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THE FIRST SIX MONTHS AT TULE LAKE

Social Changes and a Chro0 nology of Events

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Evacuation and Resettlement Study
Structural Report, Section II
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Social Changes and Chronology of Events, II
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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

The problem

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

We seek answers, then, to the following questions:

1) What were the goals and aspirations of the evacuees when the first arrived in Tule Lake?

2) What were the factors that impeded the reaching of these goals and how were the impeding situations brought about?

3) What were the factors that contributed to the reaching of these goals and how were these situations brought about?

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

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1. See chapters on Social Disorganization

A half year in Tule Lake

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

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

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

One of the Caucasians remarked:

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

Some of the comments of the colonists were:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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2. Tulean Dispatch, June 20, 1942

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Californians are sure funny. They don't have any common sense. Anybody knows that it's hard to jive in a crowded room."

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

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

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

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

Californians thought:

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

"Washington people are snooty. They think they're somebody."

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

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

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

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

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

> "Why aren' you out there working? If I were an able-bodied man, man, I would go out there and work. Think of it! All that potato going to waste'. It's for the good of the people."
>
> "After all, they brought those seeds in here for our benefit. The least we could do is to plant them. I've been a farmer all my life; it's wasy work for me."

Thus, many of the colonists volunteered for work on the farms to save the seeds. On the other hand, the elements of dissatisfaction also began to make known their feelings:

> "Why should I give a damn what happens to W.R.A. money? I had a farm for 30 years and they took it away from me and shoved me in a dump like this. You city people don't understand; you never owned anything and raised anything like we do."
>
> "Why should I work? There are others to do it if they want to. Now that I'm here, I'm going to take life easy and wait for the war to end. They have to feed us anyway."
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> " Why should we cooperate? The dirty keto put us in here. We should have put up a fight. We are now at the mercy of the damn keto. They could starve us if they want to. They are telling us to work in the farm or starve. I'm going to show them that I'm a real Japanese with a yamato-damashi. I'm going to show them that they can't bluff me."

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Tulean Dispatch, June 24, 1942

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

The newcomers also flooded into the canteen andthe daily sales soared about $1500. Many who had thrown things away had to purchase many items since they expected to stay in Tule Lake for the duration. Many who had come to the project expecting to find nothiug flooded into the store to buy convenient items. Household furnishings and tools sold rapidly. As we shall see, the tremendous sales raised some apprehension in the center about excessive profits.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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7. The official program can be found in the Tulean Dispatch, July 3, 1942
8. It was not for almost a month that the officials found out that actually went on during the July 4 celebration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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10. Tulean Dispatch, July 24, 1942

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

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

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

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

> "Dr. Iki is a good doctor, but he mixes in with politics. It's too bad that he can't go straight."
>
> "Tsukamoto and his cigar-smoking cronies were always a bunch of grafters anyway."
>
> "The sooner we get rid of inu (dog) like that the better."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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12. Field notes (TS), July 27, 1942.
13. By "dog" the Japanese are not referring to the canine. They mean that the person is a "stool-pigeon". This is one of the most serious charges that could be made.
14. See the Tulean Dispatch, July 23 and July 30.

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

> "So re mi. Keto no yatsu wa baka ni shite yagaru." (Look at that. The keto are making fools out of us.)
>
> "These bastards think they got us by the balls and do anything they want. Just wait and see. Some day, they'll get theirs."
>
> "What the hell is this anyway? These guys are robbers. I don't have to do business with them. I'm not going to. The hell with them."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

less to say, this did not help the morale.

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

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

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

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

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