

314  
717  
(Male)

My Diary

November 5, 1942

I woke up at 5:30 and turned on the radio and had a "date" with Beverly. Her beautiful voice pleasantly broke the silence of the pitch black room. Then I quickly dressed and stepped out into a white world with the moon casting its soft light upon the camp. I hurriedly washed myself and went to the mess hall, and sat before a hot, steaming breakfast which I consumed before you could say "Jack Robinson." We started for school in the crisp morning but on the way we received a "lift" on a truck. There was the regular class routine and I received an assignment to write a diary in my Literature class. I came home and helped in the warm kitchen and then ate. After my work was finished in the kitchen I came home and studied for the tests while the radio was going.

November 6, 1942

I was awakened from a deep slumber when my alarm clock noisily broke the deep silence of the room and as usual I had my "date" with Beverly. I jumped quickly into my somewhat cold clothes and went to the washroom worrying about the tests we were to have in both my shorthand and U.S. History class.

In shorthand we had a test which was easier than I had expected. But in History it was a different story. It was very difficult but I finally staggered through the test. The rest of the school day I took it easy because of the haggard condition I was in after the test.

After I had eaten, I spent the rest of the night cutting out pictures of movie actresses and actors and putting them up on the wall while listening to the radio.

November 7, 1942

Because today was Saturday I slept later than usual but I didn't forget my "date" with Beverly. After I had eaten a hearty breakfast I came home and carefully cut out more pictures to be put on the wall. Anytime you happen to "drop" into my "residence" you can see either Joan Leslie prettily smiling from the wall or Hedy Lamarr giving you the "eye."

Since my hair needed a trimming I went to the barber to have my "ears lowered."

At noon I went to our mess hall to help and then came home and listened to portions of such exciting football games as those between A.C.L.A. and Oregon, California and U.S.C. and Stanford and Washington. Later I indulged in that strenuous and exciting game of football.

I had a grand time helping in the warm kitchen during supper. The rest of the night was spent listening to my ever faithful radio.

316  
(Female)  
English III

Oct 31, 1942

Today was the day of the Festival. My girlfriends and I went to the carnival. In the morning it wasn't so crowded but that afternoon was very crowded and dusty, I couldn't open my eyes wide because of the dust.

After finally managing to squeeze in the crowd near the hamburger stand we finally bought a hamburger sandwich. (It seemed) more like eating dust than hamburger.

We stayed at the carnival until about 4:30. We were so tired of standing and walking (that) we headed for home.

After I got home I had to brush my hair several times to get rid of the small dust. I never felt so dusty in all my life.

November 7, 1942

Today is Saturday. Except (for) physiology, I didn't have any homework.

In the morning I cleaned the room and studied lessons. This afternoon a girl next to my barrack told me she'd teach me to make artificial flowers, so I went to her home. The flowers she made were so pretty that I thought for sure I'd have the patience to make (them.) When I had about half of the flower done, I got very tired of making it and I was about to quit but she made me finish it. I don't think I'll ever start making flowers any more,

(Female)  
November 9, 1942

### My Life in Tulelake

Here we are in Tulelake and all of us have to share in the hardships of this rugged life. We have to do without many conveniences and luxuries of the homes and the schools prior to evacuation. In spite of all this there are a few good points, such as (having the) cooking, washing and drying dishes, and planning of meals all done for us.

Whenever the troublesome whirl winds swirls right into our door and windows at the most unexpected moments, we bring out our broom and mop and the scrubbing begins. We clean the house thoroughly.

Our project farm is very extensive. Many vegetables are sent out to other relocation centers. As we are short of laborers at the farm, school was closed for about three weeks. I've never seen as many potatoes as I had in those weeks. The girls razzed me about being a "city hick," but I managed to endure for that period of time, with the exceptions of three or four days in which I feigned illness.

At first our school, which occupies an entire block, was an empty, noisy, bookless, and ceilingless one. Before the ceilings were put in we attempted to translate our shorthand between two busy rooms without much success. Every day Junior Business, and Problems of Democracy floated through the ceilingless top and the doorless door-way. We always had a combination recitation of Junior Business, Problems of Democracy, and Shorthand.

Last week our chemistry room was being plastered; we could hardly hear the teacher's voice in the turmoil. Nevertheless, we had to stay throughout the period. Again, in a similar situation in another class, the teacher was more lenient, for immediately after roll was taken we were dismissed.

During this summer's extremely hot weather in Tulelake, we couldn't imagine that it would become so cold as it is now. Many of us, including the teachers, are wearing slacks, Mackinaw coats, and riding habits to school.

Last month the family and I went up the mountain. The journey upward was hot and tiring; I cannot express the thrill I felt as I looked down upon the camp, the lake, and the surrounding fields. Glancing down from the highest cliff, the camp and its surroundings seemed to me like a large quilt. The cool breeze was very inviting as we rested

to eat our lunches. We enjoyed the change from the monotony of dust and closeness of camp to the expansiveness and freedom up on the mountain. The hike homeward was full of tumbling and racing. By this time we were thoroughly exhausted, but immediately afterward we took a cool and refreshing shower.

Although our future, as many of the others elsewhere, doesn't seem very bright, we should hold high the lighted candle of faith as millions of other Americans are doing today.

(no name was given)

It is very hard to maintain quiet in our homes. Each night I try to study very hard but it is very hard and often I end up by not studying at all. Quiet is one thing everyone should be thankful for. And do something worth while each time you have a quiet time.

Each morning I go to second period study hall, and I like it very much because we get a lot of work done. It is often very quiet except for some whispers here and there.

(female)

One day in spring I happened to be gazing out of the window, and since all was quiet, my thoughts wandered on how beautiful the outdoor scenery was. The blossoms of the prune trees fell as the breeze past through. The sun shone so brightly that all was so cheerful. The birds sang so sweetly as if to say "'Tis Spring." How pretty it was!

(Male)  
English III  
Period IV

A Letter on Camp Life

Tule Lake W.R.A.  
Nov. 8, 1942  
7306-A

Dear Bill,

How is everyone? Did I hear that you were going to join the Navy? Well, congratulations! Tell me more about it in your next letter.

In the meantime, I'll tell you something about myself in the Project. We just had a two weeks vacation, but it wasn't a real vacation in the sense most people think.

Due to a shortage of laborers on the project farm, the high school students were asked to help. The students made a tremendous response and volunteered by the hundred. We were divided up in crews of twenty to go to the project farm the next morning.

On the first day I felt like a new man, getting away from the routine of school. Our job was to pick up potatoes. It was a back-breaking job at best, but I had so much fun together with the rest of the crew that I decided to come every day I possibly could.

Toward the end of the harvest it grew so cold they had to abandon the idea of sending students out to the farm. Last Monday school started. School is all right, but there is too much routine. By the way they put in double walls, so school is more or less bearable now.

Sometimes this camp life gets me. All one has to do is to get up, eat, go to school, and sleep. Occasionally, I get pags of homesickness. Home was where one is free to do and as he pleases, but those days are gone now.

I'm not bitter against the government as some people might think; I can see their view in putting us in here. Now the thing to do is to forget the past and think of the future of victory! We're doing our part in the "food for freedom" program. I can see you are doing more than your share in joining the armed forces.

Till we meet again  
Good luck, Pal!

November 8, 1942  
Cold this morning  
Sunny during the day

Dear Diary,

This evening a little before six, the western skies outdid the rainbows variegated colors to bid the world a beautiful goodnight. It's funny, isn't it, how little things bring back floods of memories. Little things such as the bend of the trees against the wind, a familiar tune floating in the air, coming seemingly from nowhere, a lilting laughter, or a sunset blazing in difusions of blue and red.

It was this evening's sunset framed against our picturesque castle rock that started a train of thoughts towards other sunsets in the long ago.

Dear diary, you've never seen our Puget Sound sunset, have you? It's beautiful. If you were to see it you'd answer its call with absolute surrender and move without volition straight to its glittering heart, and there you'll find hope, and trust, and peace.

It's westward in the evenings for me. West is the symbol of hope and trust and peace, because west is the open road, the future. East has always been the past, the closed road.

But nevertheless I feel somewhat better tonight. I feel the surge of hope and trust and peace to come, depicted this evening by the lovely sunset. Idealistic, dear diary? Sure, but as long as hope flows within me, tomorrow is a lovely day.

Good night, dear diary.

#### Vocabulary

1. variegated--unlike, a change, variety
2. diffusion--blending
3. depicted--portray
4. volition--act of willing

(Male)

## My Conglomeration of Adventures in the Colony of Tule Lake

October 31, 1942

I woke up at 8:20 in the morning. Previously, I received a memo from the band leader to report at Blk. 4 firebreak, where the parade was going to start. As we marched we made many mistakes since many of us did not attend the practice Friday night. We marched on the road toward the outdoor theater where we halted and were dismissed. After investigating the various booths, I went home at 11:30.

After lunch about 1:45, two pals, Ko and Sho, came over. We went to the carnival where people like sheep were mingled around the booths. About 4:45, we went to Sho's residence where we played pinochle. I came home at 6:30 and at 7:30 I took my shower. At 8:00 I was ready and eager to go to the dance so I went after my date. We went to 2020 where the "Galloping Ghost Dance" was held. At 10:00 we went to 4820 and was just in time for the refreshments and entertainments. I took my date home at 12:00. Her mother served us noodles. I came home at 12:45.

November 1, 1942

George came for me, as he promised, at 8:45. We went to church where we enrolled in the Junior class as this was the first time we went to class. At 10:00 we went to the adult service in English at 2508.

In the afternoon Emerick, Eli, and I went to Rickie's place to practice music. We came home at 5:30 but everybody had eaten but since Eli worked in the kitchen, he brought out some food for us. I went to George's at 7:20 but his sister said he had left for the fellowship already. At the Fellowship the officers were installed in a very ceremonial way. As the officers marched down the aisle a hymn was played. Upon reaching the altar each officer took his oath and lit his candle. At 8:15 we went to 2508 to the discussion given by Dr. Gordon Chapman. He discussed about college education and the other relocation center.

November 2, 1942

Since I have first period free, I reported to school second period. When I entered my second period class, I was late so the teacher told me to hurry and sit down. As I sat down I noticed the students were unfamiliar so I asked the teacher what period it was; she said, "First Period,"

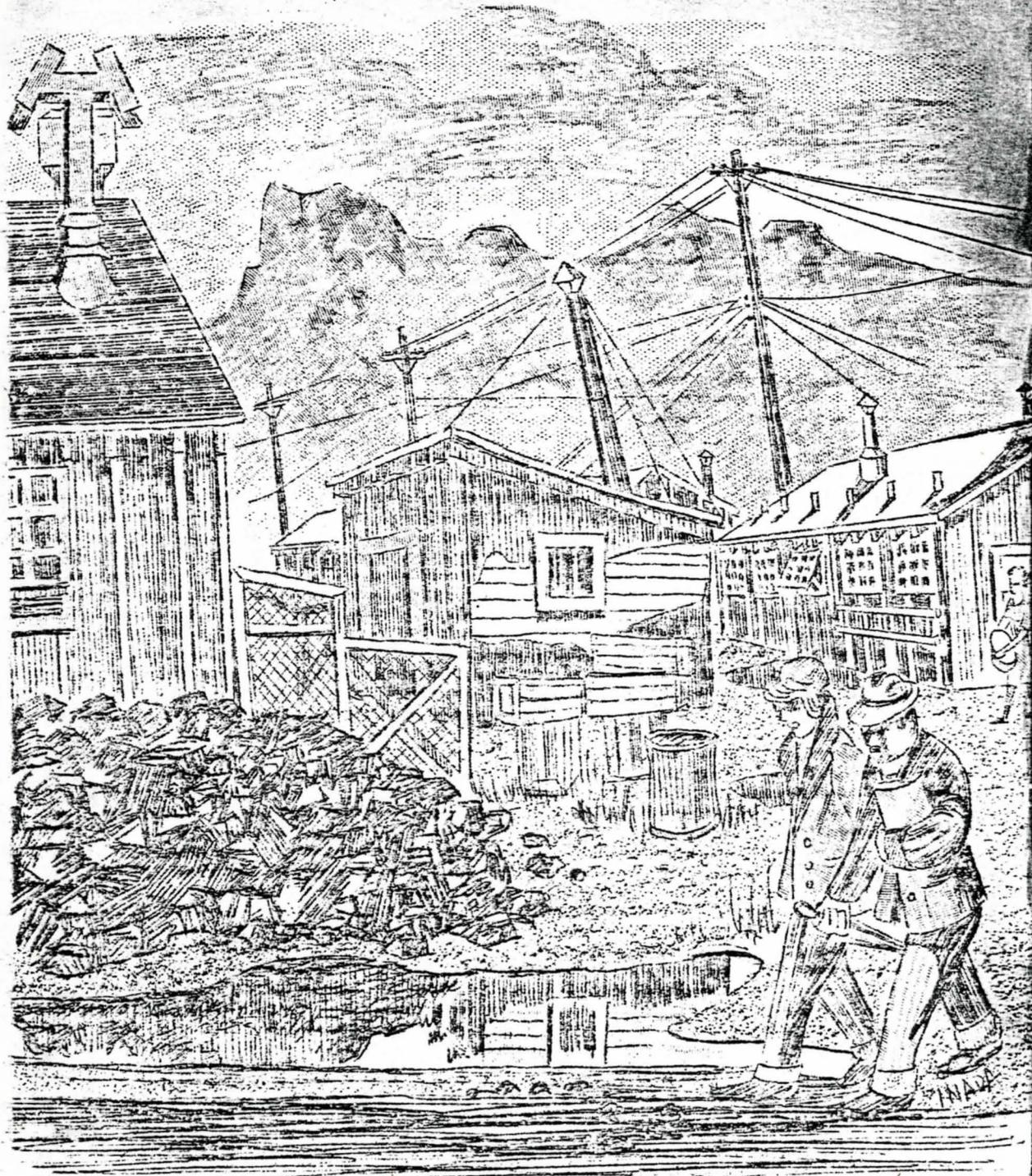
(continued)

So I left the class and was I embarrassed. That was how I found out the time schedules had changed.

At noon, for the appetite I had, I didn't eat very much because it was pork and beans. At 1:15 I went to my respective classes. I went to work at 5:50 p.m. at the warehouse. They told us we were terminated if we didn't work in the day. We could do so but since the night crew was disbanding nobody would be working at night at the warehouse. I went home at 7:00, finished the work reports for the Merit Board, then finished my history lesson. I went to bed at 10:15 p.m.

CHAPTER VIII

COMMUNITY LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS



Puller Dispatch  
A. Tall Lake, Inverness, May 1873

IN

## Introduction to Chapter VIII

and ten  
More than one hundred thousand persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated by the Army and the Wartime Civil Control Administration and, after a temporary confinement in assembly centers while relocation center facilities were made ready, were turned over to the care of the War Relocation Authority. Physical facilities had to be provided and the basic goods and services necessary for community life had to be made available. The War Relocation Authority, in prosaic language, accepted the obligation to provide "housing, food, clothing, educational and health services" for the men, women, and children held under detention.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, in equally bare prose, the W.R.A. obligated itself to provide "the enlistee with a chance to work so that he may earn a living for himself and his family and also contribute to needed national production of agricultural and industrial goods."<sup>2</sup> Each of the relocation centers became separate communities, or "projects" organized, administered, and supervised by a Director and his staff operating within the provisions established by military and governmental regulation all emanating, ultimately from Washington.

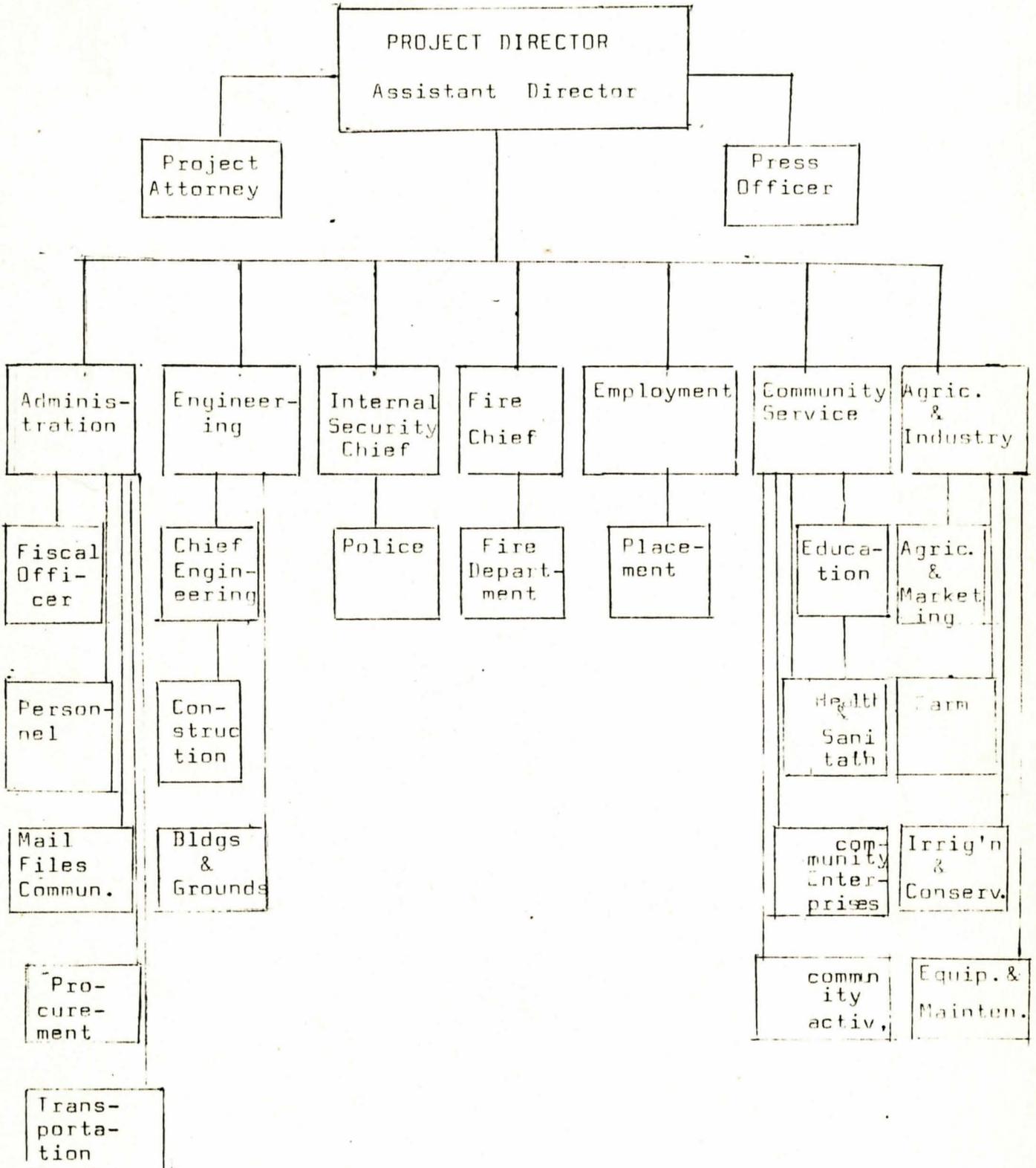
The W.R.A. staff of relocation centers, such as the Tule Lake Relocation Center, faced the task of organizing the various instrumentalities necessary for meeting the basic needs of a population of the size of a small city; in the case of Tule Lake that meant

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<sup>1</sup> The War Relocation Authority, The War Relocation Authority Work Corps, A Circular of Information for Enlistees and Their Families (Washington, D.C., 1942) 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

SKETCH OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION AT TULL LAKE  
IN THE EARLY PERIOD



more than fifteen thousand persons. There were no adequate models for the guidance of the W.R.A. to emulate; concentration camps and prison camps in totalitarian countries served as examples of social systems to be avoided for practical and ideological reasons.

The W.R.A. was forced by the scheduled transfer of persons to its care to move quickly and decisively; it was forced to move with a haste and improvisation justified only by the wartime exigencies the government found to exist. In a period in which the most of the materials, equipment, and facilities were scarce, the W.R.A. had to compete, often with the military, for high priority items. The W.R.A. Project director and staff had to acquire physical necessities for community life, establish an administrative organization, select and orient key personnel and provide them with supporting staffs.

The people of the community to be served had special social characteristics and particular needs which had to be taken into account if community organization was to be stable and effective. The Japanese and Japanese Americans--Issei, Kibei, Nisei and even a few Sansei or third generation children--were heterogeneous. There were widely different patterns of accommodation and acculturation among them. They came from Japanese communities in widely separated urban and rural areas of the western states which while relatively stable were nonetheless undergoing gradual transformation. The shift in the generational balance created demographic and social alterations that were becoming increasingly apparent in such communities. The evacuation uprooted the whole

Japanese population from the restricted areas of the West Coast and their communities disappeared. Even under these conditions people bring essential aspects of cultural life and preferences for institutional forms with them. But under the existing circumstances there was no possibility of reconstituting Japanese community life in relocation centers.

The government of the United States had evacuated the Japanese and placed them under detention. The government, represented by the W.R.A., had to devise a form of community life that would meet the basic needs of the people and would be sufficiently tolerable to the impounded people to ensure a reasonable measure of community stability. The act of evacuating the population created a bitterness, distrust, and frustration that often emerged seriously to impair the emergence of stable community life. At the same time the W.R.A. was committed in principle to make the community conform as closely as it was humanely possible to the democratic ideals for which it was engaged in war. The contradictions between the ideals and the act of detaining a whole minority on the basis of racial identity could never be forgotten either by the Caucasian staff or the colonists.

Along with Caucasians brought into key positions in the administrative structure, Japanese Americans were recruited to work in the various parts of the administration. Administrative and clerical personnel had to be found for the housing office; employment office; the nursery schools, elementary schools and high school; the internal security (police) force; fire department; hospital; communications office, social welfare office, Post Office, recreation office; garbage collection crew; janitorial and maintenance crews; the coal crew; the mess hall personnel; food and clothing

warehouse and storage facilities; transportation service; and the farm .

The government established a wage scale for relocation centers; unskilled laborers were paid \$12 a month; clerical and semi-skilled personnel, including farmers, were given \$16; professional and skilled personnel were given \$19.

The clerical and administrative jobs which were held by people in the colony were held largely by Nisei. The Nisei generally had a more proficient command of English than Issei and Kibei, and they were more acquainted with American administrative practices. Nisei with urban backgrounds often had easier access to administrative positions which were considered to be more demanding. Nisei predominated in clerical and administrative positions in the central administrative building and in the warehouse, hospital, schools, newspaper office, post office, recreation office, and social welfare office. They also formed the largest part of the mess hall staffs of waitresses and waiters.

Issei predominated among the janitors, chimney sweeps, cooks and dishwashers in the block mess halls, construction workers and on the farm. On the farm the Issei were the most highly trained and expert among the Japanese population.

In general, then, the Nisei held what would be considered the preferred jobs. The Issei more often were assigned the heavier, dirtier, and more poorly paid jobs. This distribution of positions, this division of function, caused resentment among many Issei against the Nisei individually or as a group and against the W.R.A. It was sometimes taken by the Issei, then, to be the result of favoritism by the W.R.A. or currying of favor by the Nisei.

The Issei sensitivity to subordination to the Caucasians and to others in their own community was aggravated by the conditions of the evacuation and relocation. In occupational areas in which the Japanese Americans were particularly well-trained and experienced as were many of the farmers employed on the Project farm and doctors on the staff of the hospital, the employees often felt the subordination more keenly because they believed themselves to be more qualified than the Caucasian personnel who supervised them (and who received a much greater salary). Farmers who considered themselves to be the most productive group in the community believed that they should be given \$19 a month rather than the \$16 given for semi-skilled occupational categories. The symbolic importance of the classification was substantial among a group already sensitive to its subordination. Every person, even the most highly trained and widely experienced person in any occupational category was under the administrative supervision of Caucasian staff members.

In terms of employment, the Project was a company town. The W.R.A. was the only employer. The tensions created by the allotment of work, supervision of activity, pay schedules and other issues were readily focused upon the W.R.A. and especially its visible staff members. Tensions fluctuated and the motivation for work varied as the tide of specific issues ebbed and flowed. In a community so compactly settled as Tule Lake, the communication of moods, issues, and grievances was generally accelerated.

The administrative problems faced by the staff were often

difficult to resolve and very frequently the means of resolving them were not readily available. Some elements in the colony viewed the defects they found in administrative actions as the result of malicious intent, incompetence, and venality. To some of the Caucasian administrators the burdens they carried seemed to be multiplied by the clever manipulations of a corps of "agitators" in the colony. The tensions of one group tended to be reflected in the tensions of other groups. There was, of course, unevenness in the upper levels of the Caucasian administrative staff; there was, as well, unevenness in the work effectiveness of colonist workers. Withal the strains and even occasional open conflicts between elements of the colony and sections of the administrative structure a reasonably effective community organization emerged. There was a wide measure of trust and respect for the <sup>first</sup> Project Director, Elmer Shirrell who had applied for the directorship of Tule Lake because of his intense concern for the welfare of this minority population under the conditions existing. He was a strong and able administrator and when he left Tule Lake to aid the W.R.A. in resettling evacuees in other parts of the country his record of performance could not be approximated by his successor.

The Nisei in general were more extensively involved in the Project's administration at intermediate and responsible levels than were the Issei. The social distance between Nisei and Caucasian staff members was diminished by the linguistic and administrative skills most Issei lacked. There was much less contrast in their background and experience.

The school aged-Nisei were aware of the employment experience of their Nisei and Kibei siblings and their Issei parents. They were aware of the employment structure of the community and the variable response of significant elements in the colony population to their jobs and to the work system and administrative processes established by the W.R.A. The school aged-Nisei, however, were less directly involved than were those in full-time employment, although some of the were engaged in occasional or part time employment.

The school milieu contrasted less from the familiar school milieux they had known before than the contrasts the Issei faced in their occupational adjustments at Tule Lake. For the school youths the tasks were conventional ones, the educational purposes were generally although not necessarily uniformly accepted, and relationships with teachers were characteristically warm and respectful.

When teachers asked the high school juniors and seniors to write about "Community Life and Institutions" they responded in terms of their own perspectives and interests. They were not representative of the community as a whole. There was, indeed, no representative group; there were moreover, not only general differences among generational and sexual categories but within each of these there were strong contrasts in the perspectives with which the occupational structure and the administration of the Project were regarded. Among the students writing the brief essays one finds reflected quite different interests and perspectives of the various community institutions about which they write.

In some ways the Nisei school youths were sufficiently removed from direct involvement in the issues relating to employment and administrative policies to permit them to gauge more appropriately the magnitude of the W.R.A. task of ensuring that the basic requirements of community life were provided. The high school youth through their relationships with Caucasian teachers and school administrators were able to fathom and test the depth of commitment of Project personnel to community interests in a way that certain other elements among the colonists were not.