

Rumors in Tanforan (prepared by V. Galbraith)

The type of Rumor circulating through the populace of Tanforan roughly divides itself into two periods. Both periods of rumors indicate the physical conditioning of the trend of thought. When the group first arrived the main concern of the people was with their present physical comfort and discomfort. During this period the recurrent rumors were about food, hospitalization and care, crime, leadership and politics.

On About June 20 Kikuchi notices that rumors begin to concern the time and place for removal to Relocation Centers.

"Most of the rumors these days concern the time and place for the next move....Two weeks ago the rumors were chiefly about food and crime"

The first period indicates a different source of rumors, as well as a different type. These rumors were about conditions and were started among the people about themselves. There was no connection with literature, or the outside world. However, during the second period of rumors the source of rumors indicates a connection with lack of printed material and is, of course, directly connected with the outside.

"The way that rumors spread like wildfire also indicates the lack of news for the Issei. Most of them can't read the Totalizer so they don't know what is going on. From now on, it will be almost impossible to put bulletins out in Japanese. No reading matter in Japanese at all is available for them. Without authentic news, they seize every piece of gossip as gospel truth and are too eager to believe it. Most of the Issai don't know what is going on around here.... They have a lot of free time to go around and pass the gossip on."

But with the movement of inter Assembly Centers to Relocation Project, rumors concerning the time, place and conditions of relocation became more frequent. L.K. notes this shift in his journal June 20. He interprets the situation as follows:

We have no indication that the first period rumors were mainly the work of Nisei or that the second period was mainly the absence of reading among the Issei, other than the above quote. It is highly doubtful that during the first period rumors were started or prevalent among any one group of the population, but more obvious that these rumors were a natural reaction to physical conditions of a new and startling type. Because of the newness of the situation and the roughness of the living rumors about conditions were probably found among all types in the camp. During the second period it may well be that the Nisei were better informed about relocation than their elders and therefore did not build up wild rumors on Relocation Centers. But the Nisei knew no more of the time and place of relocation than did the Issei, despite their reading, so that rumors of this sort were no doubt just as prevalent among the one as the other.

As might be expected the periods overlap, and all types of rumors have been reported in the observers' notes at various times. However, because of the time element concerned in evacuation and then relocation it might be well to follow the order as suggested by Kikuchi.

Food Rumors:

- (1) On May 23, ~~Kikuchi~~ <sup>CK</sup> reports: a six year old Nisei added this contribution to rumors, "Dont like fish (served in mess halls, evidentially) because snake came out of its mouth. I saw it."
- (2) June 27 ~~Doris Hayashi~~ <sup>DH</sup> says: "I heard so many rumors about the food supply for the coming two months; that there will be only enough for 4,000 in August." She interprets this to mean that half of the people will be transferred within a month, There is no source mentioned and because of the time of the rumor one might classify it as belonging to the relocation set of rumors, indicating the people's readiness to grab at a straw which might contain any information as to relocation.
- (3) Sept. 11 ~~Ben Iijima~~ <sup>BI</sup> reports: "dinner tonight consisted of squid

Following is a chronological account of rumors noted in the journals of these observers, with a rough classification by type.

the total population was about 7000.

salad or rubber sea food. I chewed and chewed but I could <sup>[not]</sup> find the thing palatable ~~(sic)~~. Rumor had been emanating from the kitchen previously that the dinner would be octopus meat. That was a little far fetched." The rumor ~~no doubt~~ belongs to a class of rumors which were apt to be spread about food that the people had not found too palatable. ~~This type of rumor is exaggeration, with a humorous slant, and no doubt, was often intended as such -- humor -- in many cases. It is not uncommon that when a group of people dislike a certain thing an exaggerated but cynical type of "joke" is made of it which is passed along as a rumor.~~ ← Insert

- (4) Ben Iijima on Sept. 17 tells the story of the food inspector who in conducting a sugar examination "independently undertook the exploration of the walk that lines barrack 16 trying to discover if any sugar had been secretly hoarded between the planks. Much of this story my sister tells me I discount purely as cumulative gossip but that the degree of strictness depending upon different persons does sound plausible." This again sounds like a rumor of the exaggerated humor type. Iijima offers the explanation in "cumulative gossip." etc

Turning to another set of rumors concerning physical welfare:

Health Care and Hospitalization Rumors:

- (1) On May 19 Kikuchi reports a type of rumor closely connected to the food rumors: "Alice says that there are ... a number of ptomaine poisoning cases in the hospital. A census of the total was taken by the house managers and found 300 residents were ill today from eating the canned sausages which we had Saturday night. Jack says that they must be using the canned foods which were saved from the last war." He also suspects over-injection of typhoid shots. These reports of illness may not be entirely rumor and no doubt some fact is bound to be in them. The degree of exactitude however may be questioned and may be exaggeration by the people, not only in

Passing the information on (as Alice did) but in reporting illness.

(1) May 26 Kikuchi reports: <sup>F.</sup> "Fumi said that she heard a rumor from a friend about the Old Man who was given a typhoid injection in the veins by one of the hospital assistants, and it made him sick for two days. Now people are not willing to get injected." The source of this rumor is evidently the same as above, ~~exaggeration~~ due to newness, and in this case fear.

*Lack of information about deaths caused many rumors which led an event occurred.*  
*For example, CK noted a Aug 28*

~~(2) A confusion existed among the people and is exemplified by this rumor reported by Kikuchi May 26: ("This morning there was a lot of excitement in our barracks. Mom says that the old woman in #14 died of cancer. But <sup>B</sup> Bobby came in later and said that a 43 year old lady died while she was "laying a baby". <sup>T</sup> Tom says the woman died from bleeding (hemorrhage). I don't know whether this is a rumor or not." Whether it is a rumor or not, or whether the woman died or not, is not as important as the fact that the people were obviously confused during this early period and one of the most obvious manifestations of this <sup>was</sup> were the wild and conflicting rumors.~~

~~(4) Some rumors on health care may have foundation but if so we have no knowledge of it. For instance, <sup>CK</sup> Kikuchi reports June 4 <sup>OK</sup> "A young boy cut his hand by the washroom and he wouldn't go to the hospital because he thought he would die from blood poisoning. He claims that two persons have already died because of lack of proper treatment up there. This is probably a rumor, but can't be sure because they will not release the death list even for the paper."~~

<sup>And on</sup> (5) June 19 Kikuchi reports an obviously wild rumor: "Another rumor today was that a girl was strangled to death and stuffed in a barrel." (CK)

<sup>on</sup> (6) ~~Kikuchi~~, June 24: "The rumor swept the camp today that Dr. Ueyama was being kicked out and moved to Tule Lake because of his differences with Davis. Capt. Speares claims that it was an Army order and not

in Davis' hands. He says it is an actual promotion as his skill has been recognized and he is needed there..." (CK)

(7) <sup>BS</sup> Ben Iijima reports on July 20: "The latest rumor is that unless the person taking a shower wears a ~~gotta~~ <sup>geta</sup>, he will contract water bugs, which is nothing more than athlete's foot. How true this is, I don't know, but mom says the neighbor's boy has got a pretty bad case, complaining about his feet itching every night."

The last rumor on health reported by the observers was July 20.

Another type of rumor which was prevalent during this early period were those concerning sex and sexual crimes.

Rumors concerning sexual delinquency:

(1) <sup>CK</sup> Kikuchi, May 19 writes: "The harmony of the camp was shattered by the news (rumors?) that there are three cases of hospitalized rapes—one supposed to have been committed by one of the Caucasian workers here. ...Rumors are about that one of the girls was raped on the way to the latrine late at night. ..."

(2) <sup>CK</sup> Kikuchi, May 28, reports an experience his sister and he had with a man who attempted to grab his sister on the way to the lavatory. "One of the firemen came by, so I reported the matter. He said that this was the second time that a case like this has been reported in this area. The girls are all talking about it now and discussing what they would do if they were attacked...Everyday I hear rumors about illicit relations but a lot of it has no basis or fact."

There would seem to be evidence that a lot of the sex rumors had a basis of fact, but no doubt, many were exaggerated.

(3) On May 29 <sup>CK</sup> Kikuchi <sup>show</sup> ~~gives evidence on~~ <sup>rumor incident</sup> how a story of this type might be exaggerated into something far more serious. The night before on his way to the latrine, <sup>CK</sup> ~~Kikuchi~~ had ~~evidentially~~ scared a woman also out in the dark. The woman ~~evidentially~~ reported the matter, "Because early this morning the new police chief came around to our

barracks to look for a 'young man who was bothering the girls'. In the office ~~Mike~~<sup>E</sup> says that ~~Helen F.~~<sup>H.F.</sup> told her about a girl that was raped in our barracks last night. How the rumors can grow! "

<sup>CK</sup>  
(4) ~~Kikuchi~~ on June 19 reports the rumor that a girl was strangled to death and stuffed in a barrel.

<sup>DH</sup>  
(5) On July 7 ~~Deris Hayashi~~ writes: "Then we talked about the rumors about "loose marals" in the camps....It seems however, that there were a number of "cafe" girls who are here who used to practice in San Francisco. Since there are a lot of bachelors living in rather concentrated sections they may find profitable opportunities here. However, nothing definite has been heard here as yet. At Manzanar a government official heard a man contemplating setting up a commercial project for this type of woman. It is a clear indication that much underhanded activity of this sort has been progressing to a great extent. ..."

(6) The last reported observation on this type of rumor comes from ~~Kik~~<sup>CK</sup> ~~uchi~~ on July 31: "The moral problems have not increased tremendously on the surface, except from rumors heard. ...Rumors are still heard of ~~the salt~~ petre in the food and of girls being molested...Reports from Santa Anita indicate that the problem is much more acute down there. ...All kinds of talk about "professional women" circulated, but I have not been able to trace any of these rumors down to its source. ~~Undoubtedly a lot of it is true.~~"

Another type of tumor that circulated during the earlier and middle phases of the settlement at Tanforan were those concerning other assembly centers:

Santa Anita especially has soldiers inside the grounds, and people are so closely guarded. It seems that this is the only camp without curfew. ~~It~~ (about lights--10:p.m.) and radios off at 8 p.m. Outs are off at 9: but I believe this is coastwide, not only our camp...We also have separate mess halls which aren't found in many places. As in Santa Anita, there are two for the whole camp, so they arise at 5. a.m. for breakfast, first shift, and end about 8 a.m. (same for night and noon) ..." Hayashi is reporting these things as facts, although it is obvious that she has heard these from friends, and many are nothing but rumors. It is doubtful as to where she heard that coastwide radios

~~Curfew were turned off at 9 p.m. *DH*~~

(f) ~~Hayashi~~ on June 24 reports that five Issei and about six Nisei were held for questioning and were arrested at Santa Anita for holding secret meetings. Also it was announced that a Nazi received information (military) from a Japanese at Stockton center.

Although Hayashi may have read these reports and there may be fact in them, they were spread among the people at Tanforan, thus possibly being enlarged upon.

(g) ~~Kikuchi~~ <sup>CK</sup> writes on June 26 that : "One of the other rumors floating around is that two dead bodies were found at Santa Anita today. B. H. says K. Nakase told him. ~~So I went out and started talking with her in the grandstands.~~" He evidently was unable to trace this rumor to its origin as he makes no further mention of it in his diary.

(h) June 29 ~~Doris~~ <sup>DH</sup> Hayashi writes: "...Then she told me about the two Nisei who escaped from Santa Anita (for a few hours) to see a movie at a theater close by. They returned, though I don't know if they were discovered before their return. There are two versions of this story. One is that they sawed a slit in the fence and merely slipped out at night. Another is that they borrowed passes from some Nisei visitors and thus slipped out. It's difficult to distinguish which is

true, but I guess we must wait to hear more details."

<sup>CK</sup>  
 (A) Kikuchi on July 2 reports what he believed to be a rumor but which was later discovered a fact. At that time there were suspicions of censorship so that it was only to Kikuchi's favor that he labelled this fact a rumor: "Tad Fujita, the house manager's chairman, came up to our office this morning and while talking he remarked that mail from Tulalake was being censored. I asked him if he had any proof and he said that a couple of residents were going to bring in a couple of letters with censored stamps on it and scotch tape on the cut end. Rumors of censorship of mail has been circulating around here for a long time, but I haven't seen any proof of it yet."

A group of rumors which circulated were directly concerned with loyalty to the United States. It is difficult to find a convenient label for this group as they range all the way from rumors of direct display of disloyalty to rumors about "superstitious Isseis" which have little direct bearing on loyalty but only indicate a slight tendency to poke fun at the superstitions of the older people. Most of these seem to be confined to the early and middle half of life at Tanforan but do not show up in later reports.

<sup>CK</sup>  
 (1) Kikuchi writes on May 25: "The plane that crashed last night was an Army P 38. <sup>Y</sup>Yamada says that there was a rumor going around that the Issei clapped their hands in the Grandstand and said in Japanese: 'It isn't anything just as long as it is an American plane.' Another rumor (EK) was that it was a Japanese Zero plane which caused it. The Zero plane was so small that it could go between the power lines, but the two P 38's that were pursuing it crashed. The newspapers did not publish the truth, because they did not want to admit that Japanese planes have come over. A third rumor (EK) was that it was Clark Gable who crashed, because he wanted to die the same way as his wife died."

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*CK himself*  
*experimented with rumors.*

(2) On May 27 ~~Kikuchi~~ *writes*: "I started a rumor that an Issei tried to set the place afire [there had been a fire in one of the Grandstand apts. ~~caused by Kikuchi and friends~~] ~~in~~ in revenge for his incarceration in camp, and it probably will go around like wildfire. It's really surprising to see how the camp residents are willing to believe any kind of a rumor without verification. It must be due to the unsettled state of mind of the residents who are ready to believe almost any- everything."

(3) ~~Kikuchi~~ *CK*, June 13: "A vicious rumor has been started ~~that~~ in our barracks that ~~Kayabay~~ *K* ~~Kayayama~~ was an FBI agent and that is why he was not sent to Montana. They claim that he uses the Red Cross department's stationery for his campaign purposes."

(4) ~~Kikuchi~~ *CK*, July 5: "These superstitious and gullible Japanese! Or it could be called the Blue Ghost of Hollywood Bowl. A Japanese couple living out near Bob Iki stated the whole thing (Fujimoto's) Bob says she is a high grade moron. Yuki says he is her friend! Anyway, last Friday this man was playing mah jong with a neighbor when he thought he felt a fly on his leg. He reached down to brush it off casually and was chilled to feel something slimy and cold. This turned to terror when he saw a snake wrapped around his leg. He managed to kill the garter snake, but by the time the story had gone around it ~~had~~ been transformed into a rattlesnake! That night the Fujimotos went to bed but he felt uneasy because the Japanese have some sort of superstition about killing snakes. While laying in bed they looked up at the ceiling and were terrified to see a faint Blue eerie glow. They thought that it was some sort of a spirit so they ran to a neighbor and slept with them. It didn't take long for the story to get around and by breakfast time the crowd began to gather. All sorts of rumors spread around. They were retold in the messhalls, toilets, and washrooms. Some said that it was a ghost of a jockey who had been murdered. Others

believed that it was the spirit of a departing horse. Some said that it took the shape of a monster and waved its hands around. After roll call, the mob increased to about 1000 people and the interior police force had to disperse them. The occupants of the stall moved out for certain that night when they saw it again over the board which had been placed over the spot by <sup>BI</sup> ~~Bob Iki~~, who thought that it was a phosphorant glow showing through the wood. The police came and locked the room up, but some of the more curious broke the door open to get a view. <sup>BI</sup> ~~Bob Iki~~ went in and sure enough there was the blue glow. After all the stories ~~that~~ about it being like the blue light seen near cemeteries in Japan, etc. he felt very uneasy. But they looked around for the cause until they finally located a tiny crack in the far wall near a beam. The moonlight from outside came through the crack and traveled behind this beam, emerging as the mysterious blue light. So they boarded it up. Marie said that ten people have already moved out of the Bowl, and all sorts of stories are spread about its cause. Chief Davies had to go the house managers' meeting this morning to clear up the whole thing. I never knew that the Issei were so superstitious. ~~They~~ must be extraordinarily limited in intelligence. All day long I heard different versions of the "ghost". It was the chief topic of conversation in the school and <sup>S's</sup> ~~Jack's~~ class swears that it actually was a ghost. <sup>S</sup> Sam says one of the Buddhist priests was so upset that he couldn't pray. <sup>B</sup> ~~Bob~~ says many of the Issei still think it was some sort of a spirit. "4..."

This ~~story~~ <sup>story</sup> is a wonderful example of the building-up of ~~a story.~~ <sup>rumors.</sup>

The Issei seemed to be the most taken in and the Nissei the most suspicious and methodical in getting to the cause of the situation. <sup>CK</sup> ~~Kikuchi~~ says it reflects their intelligence; rather it seems to reflect the community willingness to believe anything.

<sup>DH</sup> ~~Doris Hayashi~~ on July 7 reports the same story, but the version is somewhat changed by the time it reached her:

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OK  
(2) ~~Kiluchi~~ reports July 18 of ~~the intrigues of the political~~  
~~scene at Tanforan and the part played by rumor:~~ "The political  
boss of the district---~~Wehara~~---backed ~~Bob~~ at first, but rumors  
got to him about ~~Bob~~ being a communist and a member of the YD's, etc.  
So he got ~~Yakmizo~~ to run."

" a man was playing cards and all of a sudden felt something on his legs. He tried to brush it off to discover that it was a snake. He killed it and it seems in the night he saw a blue light that seemed like a ghost. "

Another type of rumor was concerned with the administration of the camp and with the politics of the center. One ~~large~~ group of rumors seemed to be about the "reds", "radicals" or "pinks" of the center who were attempting to gain offices and in general "reform" the place. ~~The definition of a "red" must be assumed to refer to the Communists or those somewhat under the influence of Marxian doctrines.~~

<sup>CK</sup>  
 (1) On May 9 ~~Kikuchi~~ says: "~~A funny thing happened today. A rumor has gone around among the JACL "leaders" that a bunch of "pinks" are trying to control the newspaper and we had quite a time showing them that this was a community effort and for the benefit of the whole camp. I think the administration could have saved themselves from many problems if they had provided the setup as soon as we came in so that everyone could have the information instead of all these wild rumors that sweep the camp.~~"

Insert ←

Another group referred more to the political campaign which was going on:

<sup>CK</sup>  
 (L) ~~Kikuchi~~, June 16, remarks: "Rumors heard today: ~~Katayama~~ <sup>K</sup> supporters went into a Recreation Hall last night and offered a bribe of \$1.00 donation to the Rec. Hall if they would provide carriers for his poster. No takers (Precinct #1)."

Still another group was more directly concerned with the administrators of the camp:

(1) C.K. says on June 23 that ~~Easterbrooks~~ said that the rumor about <sup>FH</sup> ~~Fumi Honyu~~ being taken to the county jail for singing a Japanese song at the talent show was entirely groundless. The only trouble was that ~~John Yoshino~~ <sup>JH</sup> did not submit a copy of the pro-

gram to the administration for possible censorship."

(2) C. K. tells of the administration's demand for the July 4 issue of the Tanforan Totalizer to be brought back because it had not been double-checked. He says: "Everyone was mystified. I met a few people on my way back from lunch and they asked me the reason so I told them that the army and Davis were cracking down because of one of the articles, and from there the rumors began to grow. Some thought it was the lend-lease articles about goods intended for China ending up here. We finally found out from Davis that he objected to a part of the Constitution story and the script book item which had to be changed." In order to stop the rumors the staff worked the afternoon unstapling 2400 copies and the paper was remade with the change in items.

(3) A repercussion of the above incident was reported by C. K. in the July 6 report. "In the council room, Captain Speares called us over and said that some of the administration people did not like it because we referred to them by the surname. ...We explained that we followed the newspaper practice and dignity was not involved since it was largely a matter of space with us. Taro and I went to see Greene and about it and he said that it was ok with him. He phoned Davis up and after explanations, received his official sanction. We finally traced the order down as a rumor. Some of the camp residents thought that the papers were confiscated because of this and the word reached Captain Speares that the administration objected to the use of surnames alone. Without checking or confirmation, he passed the story on to us."

During the month of June it would appear from our observers' reports there were a series of miscellaneous rumors going around. Many of these were about life outside the camp, about the position of the Japanese in America and seem to be for the mainpart on-the wild rumors.

(1) D. H. reports on June 7: "Chattered with Mary S., Helen, Kai,

and ~~Rose~~ W. They were saying they heard that the whole University of California is to be removed inland to Colorado. ~~I don't know whether to believe it or not. I think it was confused with the movement of the Oriental department inland.~~ Also they said we would be moved inland by the fifteenth and that the whole population of California and the Coast states would be moved inland. It is awful to hear such rumors. ~~These people had heard the rumors (or presumed them) after talking to Professor Nakamura, who said that the Oriental department was to have been moved inland. It would be one way to compensate ourselves in our own minds for this whole movement.~~

- June 17  
 (2) C. K. writes: "Rumor: "The Government is going to train the Nisei to take over the government of Japan and train them for democracy after we win the war." ~~Shades of Lois Adamic. But I don't like it. This leaves the way open for deportation. Blaisdell claims that the WRA has already received this plan.~~

~~Other rumors were purely miscellaneous during this period, such as:~~

- (1) C. K., June 2, writes: <sup>K</sup>~~Kate~~ told me that one of the Caucasians going around here was spying on the residents. The man came up to him and asked what he was reading (~~H.C.L. paper~~), but ~~Kate~~ refused to let him see. ~~Kate~~ saw him go snooping around the crowd at the sugar beet meeting, asking a lot of questions about the residents and he even asked ~~Kate~~ who the "radicals" were." This may not be a rumor of spying by Caucasians but indicates the suspicions of all outsiders and rumors of this sort were bound to be spread.
- (2) C. K., June 2: "Rumor going around that 700 babies would be born next month in this camp, so we had to run an item stating that the number of expectant pregnant motheres was only 70"

Beginning on June 14, about half-way during the stay at Tanforan reports began to come in of rumors on relocation. ~~This roughly marks the second~~

Put under  
 health?

~~period of rumors. The people evidently by that time had become rest-  
less and eager for news of the eventual relocation. The uncertainty was  
dreadful for the people and any rumor was welcomed as news of relocation.~~

(1) On June 14, C. K. observes: "T. M. heard a rumor that we were going to Arkansas in three weeks. Mrs. I has a premonition that we will all go to Tule Lake together. At least it is a good topic for conversation. Similar to the anxiety of the pre-evacuation days when everyone was all packed up and waiting for the word to go..."

(2) June 20 C. K. says: "Most of the rumors these days concern the time and place for the next move. Everyone feels that it will be before fall and a great deal of speculation goes on to the exact date. ~~Two weeks ago the rumors were chiefly about food and crime. The way that rumors spread like wildfire also indicates the lack of news for the Issei. Most of them can't read the Totalizer so they don't know what is going on. From now on, it will be almost impossible to put bulletins out in Japanese. No reading matter in Japanese at all is available for them. Without authentic news, they seize every piece of gossip as gospel truth and are too eager to believe it. ...They have a lot of free time to go around and pass the gossip on. The stories get bigger and better as it is tossed around from one barrack to another.~~"

(3) July 1, C. K.: "Reports were circulating this morning that Tanforan would become a permanent camp and some of the people down in our barracks were getting excited. Checked up on the rumor and found out at the house managers' meeting that it was announced this morning that Tanforan would be the next to the last camp to be cleared to a relocation area."

(4) <sup>DH</sup> Doris Hayashi, July 6: "Tonight I heard that about 4,000 people here are to be moved to Arizona from here by the twenty-fifth of July."

(5) D. H., July 7: "We were discussing the rumor about 4,000 to be

moved to Arizona by the twenty-fifth of July. Mr. Gunder who receives all the orders for moving hasn't received any such order yet, but he isn't surprised because he expects only 5 days' notice. He ... However, he believes that the "report" might be a rumor---mixed up with the report that the white zone will be evacuated by the fifteenth of July into Arizona and Tule Lake--or some such report."

- (6) B. I., July 8: "I learned from <sup>DT</sup> Dave Tatum that the rumor I heard yesterday about four thousand people leaving Tanforan for Arizona had been spread by someone, merely to see how fast a rumor could fly through this camp. Later, <sup>BH</sup> Bill Hata came in the paper's office and said that he heard from responsible sources that all the assembly centers were to be relocated by the eighteenth of August. One girl is said to have stayed up until twelve o'clock attempting to verify the rumor about the four thousand."

It is interesting to note in the above case the build-up of the rumor and finally its repercussions, more rumors.

(7) July 8, C. K. reports his version of the rumor: "The people in the stables will be the first to be moved to the relocation centers. The residents will go to Parker Dam. Only 150 bls. of luggage will be allowed---have to pay for the rest. The camp will be cleared by Aug. 15. 4000 people will be out of here by the end of this month because they only ordered food for half of the population. We are going to be sent to Nebraska, etc." "The chief topic of conversation these days is our next move. People are getting uneasy about it."

- (8) C. K. July 16 reports ~~on~~ a new rumor: "Some of the neighbors came in and spread a rumor that since the Japanese were so well behaved here, the government was going to let them stay in this center and send them back to their homes shortly. ~~He~~ <sup>"</sup> ~~said that they had already ordered new identification cards and I did not think that there was any possibility of such a thing."~~

*again experiments:*

(9) And on July 19 C. K. ~~helps the rumor situation a lot:~~ "So many rumors are going around about when Tanforan will be cleared that I decided to start one of my own. I told a couple of the fellows that I had confidential information that 1000 of the ablest and youngest Nisei were going to be drafted by the army and sent to Alaska to build a road as a defense measure against Jap raids. By early evening I heard the rumor again, only this time the story had grown to a road made from Mexico to Alaska and all the Japs in the U. S. were going to be put to work making it."

Sometimes rumors were ~~used for a constructive purpose,~~ *contributed by the Administrators assistants among the J.* as this one:

(10) C. K. July 21: "I heard a rumor that 300 people would be coming in from army zone 2. The house managers had been requested to see if they could move more families together. ~~So Bob got excited for the first time in weeks. They want him and his wife to move in with another couple. I couldn't get confirmation of the story from the administration so Bob wrote it up as an actual story protesting against it from the sanitary and health approach. He knows it will be censored but feels that the administration will get the hint.~~"

(11) However this story was never allowed to appear as C. K. writes on July 23: "~~Bob got to enjoy his joke today.~~ <sup>B</sup> He printed up a story about the House manager rumor that 300 people were coming in here from zone 2 and the Hse mgr. were asking if couples would move together. He said that the residents were protesting this as indecent and immoral. This was sent to Davis. When it came back it had a big delete mark on it because "the story has no basis in fact". "

Sometimes the press and radio actually contributed a rumor:

(12) C. K., July 30: "The radio announced this morning that General De Witt had ordered the clearance of all assembly centers (including Tanforan) to relocation centers by August 7th. Everyone got greatly excited and the news spread around camp like wildfire. I saw a couple

of kids getting boxes to pack. ~~They~~<sup>T</sup> wanted to check on the story so I went up to see Davis. I couldn't get by the secretary so I sent the message in. He said that there was absolutely no basis to the story and he had received no news of its. ~~So I guess that we will be here for a little while.~~ The favorite pastime is speculating where to go next."

Besides the speculation on centers, letters from relocation centers came which painted a black picture and as C. K. encloses one of these letters in his diary he observes (July 30) "The attached letter was received by one of the Issei. ~~Kosakura~~ got a hold of it and made a translation. He showed it to me yesterday and at that time planned to carbon copy a lot of them and pass them out. Today about 15 Nisei showed me the letter and hundreds in the camp already know about it. I heard about 8 different oral versions and each was exaggerated a little more."

The last rumor reported was by B. I. on Sept. 12. ~~Strangely this last reported rumor contained half truth.~~<sup>the</sup> "This morning the rumor went around that one half the group would be relocated at Arkansas and the other at Utah."