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CHAPTER V

EARLY PHASE OF SELECTIVE MIGRATION

Student Relocation and Agricultural Furloughs

As already described, public hostility made voluntary migration from the military areas impractical, and the War Relocation Authority soon after its inception adopted a plan to create war-duration communities from which evacuees were in the main prohibited from leaving. The agency, however, made an exception from the beginning: a twofold resettlement program for college students and for workers on agricultural furloughs. The importance of transferring college students directly from the Coast to universities in the Middle West and the East was realized by many outstanding religious leaders and college educators as soon as the Army decided upon the evacuation policy. Chancellor Wilbur of Stanford University, for instance, wrote:

Every effort should be made to avoid mistakes in this important action of our Government. It has been impossible for me to answer the many questions put to me by these students as to why. Everything that they have learned from babyhood up in this country is negated by their present experience.

It seems to me important for us to visualize the situation that will develop at the end of the war if these young American citizens, with their great capacity for leadership, have been confined in camps, have had their education interfered with, and have had the disillusionment that must inevitably come to them. In my opinion, the least that could be done would be to insure them the completion of their education in junior colleges and colleges and to arrange for adequate education for the younger American-born generation.¹

President Sproul of the University of California had earlier stressed similar points to Congressman John H. Tolan, Chairman of the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, which had conducted hearings on the West Coast:

Your point that a new leadership will probably arise within the Japanese groups as a result of their forced migration from an established social and economic milieu requires careful consideration; for the character of that leadership, and the continued loyalty and friendliness of the entire group, will depend upon our general treatment of them, and particularly our efforts to see that they are permitted to complete educational programs in American-type schools and under the supervision of people wholly favorable to the ideals of democracy.

As a university administrator I am particularly interested in the fate of those young citizens of Japanese ancestry who

1. Ray Lyman Wilbur to Joseph Conard, Executive Secretary, Student Relocation Committee, Berkeley, California, Letter, April 13, 1942.

are being forced to leave colleges and universities in the restricted areas. They, above all others, will provide the leadership for their minority group in the future years. It is essential to the welfare of the nation that these leaders be given every opportunity to complete their preparation for this responsibility in a way which will insure wholehearted loyalty to this country, and deep appreciation of the essential justice which every citizen may expect from a democratic government.¹

To Vice President Henry Wallace he reiterated:

In spite of the almost universal goodwill which these individuals of Japanese ancestry have shown, they would not be human if there was not some sense of injustice and resentment in the hearts of those who know they are loyal to the United States and to Democracy. Unless this natural reaction is compensated for in every possible way, we shall not be living up to our own conception of the dignity and rights of the individual, and we shall be weakening the loyalty of a whole group of our citizens.²

In various Pacific Coast cities groups had become active in assisting the dislocated students, and their activities were in a short time coordinated into a coastwise Student Relocation Committee, organized under the sponsorship of the Associations of Colleges and

1. Sproul to Tolan, Letter, April 7, 1942.

2. Sproul to Wallace, Letter, May 1, 1942.

Universities, the University Commission of the Church Boards of Education, the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, the Friendly Relations Committee, Committees of the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches, the International Student Service, the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the World Student Service Fund, and the Institute of International Education. The Committee was able to assist approximately 75 students to relocate themselves in some fifty colleges and universities outside the prohibited areas before the evacuation deadline. The Seattle office was particularly active; of the 458 Nisei students at the University of Washington as of December 7, 1941, 58 were transferred before the deadline.

The need for a large fund to assist the students, the complexities of the task and other difficulties that the program encountered were beyond the scope of the early planning. A number of proposals to finance this project were advanced, more influential among which was President Sproul's appeal for federal financing.

He proposed that

the most desirable method of meeting this problem would be

to provide Federal scholarships for all collegiate grade students subject to evacuation orders who are desirous of continuing their educations, at colleges or universities of acceptable standards in non-prohibited or non-restricted military areas in the country which are willing to receive them. Because of the difficulty which may be encountered in providing part-time employment for these students under present conditions such scholarships would have to meet an irreducible minimum total cost of maintenance, for twelve months, of at least \$600, and would of necessity be more in some cases where non-resident or other fees are high.

For these students who find it impossible or undesirable to leave their families in evacuation centers, and whose course of study is of a nature to permit of special instruction by University Extension classes or correspondence, scholarships of sufficient amount to pay tuition and part-time maintenance should be provided.¹

President Sproul at the same time pointed out the importance of establishing a centralized national organization to administer this program. He stated:

The administration of an educational program of collegiate grade for American citizens of Japanese ancestry should be placed in the hands of a committee of university and college

1. Sproul to Tolan, Memorandum attached to Letter, April 7, 1942.

representatives acting for the whole group. It should not be administered by individual institutions or communities. . . .

All applications from students should clear through this committee, and all inquiries to other institutions in the country should go out from this committee. Decision as to the nature of the assistance to be given individual students, and the amount of assistance to be rendered should be decided upon by the committee with the advice of the individual colleges and universities.¹

WRA Director Eisenhower was receptive to this plan and promised to "weave through the educational bureaucracy" to implement it.²

However, Mr. Eisenhower was convinced of insurmountable obstacles within a short time, and wrote Mr. Sproul on May 6 that though a program of student relocation would have to receive the sanction of the Federal Government, he realized the major effort would have to be in private hands. "Any attempt to handle the problem as a Federal undertaking, possibly with Federal subsidies involved, would be defeated in the face of misunderstanding and near hostility."³ Meanwhile, on May 5, he had formally requested Clarence S. Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee to organize a special

1. Ibid.

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3. Eisenhower to Sproul, Letter, May 6, 1942.

committee to bring together those persons and agencies that had been active on the West Coast and to expand the program on a national scale. Mr. Eisenhower stated:

Many eminent educators have urged that university students in the prohibited zone be permitted to transfer to midwestern colleges and universities where they may continue their education. Certainly I agree that this would be desirable.

It is not feasible for the War Relocation Authority to undertake such a university program for American-citizen Japanese, but this in no way detracts from the desirability of such an accomplishment. Consequently, I should like to ask that you establish a committee which would aid you in formulating a set of policies and program. Such a program will involve the selection and certification of students at assembly or relocation centers, a phase of the task that must, of course, be handled by the Federal Government. It will involve transportation of students from the prohibited zone to a designated university, a function which I think may also be handled by WRA, just as it transports all evacuees from the prohibited zone to their war-duration homes. It involves the development of true understanding of this whole problem in many universities as a prerequisite to the students and faculty of those universities making arrangements for the reception of American-citizen Japanese. Finally, it involves either work opportunities or non-Federal funds for the support of students at the universities.

I should like to have you not only to bring together a

committee to formulate a program but also to do the necessary follow-through work which will be necessary if this program is to be realized. Let me emphasize that the Federal Government for the protection of the students themselves and to re-assure the public will make individual examinations and give individual certifications. This, however, is only half of the matter. It is equally necessary to see to it that difficulties would not develop in the new locations to which the students would go.¹

At the same time, the plan was officially endorsed by the War Department. On May 21 Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy wrote Mr. Pickett:

I take pleasure in advising you that I am in complete sympathy with the suggestions made by Mr. Eisenhower in his letter to you of May 5th. Anything that can legitimately be done to compensate loyal citizens of Japanese ancestry for the dislocation to which they have been subjected, by reason of military necessity, has our full approval. In particular, the suggestion for the establishment of a committee of distinguished educators to work out a program of university education in other parts of the country for Japanese-American citizens evacuated from the Pacific Coast meets with my hearty approval.²

Upon the assurance by interested government agencies that they

1. Eisenhower to Pickett, Letter, May 5, 1942.

2. McCloy to Pickett, Letter, May 21, 1942.

would cooperate in every way possible, a meeting of the various individuals and groups was called in Chicago on May 29 under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee to formulate ways and means of working out procedures. It was attended by many prominent educators and church leaders, among whom were President Nason of Swarthmore College, Dr. Aydelotte of Princeton, Dr. Hedrick representing President Sproul of California, President Mendenhall of Whittier College, Dean Everton of Grinnell College, Rev. Thomas of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Rev. Wieland of the Protestant Episcopal National Council, and Dr. Snavely of the Association of American Colleges. The government agencies were represented by Provinse of WRA, Miss Goodekoontz, Assistant Commissioner of Education, and John W. Abbott, the chief field investigator for the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration. The problem of some 2,300 Nisei college students, about two thirds men and one third women, either already in centers or awaiting evacuation, was thoroughly discussed. The experiences of the already existing Student Relocation Committee were evaluated. The analysis brought

out difficulties such as:

- (1) Lack of financial resources;
- (2) Making clear to institutions the obligation America has to these people who have borne the brunt of this war measure;
- (3) Finding part-time jobs on or near campuses;
- (4) Clearing the loyalty of each individual.¹

Out of this conference crystallized the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council with President Nason of Swarthmore as Chairman and President Robbins W. Barstow of the Harford Seminary Foundation as Director.² It was agreed that as a first step outstanding Nisei students whose loyalty was certified would be resettled as the representatives of the evacuees. Similar care would be exercised in selection of colleges. "There should be as careful choice of colleges as students. If this job is done well, it will

1. Digest of the meeting, May 29, 1942.

2. President Nason of Swarthmore was the Chairman.

The sponsors included Dean Ackerman of Columbia, Director Aydelotte of Princeton, President Bird of Occidental College, President Davidson of Knox College, Provost Duetsch of University of California, President Dykstra of Wisconsin, President Graham of North Carolina, President Mendenhall of Whittier College, Dean Otthank of Oregon, President Sieg of Washington, President Sills of Bowdoin College, President Sproul of University of California, and Chancellor Wilbur of Stanford.

spread the understanding of the Japanese and help with their integration into this country."¹ Financing of the project was planned, most of the fund going into scholarships. They would utilize

- (1) Money of the Japanese themselves. The large majority are willing to spend all they have on education. . . . ;
- (2) Free tuition may be obtained from many colleges and in some cases fuller scholarships;
- (3) An application for funds from national community chests can be made;
- (4) Many foreign and home mission boards may allocate funds in lieu of heavy programs abroad. The Baptist board has already voted a generous amount;
- (5) The Associated Student Organization will assume the responsibility of raising money through student organizations.²

Two committees were set up: one in San Francisco and the other in Philadelphia. The Student Relocation Committee was incorporated into the West Coast committee to which was delegated the responsibility of assisting students in selecting a college, of examining and appraising the students' academic records, of arrang-

1. Digest of the Meeting, May 29, 1942.

2. Ibid.

ing with educational institutions for the admission of students, of determining community sentiment with respect to the relocation of students in that community, and of determining the adequacy of the students' financial resources. The Eastern committee was made responsible for developing college openings, finding administrative and scholarship funds, and cooperating with the concerned government agencies in Washington. These committees staffed to a great extent by volunteer workers set out to contact students and colleges. They prepared questionnaires to be answered by Nisei who were interested in continuing their college education, and sent out its representatives to every assembly center and relocation center to contact them. The Council, however, met many obstacles from the beginning. It found that the Wartime Civil Control Administration in San Francisco was "from the start, less sympathetic and cooperative than we had expected it to be, in the light of Mr. McCloy's approval of the plan. As illustrating their attitude, we were given nineteen points of regulations for student contacts that are, in our judgment, unnecessarily restrictive in several particulars."¹ Among these Army regulations

1. Barstow to Sproul, Letter, July 27, 1942.

were the following:

Individuals or committees of the National Student Relocation Council will make no release to the press or public in any manner, except through the Public Relations Branch of the War-time Civil Control Administration.

All interviews will be conducted in the reception rooms or other designated places of the assembly centers, as directed by the center manager. . . .

Interviews of the prospective students will be limited to the personal data and academic history records which can be the basis of recommendation for educational furloughs.

A member of the Internal Security in each center will be present during all meetings and interviews held by the National Student Relocation Council and will be so detailed by the Chief of Internal Security in each center.

The individuals or committee members conducting the interviews will not be allowed in the quarters of the Japanese, nor will they be allowed to make inspections or visits in the assembly centers.

All interviews will be conducted in the English language only. . . .¹

Group gatherings of prospective students for the purpose of lectures, interviews, instructions, discussions, etc., by members of the National Student Relocation Council or the representative Japanese committee, will not be permitted.

1. U.S. Army. Western Defense Command and Fourth Army. Wartime Civil Control Administration. Mimeographed memorandum, June 19, 1942.

A Japanese committee of not more than seven members selected to assist the Student Relocation Council in circulating the approved questionnaires, may be assembled only for the purpose of instructions pertaining to the circulation of the questionnaires.¹

In the WRA controlled relocation centers, however, the Council members received whole-hearted cooperation and support from the administrative officials. In Poston, for instance, a committee of leading Nisei was organized under the sponsorship of several key officials, and when the Council representative, David Hanley, arrived in the middle of July, it was ready to undertake the student interviews. The committee called ^{a meeting} in a centrally located hall, and Mr. Hanley spoke to about 300 young people explaining the aims and the procedures of the Council. He said, "Everything possible is being done for ambitious students wishing to continue their education at Mid-western or Eastern colleges, or universities by the National Student Relocation Council, which has been established at the request of WRA." A select group would be chosen for scholastic ability,

1. Ibid., Supplement No. 1, July 11, 1942.

personality, and need for the type of work.¹

The task of interviewing and filling out questionnaires was assumed by evacuee members of the locally organized committee. Unit I was divided into seven districts and committee members were assigned to each of these districts. Interviews were conducted in block manager's offices, commencing on July 15 and lasting for three days. Some 100 questionnaires were filled, and the reactions of prospective students were reported as varying from enthusiasm to apathy and skepticism. Some of the interviewers stated that "many men students were skeptical about the whole procedure and were reluctant to fill out the questionnaires. They wondered if anything would be done after they were filled out. The women were afraid to fill them out because they wondered if they would be safe if they went out to school. Many wanted to go but they questioned in the analysis whether they would be permitted to leave the area." Many other questions were asked. "They asked the advisers such questions as: Do we have to be Quakers? If we have some money will we have to use it or could we leave it with our parents to have on hand when it

1. Poston Chronicle, July 15, 1942.

came for them to be rehabilitated in some other section? What number is going to be chosen to go to college? To what colleges will they be permitted to go? Will there be only secondary colleges on the list or will there be some that are worthwhile?"¹

The interviewers concluded that "there was a definite feeling of uncertainty about going away to the outside. . . . [But] we would have to get some students to leave for the fall semester if the morale of the young people were to be kept at a fairly high tempo. They were sure that the scholarships were to be based on selective basis, and many of the students had eliminated themselves by the fact that they did not fill out the questionnaires. This was because they had lost ambition for further education and were more or less marking time now. Many felt they would be ineligible ~~on the money basis~~ because of lack of funds. Others regretted the fact that their parents would have been able to have sent them to college had it not been for their removal to Poston. So they decided that from the financial standpoint it would be useless for them to apply. The idea was expressed that some of the parents might have money but the young people did not

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Poston Student Relocation Committee, July 18, 1942.

want to use this money due to the uncertainty of their lives and they would like to get the scholarships. The amount of money necessary was evidently a big factor in their thinking."

The evacuee members of the committee believed that the evacuation had taken on the color of a racial issue. Almost anything could happen to them from now. Although they are disillusioned, they feel that the future is an open future. The scales might tip for either good or bad. If a few students could be placed, the morale of the camp would go up noticeably. At present it is at low ebb. Unless some students were permitted to leave, there would be a drop in the confidence that people had in the Government. Something must be done to restore their confidence. They have been told so many things that were not true. They have been given so many promises which were not carried out."¹

The second phase of the Council's task was to locate colleges and universities that would place Nisei students. It was much more difficult than one had expected. As the initial step the Council sent out about seven hundred questionnaires to colleges and universities

1. Ibid.

seeking the necessary information. Besides basic questions, the questionnaire included:

Are any scholarships available?

Could any of the expenses be waived or reduced in this emergency?

How do you estimate public opinion in your community with respect to this problem?

How do you appraise campus opinion among faculty?

How do you appraise campus opinion among students?

By July 20 one hundred and fifty-five favorable and seventy-nine unfavorable replies were received from educational institutions. Many colleges were very cooperative as exemplified by the following reply:

You pitched into my lap a very interesting and difficult problem with reference to the Japanese students. Immediately upon receipt of your letter I called for faculty advisers -- some fifteen or twenty of them. Also I called a meeting of the Student Senate and the class presidents and read your letter to them. Out of it all I am sure that the attitude of our faculty and students would be all that could be asked.

I am not so sure, however, of the attitude of people in town and people in the territory. For example, there are boys from Canyon in the Philippine debacle; and it is not known whether they are dead or alive. A similar situation, of course, obtains over the entire area; and some of our people fear two

things about this: one, as to the safety of the Japanese boys themselves, and one as to what effect their presence on the campus might have toward the institution. I think, however, that the following is my definite answer to your question.

If the United States government has a policy with reference to such matters, then this institution stands ready to fit into the program, whatever it involves. Personally, I feel that students and faculty members would treat the boys with fine consideration. For example, the student group was almost unanimously in favor of the boys' coming.¹

In most cases student and faculty were cordial to the project.

In some instances, "such as the University of Nebraska, there is a student committee especially organized to help in this matter. We have had many communications from student leaders in different colleges indicating an active and sympathetic concern.

In no case do I recall a generally favorable reply from the college administration which did not carry with it an indication of favorable student response, or at least there was no indication of an unfavorable student response."²

Some colleges gave unfavorable replies indicating "that

1. President J.A. Hill, the West Texas State Teachers College to Kirven, Letter, April 17, 1942.

2. Barstow to Gibson, WRA, Letter, August 20, 1942.

general community sentiment, including student sentiment, was unfavorable and, therefore, they could not consider enrollment."¹ Attitudes of unfriendly universities are illustrated by the experiences of a Nisei who tried to transfer to a university outside of the military area. Chairman Birge of the Department of Physics of the University of California, in which the student had been enrolled, described:

We have . . . had here for the past year Mr. G.I. Horiuchi, who received his A.B. degree in 1939 and his M.A. in 1941 at U.C.L.A. Mr. Horiuchi in the year with us received four grades of "B" and one of "A". He was, however, a very good student, extremely alert and intelligent, and in fact, more like an American than a Japanese in his general reactions. Anticipating the Army exclusion orders, Mr. Horiuchi applied for a teaching assistantship at the University of Illinois and was accepted by the chairman of the physics department there. The president of the University of Illinois, however, refused to authorize the appointment simply on the basis of his nationality, although, as stated, he is actually an American citizen. Then when the last date at which a person could get a travel permit was suddenly announced, Mr. Horiuchi got permission to go to Minneapolis, where he had relatives with whom he could stay. He arrived there safely and made application

1. Ibid.

for a teaching assistantship at the University of Minnesota. The same story was repeated there. He was accepted by the chairman of the physics department, and, in fact, every member of the department there did what they could for him. He seems to have made himself extremely popular in a very short time. The president of the University of Minnesota, however, not only refused to appoint him a teaching assistant but refused even to allow him to register at the University as a student. I take it that there was no legal basis whatsoever for this latter action, but as in the case of treatment of negroes in many universities, there is probably little that can be done about it. As a result, he has now gone to New York City, where he thinks that there may be better possibilities for his getting at least something to do.¹

Although many colleges and universities indicated their willingness, they had first to be approved by the Army and the Navy before they could accept Nisei students. There was a wide gap between the attitude of the service branches and that of the educational institutions. "Many of the better institutions are holding off on any commitments or cooperation until there is some clean cut declaration from the government,"² while the Army, on the other hand,

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1. Raymond T. Birge, Chairman, Department of Physics, University of California, Berkeley, California, to Joseph Conard, Letter, July 15, 1942.
 2. Barstow to Sproul, July 27, 1942.

insisted that some Nisei students be accepted by certain colleges prior to the issuance of clearance of these institutions. The Army's reluctance is indicated by initial clearance of only about twenty institutions, which constituted "only one fourth of names on check list." It would not "approve colleges having classified research projects or institutions within 25 miles of important power installations, defense industries, or railroad terminals. Navy less restrictive but will not approve institutions with classified research projects or naval ROTC units."¹

The restrictions necessarily ruled out a large number of urban universities. For instance, the University of Colorado at Boulder had been "particularly cooperative in opening placement resources to "Nisei, but it was eliminated from the eligible list for the reason that it had navy ROTC units."² The situation caused Commissioner Collier to remark before a large audience of evacuees:

The army has objected on the grounds that evacuees might go only to colleges which are far removed from strategic points such as bridges, railroads, highways, etc. Such a restriction

1. Provinse to Barstow, Telegram, June 24, 1942. Cited in Barstow to Pickett, Letter, June 29, 1942.

2. Barstow to Pickett, Letter, June 29, 1942.

would leave only four or five colleges in the backwoods which evacuees might attend. Therefore, WRA is objecting strongly to the army stand in this connection.¹

The Army, however, indicated its willingness "to give special consideration on request to individual cases where positive evidence of loyalty submitted."² It could not be determined "what is acceptable evidence of loyalty."³

Strenuous efforts were made both by WRA and the Council to ease the restrictions. Provinse stated that WRA "appealed from recent policy decision on relocation schools and expect ^{to} secure less restrictive ruling."⁴ WRA, in the meantime, asked the Council that "placement of students in the few approved schools" be suspended "until the larger program appeared."⁵ A stalemate resulted for many

1. Edward H. Spicer, "Mr. Collier's Speech to the Whole Poston Community," Manuscript, August 8, 1942.

2. Provinse to Barstow, Telegram, June 24, 1942. Cited in Barstow to Pickett, Letter, June 29, 1942.

3. Provinse to Conard, Telegram, June 27, 1942. Cited in Barstow to Pickett, Letter, June 29, 1942.

4. Ibid.

5. Barstow to E.B. Marks, WRA, Washington, Letter, August 4, 1942.

weeks and exasperated Council members. The Council Director remarked, "We are given sort of a run-around in this matter of college clearance."¹ "We have thus far been able to secure no clearance from the government, specifically the subordinate executives of the War Department, as to institutions approved for relocation. We have not even up to this moment any adequate statement of principles and policies. . . . We have been put off with arguments and excuses day after day and week after week, although the officials of the War Relocation Authority have done their utmost to secure favorable decisions and action. . . . The Army people here in Washington have been disappointingly evasive and uncertain, and have continually stalled in a most exasperating way."² This situation was jeopardizing the whole program of student relocation, as Mr. Barstow remarked, "If we are going to be able to make any significant placements for fall term openings, we must move quickly. We must have immediate clearance on institutions so that we can start the processes of selection and placement and financing, which will take several weeks

1. Ibid.

2. Barstow to Sproul, July 27, 1942.

at best."¹

Mr. Barstow believed that "basic shifting of their attitude to a cooperative rather than a restrictive one might be effected if the Student Relocation Council can bring sufficient influence high enough up in the War and Navy Departments."² The Council "considered, at many points of our prolonged frustration, going to headquarters, i.e. to the top of the War Department, or even to the White House." But they "hesitated, however, because it has always seemed that the favorable break might be just around the corner, and Mr. Myer (Eisenhower's successor as head of the WRA) and Mr. Provinse . . . who have been in frequent touch with McCloy or his staff, have felt that it would be poor strategy to take any more drastic steps while things were still moving favorably." He complained of "the far reaching negative effects of the present stalemate. This plan for the students, the key people in terms of leadership for a whole generation would have been so helpful in all aspects of our national life, and international relations as well, that it is tragic almost to the

1. Ibid.

2. Barstow to Pickett, Letter, June 29, 1942.

point of catastrophe, that it should be blocked."¹

To break the stalemate representatives of WRA and of the Council met Assistant Secretary McCloy on July 29, and the whole problem was examined. The nature of the conference was evidently satisfactory to all parties concerned and the Council again became hopeful of the future, as the following letter to Mr. McCloy indicates:

I want to express to you our every real appreciation of your courtesy in meeting with us to discuss the Japanese Student Relocation problem and for your sympathy and cooperation in this very complicated matter.

I think that all of us who were in the room together found ourselves in pretty general agreement as to purposes and plans, the real problems having to do with the detailed working out of these plans and the most expedient ways of operation in view of the total situation with respect to public opinion and world affairs. We do hope, however, that a way may be found to expedite the necessary steps, particularly in view of the fact that we are coming so close on to the opening dates of the colleges. We do not forget that your Department is charged with tremendous responsibilities in this world crisis in comparison with which the educational plans of a couple of

~~1. Barstow to McCloy, July 31, 1942.~~

1. Barstow to Sproul, Letter, July 27, 1942.

thousand youths of Japanese ancestry may seem quite trivial. However, we do feel there are very important implications in the program which we are hoping to work out for them, and inasmuch as you have endorsed the general proposition we are eager to have it carried through as successfully as possible.¹

The War Department on August 5 approved scores of colleges and universities, and established the following conditions under which Nisei students could be enrolled:²

- (a) Only American citizen Japanese (Nisei) are eligible for enrollment. Those in the group of citizens known as "Kibei" are not eligible.
- (b) The War Relocation Authority will assure the War Department that the college authorities agree to the enrollment of acceptable students, and that satisfactory arrangements have been made with state and local officials regarding the presence of these students in the community.

1. Barstow to McCloy, July 31, 1942.

2. The policy was inconsistent in its application for an additional ruling stated that these conditions would not bind "American citizens of Japanese origin who are not now living at assembly centers operated by the War Department, or at relocation centers operated by the War Relocation Authority. Neither the War Department nor the War Relocation Authority wishes to interpose any objection to the attendance of these students in colleges or universities and it is hoped that their

- (c) All student records will be checked and cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation before the students are released from Centers to enter colleges.
- (d) The War Department does not assume responsibility for the conduct of students after they are released from evacuation Center to enter colleges. This responsibility rests with the War Relocation Authority.
- (e) The War Relocation Authority will furnish G-2 of the War Department and appropriate defense commanders a list of students, including the name of the college in which enrolled, as soon as students are cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to enter an approved college.¹

A major barrier was thus cleared, but there were other obstacles. The matter of receiving favorable cooperation from the Navy Department was again difficult, and a considerable time was consumed before enough influence was exerted from "higher up" to ease their restrictions. The clearance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation was another difficulty. Their attitudes were reflected in the following memorandum:

applications will be considered on their individual merits exactly as applications from other American citizens." (Letter by Dillon S. Myer addressed to College and University Presidents, August 7, 1942.)

1. McCloy to Myer, Letter, August 5, 1942.

A previous request for investigation by the War Relocation Authority of Japanese-American citizens to be relocated from Assembly Centers in other parts of the United States was directed to the Attorney-General and instructions were received that this Bureau was not to undertake such investigation. However, this Bureau has agreed to make a check of its records covering any names referred by the War Relocation Authority provided that sufficient identifying data is submitted with each name.

In view of the above, this Bureau could not undertake to make any investigations of the students now located in Assembly Centers, but it will upon receipt of the names of the individuals from you cause a check to be made of its records and you will be informed of any pertinent information received from such check. In submitting the names of persons that you desire to be checked against the Bureau records, it is requested that you furnish sufficient personal data to enable identification.¹

Thus, students applicants were classified into two groups: "those on whom FBI has no information and those on whom it has information. . . . FBI does not wish us to say that the FBI has certified anyone's loyalty. It wishes us merely to say that students have been cleared. . . . FBI leaves it up to WRA to clear

1. John Edgar Hoover to Edward J. Ennis, Director, Alien Enemy Control Unit, Department of Justice, Memorandum, August 18, 1942.

or not to clear."¹ Applicants on whom FBI had some information² were held up by WRA unless they were cleared by the G-2 section of the Army. The Council, however, contended that if they were "really dangerous, FBI assumes ^[they] are already interned or under FBI investigation, and, therefore, not on our lists at all."³

That "satisfactory arrangements have been made with state and local officials regarding the presence of these students in the community" was another difficult condition to fulfill. The Council as a rule contacted the officials or let the student do the inquiry before he was allowed to leave the center. In most cases replies were favorable, as for example Governor Carr of Colorado, who came out with a forthright statement:

In order that the matter may be cleared for all time, will you not get the word to all of these Councils and authorities as well as the Army that I make absolutely no objection to the reception of people whether they are first

1. Howard K. Beale, West Coast Director, to John W. Nason, Letter, November 16, 1942.

2. In many cases such adverse information concerned with their parents and not directly with the persons involved. "None of the information has seem^{ed} to us to be of any consequence." (Ibid.)

3. Ibid.

to leave by order of the President or the Army or whether they come voluntarily under legal pact. I still cling to my old position and say that they have the right as American citizens to do as they please and legally go where they please.¹

Chief of Police Carter of Aurora, Missouri, wrote:

This is to certify that any American born citizen of Japanese ancestry, not restricted by government order, may live in the Aurora community so long as necessary for transaction of business, or attending any institution of learning. Further, all local law agencies will exercise every possible precaution to preserve the peace and safety of said person.²

Mayor Cuthbertson of Liberty, Missouri, wrote:

As Mayor of the City of Liberty I am inviting you to come as a student in William Jewell College. I assure you that you will be welcome in our community and that we will extend every courtesy to you.³

Some community sentiment not receptive to student relocation was evidenced:

We had everything arranged for Japanese-American students

1. Ralph L. Carr to Joseph Conard, Letter, August 7, 1942. In another letter dated August 12, 1942, the Governor stated, "I want to help these people, but I have already been put to no little embarrassment and trouble because of lack of understanding regarding this evacuation problem."

2. Earl Carter, Letter addressed ~~to~~ "To Whom it May Concern," July 17, 1942.

3. W.N. Cuthbertson, Mayor, Liberty, Missouri, to Endow, Letter, August 26, 1942.

to be with us when Mr. John Powell returned to America from one of the Japanese concentration camps. Mr. Powell had received dreadful treatment. Both feet had been frozen so that he lost part of both feet. There was a great wave of resentment in this vicinity against anything Japanese. Mr. Powell came from this vicinity. . . . The Mayor of Quincy advised against our admitting any Japanese-American until this resentment subsides.¹

Questionnaires submitted by Nisei were scrutinized and matched with approved colleges. Their transcripts were sent for, and almost all schools on the West Coast, where these students were in attendance before evacuation, cooperated wholeheartedly. There were, however, notable exceptions. The dental college of the University of Southern California was, for instance, reluctant to issue the transcripts of Nisei. A Council worker in the Southern California branch office wrote:

I had a stormy telephone conversation with Dean Ford of the U.S.C. Dental College yesterday - after receiving the letter from Marydel reporting that someone had told her that he was refusing to furnish transcripts. We had requested

1. Gem City Business College, Quincy, Illinois, to National Student Relocation Council, Letter, November 14, 1942.

a number and had had no response, so I thought I better check on it. It appears that he is definitely anti-Japanese personally, and that he had therefore taken exception to our mimeographed, unofficial, unauthorized request! Who was he, he inquired, to assist prisoners of war to leave their Centers, when he had not been authorized to do so by the War Department? I was pretty mad - especially when he asked me if I was aware of the "muss" out at Santa Anita last week (the riot), and if I thought we should contribute to further such m~~u~~esses. If he [refuses] we shall go to the President of U.S.C. who is sensitive to public opinion, and after seeing our letterhead will not like the idea of one of his colleges having the dubious distinction of being the only college on the entire coast to refuse to cooperate!¹

Intervention in behalf of the committee by Provost Deutsch of the University of California brought forth the requested transcripts, but "there are certain features of the transcripts which seriously weaken their value."

In the first place, I observe that no credit has been given for the work of the second semester of the academic year 1941-42. At the University of California we treated the students in this group who withdrew exactly as we treated men who were unable to complete the semester fully because they entered the armed services.

1. Clare Harris, Los Angeles office, to Joseph Conard, Letter, August 14, 1942.

In the case of these students, however, you went further and not only gave them no credit for the second semester's work, but because of that you stated with reference to the students who had the major part of the first year's work with you, as follows:

"No credit -- must repeat his freshman year." In other words, you not only denied him credit for the second term, but also for the first term for which you indicated the quality of the work done.

In the case of sophomores you definitely wrote on the record "no credit for last year's work." In effect, this means that a student who may have failed to complete an entire year's work by a few weeks, was denied completely credit for the year.¹

There were other cases where high school principals refused to issue students' transcripts on similar grounds.

In spite of these difficulties, "by the end of the summer could report 2,321 applications from students in Assembly and Relocation Centers and 152 students enrolled on new campuses."²

The majority of these relocated students were well received, and

1. Monroe E. Deutsch to Dean Lewis E. Ford, Letter, November 20, 1942.

2. National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, From Camp to College, Pamphlet, Philadelphia, p. 4.

many wrote the Council enthusiastic letters of appreciation. A Nisei girl wrote from the University of Colorado, which had been eventually cleared by the Army and Navy:

I am situated at the Women's International House. Here are 10 girls living together, also of different nationalities. I have already made wonderful friends, and I love this place very much. Am already being rushed, so to say, by the fellows, for we came in the midst of some kind of celebration and things seem to be brewing on the campus.¹

A Nisei girl from the Iowa State Teachers' College wrote:

People here are so understanding and human, compared to some of the people in California. You can never know how happy and relieved I am to be away from California. Now once again I feel and can begin to think as a free person.²

A Nisei male from the University of Cincinnati wrote:

All the students in the dormitory are very nice to me. They greet me with a "Hi" every time they see me. I really appreciate the sentiment and set-up here. I think it's simply wonderful.³

There were a few exceptions, however, where the coming of

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1. Kaya Kitagawa to the Student Relocation Council, Letter, undated.
 2. Hazel Takashita to the Student Relocation Council, Letter, undated
 3. Unoji Goto to Joseph Conard, Letter, October 10, 1942.

Nisei created resistance in the community and protests were raised: In Elmhurst, Illinois, the American Legion post objected to the coming of several students to Elmhurst College. The post followed the resolution that had been passed by the national convention that the American Legion was opposed to relocation. The president of the college took a definite stand in favor of admitting the Nisei, and the Board of Trustees passed a resolution supporting his stand. Several Nisei were eventually allowed to attend the college in spite of the furor created by the Legion post.

There was another instance where Nisei were threatened with "lynching" in Athens, Ohio, but the case was settled amicably ~~by~~ when they talked directly with the miners of the community.

Throughout the Fall the Council sent its representatives throughout the Middle West and the East to open to Nisei more institutions, particularly larger universities. These institutions were generally still restrictive and resistant, as appreciated in the report of the field representative, which reads in part:

Ohio University needs work on the community. They have two students who left before evacuation. They would take

more if community opposition can be overcome

The University of Pennsylvania has several students of Japanese ancestry: one such is President of the Junior Class. The administration was unfriendly while I was in Philadelphia and the government has now withdrawn the clearance it had given for the University of Pennsylvania. From what I know of the situation I strongly suspect that the University administration asked the government to take it from the list, though I could not prove it.

Syracuse University has been cleared, but it appears to be washing out.

The same is true of the University of Rochester, though there they have not changed their minds, but are now apparently weakening.

Western Reserve University has closed the door so tight that I now have my toe in a crack. The reason is a feeling that public opinion is unfriendly.

The University of Michigan seems friendly.

The President of the University of Illinois claimed it not to be friendly, but felt that he thought he ought to protect the war research projects on the campus by not admitting our students.

At Iowa State College . . . we hope that the President can be won over.

The University of Minnesota is already friendly, if we can get governmental clearance.

Knox College is friendly, if you could stop and persuade

the Galesburg community to permit it to take students.

Washington University at St. Louis has a large number, is still friendly, but has closed its doors because it feels it unwise to take any more.¹

As the Council kept in touch with these universities to sell its aims and purposes, it also continued to exert pressure on the War Department and the Navy Department to have the restrictions more liberalized. Its work brought results more and more: more colleges showed their willingness to accept Nisei, more colleges were cleared by the government, Kibei were allowed to leave on student relocation plan. By the end of the year 1942 "the government procedures for clearing colleges and students became sufficiently well organized to permit any great flow of students from camp to college."² The Council "had received applications from 2,535 students. Of the 2,535, about 800 have now been accepted by the cooperating colleges and universities. 360 of those accepted for the Fall semester were successfully relocated and have written exuberant letters of thanks from their new campuses

1. Beale to O'Brien, Letter, November 13, 1942.

2. National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, From Camp to College, Pamphlet, Philadelphia, p. 4.

in 24 different states, ranging from Maine, Massachusetts, and New York to Utah, Idaho, and Washington. For those accepted for Winter terms, the Council has collected for 247 all the documents required by the government and has forwarded them to Washington, D.C. with a request for immediate release and travel permit. For the balance, the required documents are now being collected." At this time, "approximately 400 colleges and universities in the east and midwest are cooperating with the Council, and of these 344 have thus far been cleared by the War and Navy Departments for student relocation. Many of these institutions are offering scholarships, remissions of fees and work opportunities totaling \$107,430.00. The World Student Service Fund and various denominations and individuals have placed \$64,819 at the disposal of the Council for scholarship purposes. The need for scholarship funds is great. The 800 students who have been accepted to date are primarily those who had funds of their own or who have been granted scholarship funds the Council has received. If all of the 1,300 who are now waiting placement were to be furnished sufficient financial resources for one year's work on a minimum cost basis,

aid representing \$541,000 would be needed to supplement what funds they and their families have managed to muster."¹

The development of the student relocation program described above makes a sharp contrast to that of the furlough program for agricultural workers. The former was engineered by altruistic motives of friendly individuals and organizations, and the Student Relocation Council in conjunction with WRA officials promoted the welfare of Nisei students, combating prejudice and hostility of not only the general public and universities but also other government agencies working at cross purposes. The agricultural furlough, on the other hand, evolved from the pressure generated by the economic interests of farm blocs, although WRA was not entirely opposed to the idea if its conditions could be met. The pressure had been felt even before evacuation movements were in full swing from the military areas. Some farmers' groups had felt an acute shortage of labor and had presented vigorous requests to various government agencies for the diversion of evacuees' labor resources into agricultural work. WCCA had received many requests for

1. Bodine to Elkus, Memorandum, January 5, 1943.

resettlement of small groups of farm laborers, and plans to make the labor available were seriously considered. This increasing demand caused Mr. Eisenhower to remark in an official communication to the Director of the Budget:

New pressures are developing. Many of the same people who wished to have the Japanese evacuated in the first place are now asking that Japanese labor be kept available for various types of work. In the sugar beet and truck crop areas of the West the demands for stoop labor are beginning to roll in. Politically this pressure is going to be hard to withstand, but if we break down the orderly program and begin to rush Japanese families here and there simply to meet demands for labor, we are once again going to raise fears in the West. Untoward incidents would not be unlikely, I am putting this statement in writing because I can assure you that I am going to become increasingly unpopular as the weeks go by and as I resist the demands from this area and that. I am going to meet the demands only if the Japanese can be fully protected.¹

The attitudes of the Governors and Attorneys General of the western states, except Governor Carr of Colorado, during the conference in Salt Lake City on April 7 with Army, Justice, and WRA representatives not only forced the Federal Government to abandon

1. Eisenhower to Smith, Letter, April 5, 1942.

the original concept of individual resettlement but to set aside the plans for agricultural group leaves. The Federal Government could not accede to the conditions of the state officials.

Governor Maw of Utah, for example, expressed his willingness to take care of a certain proportion of evacuees, provided that an equal percentage of the federal funds be apportioned to his state. He would then place them under guard, he stated, in the districts where farm help was needed. Governor Clark of Idaho wanted "the Japanese brought in under strict order," that "they can't buy or lease land for permanent settlement." He added, "I want the Army to pledge us that when the war is over they will return to the place from where they came."¹ Governor Smith of Wyoming, on the other hand, stated:

We will accept them under one condition; that is, that they come into our State under Federal supervision and Federal maintenance and after the emergency is over they will return them to the places from which they came. That is the way the people of Wyoming feel about it.²

The Federal officials could not meet these conditions of the

1. Minutes of the Conference on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens, Salt Lake City, April 7, 1942.

2. Ibid.

Governors. Colonel Bendetson objected to the request for guarding by the Army and for federal supervision on the ground that

if you disperse your Army and your soldiers, your fighting men and your equipment -- you are not going to win the war.¹

Mr. Eisenhower objected to the other conditions.

We are going to try to conduct the program in such a way that we will not predetermine which direction these people will go when the war is over. That is the democratic process for the people to decide for themselves. Further, we are certainly not going to handle the program in a way that would make deportation inevitable when the war is over. If we treated these people all as enemy aliens, there would be only one answer; that would be deportation. I repeat that two-thirds of these people are American Citizens and a lot of them have gone through our universities, they are highly skilled people, and a lot of them are loyal American citizens. That process, it seems to me should continue and will continue as long as I have anything to do with it. About all we can do is to handle this problem as decently and humanly as possible in the American Way.²

At the same time, in a separate conference with the Federal officials, the representatives of large sugar growers demonstrated

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

their ^{anxiety} ~~anxiousness~~ to utilize the evacuees. They stated that labor was desperately needed. Farmers were postponing the planting of beets until they knew the extent of the labor supply available.¹ The Japanese were the answer to the crisis. We don't love the Japanese, but we intend to work them, if possible."² Japanese labor was needed if production was to go ahead. "Our people don't like this choice of labor, there are none of us in love with the Japanese but we have no choice."³ "Our views may be contrary to those of the Governor. We don't like the Japanese better than anyone else but we will see that they are well treated."⁴

The Federal officials could not entertain these please in the light of the basence of Governors' guarantees. An impasse resulted and the non-availability of the idle labor pool during the serious labor shortage irritated the farmers. The Governors were criticized by these farmers, and were the object of many representations. The

1. Statement by A.E. Nagle, Idaho Beet Association.

2. Statement by S.J. Boyer, Utah State Farm Bureau Federation.

3. Statement by G.H. Williams, Montana-Dakota Beet Growers.

4. Statement by Preston Ellsworth, Idaho Beet Growers Association.

stalemate was quickly broken. "When the break came in the sugar beet labor situation it came quickly. There was great need for labor in the intermountain states -- and the sugar beet companies were instrumental in bringing the state and local officials around to an acceptance of the evacuees as temporary laborers in the sugar beet fields."¹ The first sign of weakening on the part of state officials was indicated as early as May 1 in the telegram to Mr. Eisenhower from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in Washington, D.C., which stated:

Labor situation in sugar beet areas becoming more acute each day. I have information that either state civil authorities or sugar beet processors would be willing to assume responsibility for housing and guards. Is there any possibility of Japanese labor being made available in immediate future? I have said did not believe any labor could be available but pressure is getting severe here.²

Mr. Eisenhower's stand at this time is reflected in his letter to the Secretary of Agriculture:

1. Thomas W. Holland, Chief, WRA Employment Division to Myer, Memorandum, September 10, 1943.

2. H.E. Dodd, A.A.A., Washington, D.C. to Eisenhower, Telegram, May 1, 1942.

The farm labor shortage in a number of states -- especially in sugar beet areas -- has brought a great number of suggestions that Japanese evacuees be made available immediately for agricultural work. This need for beet labor is recognized, but unfortunately it would be very difficult to utilize the labor of evacuees for this purpose in the planting and thinning season.

For one thing, the actual evacuation has barely begun, and furthermore our experience thus far indicates that it will not be possible to interrupt the orderly process of evacuation, for the purpose of supplying labor to distant points, without disrupting the whole program.

One more thought I find there is a tendency to look upon the evacuated Japanese as a much larger potential agricultural labor force than they actually are. Figures I have seen show this sort of a picture: One-third are first-generation Japanese who average almost 60 years of age. The second generation are young people, averaging less than 25 years of age. Nearly one-third of the total are under 15 years of age. On the basis of this rough figuring there are about 40,000 men and women of the second and third generation who are over 15 years of age. If it is borne in mind that a large proportion of the people of working age will be occupied in the management of their community business life (doctors, nurses, school teachers, cooks, waiters, etc.) and in the raising of foodstuffs for subsistence and for sale, it is readily apparent that the total number of potentially available for private employment is not very large.¹

1. Eisenhower to Secretary of Agriculture, Letter, May 2, 1942.

Although a re-employment division was set up within WRA about this time, "very little, if anything, was said about the possibility of evacuees leaving the centers premanently for private employment The prevailing idea was that almost all the evacuees would remain in the centers during the war."¹ On May 4, however, Mr. Eisenhower announced to his staff a tentative policy for seasonal employment. Recruitment would be voluntary and under the auspices of the United States Employment Service; prevailing wages would be paid; the employer would pay for the transportation to and from centers and would provide housing and medical service; the states and local communities would give assurance of their ability to maintain law and order.²

Mr. Eisenhower's insistence upon the guarantees by state and local officials for the safety of evacuee workers is revealed in his letter of May 5 to the President of the Montana-Dakota Beet Growers Association:

There is an intimation in your letter to the effect that

1. Thomas W. Holland, Chief of Employment Division, to Myer, Memorandum, August 5, 1943.

2. Eisenhower to Holland, May 4, 1942.

the Federal Government will not exert itself to make evacuees available for private employment. In all fairness, I think you should admit that this is a surprising statement. Voluntary evacuation was encouraged until March 29. It ran into the most serious difficulties. Communities became inflamed and the safety of evacuees became doubtful. It was only when the decision was made to put the whole process of evacuation on a planned, orderly, and protected basis that feelings began to subside. It is clear that this government cannot under any circumstances afford to have a single untoward incident in connection with this evacuation. The safety of the United States, of communities, and of evacuees must be considered ahead of everything else. When safety can be assured, either through the use of military police on fairly large projects or by the States, you will not find anyone in the Federal Government discouraging private employment for evacuees.¹

Evacuees were at this time in Assembly Centers under the control of the Wartime Civil Control Administration and were yet to move into Relocation Projects. Therefore, procedures were jointly established on May 13, 1942, by WRA and WCCA under which workers could leave the centers for furloughs of one month duration, renewable at the end of the month. Approval or disapproval of private employment/^{rested}exclusively with the Western Defense Command.

1. Eisenhower to G.H. Wells, Fairview, Montana, May 5, 1942.

The WRA's functions were limited to

1. Obtaining "evidence and assurances necessary in making a decision," and submitting recommendations to the Army, and
2. Administering the program once Japanese left Assembly centers. It was provided that the WRA would accept full responsibility for making decisions and for administering the program of private employment.

The conditions jointly agreed upon with respect to the group furlough, with minor changes, were embodied in the Tentative Policy Statement of WRA, which was issued on May 29. It reads as follows:

Private Employment of Groups of Workers in Seasonal
(largely agricultural) Labor

This type of employment will be authorized by the
Regional Director under the following conditions:

- a. Written assurances by the Governor of the State and local authorities that law and order will be maintained. These assurances will be made public by the WRA.
- b. Assurance by the U.S. Employment Service that local labor or labor within a shorter distance cannot be secured at wages and working conditions equivalent to the WRA standards.
- c. Payment of at least prevailing wages or the minimum wage required by law.
- d. Adequate housing and sanitary facilities must be provided. Medical care must be made available and board must be

provided at rates commensurate with wages, or cooking facilities provided. These conditions must be certified by the U.S. Employment Service or other public agencies or satisfy the inspection of a WRA representative.

- e. Recruitment must be conducted on a voluntary basis through the facilities of the U.S. Employment Service. The required labor standards, the type of work to be performed, and the place of duration of employment shall be explained to each worker in the language he understands and each worker shall be given a written contract of employment. Recruitment will be limited to members of the Work Corps. Whole families of enlistees may go only when suitable accommodations are provided for family living and for education of children during the school term.
- f. The employer shall pay transportation costs both ways, including board and lodging en route.
- g. The employer shall make every effort to provide full time employment during the contract period. If for any reason the employer cannot furnish full time employment, at least two-thirds of full time wages for the duration of the contract must be paid. Each employer must sign a contract and (if necessary) furnish a bond with the Authority, guaranteeing to meet the standards set forth on transportation, housing, wages, and working conditions for a specified period of time.
- h. Furloughs from the Work Corps will be granted for private employment for a period of one month, and thereafter extensions may be made a month at a time. Furloughs will

not be extended if the employer does not observe the contract, or if the safety of the evacuee is endangered. In addition, the employer must agree to the summary abrogation of the contract by the Authority if requirements of safety and law and order so demand.

1. At the end of each pay period the employer will deduct from the wages of each worker the charge for maintenance of his dependants remaining in relocation centers and remit this money directly to the Authority along with a record of wage payments made and a list of the workers who reported for wages payments.

A group of workers who have been hired for a particular job may, with their consent, when that job is finished, be transferred through the U.S. Employment Service to other employers in the same or other localities where need for labor has been certified, provided all the required standards are met and new contacts are signed with the workers and the Authority in advance. The responsibilities of the original State, locality, and employer shall not cease until the new arrangements and contacts have been signed.¹

While these details were being worked out, WRA reached an agreement on May 8 with Governor Sprague of Oregon, the District Attorney, Sheriff, and Judge of Malheur County, and the Amalgamated

1. WRA, Tentative Policy Statement, Mimeographed Statement, May 29, 1942.

Sugar Company for recruitment and employment of evacuees on beet fields. These parties agreed to the conditions set forth, and the recruitment was undertaken by the sugar company in the Portland Assembly Center on May 16 and 17. The number of workers to be recruited was set as 400, and they were to proceed only to the county of employment and return to an Assembly or Relocation Center when ordered by the War Relocation Authority. The recruitment experienced several difficulties, and the result was not as successful as anticipated. Mr. Eisenhower explained the difficulties in the following words:

Recruitment in the Portland Assembly Center started off fairly well but when transportation arrived for the first group of recruits only 14 would board the train. The others who had signed up appeared to fear for their safety if they left the assembly centers without military protection.¹

The recruitment of a second group at the Portland center was, however, more successful. Similar agreement was signed with beet growers in Idaho and

recruitment was begun in the Puyallup, Washington,

1. Holland memorandum.

assembly center and was progressing favorably until local newspapers carried a story that the Governor [of Idaho] had violently opposed the entrance of any evacuees into that State. Thereupon, further recruitment became impossible. Subsequently, the Governor just referred to wired the Director of WRA giving assurances that evacuees who came to work in his State would be fully protected and be well provided for. WRA made this statement public.¹

Mr. Eisenhower spoke of the future of the agricultural work furlough program as follows:

If evacuees are assured as to their safety and the Oregon and Idaho agreements work out well, it is possible that private employment will assume sizable proportion this season.²

The outcome of the early venture of seasonal furloughs achieved a considerable success. According to the chief of the Employment Division, which was in charge of the program,

I don't know the exact number of evacuees who went out for work in sugar beet fields in the spring and early summer of 1942. The estimate we give is between 1,600 and 1,700 people. This number was disappointing to us but in view of the tenseness of the feeling on the West Coast . . . and

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

the expressed hostility in the area in which the job opportunities were, it was probably a pretty good showing.¹

By the middle of June, 1942, it was apparent that WRA could count on having a program for seasonal work outside the centers.

There were no complaints that evacuees had engaged in un-American activity; there was little or no violence and remarkably few tense situations developed. The evacuees did good work and made a real contribution to saving the crops in the northwest. They built up goodwill for themselves. Based on the experience we had with the recruitment of labor at this period, I think it was only natural for those of us who were closely in touch with the situation to begin to look ahead to the possibility of a larger utilization of these people in employment outside the projects.²

The success of the program attracted the attention of other sugar beet farmers, and more demands were expected in the Fall. In order to work out a better system for recruiting labor for the harvest season and for accommodating more demands, beet producers requested a conference with WRA officials. It was held in San Francisco in the middle of August, and was attended by "practically

1. Holland to Myer, op. cit.

2. Ibid.

all of the producers of sugar in the West." The Federal Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Employment Service, and the Farm Security Administration were also represented. In the meeting

Colonel Bendetsen spoke first, and stated that the military authorities out here were sympathetic with the effort to get the evacuees out to help on the harvest, and told that if any assistance were needed, he should not hesitate to come to him. Next I spoke for a moment and said that WRA was interested in getting people out to help out, and said we would do all we could to see that there was a supply of labor for the harvest.

On the whole, the negotiations had been conducted in a dignified and quiet fashion, and we have arrived at a new and different procedure which I think is going to be much better than the old procedure. The basic change is that each sugar beet grower will state in a written offer of employment or contract the conditions of work. He will state how many acres he has of sugar beets, potatoes, etc., and the approximate time that work will begin and end. He will state what wages he proposes to pay for this work, and he will describe the housing available. The evacuee will accept this offer before he leaves the Center. Either party can [sic] and the ^{by} agreement/giving five days' notice. The agreements will be filed first of all with the local United States Employment office which will send them on to us if local labor is not available. Thus we get the guarantee that the evacuee labor is not displacing local labor. I have agreed that WRA will

push to the full limit of its ability the recruiting, and that we will do the work. The Employment Service will not recruit at the Center. We will do the recruiting also at the Assembly Centers. . . . We see now that the WRA will go ahead full steam in encouraging the evacuees to get out and do the harvest work.¹

In the new procedures the requirement that the applicant be a member of the Work Corps was taken out. In the main these rules worked out in the conference remained in effect for seasonal work until the Spring of 1943.

In the Fall the accelerated program for harvest workers was put into effect. Even at this late date, however, some state officials were not receptive to the idea of inviting evacuee workers into their states. "Governors of various states and the county law enforcement officials in many instances gave only a qualified assurance that they would reserve the right to ask the WRA to recall evacuee labor at such time as the laborers were no longer needed. Others stipulated a deadline of December 1, 1942, or January 1, 1942. If all the qualifications inserted were

1. Holland to Myer, op. cit.

accepted by the WRA it would mean that the WRA would delegate to state officials the power to determine where evacuees should go, how long they should remain, and when they should return."¹

In addition to Oregon and Idaho "the governor of Utah and the law enforcement officials of the counties entered into an unqualified agreement with this agency and recruitment is now underway in that state. Recruitment for other states and counties is under way but actual departures are under suspension order until the qualifications can be cleared."²

As of the middle of September "signed orders for more than 1,800 workers have been presented at the Minidoka project. Approximately 500 workers at the Tule Lake center have accepted orders and are waiting release to leave, contingent upon the governors' qualifications. Recruiting for Utah will commence at the Colorado River project by Davis McEntire of the regional employment division on Saturday, September 12. From the Stockton Assembly center, 31 workers have already been sent to Montana and 101 are leaving the Fresno Assembly center tonight, September 11

1. WRA, "Information Roundup," Mimeographed, September 11, 1942.
2. Ibid.

for Box Elder County, Utah. Approximately 800 evacuees have signed at Manzanar and the Santa Anita Assembly Center will begin next week. Today 51 workers are leaving for Davis and Weber Counties in Utah."¹

At Poston the Employment Division, which was in charge of the responsibility, began recruiting workers on September 14. The project newspaper carried an article announcing the openings for workers on the outside in its September 16 issue:

Because of war, the harvest season this year is meeting with great difficulty due to shortage of farm labor, according to the reports by the WRA Employment office.

Miss Mary Benack, Regional Placement Director, is here to recruit volunteers of the persons of Japanese ancestry from Units 1, 2 and 3 for private employment outside, as well as for some sixty workers now needed in harvest work in Utah. At present there are also calls for workers for tomato picking and sugar beet topping and loading.

According to a Mr. Whiteside, a representative of a sugar beet farm in Layton, Utah, the prevailing prices being paid is 55¢ per hour or by piece work, for tomatoes, \$2.50 per ton for No. 2, and \$5.00 per ton for No. 1; while for sugar beet topping and loading the scale ranges from a top of

1. Ibid.

\$1.55 per ton for farms producing 6 tons or less per acre to \$1.10 for land producing 18 tons or above per acre.

Present setup is that families of the workers may also join, though they may stay at the assembly or relocation centers, if they desire. Roundtrip transportation and meals en route will be furnished with prevailing wages paid to the employee is the agreement offered by the W.R.A.¹

Many applicants rushed to the Employment Division in Block 27 to inquire of more details. They were mostly young Nisei in their late teens and early twenties. There were some Issei, mostly past fifty, who had had experiences on beet fields in their life. They signed up for the work and quietly waited for the departure time. The camp as a whole was indifferent to the announcement; there was no strong reactions for or against the idea of leaving the center. In some quarters, especially among the older people, anxiety over the safety of the workers was expressed. Some thought that these workers would be subjected to mob violence or severe racial discrimination, for the war was progressing unfavorably and the mob spirit was high. Some others were of the opinion that wages were not lucrative enough for the hard work required and they

1. Poston Chronicle, September 16, 1942.

knew "how tough the work is, because we worked many years when we were young topping and thinning beets." Still some others doubted the wisdom of those desiring to leave the center, "when the government is providing for us here without cost to us."

On September 17 the first contingent of eleven left for outside employment. Their departure was announced in the Poston Chronicle:

The first contingent of agricultural workers left Thursday night for Weiser, Idaho, to help harvest 180 acres of celery. The group of eleven are under contract until December 1, 1942.¹

Each of these workers, and subsequent workers, was given instructions in writing, among which the following was included:

Upon leaving your Center you are given a "Leave Permit for Group Work." This permit authorizes you to travel to a certain county and work there. You must not leave this county unless you secure a Special Travel Permit from the War Relocation Authority. Failure to observe this requirement will subject you to penalties provided by law. In case of serious illness or injury where the service of a doctor or hospital in another county is needed, an exception to

1. Poston Chronicle, September , 1942.

this rule will be made provided notice is given as soon as possible after leaving the county. Special Travel Permit will be granted for good reason and if you wish to leave the county to which you are assigned, you should apply to the official of the War Relocation Authority whose address appears on the back of your Leave Permit. NO ONE else has the authority to give you a Travel Permit.

The War Relocation Authority has placed no restrictions on your travel within the county to which you are assigned and it does not have any curfew regulations. Such regulations, if any, have been left entirely in the hands of the local authorities who have guaranteed your protection. It is assumed that such regulations will be held to the minimum necessary for your and the community's well being. Such regulations as are issued must be respected. The county sheriff can advise you on any questions which may arise in this connection.

The possibility of some untoward incidents would not be eliminated entirely, and the worker was warned that he has "been guaranteed protection by the Governor of the State, by the sheriff, and by other authorities of the county to which you are assigned. If you are molested in any way, immediately notify the sheriff. Your Leave Permit will assist you in identifying yourself to any federal, state, or local official."

Some contractual difficulties were anticipated and the selection of group leaders was advised:

When several workers sign the same contract, they should elect a "Crew Leader." The Crew Leader should represent his men in dealings with the employer and with the War Relocation Authority. The War Relocation Authority expects the employers to fulfill all their obligations. It also expects you to fulfill yours and to perform the work in a good and workmanlike manner to the best of your ability. Your employer has agreed to pay you prevailing wages. The War Relocation Authority expects employers to pay you the same wages as are commonly paid to other laborers in the locality for similar work. If conditions are not as represented in the Offer of Employment, or if you do not receive prevailing wages, your Crew Leader should ask the employer or his agent (such as the sugar company) to remedy the situation. If this fails, your Crew Leader should report the matter to the War Relocation Authority official in your district.¹

The second and larger group, numbering sixty-six, left on September 19. Another group of 103 on September 23, 203 on September 26, and 143 on September 30 for Utah, Colorado, Montana, and other intermountain states. These departures were accompanied

1. WRA, San Francisco Regional Office, "Instructions to Evacuees Volunteering for Employment Outside Relocation Centers and Assembly Centers," Statement, September 7, 1942.

by much fanfare and impromptu sendoff crowds. An evacuee described the scene:

I would estimate that there were some six hundred spectators there -- some to see brothers off, some came just to be doing something, and some were there just for the excitement found only in a large crowd. Everywhere people were shaking hands with the people leaving. Most of them were young fellows, a few were men past their middle age, and a married couple could be seen here and there. One fellow I talked to said that he was married just before evacuation, but felt that he might be able to find a permanent job and send for his wife later on. Another said that he was leaving to get a little money and try to go to school later on. A tall, lanky fellow told me that he was going to scout around and see what kind of agricultural opportunities there were in other states. The most common reason was to get out of camp and lead a semi-free life -- to drink a few glasses of beer, see a good movie, look at some green scenery, and to get the stigma of living in a camp off their mind.

I talked to another Nisei who wanted to leave, but his father refused to let him go because of the danger of race prejudice. "If only we had some streamers, it would be just like the time I left for Japan," said another middle-aged man. Another fellow, who couldn't go, told his friend that he wouldn't send him any money if he couldn't make expenses. Thereupon, the other fellow replied that he at least had a

return ticket assured him. The older men used the phrase "shikari ya te koi!" as they said goodbye.

Around nine thirty [p.m.] those leaving boarded four trucks. Last minute farewells were shouted from those going and from those staying. Another remark that seemed very amusing was -- "they look just like cattle on a train." And they certainly did look like cattle being sent away -- but the expression on the faces was altogether different. A few minutes later the truck started up and slowly left the employment office. As the last signs of the trucks could be seen in the darkness, the milling crowd slowly dispersed.¹

Most of these workers were excited over the idea of leaving Poston, where they had been confined with their freedom restricted for the past several months. They thought that this was the easiest way out of confinement. Some were motivated by the desire to make money; while some others were going with the idea of "having good vacation." One young Nisei wrote:

My reasons for leaving Poston were because camp life made me very discouraged. My mind was getting very dull. There is no responsibility, because everything seems to be done for you. While being out of camp and on your own, makes

1. Toshio Yatsushiro, untitled manuscript, September 26, 1942.
In the files of A.H. Leighton.

you
/assume more responsibilities. Our mind is sharper and also gives us a chance to face real life and learn by actual experience. In this way it may benefit my future.¹

Another young Nisei wrote:

My reason for leaving Poston are: to aid our nation, to go out and see what the outside looks like, to get out and see the homes instead of barracks. To see other kind of people, see city, country and the good fresh air, not the dusty air. To see what the people outside are doing.²

Within a short time after their departure they wrote many letters to their relatives and friends in Poston. Many lines were written about the freedom on the outside and about food and recreational activities that they could enjoy. "I'm free again -- temporary anyway," wrote a young Nisei.

The trip was good, getting away from the desert and seeing some pine, etc. . . . The people around here, the ones we've met are very friendly Last night we had a night cap of 4 roses to remove all aches and pains.³

Another Nisei wrote:

Tell the folks back home that these work furloughs are

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1. Jack Takio Matsuda to Bureau of Sociological Research, Letter, October 10. In the files of A.H. Leighton.
 2. Shiro Yamami to Bureau of Sociological Research, Letter, October 8. In the files of A.H. Leighton.
 3. Letter, Undated. In the files of A.H. Leighton.

just what they are written up to be. Housing can't be too good because all the available houses that are any good are rented out.

Yesterday we were in Johnstown about a mile from here -- to do our shopping. Labor must be scarce -- so many people approached us to top beets -- that it wasn't funny.

Food that they could enjoy was mentioned in many of these letters. The Nisei described it in the following words:

After arriving in Denver we were promised a T-bone steak dinner -- but we finally settled for a meat-loaf course. Man, what a grand feeling to sit at the counter and wait for our dishes. I thought of the inmates of Poston and wondered if they wouldn't like to trade places with me. The manager of the restaurant was a swell man -- he treated us very cordially.

Later he added:

Had a T-bone steak for lunch yesterday m m m m um yum -- was it good!¹

In late November and December, these workers returned to Poston. They came back with many purchases -- souvenirs for their relatives and friends were among them. They talked about their glowing experiences and "good time" they had on the outside. They

1. Letter, October 15, 1942. In the files of A.H. Leighton.

discussed about the movies they had seen and boasted the amount of money they had earned. Their enthusiastic stories were eagerly listened to by others who had not gone out. The work furlough program was destined to have greater success when it was to be resumed in the Spring. Mr. Holland observed, "Recruitment for the harvest work in the West, mostly sugar beets, went beyond our expectations in terms of numbers. Also the whole enterprise was satisfactory on the whole."¹

1. Holland to Myer, op. cit.

APPENDIX B

Table C. -- Distribution of 3461 Nisei students in 1941 by regions, states, and institutions.

State or Region	Students	State or Region	Students
PACIFIC COAST STATES			
<u>Arizona</u>	7		
Arizona State.....	1		
Phoenix J.C.	5		
University of Arizona ..	1		
<u>California</u>	2184		
Armstrong College	34	Pasadena J.C.	123
Bakersfield J.C.	14	Pomona College	4
Berkeley Bapt. Divinity.	4	Pomona J.C.	1
Boeing Aeronautics	2	Porterville J.C.	3
California College of Art	6	Reedley J.C.	29
California Inst. of Tech.	7	Riverside J.C.	14
Central J.C.	27	Sacramento J.C.	224
Chaffey J.C.	10	Salinas J.C.	67
Chapman College	2	San Bernardino J.C.	30
Coalinga J.C.	1	San Diego State	30
College of Medical Evang.	6	San Francisco J.C.	145
College of Osteopathy ...	3	San Francisco State	26
College of Pacific	8	San Francisco Theological	1
Compton J.C.	59	San Jose State	111
Cummeck College	1	San Mateo J.C.	25
Fresno State	80	Santa Ana J.C.	22
Fullerton J.C.	40	Santa Maria J.C.	1
Glad Tidings Institute ...	1	Stanford University	31
Long Beach J.C.	24	Stockton J.C.	41
Los Angeles City College.	265	Taft J.C.	2
Marin Union J.C.	2	University of California .	485
Los Angeles Pacific Coll.	5	University of California L.A.	244
Mills College	4	University of Redlands ...	10
Modesto J.C.	28	University of San Francisco	5
National Schools	38	University of S. California	113
Occidental College	5	Ventura J.C.	15
Otis Art Institute	1	Whittier College	44
Pacific School of Religion	5	Yuba J.C.	27
Pacific Union College ...	8		

Table C. -- (Continued)

State or Region	Students	State or Region	Students
<u>Oregon</u>	132		
Albany College	1	Oregon State College	41
Linfield College	1	Pacific University	4
Marylhurst College	1	Portland University	5
Multnomah J.C.	17	Reed College	6
North Pacific Dental	13	St. Helen's Hall	3
Oregon Christian College .	1	University of Oregon	27
Oregon College of Education	2	Willamette University	10
<u>Washington</u>	553		
Clark J. C.	1	University of Washington ..	458
College of Puget Sound ...	32	Walla Walla College	6
Gray's Harbor J.C.	1	Washington State College ..	16
Pacific Lutheran College .	1	W. Washington College of Ed.	2
St. Martin's College	1	Whitman College	5
Seattle College	26	Whitworth College	1
Seattle Pacific College ..	3		
ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES.....	73		
<u>Colorado</u>	43 (sic) 44		
Adams State College	2	University of Colorado	20
Colorado College of Ed. ..	9	University of Denver	10
Illiff College	2	Western State College	1
<u>Idaho</u>	2		
University of Idaho	2		
<u>Montana</u>	2		
Montana State University .	1		
Northern Montana College .	1		
<u>New Mexico</u>	1		
New Mexico School of Mines	1		
<u>Utah</u>	25		
University of Utah	25		

Table C. -- (Continued)

State or Region	Students	State or Region	Students
MID-WESTERN STATES	119		
<u>Illinois</u>	17		
Blackburn College	1	Northern Baptist Theol.	2
Chicago Medical College .	1	School of Design	1
Garrett Theological	1	University of Chicago	6
Illinois Wesleyan	1	University of Illinois	3
Loyola University	1		
<u>Indiana</u>	13		
Indiana Tech. Institute .	4	Purdue University	4
Indiana University	2	Tri-state College	3
<u>Iowa</u>	9		
Iowa State College	4		
University of Iowa	5		
<u>Kansas</u>	4		
Friends University	1		
Kansas State College	1		
University of Kansas	2		
<u>Michigan</u>	17		
Emmanuel College	1		
University of Detroit ...	1		
University of Michigan ..	15		
<u>Minnesota</u>	3		
University of Minnesota .	3		
<u>Missouri</u>	14		
Kansas City Western	3	University of Missouri	3
Kirksville Surgery College	1	Washington University	4
Park College	1	William Jewell College	1
University of Kansas City	1		
<u>Nebraska</u>	13		
Creighton University	2	Scottsbluff J.C.	1
Hastings College	1	University of Nebraska	9

Table C.-- (Continued)

State or Region	Students	State or Region	Students
<u>North Dakota</u>	4		
University of North Dakota	4		
<u>Ohio</u>	11		
Miami University	1	Otterbein College	1
Oberlin College	2	University of Toledo	2
Ohio State University	3	Wittenberg College	1
Ohio University	1		
<u>Wisconsin</u>	14		
Lawrence College	1	Stout Institute	4
Marquette University	7	University of Wisconsin ..	2
SOUTHERN STATES	11		
<u>Alabama</u>	1	<u>Oklahoma</u>	1
Alabama Poly. Institute ...	1	University of Tulsa	1
<u>Georgia</u>	1	<u>Tennessee</u>	1
University of Georgia	1	Madison College	1
<u>Kentucky</u>	1	<u>Texas</u>	2
University of Louisville ..	1	University of Houston	2
<u>Louisiana</u>	2	<u>Virginia</u>	1
Tulane University	2	Medical College of Virginia	1
<u>North Carolina</u>	1		
Duke University	1		
MID-ATLANTIC STATES	48		
<u>Maryland</u>	5		
Goucher College	2		
Johns Hopkins University ..	2		
University of Maryland	1		
<u>New Jersey</u>	1		
Stevens Institute	1		

Table C. -- (Continued)

State or Region	Students	State or Region	Students
<u>New York</u>	34		
American School of Design	1	Pratt Institute	1
Barnard College	3	Rochester A. and M.	2
Colgate University	1	Russell Sage College	1
Columbia University	9	Skidmore College	1
Cornell University	2	Union College	1
New York University	11	Union Theological Seminary	1
<u>Pennsylvania</u>	8		
Bucknell University	1	Lehigh University	2
Hahemann Medical College ..	1	Temple University	1
Jefferson Medical College .	1	Women's Medical College	2
NEW ENGLAND STATES	20		
<u>Connecticut</u>	3		
Yale University	3		
<u>Massachusetts</u>	17		
Amherst College	1	Massachusetts Inst. of Tech.	2
Boston College	1	Perkins Institute	1
Boston University	2	Radcliffe College	1
Emerson College	1	Smith College	2
Harvard University	5	Wellesley College	1

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<u>Louisiana</u>	2	<u>Virginia</u>	1
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Duke University	1		
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Goucher College	2		
Johns Hopkins University ..	2		
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New York University	11	Union Theological Seminary	1
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Hahemann Medical College ..	1	Temple University	1
Jefferson Medical College .	1	Women's Medical College	2
NEW ENGLAND STATES	20		
<u>Connecticut</u>	3		
Yale University	3		
<u>Massachusetts</u>	17		
Amherst College	1	Massachusetts Inst. of Tech.	2
Boston College	1	Perkins Institute	1
Boston University	2	Radcliffe College	1
Emerson College	1	Smith College	2
Harvard University	5	Wellesley College	1