down. We never wanted it in this ward anyway."

"Oh boy, now we can have a fire sale."

"I left my shoes in there for repair. I wonder what happened to my shoes."

No one seemed to be too concerned about the fact that the canteen burned down, little realizing that the store belonged to the colonists. Rumors had it that the canteen was not covered by insurance because no company would take the risk. Some were actually glad the the money-robbing canteen had burned.

The fire brought to fore several questions that had been moot up to this point. Many of the Issei who had argued against canteens had thought that it was an instrument through which the W.R.A. could take back from the Japanese the meager wages that they earned. (Wages had not yet been paid.) Thus, they may have felt happy about the fire. However, many learned within a few days that the stores belonged to the people and that the people would suffer the loss if there were any.<sup>16</sup> Some of the reactions were:

"As long as they make money, the keto take it all. As soon as there is a loss, they charge it to the Japanese. It's just like the keto."

"If it was our store, why didn't they let us run it? We asked for low prices, but they keep on setting it. Now they tell us it's ours because they lost something."

Along with this grumbling about the canteen profits came grumblings about wages. Everyone seemed to be spending money--especially those with many children and some had exhausted their meager savings. Since no one had yet been paid their June wages, the demand grew for the payment of something. Some felt that the keto never had intended to pay anyway and used the tardiness as an example

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16. The store was fully covered by insurance.



of the insincerity of the Caucasian.

Another incident occurred that heightened the ill-feeling between the administration and the colony. On August 5, some irresponsible Issei had made some uncomplimentary remarks about Caucasians. At an Issei entertainment on that date, when all Caucasians were occupied elsewhere at some party, the announcer said over the public address system: "Since there are no keto here tonight, we can say and do anything that we please."<sup>17</sup> This statement was preceded and followed by naniwabushi and ahodarakyo, songs and acts which glorified Japan. Some of the songs glorified the Japanese Army.<sup>18</sup> Some of the Issei who attended were shocked; others apparently did not think much about it and simply had a good time.

It was not long that rumors began to spread throughout the camp that the man who had been announcer had been arrested by the F.B.I. and had been sentenced to 20 years in prison. This rumor did the rounds before the Caucasians in the administrative personnel even knew about the incident. The feeling ran high, however, and there was open antagonism against the administration. When the man in charge of Issei recreation was discharged,<sup>19</sup> this was taken as proof that the administration <sup>knew</sup> of the incident and the hunt began for the stool pigeon.

A few days later, after many wild hunches,<sup>20</sup> one of the block managers was accused of being the stool pigeon. He received an anonymous letter (in perfect English) threatening his life. Wardens were assigned to guard his house and had to chase away young Kibei groups armed with two-by-fours. Everyone "knew" who the "stoolis" was and everyone seemed to be out to get him. The Kibei and Issei elements were up in arms; the Nisei looked on with mild interest.

17. Actually, this statement was made in connection with something else. There is a W.R.A. ruling against soliciting donations, and the announcer, in asking for donations, was remarking that no one would know the difference anyway.

18. Ahodarakyo are not patriotic songs; they are to make people laugh

19. The man was discharged for other reasons. He had not followed one of the recreation director's orders.

20. Christian ministers were accused of squealing.



On August 14, a committee of Issei, Nisei and Kibei representatives met with Mr. Waller of the recreation staff to settle the issue. Apparently Mr. Waller had found out about the incident somehow in the meantime. At that time, the administration (represented by Mr. Waller) bent over backwards to let the incident go--providing there could be some guarantee that the thing would not happen again. Plans were made for an Issei recreation committee to supervise all Issei entertainments. The conflicts did not settle down here, for some of the Issei refused to cooperate with the new committee and the actors tagged along with the man who was discharged. This issue, however, was swarmed under by other events.

From the first of August there had been much grumbling on the project farm. It was being badly mismanaged by incompetent Caucasian personnel, who apparently knew little about farming and less about labor relations. On top of the poor organization, wages had not been paid for months, clothing was wearing out but no replacements were coming in, the workers had not been issued gloves and their own had worn out, the mess halls promised to the farmers in July had not yet been constructed and the men were forced to eat in the blazing heat and dust.

From the very beginning the farm had been disorganized. There was a major conflict between Mr. Eastman, the division head, and Mr. Kallam, the section head. While Mr. Eastman planned things, Mr. Kallam went straight ahead without consulting his superior and did things to suit himself. Naturally, Mr. Eastman was unable to do much after certain crops had been planted in area that he had planned to use for something else. This situation often worked a hardship on the men working in the fields for there would be contradictory orders and silly repetitions. The men working in the fields were mostly experienced farmers who knew of the mistakes that were being made. They cared little, however, since it was not their farm (so they thought) and because they were working just to kill time anyway.



The Caucasian staff continued to make promises, but none of them were kept. The conditions went from bad to worse and finally on the morning of August 15, the farmers went on strike. They demanded the payment of their wages; they demanded clothing and equipment; and they demanded better food. As the demands indicate, the ills had been accumulating for a long time. The thing that tended off the strike was the food situation. On the morning of the 15th, the farmers had been asked to go to work with two pieces of bread and tea for breakfast. The food had been getting progressively worse, but this was as much as some of the men could stand.

The strike became a general strike. All vehicles except hospital ambulances and mess hall trucks were forced to stop. Some even wished to stop them. Since it was a Saturday (no work in the afternoon) there was fortunately no conflict between strikers and non-strikers. A general meeting of all work crew foremen was held in the afternoon and a committee to negotiate with the administration was nominated.

Unfortunately, Mr. Shirrell had gone to San Francisco on official business. The whole matter was left in the hands of the young and incompetent assistant director, Mr. Hayes. Somehow or another the committee and the Caucasians bungled through and a tentative agreement was reached. Fully realizing that they were at fault for many of the difficulties, the administration promised to fulfill the demands of the strikers.

At the Musquiz, a program for the Nisei, held that night, the news of the strike was announced. It was met with cheer and applause. However, when the man announced that the strike had been settled, a much louder applause and cheer went up--indicating that the Nisei were not too sympathetic with the anti-administration attitudes of some of the Issei farm workers.

Some of the Nisei said:

"What the hell! If those dumb Issei knew what the score was they wouldn't raise such a fuss."



"I don't see any reason why I have to quit work just because some old farm men want me to. Why should I?"

"If the farmers want to have a strike, it's their own damm business. I don't want to get messed up in this one."

"Do you think the soldiers will come in? After all you can't strike against the government."

These were not comments of typical Nisei, however. Most Nisei did not seem too be too interested in what was going on. The Musiquiz program was of much greater interest to them.

Some of the Nisei commented:

"If we must have a strike, let's have a strike. But if we must have one, let's do it cleanly and get it over with like real Japanese and not let it drag on like a bunch of women."

"I don't think we can do much here in this camp. After all the keto have been taking advantage of us for a long time. But now that's it's started, let's see it thorough to the end like men."

"These damm keto promise and promise. They have smooth tongues, but their hands never catch up with their tongues. They'll probably give us more promises now."

"It is wrong to fight and to start trouble, but once something is started, men see it through. We should try to settle all the difficulties as soon as possible and live in peace."

On Sunday evening, August 16, there was a camp-wide mass meeting on the strike issue. The leaders who had negotiated with the administration were to tell themen what had happened. The meeting was scheduled for 8 o'clock on the Outdoor Platform.

Large groups of men began gathering at the firebreak about 7:30. The young Chrisitian church group was holding a meeting at which Rev. Caleb Foote was the guest speaker. Since the Chrisitians held the outdoor platform and had the public address system, the agreement was that they would leave at 8 and that the strike meeting would take place at that time. If the Christians were not through, then the strikers were to meet at the sumo ring down the firebreak.

The Chrisitan meeting dragged on and on, but the strikers could not meet at the sumo ring without a public address system because there were too many



there and no one could be heard. In spite of the pleading of the leaders, the men started to walk toward the platform in large numbers and began heckling the speakers. Some of the men started to demand that the microphone be taken away from the speaker. Agitators entered the scene and began making demands.

The situation was tense. There were thousands of men present by this time. The crowd was made up almost entirely of Issei and Kibei and all the talking was in Japanese. The whole group was milling around relentlessly and the people were ready for anything. Some men started demanding action. Some wanted to rush the stage; others wanted to fight it out with the soldiers stationed on the other side of the project.

The Christian meeting finally ended at 8:45 and the strikers took over the platform. There were some delays in getting bulbs and in convincing the man in charge of the public address system that a meeting was to take place and that his microphone would be used whether he liked it or not. No one dared to speak in English, for cries would immediately go up. "Nihon go de yeale!" ("Say it in Japanese!"). Anything that had anything to do with Caucasians was in disfavor.

The various speakers tried to calm down the men. They reported on the status of their negotiations. They stated that the Caucasians had agreed to do everything that had been demanded. The men were not satisfied, however, and began heckling the speakers. The general feeling was that the committee had not asked enough. The speakers had to promise that they would give their lives if necessary to see that the keto kept their promises, for the men were rather skeptical about anything promised by the administration.

The regular meeting finally broke up at 9:40 after many hot words had been exchanged, however, a group of agitators and the discontented stood nearby and began to protest to the speakers. Immediately the crowd came running back, crying, "Nagure! nagure!" (sock him). One of the cooks present had started the trouble by saying that he did not have enough food to feed his people. Immediately there began a long and drawn-out discussion of the food situation in the camp.



The bickering went on and on and the speaker was heckled no matter what he said. The leader finally said that if he was not desired by the men, he wanted some of those who were complaining about him in whispers to get up and say what they had to say over the microphone. Immediately, everyone hushed up and the agitators quieted down; no one took up the challenge. Finally, one old man got up and skillfully made fun of the situation and asked the men to calm down. He was such a skillful speaker that he won over the audience.

It was not until a very late that a means was discovered to control the audience. One middle-aged man, reputed to have been a soldier in the Imperial Army, got up and bawled out the men. He shouted, "You act like a bunch of women and children--complaining just because you didn't get what you wanted. Why don't you act like Japanese, pull in your belt, straighten out proudly, and shut up and take it like a man?" At this, everyone quieted down. No one dared say anything. Seeing how the appeal to racial pride worked, the other leaders used the same technique and finally sent the men home. It was finally decided that everyone would go back to work until Mr. Shirrell returned from San Francisco; at that time, the committee would see him.

On the following morning, the agitators were once again busy trying to prevent the men from going to work. The Nisei seemed not to have paid any attention and were already at work. The agitators were shouting at the Issei telling them that since they had come this far they would have to see it through. The common sense arguments of the leaders prevailed, however, and the man returned to work. Once on the farm, however, the agitators stirred such a rumpus that the men stopped working and had another meeting. The trouble went on for weeks but the feeling never rose again to the pitch of Sunday night. (16th)

The period of organized protest was well under way. The feeling against the administration, all Caucasians and against stool-pigeons was very high. The men were serious, ready to kill if necessary. The misunderstanding and suspicion had almost reached its peak.



While the farm strike and the ahodarakyo incidents disturbed many Issei and Kibei, the Nisei world went on almost uninterrupted. After some struggle within the city council, that body released jurisdiction over the cooperatives on August 19. Kite-~~fling~~ was the center of interest in some circles, and each evening dozens of kites (American and Japanese style) greeted the skies. On the 20th, a skeleton was found in block 51, and this aroused some interest and speculation. People went in droves each evening and over the weekends to see the baseball games. On the following day, a Queen contest to select the queen for the Labor Day celebration was announced and before long this became the focus of interest for many Nisei.

On the 21st, an oratorical contest was announced. On the same day, plans for Japanese baths were announced. Then came warnings from the administration that scorpions were in the vicinity; this caused some fear for posters were put up warning all residents (in both English and Japanese). On that day, the first magazine section of the Dispatch, containing articles, short stories, and poems by Nisei writers, came out. On the 22nd, there was a big musical show for the Nisei. Thousands flocked out to the outdoor platform to listen to the artists perform in a beautifully arranged and spectacular show.

At long last, June wages began to be paid on August 22. Many were surprised and could not believe that they were to be paid. Apparently the procedure had been stepped up since the strike. The farm group was paid first, but the date for paying the other crews was not announced and many just trekked into the office for their checks.

About this time, the Army relaxed its hold over the colony. Soldiers were relieved of the task of signing out people who were going out to the farm or on hikes. The Department of Internal Security took charge of sign-outs and package inspection in the post-office. The latter move was welcomed by the colonists since they were no longer required to walk to the post-office for their packages. They were delivered, often unopened.



On August 24, a Community Forum was held on the topic of marriage. Many young girls (and old ones) attended, some probably because they were troubled about their own status. The forum was thoroughly enjoyed because of the many wisecracks, but questions were not answered. On the following day, Dr. Blaisdell, director of higher education for the W.R.A. came to the center to meet questions on higher education in Tule Lake. Broad plans were drawn up although everyone agreed that the major emphasis should be on student relocation.

On August 25, the first cold hit the center. Rain greeted the colonists as they came out of their supper. Everyone was gleeful and happy that at last the heat wave had been ended and the dust had been stopped. It was really the first series of cool days in months.

On the 27th and the 28th, the oratorical contests took place in typical Nisei society fashion. The speeches given were very reminiscent of the type of delivery accepted in Nisei circles. During the contests, attended by several hundred Nisei, several of the candidates for queen were presented. From this point on, the interest in the contest was strong. Work crews entered their candidates; friends collected votes; posters were pasted up throughout the camp. By the 28th, 15 candidates were entered.

On the 28th, plans for the merit system were released. Many were at first doubtful if the system would work; many, in fact, felt that it would be dangerous to ask foreman to rate their crews--especially on the farm. There were difficulties in recruiting personnel for the committee, but it finally started.

On the following day, Mr. Shirrell, following the advise of colonists, addressed the colony in a general meeting. With the help of an able interpreter he outlined the new policies of the W.R.A. as they had been worked out in the recent conference that he had been attending. He discussed wage policy, policy on leaves, on room and board, clothing allowances, grants, and several other items. The meeting was attended most by Issei men. They did not seem too impressed, although they did sit for 2 hours and 20 minutes in the baking sun



listening very patiently ~~even~~ when Mr. Shirrell was speaking in English. Some of the comments were;

"If he can keep his promises that he made, this camp might be all right. I don't know if he can.

"It's all right to talk, but I'd like to see something done. He talked about clothes. I'll bet we won't get them. They will think up some excuse by the time the money is to be circulated."

"You know how the keto are. They talk and talk and they never mean what they say. I've heard things like that before.

"Oh, the talk is allright. He works very hard, but he just doesn't understand the feeling of the Japanese."

"I told you they weren't going to raise anybody's salary. They always tell lies and then blame somebody else."

"He said he wanted us to get out. Does that mean that we can go home? Where else can I go?"

On the same day, several other announcements were made. The colony was told that the W.R.A. would not be able to get tires after present supplies are exhausted. This naturally disturbed some people, because they wondered ~~how~~ they would get food in the winter if there were not trucks to deliver food to the mess halls. As one Kibei man remarked, "What the hell is this anyway? They put us in a place like this to take care of us for the duration. We've been here only for a few months, and they're yelling about shortages already!" On that day, kite-flying was banned because of the danger to the colonists should there be any trouble in the power lines (which are uncovered); people went ahead anyway. On the following day, it was announced that Issei could hold appointive offices in the colony; no one seemed to take this too seriously.

Feeling ran high among some Nisei over the beatings administered by some unruly Kibei in the center. On August 21, Howard Imageki, editor of the Tulean Dispatch was seriously beaten up by a group of Kibei. Although there were reasons why he was beaten up that were to some extent understandable,<sup>21</sup> as is usually true

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21. See the section on Community Disorganization



in most conflicts, the reasons were not clearly known and many Nisei came to the conclusion that Kibei were too hot tempered. Rumors were rampant about other instances of beatings; some Nisei commented,

"These god damn Kibei bastards; they're so hot tempered that when they get mad they just see red and kill somebody. It's a wonder somebody hasn't been killed here yer."

"They're the most unreasonable guys around. They're so pro-Japan that they're not interested in understanding anything that has anything to do with America. They can't understand English and they take lots of things the wrong way."

"You know how they are. They just get mad and go off the beam. They get everybody in trouble because they don't give a damn what the outsiders think of us in here. They're all planning to go back to Japan anyway. I hope they go."

"We ought to get up a gang of tough Nisei and beat the hell out of some of them."

The feeling ran high for a few weeks. After a trial in the Council's judiciary committee over the Imazeki case, the Council announced plans to combat what they labeled as "gansterism."<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime, the first call was made for labor in the autumn harvest. Representatives of sugar beet companies visited the camp to ask for labor. At first the people were a bit cautious about going, but soon many were signing up. A surprisingly large number of Nisei signed up to work in the beet fields. Some of their comments were:

"This is a hell of a place. I figure no matter how bad Idaho is, it can't be worse than this place. I want to get out of here."

"I need some money so I can get out to go to school. The evacuation left me broke and I figure I can pick up something in this deal."

"I haven't seen whiskey in months. That means more to me than national defense. The hell with the farmers. I want to get some fun out of this."

"I can't make any contacts here. I figure if I were out of it would be ~~be~~ more or less easier for me to meet people that could help me."

"Anything to get out of this dump."

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22. Tulean Dispatch August 26, 1942. See also the confidential report of Judiciary committee to the council of the same date. See also Field Notes (TS), August 22, 26, and 28, and section on Community Disorganization.



Thus, for varied reasons many Nisei left the center. When we consider the fact that a large number of Issei also left, we might conclude that helping in the defense effort was one of the least important motives leading to the exodus.

In the meantime, other difficulties were occurring. On August 24, the trouble in the construction crew began. They could not go on a strike because many of the crew were busy installing sheet rock and their quitting would cause inconvenience to the people. It was not long after they had helped the farmers in their strike, that grievances of their own developed. Soon when half of their crew was laid off for not obeying orders, the trouble began.<sup>23</sup>

The situation on the farm was still not much better and for several weeks it seemed that the men were on the verge of having another strike--this time to end all disagreements one way or the other. Fortunately, nothing more happened on the farm,<sup>24</sup> but on the 28th, the packers went on a strike. Their main demand was for aprons, and the matter was settled before long.

On August 27, three Nisei (one of them a perpetual trouble-maker) were caught in the town of Tule Lake and arrested. Very few people in the colony found out about this, but the irresponsible action of these boys caused the administration many unnecessary headaches.

On the same night, canteen no. 4 (in the administration area) was robbed of \$95. and 20 cartons of cigarettes. The thief gained entrance through a rear window. He was apparently an amateur for he left many finger prints and foot prints. This was the first major theft in the camp.<sup>25</sup>

On August 30, a fight took place in block 42 that in some ways concerned the whole camp. One of the participants, a butcher, had been discharged because some-one had been stealing meat from the shop (no one proved that he had done it.)

23. Details of the difficulty can be found in the section on Community Disorganization. Most of the "social problems" mentioned in this chapter will be treated more critically in that chapter.

24. The farm has been perpetually the source of trouble. It cannot be said that the farm was ever quiet. There was always trouble and misunderstanding, but this period was relatively quiet.

25. Tulean Dispatch, August 29, 1942



The major complaint was not that someone was depriving the colony of meat, as might be expected, but the fact that a colonist (the steward) had squealed on fellow colonists to the administration. As a result of the "squealing" men were discharged (probably the wrong men). It was a matter of telling the keto that irritated many.

In the meantime, in Nisei circles, the queen contest became the major focus of attention. The interest rose and rose until September 1, several thousand people attended a program introducing the lovelies to the people. As the contest got under way, tricks were played and charges and counter-charges were made. The Records Office was accused of stuffing the ballot box. Supporters of one candidate accused supporters of others of buying ballots, of collecting unused ballots (Issei did not take much interest and didn't vote) and marking them to their own liking.<sup>26</sup> By the 2nd of September, 23 candidates were entered and in the election of that day, all but seven were eliminated. During the final campaign to select the queen, more charges and counter-charges were made, and even members of the recreation staff, who were distributing the ballots, were accused of dishonesty. Finally, on September 6, Miss Shiz Tamaki was selected to rule.

In the meanwhile, there was a period of unpredictable weather. There was rain, which brought joy because it eliminated dust. There was wind and the accompanying whirlwinds. Then it became unbearably hot again. Then once again it became freezing cold. All the time, the feeling against the Caucasians was high. Suspicion and distrust against the keto was almost as high as the disgust over the dust and the whirlwinds. People continued to dry vegetables in preparation for the "winter starving."

Early in September, the major focus of interest was on the conflict over coal; however, several other items of interest appear. Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago visited the camp on the 1st and to see what could be done for the Nisei when the new W.R.A. policies were drawn up. The O. W. I. brought

26. Field Notes (TS) September 4, 1942



in hundreds of pamphlets that they foolishly thought could be used to change the minds of the Issei about Japan. These pamphlets were distributed only once (in English), for the editor of the Tulean Dispatch was intelligent enough to know they they would only sow the seeds of greater strife. On September 3, the announcement was made that Tule Lake farm products were being sold to other projects; this brought some comments from the Issei, but withing a few weeks the grumbling died down. On the 5th, it was announced that all workers would have to walk to work in order to save tires.

The conflict over the coal situation arose on September 1, when the block managers were told to inform their people that they either had to haul coal or else do without it this winter. The whole thing could have been worker out amicably, and it seems that the trouble arose largely as a result of the stupidity of assistant director Joe Hayes. For some time prior to the flare-up, there had been some difficulty in getting enough people to shovel coal because it was a hard job, a dirty job, and paid only \$12. The City Council asked that the coal workers be paid \$19, but were told by Mr. Shirrell that that could not be done because of the regulations on wages. The coal crew began to quit work in large numbers, and a serious situation arose because the trains had to be unloaded by a certain date or else the project would be sued. It was at this time that the colonists were told bluntly; either shovel coal yourself or do without.

Each block was asked to contribute three volunteer workers per night (each volunteer to get the next day off with pay) to unload the coal. Another difficult factor was the scarcity of trucks which made it impossible to work during the day. The volunteers were asked to work for eight hours at night. Clothing was furnished by the W.R.A. When some of the older men, who realized that someone had to do the work, asked if two of them could go and work four hours each, for some odd reason they were told, "No." On the whole, the people responded and sent the volunteer crew, but this was largely because they had no alternative.



In some blocks, the block managers put the question very subtly and the people responded well; in other blocks, the heads were very frank and some resentment cropped up. Some of the comments made in this connection were:

"Well, whether we like it or not, it looks like we have to do it. Hell, It gets cold here. We have to have coal. If the other guys don't want to haul the coal, I'll go after my own anyway."

"It seems to me that there is some intelligent way of handling this thing. There are plenty of young men around here. Why should these old men have to do that hard work?"

"They are making suckers out of us again. They pull us out of a comfortable living and then dump us in a place like this. Then, they can't even take care of us. Here it is. A couple of months since we came here and they are blackballing us already."

"So they're afraid of being sued by the railroads. If the keto don't want to pay, why don't the keto get out there and haul the coal themselves?"

"We didn't invite ourselves in here. They put us here and they have to take care of us. Let them worry about it."

The volunteer crews went out for several nights, but before long enough permanent workers were recruited. Later on, a few Caucasians from Tule Lake were hired (for 90 cents an hour) when the Japanese drew did not work fast enough for the railroad company. This caused some difficulty because the Nisei objected to their being paid a few cents an hour for doing the same work, but the grumbling died down before long.

During the coal situation, open resentment against the Caucasian personnel was loudly expressed, often justifiably and more often because of some misunderstanding. Certainly, the whole event intensified the fears of many colonists that terrible things were in store for them in the winter. Their distrust of the Caucasian increased markedly after this incident. It was indeed unfortunate because the difficulty was caused largely by the way in which the proposition was presented to the colony. Had the matter been put up to the people instead of coming down as a threat, in all probability the stable elements in the colony could have kept things under control.



On September 4, the construction crew went on a strike when half of their crew was laid off. It is difficult to see why so many men were fired when one considers the fact that there was so much work to be done. In the meantime, the workers in the furniture factory had gone on a strike and the manufacturing of furniture for the schools and some of the office rooms had to lay in abeyance.

The celebration of Labor Day helped to alleviate the dark days. The festivities began on Sunday, September 6, with a sumo tournament. On Monday, the day began with a parade, followed by a Flag dedication ceremony. In the afternoon there was open house and baseball games. At night, there were talent shows and dances.

As usual, the parade began late. At 9:30 the first group began. By that time crowds lined the streets that it was to pass, mostly Nisei or old Issei carrying or watching small children. It was led by the wardens; then came the American Legion veterans and the boy scouts; then came the majorettes prancing and the band. The girl reserves, the nursery school kiddies and the floats came last. Among the floats were the beautifully decorated farm float (which lifted the pride of the farm worker) and numerous comic floats, including the entry of the International Nuthouse Gang with the "Queen of 1960"--a 200 pounder.

The flag-dedication ceremony was held at the reviewing stand. Several dignitaries gave speeches; patriotic songs were sung; and the flag was presented to an Issei who was a World War veteran. Many stood at attention as the flag was raised and as the "Star Spangled Banner" was sung. It was interesting to note, however, that many people began to walk away as Mr. Shirrell got up to speak.

27

On September 8, the Tulean Dispatch, announced that black widow spiders were

27. It must be pointed out that the concept of loyalty is very much emphasized by the minds of the Issei. They feel that their children should be loyal too--regardless of the country to which they should be loyal. Some Issei, however, have a more racialistic view.



to be found in the colony. This greatly alarmed some people who had not seen them before. On the same day, a call was made for some women workers on the farm. This created some antagonism on the farm, but nothing serious happened.

On September 9, several things happened that made it quite obvious that it would not be too difficult to leave camp. A few people had left before this time, but the number was so small that most of the residents thought that they were to be confined for the duration of the war whether they liked it or not. On this day, there began a major drive to recruit workers for the beet fields. Many who were disgruntled seized the opportunity to leave; this time there were several Issei and Kibei. Furthermore, word came that the U.S. Army was looking for Nisei who could read, write and speak Japanese to teach candidates for the Intelligence Service. Needless to say, many interpreted this as spy work, and the opposition to volunteering was rather strong. On the same day, Robert Frazee of the W.R.A. employment division came to the camp to see if there were any possibility of Nisei leaving to seek private employment outside. Since so many were leaving camp by this time for sugar beet work, for student relocation, or for employment, it became quite obvious that there were possibilities of escape.

On the 14th, school opened for 4,000 grammar and high school students. There was no equipment to speak of; there were not enough teachers; supplies had not yet been ordered; programs for students were not complete; everything seemed to be a mess. Many were amazed at the mismanagement and the poor organization. Stupid and pitiful errors were made; student teachers were incompetent; young Nisei mothers were resentful of the "raw deal" their children were getting. Complaints were plentiful from the students, the parents, and from the teachers. Everything was in an uproar.

During this time, the new heavy stoves were installed and the residents were reminded of the approaching winter. The chilly evenings served as warnings.

On September 13, a small nucleus of people opposed to the JACL met for



the first time at the Civic Organizations Office. Ways and means were plotted for combatting the JACL control of the camp. On the following night, the Community Forum held a discussion on the outdoor stage (the last) on the subject of crime in the colony. This forum discussion was largely an outgrowth of the concern of many Nisei of the beating administered during the past months by the Kibei elements.

On September 12, the first petition regarding doctors in the colony was circulated. During the past months, Dr. Carson (director of the Base Hospital) and Dr. Iki had gone to another center to help organize a hospital there; while he was gone, Dr. Harada had been in charge. Rumors had it that Dr. Carson had refused to order many items vital to the welfare of the people and that Dr. Harada had ordered them in his absence. Rumors had it further that Dr. Iki and Dr. Harada did not get along well together and Dr. Iki had persuaded Dr. Carson to send Dr. Harada out to another center.<sup>28</sup> Since most of the Sacramento people hated Dr. Iki, they immediately concluded that Dr. Harada must be a fine physician and began circulating petitions to retain him in the center. The first petition and the rumors about the conflicts went around before any public announcement was made about the departure of any doctor. Actually petitions meant nothing, since most people did not know what they were signing. The interest was rather high, however, and the feeling against Dr. Iki rose again.

On September 14, the payroll section began paying out July salaries. On the 16th, approximately 500 workers left for various beet-fields. On the 18th, there was an election of a Fair Practice Committee. Very few participated in the election. The most common comment was, "What's the use. We can't do anything."

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28. The fact of the matter was: there was some conflict in the hospital between Dr. Harada and Dr. Carson. Dr. Uyeyama also apparently did not hide his contempt for Dr. Carson (a much less experienced doctor.) Apparently Dr. Carson did resent these two doctors. However, he probably had little to do with their transfers; that was decided by Dr. Thompson of the regional office who sought to create a balanced staff in all hospitals. There was some reluctance to letting Dr. Iki go because he had donated so much of his own equipment to the hospital.



on the 21st, an indoor forum was held on the cooperatives. The meeting revealed the misunderstanding current about cooperatives in the center. On the following day, a Planning Board was proposed to advise the administration in regard to policy so that the people and the personnel could get along as amicably as possible. On the 23rd, the Merit Board was officially set up.

On September 16, the #3 canteen was robbed of some valuable goods. Someone slipped into the building at night either through a window or a door (both were open) and took some valuable items. Other things were scattered throughout the room.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, the theft of lumber was still a major problem.<sup>30</sup>

It was about this time that the mess hall trouble began to take shape. In August, the chief cooks had met and demanded that Mr. Pilcher (formerly steward at Wallerga and reputed to be anti-Japanese) be fired and that the Japanese be given complete control over the food situation. In spite of negotiations with the administration peacefully, nothing happened. Finally, on about the 20th of September a petition was circulated throughout the camp demanding (1) the immediate discharge of Pilcher, (2) the discharge of anyone else not working for the benefit of the community, (3) the replacement of these men by the Japanese, and (4) the complete control over the food situation by the Japanese. Over 9,000 people signed the petition.<sup>31</sup>

Charges and counter-charges were made. Mr. Pilcher was accused of keeping the best slices of meat (loins) for the Caucasian personnel and giving the rest to the Japanese.<sup>32</sup> Finally, Mr. Shirrell, after much delay, appointed a committee of Caucasians to investigate the whole situation.

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29. Tulean Dispatch, September 18, 1942

30. Field notes (TS), September 20, 1942

31. The petition was a farce. Very few people knew what they were signing. As Mr. Shirrell said at a Council meeting: "You know damn well 9,000 people didn't know that Pilcher did bad things. Somebody went up to them and told them that he was a son of a bitch, and they signed." Mr. Shirrell was much closer to the truth than he might have suspected. Field notes (TS), September 21, 1942

32. Contrary to W.R.A. regulations, this was being done. However, Mr. Peck, rather than Mr. Pilcher, was the culprit. Mr. Pilcher apparently never told Mr. Shirrell about this.



The weather became progressively colder as the days went on and the apprehensions about the conditions of the camp during the winter grew. People continued to dry vegetables and rice in preparation ~~for~~ the starvation. Many Nisei openly expressed a desire to get out of the camps. The feeling was still high against the Caucasians. Rumors were widespread that everyone on the coast would be transferred to Arkansas before long. These rumors became so widespread that Mr. Shirrell had to deny them in the Tulean Dispatch on September 25. It was about this time that the lull before the storm ended. The storm broke in full fury.

On September 22, lumber arrived on the project for the construction of a theatre. When it was learned, however, that the profits from community enterprises (supposedly the people's money) had been used to purchase the lumber and the equipment, a cry of protest went up. Toward the end of August, Kendall Smith (canteen director), foreseeing the government order forbidding the expenditure of more than \$200 for places of amusement, ordered movie projectors and lumber for the construction of a theatre. He had consulted several people before he made the move. Many Issei protested that they had not been consulted; many of them probably would have approved if they had been asked first, but there just wasn't the time in August. Smith had to make the order before the deadline and he thought that he would be helping the colony and did so.

During the heated discussion, the major issues were lost in the scramble, and once again the contention was brought forth that the Caucasians were trying their best to take away the money of the Japanese. It was contended that if there were a movie, the parents of large families were be handicapped because their children would always want money. Many of the more active Nisei, realizing that a movie house would be a boon in the cold winter months, argued against this, but it was of no avail. Finally, the City Council, on October 8 led by Walter Tsukamoto, passed a resolution favoring the theatre in spite of the opposition of the Issei.<sup>32</sup>

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32. This was a part of Tsukamoto's bid for power, and he failed miserably.



In the meantime, the construction crew, led by Issei and Kibei, refused to touch the lumber. Finally, when the Council gave the go signal, construction<sup>/</sup> was about to begin, when some of Tsukamoto's opponents revealed to the Issei that the theatre resolution had been advanced by the attorney. Immediately the feeling rose again against Tsukamoto and once more the theatre issue was deadlocked.

At the same time, almost simultaneously, the community was confronted with another crisis. In spite of the warnings given him in August, O'Brien of the Office of War Information returned to the colony to ask for volunteers to broadcast to Japan. In spite of the warnings, he announced his intentions publicly through the block managers, and immediately another crisis ensued. Many Nisei were willing to broadcast to indicate their loyalty to the United States, but the Issei opinion dominated the block meetings. The vociferous Nisei were thrown out of block meetings. Some of the more level-headed Issei proposed that records be made and played back to them to make sure that no lies were being sent, but apparently this was not agreeable to the O.W.I. men; they refused. Meeting after meeting was held and in the heat of excitement, pro-Japanese agitators stole the scene. There was so much confusion that the level-headed Issei could not be heard. Many of them were unable to speak for fear of being embarrassed by some agitator.<sup>33</sup> The broadcast was not made.

It was in this issue, that the long-broiling conflict between the Issei and the Nisei came out in the open. To be sure, the large majority of the Nisei were not particularly interested and therefore followed the dictates of their parents on issues such as this, but many of the Nisei leaders definitely opposed the first-generation. The differences in outlook had been kept under cover, but with the broadcast issue they came out in the open. Sharp words were exchanged and the feeling was high. Nisei accused some Issei of being pro-Axis; while the Issei looked upon the Nisei with pity for not knowing better than to trust keto.

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33. Here again the difficulty arose over the approach used. Had O'Brien followed the advise given him on his first visit, he might have been highly successful. He was amazingly slow for a propaganda man.



During the height of the struggle between the Issei and the Nisei and the height of the ill-feeling against the Caucasians, another crisis confronted the Nisei world. This crisis gave some strength to the Issei position. Indeed this period was one of confusion.

At the end of a Council meeting on September 26, Tsukamoto stood up and announced very dramatically that the House of Representatives had passed a bill depriving all Nisei of citizenship and that the bill had been reported favorably to the Senate. He quoted a weekly of the American Civil Liberties Union. The news spread like wildfire. Everyone was upset. The administration frantically sent telegrams for conformation to Washington; Nisei wrote their friends. Most Nisei were very-down-hearted. Rumors ran wild. By the early part of the following week, some Nisei were saying with confidence that the bill had passed the House 202-21. The Nisei world was electrified by the news.

Within a few days, however, telegrams came back to the project saying that the rumor was not true--that no such things had happened and nothing of the sort was likely to happen. The American Civil Liberties Union apologized, but the damage had been done. Many of Tsukamoto's political opponents who had begun to organize in many ways (Tsukamoto's opponents included both rabidly pro-Japanese Issei and rabidly anti-Japanese liberal Nisei) took advantage of the situation. More rumors spread. The J.A.C.L. leaders clung to Tsukamoto's statement to the last, but finally had to admit the error.

On October 4, a Nisei Citizens' Rally sponsored by the Community Forum and the University of California Club was held on the outdoor platform. In spite of the fact that the meeting was held one week after the first word of the report, the attendance was pitifully small. Most of the people attending were disgusted with the apathy of the Nisei (who one week before had been so alarmed)(who now did not seem to care at all about their citizenship. The meeting unfortunately turned out to be a political struggle between the J.A.C.L. and anti-J.A.C.L. elements. Much criticism was directed against the organization, but nothing



constructive seemed to have come out of the meetings. The J.A.C.L. star did not shine much brighter for a while after the meeting nor did the opponents succeed in organizing anything to take its place. In a few weeks the issue died down and the Niseiworld went on as usual with its dates and dances with complete oblivion to anything else.

In the meantime, the hog farm was announced. On the last day of September, the cooprepresentatives nominated members of the board of directors and the organization began to get on its feet. On the following day, the City Council set up a Trust Fund for evacuee workers. On the 7th of October, the announcement was made that there was a scarcity of labor in the farm, and students were called from the high school to harvest the crops. This caused much confusion on the farm and brought complaints from parents--especially of girls. All colonists were urged to help and some Nisei work crews did take a day off to loaf in the farm. On the 9th, the opening of a poultry farm was announced when chicks arrived on the project.

The feeling against <sup>the</sup> Caucasians was still high. Among the Nisei, football replaced baseball as the center of interest. There were complaints against Nisei apathy from some quarters. Some were worried about the conditions in the beet-fields since unfavorable reports had come in from those who had gone out. Rumors about moving to Arkansas persisted, and some people began to make preparations.

On the 10th of October, the Sacramento chapter of the J.A.C.L. met and voted \$500 to the national headquarters. Much ballyhoo was made of this. On the same day, parents of Nisei soldiers organized in the project. On the 13th, M<sub>1</sub>yamoto and Taketa, who had been sent out by Mr. Shirrell to look over the conditions in the beet-fields, reported favorably. On the 14th, a new W.R.A. policy that anyone (Issei as well as Nisei) could leave the project was announced. On the following day, the coop filed its incorporation papers. On the 16th, canteen #5 opened for the selling of articles of clothing.



The major source of interest at the time, however, was the mess situation. On October 8, the Caucasian mess investigation committee made its report. It stated that Mr. Pilcher was at fault in many ways, but noted that he was a good steward. Mr. Shirrell published the report in the Tulean Dispatch but did not take any other action. Mr. Pilcher continued in his ways, and finally, on October 11, the storm broke.

On the morning of the 11th, every mess hall in the project announced that a strike would begin on the following day. In order to force a sympathetic strike, in order to make sure that others did not go to work, breakfast was not served until 8:30 or 9. Lunch was not announced; people were asked to come when the bell rang. Supper was served anywhere between 4:30 and 7. The odd and <sup>un</sup>announced hours made it difficult for anyone to go to work. Those who did go to work had to go without eating unless they were fortunate.

The feeling in the colony was:

"These god damn keto think they got us by the balls, but we'll show them this time. They think that just because they got us locked up they can do anything they want to us, but this time we'll show them that we can make it tough on them."

"The fucken keto makes promises and makes promises and talks smooth but never does anything. Even the keto committee found Pilcher guilty but he's still here."

"Pilcher is no good. We must get rid of him."

"It's all right if we have to sacrifice a little. When Pilcher goes, we can have better food."

Actually, for several days no one knew what the difficulty was because the mess workers did not make known their demands. Mr. Elberson, the labor relations man, experienced some difficulty in getting the demands. When they were finally made known, it was found that the coincided with demands made before in many respects. They still demanded the dismissal of Pilcher; they demanded more and better food; they demanded clothing for workers and their pay checks. Mr. Elberson was able to settle things within a few days and the



mess halls went back to their regular schedules from the 14th.

During and immediately after the mess hall strike, the feeling ran high on both sides--Caucasian and Japanese. The colonists were very angered at the administration. Rumors went about the camp that Mr. Shirrell had told the men that he would make the place into a concentration camp. Even Mr. Shirrell, who had heretofore been the only Caucasian respected in the colony, was put on the hated and distrusted list. Rumors spread about him and his part in the plot with Pilcher to rob the people of what was justly theirs. It seemed that the feeling in the colony reached its peak at this stage.

On the other hand, it was not difficult to see that many of the Caucasian workers who had tried to work so hard for the colonists were getting sick and tired of the trouble. Many who had been very kind before were getting very impatient. They began talking about martial law and "insubordination." Talk about the "agitators" was common among the Caucasian personnel.<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime, the theatre issue reappeared. On October 8, as we have already noted, the City Council approved the construction of the movie theater. On the 11th, some of the more level-headed Issei held a meeting of their own (in which they themselves eliminated the agitators) and then sent a delegation to ask the Council to reconsider their stand. Finally, it was decided to put the issue to the vote of the colony. On October 19, a vote was had and the "No's" carried by a 5 to 2 majority. The voting was not always by secret ballot, for in more than one block a group of Issei stood by the ballot box all day and watched each voter. It was difficult under the circumstances for many Nisei to vote "Yes," even though they may have wanted to do so. Because of the overwhelming majority in the vote, this ended the theatre issue once and for all so far as the colony was concerned. What is to happen to the already purchased lumber is still to be decided.

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34. It seems to the writer that many of the Caucasians are very sympathetic but also incompetent and inefficient. They blame the "agitators" instead of their incompetence.



From this point onward, however, things in the colony began to cool off. The cool weather probably had something to do with it since it prevented people to congregating to discuss their ills, but probably the most important factors were the issuance of clothing to all workers during the middle of October and the payment of some of the August wages toward the end of the month.

Toward the end of the month, the weather became icy cold. Frost was a daily visitor, and snow fell for the first time. The interest in the colony shifted to catching geese (illegally) and then fooling the military police. Pleas were made for more beet-workers, and some responded. On October 18, a few of the blocks received their clothing allowance for August; the others had to wait when a sudden change was made in the policy.

The City Charter was completed and announced to the public on October 21, but there was little interest in it at the time being. On the 24th, the announcement was made that four doctors (including Dr. Harada, Dr. Iki, and Dr. Uyeyama) were leaving the center, but even this did not create much stir.

Thus, we have seen that the Tule Lake project underwent its critical period between the first week of August and the middle of October. The trouble began slowly with minor conflicts over lumber, minor irritations over whirlwinds and dust, minor complaints about the stench caused by the broken pipe in the cesspool. Gradually the resentment grew as wages were not paid, as misunderstandings arose over the canteen profits. The explosion came first over the ahodarakyo incident and then the major farm strike in which martial law was barely averted. Then came a series of organized protests--strikes in the packing shed, the construction crew, and the mess hall crew. Then there was a lull during which internal strife marred the attempt at organized protest. The Nisei-Kibei conflict came out after some brutal beatings. An intra-Nisei squabble arose over the queen contest. Then came the coal conflict, the theatre issue, and the broadcast fight. Conflict after conflict, misunderstanding and suspicion. This period marks the darkest spot in the history of the first half year in Tule Lake.



Things began to quiet down toward the end of October. On the 26th, an election was held for members of the Issei Planning Board. On the same day, the Public Assistance Grants for July, August and September were finally paid. On the 28th, six people went on trial before the Judiciary Committee for theft. On the 30th, the J.A.C.L. held a campwide meeting to plan for a future program for the Nisei in the camp. On the 31st, the Harvest Festival was held. It began in the morning with a parade (which included units similar to those found in Japanese parades), and in the afternoon there was a carnival with bingo, ball throwing, wheels, penny pitch, sketches, darts, fish pond, entertainment and raffle drawing, and greased pig. The whole day was declared a holiday. Just prior to the program, August paychecks were distributed. All of these factors helped to alleviate the ill-feeling and raised the morale considerably.

On November 2, the schedule for the Cabaret Internationale--a troupe to tour the camp--was announced. Dr. Howard K. Beale of the National Student Relocation Council came to the center to lift the morale of prospective students. On the 4th, the Planning Board of the Issei was established and began functioning. On the 6th, some of the September pay checks were distributed and the remainder were given out within a few days. This payment was a surprise to everyone who expected to wait another two months or so for the next pay. Needless to say, it greatly raised the morale.

The Nisei seemed to be quite anxious to help out. When it was announced that there was a shortage of labor in the farm, numerous work corp groups went out to work voluntarily. On the 7th, when the Dispatch announced that the Army wanted Nisei for Japanese language instructors, many expressed their intention to volunteer and did so in December.

There was some grumbling about lumber, as usual. The colonists had been warned time and again against stealing lumber,<sup>35</sup> but some of them continued

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35. Tulean Dispatch, November 4, 1942



to take the lumber that had been purchased for the theatre. The desire of the colonists for lumber at this time was understandable. The winter was rapidly approaching and many did not have enough wood to make porches. As long as the colonists felt that the lumber belonged to the Caucasians, they did not feel that it was wrong to take it if they could get away with it. Wardens who watched the piles were ridiculed and called down:

"Mr. warden, you must remember that you are a Japanese yourself and you should not take the side of the keto against your own people."

"Why do you young fellows continue to lick the tails of the Keto? Can't you find anything better to do?"

"It seems to me that wardens should help us steal the lumber."

The wardens, however, kept their vigil, and the thefts died down.

On November 12, the sale of scrip books for the cooperatives went into effect. On the following day, the Tulean Dispatch carried a headline that the wardens were "cracking down" on gambling in the colony. This was a farce and the Issei took it in good humor. Rumors had it that one of the wardens had been caught in a den himself. On the 17th plans for higher education in the center were announced and prospective students were asked to register. On the 19th, the Dispatch carried an article on the ruling of the Oregon federal judge on the unconstitutionality of the evacuation of Nisei. Very few Nisei, however, seemed to be concerned.

By this time, the real winter weather began to set in. The thermometer dropped below 10 degrees, and many Californians experienced bitter cold for the first time. Snow piled as high as six inches in some spots although it was usually much less. On some days, the rain drenched the area. On the 14th, an unusually severe gale blew out the power lines and the camp was in complete darkness from about 9:30 pm. to the next morning.

During this period, the interests of the community ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. Many Nisei suddenly became fascinated by the Ouija board.



Groups met in rooms of friends and earnestly sought the answers to the dark future. This widespread fad may have been to a basic feeling of insecurity that many Nisei unquestionably have. The interest in the Luija board seemed to be accompanied by extreme interest in the outside world, a rising interest in getting out through Student Relocation, a rising interest in the possibilities of Nisei being drafted by the Army.

Another focal point was the City Charter. For some time, The Issei did not take much interest in the Charter; however, when the day for the voting was announced, many of them got together and noted the desirability of the charter. The Nisei did not seem too concerned, although the charter was for an all-Nisei Council. One of the strongest arguments advanced against the charters was that Walter Tsukamoto had drawn it up and therefore it was subject to suspicion. In the final vote on November 16, it was ratified by a narrow margin.

About this time, the beet field workers began to return to the center in large numbers, and the interest shifted to them. Reports about outside conditions circulated, and stories were told of how certain people succeeded in bringing whiskey back into the center. The Military Policy went carefully through all baggage and even searched some of the men, but somehow or other, liquor did get into Tule Lake.

In the extreme cold, the interest in coal also rose. Rumors spread that there was not enough coal, and they had to be officially denied in the Tulean Dispatch on November 23. Whenever a coal truck came in and dumped coal in the block coal pile, people rushed out from all directions with buckets and cans and boxes and hauled it away to their rooms. So many people dashed after the coal that it was impossible to use the wheelbarrows that were available and sometimes so much coal was taken that the fireman for the washrooms had difficulty in keeping his boiler going. At one time, only powdered coal was to be found in any of the piles. Distribution was slow at that time because of the



lack of trucks.

On November 20, meat conservation was announced, but the Issei seemed to understand and very few complained. On the following day, plans for the payment of unemployment compensation were announced. This was supposed to have been paid from September, but due to the incompetence of the man heading the employment office, it was never done.<sup>36</sup> Interest rose in the Army language school over the weekend when several Nisei soldiers came to the center to recruit Nisei for work in the Intelligence Service. On the 26th, the morale took a leap when the colonists were given turkey for Thanksgiving--with all the trimmings. The cooks in some mess halls stayed up all night to prepare the food, and the day was one of gaiety and festivities.

The Army school issue caused some split among the colonists. Many Nisei wished to go; some because they wished to prove their loyalty to the United States and some because they could no longer stand the life in camp. Many of the Nisei faced the opposition of their parents who in turn had to buck the opinion of the community. Apparently there was little complaint if a Nisei were drafted (since then he could not help himself), but there was some opposition to Nisei volunteering for the United States Army. Some of the opposition, of course, arose when the parents thought their sons were to be used as spies.<sup>37</sup> Women (mothers and relatives of boys in service) passed about the sen-nin-bari (needle of a thousand hands)<sup>38</sup> to send to the soldiers. Here again, there was little opposition if the lad had been drafted, but people were hesitant about helping volunteers. At any rate, in spite of opposition, over 50 volunteers left the camp.

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36. The placement officer for a long time tried his best to get some other department to do the work that he was supposed to do. Finally he shoved part of the work on to the Social Welfare Department. This did not solve the problem, however, and at the date of writing, the question is still in the air.

37. This was not true; the men were used as interpreters.

38. The superstition is that if a soldier (in Japan) wears the belt in which 1,000 different hands have sewed stitches, he will never die. This is done widely in Japan for men in the Japanese Army.



On the 23rd of November, nominations were made for members of the new City Council. Many Issei participated in the nominations and elections and tried to bring in people whom they felt they could control since they themselves could not get in. As usual, the Nisei took very little interest in the affair.

The half year period that we are considering in this section ended on an ominous note. News had come from Poston of a riot by "pro-Axis" elements. At the same time, preparations were being made to put up a barbed wire fence separating the residents from the Caucasian personnel and the warehouse area. The colonists were not half as disturbed about this as were the teachers and some of the Caucasian personnel, but some expressed their resentment against the Army.

Thus, we can see that from the end of October, the situation quieted down. With the payment of salaries, much of the distrust of the Caucasians was driven under (naturally the hatred still remained.) Some of the more level-headed Issei began to take things into their hands. The Issei set up their planning board; they attempted to control the election of councilmen; the coop got under way with their support. Even among the Nisei, the J.A.C.L. made their bid for some unity and action. Aside from the paychecks, the Harvest Festival carnival and the Thanksgiving dinner probably served as powerful impetuses to the raising of the morale in the camp. As the crisis situations disappeared, those who had spoken loudly against the administration began to quiet down--some things they could no longer say. Other Issei began to take over the driver's seat.

#### Summary, Analysis, and Tentative Conclusions

Following the evacuation and relocation crisis, successive groups of evacuees attempted to adjust themselves to the life in Tule Lake. From May 27 on, group after group added to the population of Tule Lake. When we concern ourselves with goals and aspirations, however, we can speak definitely only of the first groups that arrived. To them there might have been a goal, but it would be



almost impossible to pick out any common aspiration that might have been held by the succeeding groups from Wallerga, Abboga, or Pinedale.

It seemed that most of the people who came in the advance crew had the desire of cooperating with the Caucasians to make Tule Lake "the best relocation center in the country." Blocks competed against blocks and people tried their best to help each other adjust to the camp life. The first group from Portland and Puyallup might have felt that way because they looked upon Tule Lake as their permanent home for the duration of the war, and the rural people from Clarksburg were perhaps even happy that the anxiety of the pre-evacuation days was over. These goals, however, were lost as the succeeding groups entered the camp--lost, never to be revived--and these goals were attained only by individuals, not by any group. People took great pains to fix up their own living quarters to make them as comfortable as possible, but the helping hands were withdrawn from others.

The first trouble/<sup>began</sup> when Wallerga people began coming in in large numbers. From this point on it could not be said that there was any common definition of the situation or of goals. Many may have had ideas as to what they wished to do themselves, but interest in the welfare of the community was lost. The people were restless and uneasy and acted in random fashion. Agitators came to the scene and the situation was such that they were able to focus the attention of the people on certain discontents. Sectional strife broke out; arguments arose over the lowness of the wages; trouble began on the farm; struggle after struggle came over lumber; arguments arose over canteen profits; Kibei and Nisei eyed each other with suspicion and distrust; fights broke out throughout the camp. In each of these unfortunate situations, agitators were able to blame someone--usually the Caucasian administration.

From the beginning of August the milling about ceased to be as aimless and random as before. The people began to feel that the Caucasians in the administration were trying their best to take everything they could away from the



unprotected Japanese. Some decided that the only way to solve the issue was to strike and force the hands of the Caucasians. Since there was so much discontent, it was relatively simple for a few agitators to stir up trouble. Then, came the storm.

Trouble began with the ahodarakyo and immediately thereafter the farm strike broke out. Then came the strikes in the packing shed and the construction crew. The furniture factory closed down. People were beaten up. Another flareup occurred over the coal situation. The building of a theatre unnecessarily became a major issue and caused much discontent. The issue of broadcasting to Japan split the factions in the community. Finally, came the camp-wide mess hall strike. Thus, we had the period of organized protest. The Issei in the colony seemed almost unified in their defiant stand against the administration.

Gradually the tenseness began to die down. The aimless milling about and the organized protest seemed to fade away. People began to go about their way preparing for the cold winter to come. Minor crises arose, but they did not attract as much attention as they might have before.

Was the trouble due to the agitators alone, as some people in the Caucasian administrative personnel seem to think? It seems that "agitator" is too simple an answer and probably a rationalization on the part of some who are really at fault. What, then, were the probable factors that led to the strife in Tule Lake?

First, of all, it seems that poor organization, lack of foresight, and inefficiency on the part of the administrative personnel was the major factor. The fact that the administration had no direct means of communication with the Issei in the colony until September was itself significant. Because of a stupid W.R.A. ruling against the use of the Japanese language (no fault of the project administration) the Issei were unable to understand what was going on. Naturally they began to view things with suspicion. Numerous promises were made in regard to wages, working conditions, lumber, and other things, but were never kept--or kept too late. Wages were not paid for months and many questioned the sincerity of



the W.R.A. No arrangement was made ahead of time for the distribution of scrap lumber; this naturally led to a wild scramble. The Inefficiency of the workers in the administration might be illustrated by the cesspool incident which caused so much discontent, but in numerous positions Nisei working under incompetent Caucasians were much better trained than they were. Lack of tack on the part of the Caucasian personnel probably was the major factor causing the disagreeable situation in connection with coal unloading and the theatre as well as with the issue of broadcasting to Japan. Thus, we see that while the agitators did do considerable damage, the incompetence and inefficiency of the administrative personnel provided the ammunition for them. Stupid errors probably did more than anything else to prevent a harmonious adjustment to the camp life.

The colonists, on the other hand, are not without fault. The pro-Axis agitators were present in the colony to take up the cry as soon as the situation made it possible for them to be heard. Outside difficulties were brought into the center to make adjustment difficult; for example, there was the Tsukamoto-Iki situation. Furthermore, the feeling of many of the people that the war would be over soon and that the camp was not a permanent home probably made some difference. Had the people all felt that there was no escape from Tule Lake, they might have worked much harder to make the place as comfortable as possible.

Perhaps a final factor contributing to the unrest was the physical elements. The terrible dust, the wind, the whirlwinds and then the cold and snow probably did not make anyone happy. The discomfort probably did serve to make people disgruntled and ready to cry out.

Thus, we can see that there were several factors that contributed to the unrest in Tule Lake. It cannot be explained in terms of "agitators" alone.

After the dark days had passed, the people gradually adjusted themselves to the camp life. New leadership began to rise among the Issei; the Nisei were, on the whole, apathetic as usual. As the W.R.A. began to fulfill some of their promises, the milling about almost ceased. Discipline once more prevailed.



Means were set up to prevent, if possible, the recurrence of trouble. Thus, at the end of November, six months after the first evacuee set foot in Tule Lake, the colony seemed to be on its way to the formation of a new social order--new ways and institutions by which they are to live for the duration of the war.

What were the goals and aspirations of the evacuees when they first arrived in Tule Lake? There might have been goals for the first group that arrived, but it is difficult to say there any existed after the Wallerga people began coming in.

What were the factors that impeded the reaching of these goals (of the first arrivals) and how were the impeding situations brought about? The misunderstanding, the suspicion and the distrust caused considerable milling around and non-cooperation; this was made worse by agitators who were given their cue by the inefficiency and incompetence of the administrative personnel.

What were the factors that contributed to the reaching of these goals? The goals have not been reached.

At long last--after six months--it seems that the residents in Tule Lake have finally settled down. This does not mean, however, that nothing can happen. The incidents of the summer months probably did not create any new attitudes of bitterness; those attitudes existed long before but were drawn out from their latent status by the situation. Once more these attitudes have become dormant, but they may be drawn up again by some stupid blunder. Perhaps new mechanisms of control can be set up before the recurrence of crises.



NOTES ON "SOCIAL CHANGE" SECTION

General:

Do the data actually bear on "the problem" as that problem is defined on p. 2? It seems to me that they do not. Your job in tracing the social changes in Tule Lake is one of accurate reporting, involving intelligent selection of "significant events." Criteria of "significance" must, of course, be set up. And in the process of "selection" we need a very clear understanding of what is left out. Of certain of the things selected for inclusion we also need assurance that we are getting complete coverage of all such items, for example, strikes. Finally, we need an accurate check on things that are quantitative, for example, temperature range.

Specific:

- p. 3 Supplement (possibly in an Appendix) by tables showing dates of arrival, numbers of people and their origin (assembly centers). Also, Billigmeier should have a table in administrative section showing, similarly, accessions of Caucasian personnel. Could you give examples of "ways of improvising" or is this to be treated in another section?
- pp. 3-4 In your selection of comments, could you give sources and some brief description of persons (as, for example, you did in your "Impact" paper)?
- p. 4 What "terrible conditions" in assembly centers were not repeated?
- p. 5 Administration: When did Shirrell arrive and take over? Any reactions to him?
- pp. 5-6 Good reporting.
- Who was the "dumb bastard" -- was he the editor?
- pp. 6-7 What about these "thoughts" of the Northerners and Californians? Who said these things?
- p. 8 Again, sources of comments?
- p. 10 In another section, I assume there will be a chronological account of sales by canteen? Broken down by types of items? Were letters actually held up "for several weeks"? That doesn't check with my experience.
- p. 13 Wallerga people were paid for what period?
- Did temperatures actually go "far over 100"? How often and how far?
- p. 14 Last line: It isn't clear to me why this issue reflected on the "sincerity" of the WRA.



p. 15 I think I would omit the footnote -- unless you go into a discussion of the "personal characteristics." Nor do I think it necessary for you to evaluate the changes at this point. Again -- who made the comments?

p. 16 The meat was not actually "stolen," was it?

Second line from bottom: "Better arrangement" in re what?

p. 17 Staff "straightened out things" how?

p. 18 Source of comments?

p. 19 I don't like your "moral judgments" re WRA's "errors." I would say, "The WRA adopted a policy giving all the power to the Nisei. Not only were many of the Nisei unwilling to assume this power, but this decision also crystallized the discontent among the Issei."

p. 20 To whom did Mr. O'Brien make his "private" communication? Last sentence of first paragraph: Say simply, "He accepted the advice given at this time."

p. 21 "Typical" comments?

p. 23 Line 8: What "actors"?

Here is an example of a "lousy generalization" that needs further explanation. "It was being badly managed by incompetent Caucasian personnel." You could, of course, get around this (since the farm section will include "evidence") by inserting either "apparently" or "it was claimed." This whole statement is too dogmatic, too heavily weighted with "judgments," for example, "Kallam went straight ahead ... and did things to suit himself." There were "contradictory orders and silly repetitions..."

p. 24 Line 1: It is very important for us to have a chronological, specific listing of broken promises by Caucasians. Surely the statement that "none of them were kept" cannot be accurate.

p. 24 Line 16: Again, I don't like the adjective "incompetent" without evidence.

p. 25 If the comments were not made by "typical" Nisei, by whom were they made? Ditto for Issei.

I think you have, perhaps, given detail here re the strike that ought to be considered in a separate section. The tempo of the earlier part of this section is swift; you cover a great many happenings in a very short space. It would be well to follow this technique all the way through. I would handle pp. 23-27 somewhat as follows:

"From the first of August there had been much grumbling on the project farm. Claims were made of mismanagement, incompetence, and poor labor relations on the part of the Caucasian personnel. Complaints were frequent about nonpayment of wages, failures to issue clothing, lack of provision for mess halls on the farm, etc. There were conflicts



between the Caucasian division and section heads, and contradictory orders were frequently given. Promises made by the staff (exemplify) were not kept. Finally, on August 15, the farmers went on strike, demanding wage payments, clothing and equipment, and better food. The strike was actually precipitated by the breakfast served that morning: two pieces of bread per person and tea.

"The strike became general, except for essential services. Negotiations were carried through with the Caucasian staff (although the project director was absent in San Francisco) and the administration promised to meet the strikers' conditions. In general, the community reaction was divided. Many Nisei showed little interest in the situation; others opposed the anti-administration attitudes of the Issei farm workers (for example, . . . . .). A camp-wide mass meeting was held on Sunday evening, August 16, at which there was insistence on the use of the Japanese language and anti-Caucasian feelings were sharply apparent. When the leaders tried to calm the crowd by assuring them that the Caucasians had agreed to their demands, they were heckled and reproached for not demanding enough. Other causes of discontent were brought out, notably food shortages in certain mess halls. The heated meeting was finally broken up by one speaker who skilfully ridiculed the crowd and by another who appealed to "Japanese pride." In spite of efforts of agitators to prevent the men from going to work, most activities were resumed the next day. Sporadic outbursts occurred for some time but the feeling never again rose to the pitch of Sunday night (the 16th)." (Continue with last paragraph.)

- p. 29 Questions were not answered by whom? "Moot" as a verb is archaic.
- p. 32 "irresponsible action" and "unnecessary headaches" somewhat too dramatic!
- p. 34 Line 1: "Foolishly" too emotionally-toned. Ditto re "intelligence" of editor of Tulean Dispatch. Similarly re "stupidity" of Joe Hayes. In fact, the role that Hayes played is not at all clear to me. I don't like this page at all; it is too full of moral judgments and indignation. Ditto for the next. Delete the remark that "it was indeed unfortunate," etc., which has no place in an account of this sort.
- p. 36 Can't the administration's reasons for laying off the men be obtained?
- p. 37 Paragraph beginning "On the 14th" is, again, far too emotionally-toned, for example, "everything seemed to be a mess," "mismanagement and poor organization," "stupid and pitiful errors," "student teachers were incompetent."
- p. 38 Isn't "hated" a bit strong?
- p. 40 Instead of "probably would have approved" isn't it safer to say "might have approved."? How do you know what Smith "thought"? I would delete the footnote re Tsukamoto.
- p. 41 Again, I would delete the footnote. The whole discussion of "method of approach" ought to be developed in "Caucasian-Japanese" section -- not here. Last sentence reads too much into the Issei mind and dogmatically classes them all together.



p. 42 Line 5 from bottom: Delete "pitifully."

Line 3 from bottom: Delete "unfortunately."

p. 43 "a day off to loaf on the farm" -- pretty strong condemnation here!

Last paragraph. Word "ballyhoo" not so good.

p. 44 What sort of settlement did Elberson make?

p. 45 Was Shirrell actually "the only Caucasian respected in the community"? Evidence?

p. 50 Again a claim of "incompetence" --! Let his actions speak for themselves. Were there actually "over 50" who left camp? Reports I have had indicated fewer.

p. 51 "Hatred" seems to me to be rather strong.

What do you mean by "even among the Nisei"?

p. 53 You mention the closing of the furniture factory. Was that situation described in the main text? I may have missed it. Also, the ban against Japanese language and its lifting should be described in the main text.

Delete "stupid" re WRA ruling.



## COMMUNICATIVE INSTITUTIONS

### Introduction

When the immigrants came from Japan some twenty to fifty years ago, they brought with them certain accepted modes of thought and behavior. Their outlook toward life fitted largely into the existing climate of opinion of the time in Japan. Many of them knew very little English when they came, and even their command of the Japanese language was limited -- it was provincial.

Once in America, most of the immigrants settled in colonies in which the majority of residents were Japanese. Because of their lack of understanding of the English language and American institutions, their contact with the outside world was limited. It was not until the second-generation came in large numbers that American ways and the English language made serious inroads into the lives of the immigrants.

Issei attempted to learn English largely perhaps because it was necessary for business. The Nisei, because they were educated in American schools, adopted English and American ways. And yet the two groups had to live together and made concessions. Nisei spoke Japanese to their parents and some Issei tolerated American attitudes and behavior patterns. All was not well, however, and the problems of communication became very difficult between the two generations long before the evacuation took place. The difficulties were continued even after the evacuation.

### Problem

We shall define communicative institutions briefly as means of passing information from one place or person to another. In this section, we shall be chiefly concerned with language and informal and



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formal mechanisms of transmission.

In a study of the adjustment of the evacuees to the life in Tule Lake we would naturally be interested in the effect camp life has had upon the institutions. However, inasmuch as the Japanese communities were undergoing change just when the evacuation took place, it would be extremely difficult to isolate and describe phenomena which resulted directly from the new environment and new patterns of association. Our major emphasis will then be on the general problems of communication both outside and in the colony.

We are interested, then, in:

- 1) What is the nature of symbolic communication in Tule Lake and what are the problems that arose?
- 2) What are the formal and informal mechanisms of communication in Tule Lake and what problems arose in connection with them?
- 3) Is there anything in the communicative institutions which is peculiar to Tule Lake alone and what are the factors that brought about this characteristic?

#### Symbolic Communication

Without question the major problem in communication in Tule Lake is the existence of two languages -- Japanese and English. Accompanying the two languages are two modes of thought -- we might say, two ideologies. Perhaps one of the major factors leading to the difficulties in the center between August and October was the lack of understanding between the Issei and the Caucasian administration.

The Issei on the whole understand a little English. Some of them speak as fluently as Caucasians (although they may have a very slight accent); while others cannot speak at all (especially women). However, on the whole, because of their children and neighbors and because of their business contacts, most Issei can understand spoken English to some extent; can express simple thoughts; can read simple signs; and can sign at least their own names.



Even in Japanese, many of the Issei are handicapped. Most people can understand the standard language of Japan (Tokyo dialect), but most people speak the dialect of their own prefecture. Perhaps the most difficult dialect for those trained in the standard dialect is that of Kagoshima; however, there are but few immigrants from there. Perhaps the most significant dialects are those of Fukuoka-ken and Kumamoto-ken since they are very different and because so many of the Japanese came from those prefectures. Thus, the Issei sometimes have difficulty in understanding each other.

Furthermore, many of the immigrants came from the lowest classes of people in Japan (considered low class in Japan). The status of farmers, fishermen, and servants had always been low in Japan. The children of such people seldom got more than three or four years of schooling. They associated with individuals who spoke in slang and in crude words. All this has come to America. Thus, the Japanese language in America is a conglomeration of the dirtiest words in the language (words considered most vulgar in Japan), phrases and idioms from the various dialects, and a smattering of simple English words. It would indeed be almost impossible for a resident of Tokyo to understand ordinary Issei speech in California.

The Nisei, with very few exceptions, are bilingual. Some naturally speak one language better than others. Although most Nisei have attended American schools, they have had to speak Japanese at home to communicate with their parents and thus have some control over that language. Most Nisei understand at least a smattering of Japanese, although they may find it rather difficult to express themselves. Since the majority of the Japanese in the Sacramento valley attended Japanese language schools, many of them can write at least a little. Very few, however, can read and write Japanese well enough to read a Japanese newspaper or write a



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decent letter.

There are many Nisei who can understand Japanese better than English. To these individuals, English presents the same difficulties that it presents to the Issei. On the whole, these Nisei mix whatever English they use with Japanese phrases. There is considerable evidence to support the thesis that Buddhism was one of the factors retarding assimilation in America. For one thing, Buddhist families were not as often disturbed by alien ideas of family organization and thus kept their primary-group controls more rigid. Buddhists had less contacts with Caucasians and their language schools were usually better equipped and better staffed. Furthermore, all Buddhist ceremonies were in Japanese. One might say that on the whole Nisei Buddhists have far less control over the English language than do the Christians.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, there are a large number of Nisei who do not understand Japanese too well. Usually these individuals have a fairly good control of English. Many of the Christian Nisei because of their contact with Caucasians and American ways speak much better English than Japanese. There is another group of individuals who speak more English -- the "queers." Some of the marginal personalities who have always lived with Caucasians, the college students who studied alone often have a fairly decent command of English.

It must be said that very few Nisei speak Japanese well. Even those who know the language fairly well would have difficulty in getting along in Japan. Quite often -- too often -- the Nisei have picked up the vulgarity of their parents; they have learned the odd combination of dialects; and their speech is sometimes unintelligible. English words are quite often mixed in. Some examples of typical

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1. There are exceptions, of course.

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Nisei Japanese are:

"You wa ball de asobe. Me wa uchi ni kaeru kara." (You take the ball. I'm going home -- "me" used usually instead of "I").

"Christ sakes. Baka ni suru na!" (Christ sakes. Don't make a fool out of me! -- swearing usually in English).

"You meet me at me no toko. O.K.?" (Meet me at my place. O.K.?)

As we have already noted, one of the major sources of difficulty was the difficulty in communication between the Issei and the administration. This made everything extremely difficult since all community and block meetings with the exception of the Community Forum and the City Council meetings were held in Japanese. At first some of the elder Nisei participated in the community life, but since there were so few of them the Issei won their demand that the Japanese language be used. Since the block meetings were conducted exclusively in Japanese, all Nisei were at a disadvantage and soon most of them decided to stay away rather than to learn Japanese. Many who had a command of Japanese also had Japanese ideas -- the elders rule. With the Issei ruling the colony with the Japanese language, the administration had difficulty in transmitting their wishes; and the people had difficulty in interpreting the administrative instructions.

Several difficulties arose in the use of the languages themselves. All of these difficulties existed before. We shall consider first the embarrassment suffered by Issei and "Japanisized" Nisei when they spoke English.

Of course there were the difficulties in inadequate vocabulary, lack of understanding, and those that resulted from thinking in terms of symbols of another language. There were besides this the trouble in distinguishing between words pronounced as they were spelled (as is the case in Japanese) and words that are pronounced differently, such as "Wednesday," "wind" (to wind up). There was a tendency to pronounce



words as they would be pronounced if written in Japanese, the vowels being given the same sound regardless of their position or what customs dictate. Difficulties arose over singular and plural words, since in the Japanese language no distinction is made in number.

Among the most noticeable difficulties is the tendency to place the article "the" in the wrong place. People would say, "I am going to the Japan after war," instead of "I am going to Japan after the war." "Th" sounds were always difficult, as were the "l" sounds. Instead of "there," people say "dere"; instead of "clay" people said "cray." "Ing" sounds were almost impossible. These were but few of the hardships in enunciation. Besides this, of course, was the difference in the placement of the emphasis on syllables and words. Finally, there was the difficulty in cutting off the final consonants; instead of "Merced," people said "Masedo." Instead of "boat," the sound "boto" was used. These latter difficulties probably account for a large part of what is known as the "Japanese accent."

Nor were the Issei alone in suffering from language. The Nisei suffered too from the lack of vocabulary in the Japanese language. Furthermore, even if they did have a decent vocabulary, most Nisei did not know enough about Japanese culture in general to know where to place certain honorifics. This, of course, is very important to the Japanese, although most Issei are rather lenient with the language of the Nisei. Another stumbling block is the inability of the Nisei to distinguish between the words from the various dialects. This inability sometimes results in humorous statements.

Furthermore, there were many Nisei (especially from the Sacramento valley and Penryn) who knew as little English as did the Issei and had the same difficulties that they did in pronunciation, enunciation, and making distinctions in number. The Nisei (again especially those from



Sacramento) were influenced to some extent by the Hawaiians who worked in the valley as migratory laborers. Many Hawaiian phrases have crept into the Nisei vocabulary. There are some words that have a special meaning to the Nisei alone, and many of these show the Hawaiian influence. For example, the following phrases are common now in Tule Lake (even northerners have taken them over):

- 1) "Get cha down.": This is irritating.
- 2) "Waas' time": Not worth the effort.
- 3) "Waas' time kind": Girl a flirt and not worth attention.
- 4) "Hi' ya": (with special inflection) Hello.
- 5) "C'm on now": (with special inflection) Quit fooling.
- 6) "Haba haba": Hurry up and get hot.

The matter of the "Japanization" of the Nisei has been a source of concern to the W.R.A. officials. While there might be some question about the stand that the use of the Japanese language is itself harmful, if this is to be so interpreted, there is some cause for concern. Nisei admit that their command over English has deteriorated since coming to camp. Everyone is forced to use more and more Japanese, since there are fewer people to whom English must be spoken and because they are surrounded by Japanese words from morning until night. More and more, Japanese words are creeping into the working vocabulary of the Nisei. Some of the common phrases are:

- 1) "Baka ni suru na": Don't try to make a fool of me.
- 2) "So ka": Is that so.
- 3) "Ne": (interrogative).
- 4) "Honto ka. Uso daro.": Is that true? It isn't is it?
- 5) "Dama tore.": Shut up.
- 6) "Keto." (derogatory term): Caucasian.
- 7) "Basan": (derogatory term): old woman.

Thus, we find that the language of the Nisei in Tule Lake is rapidly undergoing modification. True, not all people are affected by the changes, and many changed long before or learned the mixture as a child. The language is a mixture of English, Japanese (slang and vulgar words), Hawaiian phrases; and the words are used in an odd combination. The



situation is indeed tragic for the youngsters of Nursery school age who are learning the odd mixture and who do not know any of the correct forms.

The major problem, however, goes much deeper than the superficial difficulties of learning a foreign language. The major problem is one of understanding each other. As social psychologists have long pointed out, communication, which involves an exchange of meaning, provides the medium for all social interaction. There can be no sharing of the experience and the sentiments of others without a community of ideas which are expressed by means of commonly understood and accepted symbols. Individuals act on the basis of anticipation of the reaction of others; this anticipation is based upon a projection of what one recognizes in himself to others.<sup>2</sup>

The individual's outlook may be conditioned to a large extent by the language he speaks. "He speaks the language of his group; he thinks in the manner in which his group thinks. He finds at his disposal only certain words and their meanings. These not only determine to a large extent the avenues of approach to the surrounding world, but they also show at the same time from which angle and in which context of activity objects have hitherto been perceptible and accessible to the group or the individual."<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the difficulties that many Nisei have in speaking English, by and large their outlooks are oriented around American rules of behavior. Their expectations are in terms of American customs. They have adapted themselves to the American "climate of opinion." On

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2. G. H. Mead. Mind, Self and Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934.

3. K. Mannheim. Ideology and Utopia, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1936. (trans. by L. Wirth and E. Shils), p. 2.

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the other hand, the Issei and many Kibei, in spite of their efforts to learn English and in spite of the skill of some of them, have oriented their lives around Oriental values. Their expectations and evaluations are entirely different.

Much of the misunderstanding that has arisen between the generation might be explained in these terms. That is not to say that language itself is a barrier; language differences have caused people to be oriented along different lines of thinking.

Thus, the Issei and the Nisei may use the same words in speaking to each other, but the meanings that each attaches to the word may be very different -- if not the meaning, the connotation may be different. The "verbal world" of the Issei and the "verbal world" of the Nisei may be entirely or largely different; it is not for us to say which is nearer the "extensional world."<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, because of this difference there is misunderstanding in spite of the fact that both parties mean well. Both find it difficult to anticipate the behavior of the other.

Thus, we find that there has been considerable difficulty in Tule Lake over symbolic communication. There was first the virtual lack of contact between the administrative personnel and the Issei who controlled the colony. There were difficulties in understanding between the first and second generations. There were difficulties in learning the languages themselves.

#### Mechanisms of Communication

Many institutions exist in Tule Lake for intra-camp communications. There are telephones available in every ward, and every office has access to one. There is the system of sending official inter-office

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<sup>4</sup>. S. I. Hayakawa. Language in Action, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1939, p. 22.

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memorandums through the mails, and most of the contacts between the various offices and the colonists are made through these channels. However, the major organ of communication is the camp paper -- the Tulean Dispatch.

In spite of its many inadequacies, it is without question the most widely used means of communication. All official announcements, news items, items of interests, announcements by colonists, schedules of meetings are printed in the daily paper. The Dispatch is mimeographed daily and contains from two to eight pages.

The "bulletins" began to be circulated from the first week by a group of northerners who first came to the camp. A small staff gathered in a recreation room to turn out two numbers a week. There were numerous complaints about the inadequacy of the paper, for the articles were not even written journalistically; even the English grammar was poor. The Issei naturally made no comment; there was no Japanese language section for them.

When the Sacramento people came in from Walerga, a conflict arose between the staff of the Walerga Wasp and the Dispatch group. The Walerga boys complained that they knew more about newspaper work than the others and demanded that they be allowed to take over "to make a newspaper out of the thing." A number of minor conflicts broke out, and animosities were created that lasted for months. Finally, Mr. Gaba was able to settle the matter and put the Walerga staff to work under the young man who had been editor before. The animosities continued and the Walerga boys got nowhere. The former editor of the Walerga Wasp was finally shoved off and made editor of the Tempo Magazine.

After the departure of Mr. Gaba, Mr. Goss took over the Dispatch. Mr. Goss was a very keen newspaper man who wished to give the young Nisei as much experience as possible. He could see no sense in putting



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out two eight-page papers a week when with the same paper and ink a daily sheet could be sent out. He felt that this would make the Dispatch more of a newspaper than a bulletin board, and on July 20, the Tulean Dispatch went on a daily schedule.

The conflicts within the staff went on unabated so that finally an editorial board was set up -- a board of three (two from the north and one from Sacramento). In September, when the schools opened one of the editors left to teach; another left to work in the beet-fields. From that point onward, the paper has been in the control of Howard Imazeki (formerly of the Nichi Bei, Shin Se Kai, and Hokubei Asahi -- trained at the Missouri School of Journalism).

In September, following the lesson learned in the farm labor strike, the administration of the W.R.A. finally consented to have a Japanese language section. At first, it was rather slow because there was some difficulty in selecting the translators who would be acceptable to the Army. There were other regulations: the Japanese section was to be a translation and nothing else; the items translated had to be listed in English.

Early in October, while the camp was up in arms over the broadcasting to Japan issue, the O.W.I. very stupidly decided to pass out anti-Axis propaganda in the camp. It was difficult to see how "experts" in propaganda could be so stupid as to think that they could "convert" Issei to Americanism by passing out a few pamphlets full of discrediting statements about Japan. When the staff of the Tulean Dispatch was asked to distribute them along with their paper, they objected vociferously stating that their lives would be in danger. Finally, after the distribution of one sheet, the O.W.I. was persuaded to change their minds.

At the present time, the Dispatch generally comes in four pages -- three in English and one in Japanese. It is read very carefully both by



Issei and Nisei, and it is by far the fastest and the most expedient way of spreading news. The front page carries news items and official regulations (if there are any), and occasionally human interest stories. The second page is generally covered with editorials and columns. The third page is full of announcements, columns, gossip, and any other item of interest. The fourth page contains the Japanese translations of items that are likely to be of interest to the Japanese-reading public.

Actually, the function of the Tulean Dispatch is largely that of a bulletin board. Very few rely upon the camp paper for outside news, and the effect of the Dispatch in moulding public opinion is almost nil. As a matter of fact, the articles in the paper do not even reflect accurately what is going on in the camp.

In a camp split by differences in affiliation and point of view, there seems to be no leadership that is capable of moulding any consistent point of view. Among the Issei, the agitators held the crowd during the period of strife, but as the conditions started to improve their words had less weight and nothing took their place. Even now, the loud-mouths control the block meetings (others do not bother to challenge them) and prevail upon their friends to support or oppose certain measures, but it would be difficult to say that there is any consistent opinion among the Issei (other than those they had already formed prior to entering the camp) or that anyone individual or group was succeeding in controlling it.

The Nisei world is either split or apathetic. Most Nisei seem to be contented with reading the Dispatch to learn the dates of dances and shows, but seldom bother to read the editorials. Those who do read the editorials do not seem to be tremendously impressed. As a matter of fact, J.A.C.L. members tend to follow their leaders; while their opponents



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form their own opinions among themselves. Buddhists have their ideas, and the Christians have theirs. It seems doubtful if anything that the Dispatch prints could materially alter their views.

It is almost entertaining at times when one compares the articles in the paper with what actually occurs. One finds very patriotic statements about contributing to war production; while the Issei groups are deciding to obstruct any war production contemplated. Difficulties in the camp are rarely recorded, although the paper is not heavily censored.<sup>5</sup> The Dispatch staff is probably conscious of the fact that their paper goes outside and may be writing for outside consumption rather than for the camp.

Thus, while the Tulean Dispatch is by far the most effective mechanism for communication, it has little to do with the moulding of public opinion in the center.

There are many avenues of communication between the residents of Tule Lake and the outside world. Telegrams can be sent;<sup>6</sup> colonists can phone long-distance, although the expense is almost prohibitive; magazines are available in the canteen; newspapers are sold at the canteens -- if the train comes in on time; and radio station KFJI (Klamath Falls -- Mutual Broadcasting Company) is available to those who have radios -- more stations can be heard at night. The major avenue of communication with definite parties on the outside, however, is through the mail.

Although mail service was available from the very first day, the new post office of the camp was officially opened on June 24, when it

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5. Contrary to the claims of W.R.A. officials, the paper is censored very definitely every day. A copy is submitted to the Chief of Information for checking before anything is mimeographed. The official can strike out anything he chooses.

6. After censorship by the administration.

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was named "Newell." It is a branch of the Tulelake post office and is staffed by a few civil service employees, several local Caucasians, and a number of Nisei.

Letters were sent by the post office to the offices of the various block managers who in turn distributed them to the colonists. The people were also allowed to leave their outgoing mail at the block managers' offices. All packages were opened for contraband inspection at the post office and the residents were required to walk all the way to the post office to get their packages.

On June 28, the Army began censoring outgoing mail and the difficulties went on for about a week and then were cleared up. This was but one of the many conflicts that occurred between the administration and the local Army commander. After several months, the Army turned over to the Department of Internal Security the power to inspect the packages and for some time the packages were delivered unopened to the block managers. However, on October 9, the Army once more took over these duties and once more the colonists had to grudgingly walk to the post office.

Thus, it seems that the two major mechanisms for communication are the Tulean Dispatch for intra-camp communications and the mail service for communication with the outside.

#### Informal Modes of Communication

Perhaps much more important than the institutions for communication were the informal means. Rumor and gossip were perhaps the most effective in the colony. Everyone seems to know about everyone else in Tule Lake. As soon as someone does something, half the people in the block learn of it overnight. It is indeed strange if something should go wrong without others knowing all about it.

Gossip was always a powerful agency of social control among the



Japanese, its power has been substantially enhanced by the conditions in Tule Lake. If a girl should once stay out until the "wee hours of the morning," she is immediately "known" to the Issei women and the Nisei men of the community. The speed at which news gets around is simply amazing.

One Saturday in October, Walter Tsukamoto made the announcement in the City Council that the House of Representatives had passed a bill against the Nisei. Although very few of the Councilmen called meetings that night, by the next morning almost everyone Nisei in the camp knew all about it. The news was that the bill had passed 202-2!

Rumors are prevalent always in Tule Lake. The most common one is the rumor that Tuleans are to be transferred out of the Western Defense Command to Arkansas. This rumor was so common that it had to be denied publicly twice by Mr. Shirrell, but it still persists. Some individuals are even making preparations for the trip! Since the Dispatch staff (practically all Nisei) does not command much respect, rumors often have considerably more weight to the Issei.

Rumors about the mistreatment of Nisei girls by the Caucasians were rather common and crop up now and then. Early in August, a man was nearly killed when rumor had it that he had "squealed" to the administration on the colonists. Rumors about the number of girls about to have illegitimate children were always common. Also common were the rumors about the results of action in the fields of combat. According to some of these rumors, Japan had taken Hawaii and Alaska and is ready to land troops in California. It is usually claimed that the source of information was some hidden short-wave radio.

Many of these rumors reflect the dominant fears and wishes of the colonists. The rumors about the camp reflect the feelings of uncertainty,



of insecurity, of fears in what is to come. Rumors about international events also reflect the pro-Japanese or the anti-Caucasian sentiments of many who are in the center.

Perhaps one reason why so much trouble arose in the colony was that the administration had control over the formal means of communication but could not in any way influence the more powerful and effective informal machinery. Whenever some decision had to be reached, the administration and the colonists could seemingly never get together. Had the Issei understood the position of the Caucasians on the staff, it seems doubtful if they would have opposed almost everything proposed by them. As it turned out, the Dispatch would print the official statement, but very few Issei would understand what was printed. The agitators would then interpret or misinterpret the announcement to suit their thoughts or suspicions and pass on the word. Since the others do not understand, they often took the word of their neighbor. By the time anything was discussed at the block meeting, everyone had the facts so twisted that the block manager (who has the official instructions) is embarrassed by accusations of being a liar and an administration stooge.

Thus, it seems that the informal modes of communication are the most powerful in Tule Lake. We might also say that it is one of the most disorganizing factors. In the absence of anything to effectively take its place, however, it will probably go on, as undesirable as it may seem.

#### Tentative Conclusions

What is the nature of symbolic communications in Tule Lake and what are the problems that arose? We might say that unusual difficulty arose because of the fact that two languages had to be used and there were many who understood only one or the other. Thus, there was very



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little direct contact between the Caucasian and the Issei. Furthermore, difficulties resulted from the differences in outlook and point of view.

What are the formal and informal mechanisms of communication in Tule Lake and what problems arose in connection with them? Among the formal mechanisms were the Tulean Dispatch, the postal service, telegrams, telephones, inter-office memorandums, newspapers, magazines, and the radio. Although it did not command too much respect, the paper was probably the most efficient of the formal means of communication.

The informal modes of communication are the most effective in Tule Lake. This may be due to the fact that very few Issei have much respect for the staff of the Tulean Dispatch (nor do many Nisei have much respect for them), and there is no other camp-wide organ for disseminating information. Since they distrust what they read in the paper, there is no alternative for the Issei but to listen attentively to their friends and neighbors and to pass the word along. The news travels very rapidly whenever it is consistent with the fears, anxieties, desires, or suspicions of the carriers. Thus any news concerning the ill-doings of a Caucasian or concerning the efforts of Caucasians to "rob" the Japanese travels at almost unbelievable speed.

Is there anything in the communicative institutions which is peculiar to Tule Lake alone and what are the factors that brought about this characteristic? Much of what has been said about communicative institutions in Tule Lake could have been said for the Japanese communities on the outside. There have been changes, but they have not substantially altered the pattern of living.

One thing that is noticeable in symbolic communication is the spread of phrases brought in by the Sacramentans. Another thing that we might note is the fact that rumors and gossip have increased in



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tempo and in number, but this, of course, is only a slight change in degree. The close living of people who had not known each other before, people who had come from different states, may have been factors that gave rise to these modifications in behavior.

Some of the basic problems in camp -- difficulties between the Issei and Nisei and misunderstanding between the Caucasians and the Issei -- probably arise from difficulties in communication. It is indeed tragic that something could not have been done before the attitudes against the "Keto" crystallized. It now seems too late.



NOTES ON COMMUNICATIVE INSTITUTIONS

General Suggestions for Follow-up:

- (1) More detailed analysis and documentation of conflict between Japanese and English speakers in meetings of various sorts, for example, block meetings, council meetings, coop, etc.
- (2) Documentation of language conflicts between Administration and Issei. Examples of mistranslation.
- (3) More complete analysis of Tulean Dispatch, including sections on:
  - (a) mechanics of newspaper;
  - (b) policy of newspaper as reflected in editorials and human interest stories;
  - (c) staff and personnel problems;
  - (d) censorship;
  - (e) "inability to represent accurately what is going on in camp";
  - (f) use of paper for administrative purposes;
  - (g) special analysis of Japanese section,
    - (1) development of policy re selection of articles to be translated;
    - (2) adequacy of translation.
- (4) Sample studies of language of children in various grades, including preschool and, if possible, spontaneous play groups for exemplifications of mixture of Japanese and English.
- (5) More detailed analysis (chronologically and by content and source) of rumors.

Specific Points:

- p. 11 What was the anti-Axis propaganda sheet handed out by OWI?

Delete "stupidly" and sentence beginning "It was difficult to see" etc.

- p. 12 I don't see the "bulletin board" point. It contains news of camp, little news of outside world. It is rather like a "school paper" or "trade paper."

Evidence that "effect ... in molding public opinion is almost nil."? And that "articles in paper do not even reflect accurately what is going on in the camp."

Relevance of paragraph beginning "In a camp split by differences" etc.?

Last paragraph on p. 12 (extending to p. 13) is pretty dogmatic.



- p. 13 Text says "paper is not heavily censored" while footnote says "paper is very definitely censored every day."
- p. 17 Sentence about "lack of respect" for editors should be either clarified or omitted.
- p. 18 No evidence given here that "rumors have increased in tempo and in number."

Delete last two sentences.



# DSI Notes on Communicative Institutions

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# ~~Comments~~

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