

considerably smaller-gauge programs on both the East and West Coasts which brought new responsibilities to the War Relocation Authority. These programs, carried out under the same authority as the mass evacuation (Executive Order No. 9066), were aimed at excluding from designated military areas any individual--citizen or alien--whose presence was considered dangerous to the national security. Such a program was announced for the eight states of the Western Defense Command on August 19 and for the 16 Atlantic seaboard States of the Eastern Defense Command on September 10.

In connection with both programs, the Authority was called upon to assume responsibility for assisting in the relocation of the individual excludées. No attempt was made to provide special communities like the relocation centers where the excluded individuals could be temporarily quartered. Instead, the Authority merely undertook to assist them in making a purely personal type of transfer and adjustment. Once the excludée has become reasonably well settled outside the military area, responsibility for providing him and his dependents with any public assistance that may be necessary will rest with State welfare agencies and with the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Federal Security Agency.

Four types of assistance were contemplated by the Authority:

- (1) advice and information to the excludée regarding employment opportunities and desirable work localities in unrestricted regions;

(2) transportation and subsistence during a temporary period of adjustment, usually not over four weeks; (3) assistance in connection with property problems; and (4) special guidance in connection with family difficulties. All these types of assistance will be made available only when requested by the exeludee, and financial aid will be extended only in cases of actual need.

On the West Coast, the WRA end of individual exclusion was handled by the Division of Evacuee Property from its offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. To handle the program on the Atlantic seaboard, special offices were established during the quarter at New York City and Baltimore and others were planned for Boston and possibly Atlanta.

#### Repatriation

Under arrangements conducted through neutral diplomatic channels, an exchange of nationals was effected during the summer of 1942 between the United States and Japan. On June 19, the Swedish Liner Gripsholm left New York Harbor with several hundred Japanese nationals aboard bound for the port of Lourenco Marques in Portuguese East Africa. At the African port the Gripsholm was met by 2 liners carrying American repatriates from Japan and Japanese occupied territory in the Far East; an exchange was effected, and the boats returned to their ports of departure.



Since the first sailing of the Gripsholm was given over largely to Japanese diplomatic representatives, consular officials, and their families and since it occurred during the midst of evacuation, only a limited number of West Coast evacuees could be included on the passenger list. Shortly before the sailing date, however, a number of alien evacuees whose repatriation had been requested by the Japanese government were interviewed at assembly and relocation centers and given an opportunity to book passage on the liner. A total of 47 people from various assembly centers and four from the Colorado River Relocation Center took advantage of this opportunity and were repatriated.

As the quarter ended, arrangements for repatriation of alien evacuees wishing to return to Japan on the next sailing of the Gripsholm (sailing date undetermined) were being handled by the War-time Civil Control Administration in collaboration with the State Department. Plans were being made, however, for the War Relocation Authority to take over the responsibilities carried by WCCA on this matter some time in the fall after all evacuees had been transferred to relocation centers.

#### Organization and Personnel

With national headquarters established in Washington, the War Relocation Authority had three main field offices during the

second quarterly period: San Francisco, Denver, and Little Rock.

The San Francisco office provided general supervision and administrative services to the six westernmost centers or those lying within the area of the Western Defense Command. The Denver office, with a much more limited staff, furnished similar supervision and service to the Heart Mountain and Granada Centers; and the Little Rock office, with nothing more than a skeleton staff, was set up to direct the work at the two centers in southeast Arkansas.

In addition, offices staffed simply by one or two men plus stenographers were set up at Los Angeles and Seattle to handle evacuee property problems and individual exclusion and at New York City and Baltimore to handle exclusion alone.

As the quarter ended, the Authority had in Washington, at the principal field offices, and at the relocation centers a total payroll of 1,157 full-time, regular employees. Of this total, somewhere in the neighborhood of 40 per cent were teachers recruited for duty at the relocation center schools. The staff was distributed as follows:

Washington	74
San Francisco	214
Denver	23
Little Rock	14
Manzanar	97
Colorado River	4*

\* Bulk of staff on payroll of Office of Indian Affairs.



(continued)

Tule Lake	136
Gila River	125
Heart Mountain	115
Minidoka	69
Granada	106
Central Utah	56
Rohwer	46
Jerome	<u>78</u>
TOTAL . . . . .	1,157

A CHRONOLOGY  
OF EVACUATION AND RELOCATION

July 1---September 30

-1942-

- July 9     --   Evacuation of approximately 10,000 people of Japanese ancestry from Military Area No. 2 in California (eastern portion of the state) started, with movement direct to relocation centers instead of to assembly centers as in the evacuation of Military Area No. 1.
- July 9     --   Opening of WRA regional office at Little Rock, Arkansas.
- July 20    --   Adoption of WRA policy under which American-born evacuees who had never visited Japan were permitted to leave relocation centers for private employment especially in the Middle Western States.
- July 20    --   Opening of Gila River Relocation Center near Sacaton, Arizona.
- July 25    --   National Defense Appropriation Act including (among many other items) 70 million dollar appropriation for the War Relocation Authority for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943 signed by President Roosevelt.
- August 7   --   Evacuation of 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry from their homes in Military Area No. 1 and the California portion of Military Area No. 2 completed.
- August 10  --   Arrival of first contingent of evacuees to open the Minidoka Relocation Center near Eden, Idaho.
- August 12  --   Opening of Heart Mountain Relocation Center near Cody, Wyoming.
- August 18  --   War Department proclamation designating the four relocation centers outside the Western Defense Command as military areas issued by Secretary Stimson.



- August 19 -- Announcement by Lt. Gen. J. L. DeWitt of a program under which any persons deemed dangerous to military security would be excluded from vital areas in the Western Defense Command.
- August 24 -- Adoption of WRA policies on (1) internal security at relocation centers, (2) religion, (3) mess operations, (4) evacuee self-government, and (5) public assistance grants to evacuees.
- August 25 -- Policy adopted by WRA providing for the organization of evacuee consumer enterprises at relocation centers.
- August 27 -- Opening of Granada Relocation Center near Lamar, Colorado.
- September 1 -- Adoption of WRA policy on employment and compensation at relocation centers. Main provisions: (1) free subsistence for all evacuee residents of the centers; (2) a wage scale of \$16 a month for most evacuees working at the centers; \$19 for professional employees, and \$12 for apprentices; (3) clothing allowances for all working evacuees and their dependents; (4) automatic enrollment in the War Relocation Work Corps of all evacuees assigned to jobs at the centers; (5) establishment of Fair Practice Committee and Merit Rating Board within the Work Corps at each center; and (6) unemployment compensation for evacuees involuntarily unemployed.
- September 10 -- Individual exclusion program for 16 states in the Eastern Defense Command announced by Lt. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, providing for the exclusion of "any person whose presence in the Eastern Military area is deemed dangerous to the national defense." The War Relocation Authority was authorized to assist persons excluded from either the Western or Eastern military regions to re-establish themselves in non-prohibited areas.
- September 11 -- Opening of the Central Utah Relocation Center near Delta, Utah.

- September 13 -- Order issued by Western Defense Command permitting evacuee workers at the Poston and Gila River relocation centers to enter certain parts of Military Area No. 1 in Arizona to assist in the harvest of the long-staple cotton crop.
- September 15 -- Announcement made that the evacuee Property Division of WRA at San Francisco had set up branch offices in Seattle and Los Angeles and was responsible for the administration of evacuee property holdings valued at more than two-hundred million dollars.
- September 17 -- Opening of Rohwer Relocation Center near McGehee, Arkansas.
- September 21 -- Joint Resolution introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Rufus C. Holman of Oregon proposing amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to regulate conditions under which persons subject to dual citizenship may become citizens of the United States.
- September 25 -- Offices of the War Relocation Authority opened in New York City and Baltimore to assist persons excluded from Eastern Military areas in finding work and homes in non-restricted areas.
- September 26 -- Issuance of WRA regulations to become effective October 1 under which any evacuee--U. S. citizen or alien--may leave a relocation center for temporary or permanent residence outside the evacuated area provided four conditions are met: (1) the applicant must have a definite offer of a job or some other means of support; (2) there must be no evidence on his record to indicate disloyalty to the United States; (3) he must agree to keep the Authority informed of any change of job or change of address; and (4) there must be evidence that he will be acceptable in the community where he plans to make his new home.



## EVACUEE ANXIETIES AND TENSIONS

Behind the outward appearance of activity and progress that prevailed during the summer at relocation centers, there were signs at most centers of a growing community unrest. In the main, evacuee anxieties and tensions remained below the surface and were difficult to analyze or detect. But at two of the older centers, these feelings were more openly expressed and resentments boiled up in the form of "incidents."

Neither of these incidents involved physical violence. In both cases, the things that were said were far more important than the things that were done. But both occurrences were quite obviously manifestations of deep-rooted and chronic maladjustments and discontents within the community.

### Incidents

The first of these manifestations occurred in the form of a meeting called together by some of the evacuees at one of the older centers on the evening of August 8. This gathering, held in one of the mess halls, was conducted entirely in the Japanese language and was attended by approximately 600 people. It was featured by strong arguments and sharp denunciations of living conditions at the center. Late in the evening the tone became so stormy that residents of nearby blocks were aroused and a member of the WRA

administrative staff finally called upon the throng to disperse. The meeting broke up immediately thereafter but the incident left the whole community in a state of anxiety and nervousness that lasted for many days.

At another of the older centers, evacuee tensions reached a pitch in the last days of September when representatives of the Office of War Information visited the center with the suggestion that evacuee residents participate in making radio transcriptions on relocation center life for broadcast to the Far East. Shortly after the OWI men arrived at the center on the morning of September 28, the question of evacuee participation in the transcriptions was discussed at considerable length with the members of the temporary community council. The council members--all of them American citizens and most of them in their early twenties--were at first inclined to favor the project. On further deliberation, however, they decided that the matter should be submitted to a group of representative alien evacuees since the transcriptions were to be made in the Japanese language and would necessarily involve the participation of the alien residents. Accordingly, a joint meeting was arranged for the following morning between the council members and the predominantly alien block managers. This meeting, which lasted from early in the morning until 11 o'clock at night, was punctuated by frequent emotional outbursts and finally wound up with a decisive vote against participation in the transcription project.



### Administrative Background

The fact that both of these incidents occurred at older centers is highly significant. Throughout the summer, while construction was going forward and evacuee contingents were being received at most relocation communities, the three centers established during the spring had passed through these phases and were in the process of settling down. Yet the relocation program had failed in some ways to keep pace with the development of these older centers. The War Relocation Authority, operating in a new and complex field of government administration where there were virtually no precedents or guideposts, was compelled to exercise extraordinary care in working out basic policies and procedures. Many of the most fundamental decisions were not made until the latter part of August. Meanwhile administrative staffs at the older centers were faced with the problem of managing rapidly maturing communities within a framework of policies that were only partially matured or wholly undetermined.

In terms of evacuee living, this situation, coupled with the shortage of materials, produced some highly undesirable results. As employment programs were gradually being developed, many of the older evacuees in particular were left without work. Men and women who had spent virtually their whole lives in hard physical labor found time hanging heavy on their hands. While fiscal procedures

were being worked out and put into operation, those who did find jobs often went weeks and even months without pay. Recreation programs for the children lagged for lack of equipment. Construction of school buildings, described by the War Relocation Authority in an early pamphlet for evacuees as "one of the first jobs" to be accomplished at the centers, was held up by the shortage of materials. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that resentment was openly expressed. The really surprising fact, perhaps, is that these expressions were not more frequent and more intemperate in tone.

Yet it would be erroneous to ascribe the incidents that occurred wholly to administrative difficulties. Behind both of these incidents and similar (though less dramatic) manifestations even at the newer centers, there was a highly complex pattern of influences inherent in the very nature of the relocation program. Some of the more readily discernible of these influences are discussed in the following sections.

#### Cleavages in the Evacuee Population

At all the older centers as soon as the bustle and turmoil of the construction and induction period had died down, cleavages (some of which had existed long before evacuation) began to develop or reappear among the evacuated people. One line of cleavage already



noted was between evacuees from the larger cities and those with predominantly rural backgrounds. Another and far more serious one was between the American-born younger generation (nisei) and their alien elders (issei).

This schism was carefully noted and described by an alien evacuee resident of one of the older centers. Highlights of his report on the subject are given below:

"The government of the United States has, in the process of evacuating the Japanese, made little, if any distinction between aliens of enemy nationality (issei) and American citizens of Japanese parentage (nisei). While these groups are racially alike, and are closely bound in family ties, their background and conditioning are as far apart as those found in any other immigrant group.

"The nisei, and here I am speaking of those citizens who have resided here since their birth and have received the major part of their education in this country, are conscious of their American citizenship, their training in American schools in American way of thinking, and are imbued with ideals of American institutions. Before the outbreak of the present war they had come a long way toward assimilation, politically and economically, if not socially, into the American scene. They were just arriving at a stage where they can assert independence from the family control by the issei.

"The issei's stand in this war, with few exceptions, has been that of passive non-resistance. They have faithfully conformed to all government regulations concerning aliens of enemy nationality during war-time. They have shown.....willingness to work and to cooperate with the administration. Whatever grievance they may have, they have never expressed

it openly to the administration. Therefore, it is very difficult for the administrators of this camp to determine the attitude and reactions of its issei population.

"The nisei as a group are dissatisfied with the treatment they have received from the government. They are disillusioned--bitter. Many of them are frustrated and desperate.....It is a known fact that we have in the camp today certain elements who are working upon the bitterness of the nisei. These individuals are making agitational talks privately and publicly to whip the nisei sentiment into an anti-American mob hysteria. They are finding a ready response from many dissatisfied nisei.

"I am convinced, based upon my observation, that there are certain irreconcilable differences between the issei and nisei--namely, the question of attachment to their respective countries. Of course, every immigrant stock faces a conflict between the first generation with its old world ideals, philosophy and customs and the second generation to become extremely Americanized. The Chinese, the Irish, the Italians, and the rest have gone through this experience. The only marked, but extremely important difference with the Japanese, is that at the present time this generation-conflict is closely tied up with the question of loyalty, since Japan and the United States are at war.

"There are some issei, who are technically enemy aliens, but are just as loyal and more so than many nisei.....These individuals, for the most part, have arrived in this country when very young and have been educated and raised as Americans. Were it not for the act of Congress forbidding their naturalization, they would have become citizens long ago. There are a few others, who, because of political convictions, were anti-fascist even before the outbreak of the present war, and can contribute substantially toward the American



war effort and are anxious that they be called upon to perform some service to this country. They are, in a sense, in a same category as German refugees in this country."

The fact that the writer of this statement is himself an alien of course lends additional weight to the point he makes in his final paragraph. In this connection, the comment of a trained observer at one of the relocation centers is highly pertinent. "It is natural," he writes, "that the older people, the native born Japanese, should have a sentimental attachment to Japan. There can be little doubt that the great majority of them do have such feelings, and that they deeply enjoy their own music, songs, drama, traditions, and customs. This enjoyment is probably increased and sought as a refuge under the present circumstances of suffering.... loss of income and possessions, and fear of the future. This is not the same thing as pro-Axis plotting, but rather the up-surge of sentimental feelings mixed with a certain childish defiance in people who in their calmer moments are perfectly willing to be 'neutral enemy-aliens' and collaborate with the Government."

#### Feelings of Fear and Insecurity

Perhaps the most common emotion noted among the evacuated people during the second quarter was a profound feeling of insecurity or rootlessness. This feeling, which was probably "an inevitable

result of evacuation and of living conditions at the centers, was manifest at all but the very newest relocation communities.

#### Fears About the Post-War Future

The overwhelming fear of the evacuees--the one which most deeply influenced their efforts toward adjustment--was their anxiety about the post-war future. Younger evacuees in particular were frequently heard asking questions such as: "Where shall we go from here after the war?" "How shall we earn a living?" What will be the long-time effect of life here upon our character, and how will we be affected in our future adjustments?" Against the background of the immediate past, very few even among the American-citizen evacuees were able to provide themselves with encouraging answers for these questions.

While the younger residents worried about occupational status, the older evacuees were more inclined to fear the effects of relocation life on family savings. Families which entered the centers with only a few hundred dollars savings--and often far less--were constantly uneasy about the prospect that they would spend more money at the centers than could be justified in the light of future family needs. The result was an increase in intra-family bickering and a tendency on the part of many to resist the formation of certain consumer enterprises and other undertakings that would encourage family spending.



Fears About the Breakdown of Family Authority

Almost every aspect of relocation center life--the mass feeding, the close quartering, the thin partitions between family compartments, the occasional doubling up of small families in a single compartment, the absence of normal economic opportunities--tended almost inevitably to disintegrate the pre-war structure of evacuee family life. Housewives, freed of all responsibility for family cooking and largely relieved of other household burdens, began to assert themselves more openly and sought about to find new outlets for their energies. This tendency was particularly disruptive among the older people since the housewife in Japanese society has traditionally occupied a distinctly inferior status. At the same time, however, these housewives and mothers were themselves profoundly disturbed by the lessening of parental authority over the children. Along with the fathers, they frequently voiced concern about the bad table manners, the increasing frivolity, and even the occasional insolence which they had noted in their sons and daughters since the arrival at relocation centers. The teen-age youngsters of Japanese ancestry, who had established an admirably low record of juvenile delinquency in their former homes on the Pacific Coast, showed a marked tendency toward rowdiness in relocation centers. And in more than one center, the formation of rather distinct juvenile "gangs" was noted.

The effect of all these trends particularly on the minds of the older people trained in Japan--where the sanctity of family ties is tremendously significant--can scarcely be overstressed.

#### Fears About Food

The fear of food shortage was directly related, on the one hand, to the kind of food served in the messhalls, and on the other, to the anticipation of transportation difficulties due to bombing or winter stalling. Whenever the meals were poor, the people exhibited anxieties of food shortage, and even went to the extent of looking into the warehouses. This concern about a prospective food shortage also arose from the popular conception about railway problems of snow-covered passes and bombed out tracks, a conception that was reinforced by the minor difficulties actually experienced at some of the centers. Women in some centers took to drying left-over rice in the sun with the thought that it might be saved for the day when there would not be "enough to eat in the messhalls."

#### Fear of violence

Some instances of physical violence occurred at the older centers, and reports on them spread widely and rapidly with the usual exaggerations of details. Many who were leaders in their former communities were reluctant to assume positions of responsibility at the centers because of their fear of difficulties with fellow members of the community, or even of violence from them. Persons who did assume responsibility were frequently threatened and in



some cases actually beaten. Agitators and individuals given to violence appeared more frequently among the bachelor aliens and the American-born evacuees educated in Japan, but the tendency was not absent (as already noted) among the youngsters born and reared in this country.

Fear of the "Outside"

In view of the WRA aim to encourage employment of properly qualified evacuees outside relocation areas, perhaps the most disturbing of all the fears exhibited by evacuees during the second quarter was their grave apprehension about the American climate of public opinion. This feeling, of course, was not without foundation. During the period of voluntary evacuation in March of 1942, migrating families of Japanese descent were sullenly received and even threatened with mob violence in many communities of the intermountain States. Even after voluntary evacuation had been prohibited, high public officials and organized groups continued to voice sentiments of wholesale animosity against all people of Japanese origin regardless of birth, upbringing, or individual attitudes. In editorial columns, and in the "letters to the editor" of many an American newspaper, the evacuees found a dominant tone of hostility and condemnation directed toward them. In some quarters, there was talk of mass deportation to Japan at the close of the war.

By the close of the summer, with thousands of evacuees out in the beet fields, these feelings had begun to be modified in many localities. But the prevailing temper of public opinion as it reached the eyes and ears of the evacuees was still basically hostile. And the evacuee fear of public reaction was perhaps the most serious single obstacle to optimum utilization of evacuee manpower both inside and outside the relocation centers.

Conclusions:

Many of these anxieties and tensions, of course, arose from the very newness of the relocation program and from the fact that evacuees had been plunged into a situation unlike anything they had ever experienced before. In the future, as the relocation centers lose some of their pioneer character and as policies and procedures become better known and more firmly established, many of the apprehensions which loomed so large in evacuee minds during the summer of 1942 will perhaps be replaced by confidence based on experience.

It was clear, however, by the close of the second quarter that there are many aspects of relocation center life which will probably continue to cause unrest as long as the centers remain in operation. Relocation center life, by its very nature, will probably never provide sufficient opportunity and incentive to the younger and more capable evacuees, and it is quite likely in some cases to have a long-range demoralizing effect.



In the light of such considerations and in view of the national manpower situation, the leave regulations which became effective on October 1 take on additional point and purpose. Under these regulations, the best qualified evacuees, who are usually also the most restive under the restrictions of relocation center life, will presumably be among the first to leave. The net long-range effect should be salutary both for the relocation centers and for the nation as a whole.

#### SUMMARY REPORTS ON THE CENTERS

##### Manzanar

Oldest of all the relocation centers, dating back to March 23 (as a reception center under the WCCA), Manzanar in the Owens Valley section of California had by September 30 taken on many of the aspects of a settled community. In place of the dust and bareness of late March, there were hundreds of green lawns around the barracks and Victory gardens in the firebreaks. Family living quarters, originally laid out in all barracks to accommodate a "standard" family of seven persons, had been improved and reconstructed so as to accommodate families of varying sizes. A printed newspaper, the only one at relocation centers, was appearing in four-page tabloid form three times a week. A 250-bed hospital, staffed by six doctors and five registered nurses, was efficiently caring for the health needs of the community. A cooperative enterprise

association, incorporated under the laws of California, had taken over management of the general store and canteen and was in the process of setting up a barber shop, beauty parlor, shoe repair establishment, and motion picture theater.

Of the 9,057 evacuees actually in residence on September 30, more than 4,000--or approximately 80 per cent of the employables--were engaged in full-time jobs at the center. By far the greatest number, 1,503, were working in the dining halls and kitchens on the enormous job of feeding the entire community. Some of the American citizens were occupied on the garnishing of camouflage nets for the Army, others, aliens as well as citizens, took part in the manufacture of garments for residents at all relocation centers, the production of guayule plants, and a variety of community service jobs ranging from the copy desk of the newspaper to the collection of community garbage. By the close of the quarter, more than 1,000 men and 30 women evacuees had left Manzanar for the sugar-beet fields of Montana and Idaho.

Despite the departure of so many younger residents for harvest work, sports and recreation continued to bulk large in the total life of the community. Over 100 softball teams (74 for men, 16 for boys, and 19 for girls) were actively playing contests that sometimes drew as many as 3,000 or 4,000 spectators. Track, wrestling, and volleyball were also prominent on the athletic calendar. Two evenings each week throughout the summer, the residents enjoyed a program of recorded music known as Symphony Under the Stars



which was made possible by the use of a public address system owned and operated by three of the evacuees. At more or less regular intervals the residents also arranged parties, dances, and a variety of other social gatherings. Meanwhile handicraft classes were being organized and Boy Scout activities were moving into full swing.

The Center's small-scale agricultural program moved forward with the clearing of 165 acres and the planting of 120. Nearly \$25,000 worth of vegetables, melons, and tomatoes were produced and four carloads were shipped to other relocation centers. The previously neglected orchard of 600 apple and 400 pear trees which the evacuees found when they first arrived at Manzanar was rehabilitated sufficiently to produce nearly \$2,000 worth of fruit.

An interesting and distinctive feature of the center was the Children's Village composed of three specially constructed buildings and inhabited by about 60 children of Japanese ancestry from welfare homes in Los Angeles and San Francisco. These children, ranging in age from one to eighteen years, had their own special dining hall and a well organized program of institutional care. Plans were being made, however, to have them enrolled with the other children when the regular schools opened at the center.

One of the peculiar problems at Manzanar arose from the fact that this center was operated for more than two months (from March 23

to June 1) as a reception center by the Wartime Civil Control Administration. In many ways, the "temporary" pattern of administration which was naturally characteristic of all WCCA centers carried over even after Manzanar had officially been transferred to War Relocation Authority management. By the close of the quarter, however, most of the difficulties which resulted from the administrative transfer had been ironed out and management of the center was being completely keyed in with the national policies of the War Relocation Authority.

#### Colorado River

The one relocation area not directly managed by the War Relocation Authority--the Colorado River Center administered by the Office of Indian Affairs in the desert of western Arizona--achieved noteworthy progress during the second quarter along many lines despite the wilting summer heat.

Of the 17,245 evacuees in residence at the close of the period, 7,711 were employed on a variety of jobs at the center and only 498 classified as employable were still without work. As at all relocation centers, the great majority of workers were engaged on dining hall operations and other jobs essential to operation and maintenance of the community. In addition, 284 had been assigned to agricultural work, 239 to land clearing and levelling, and 144 to manufacturing projects.



Agricultural work at the center was retarded by the extreme heat (temperatures of 120 degrees or more in the sun were frequent throughout the entire period), by the absence (due to personal injury) of the agricultural director, and by the lack of suitable farming equipment. Major developments included (1) establishment of a guayule nursery, (2) planting of 85 acres of vegetables, (3) clearing of 80 acres for a poultry farm, and (4) clearing of another 80 acres for a hog farm. In addition, 80 acres were cleared for establishment of a fish culture plant to handle the stocking and breeding of perch, bass, carp, and other edible fish.

Manufacturing work remained largely in the planning and construction stages. Under sponsorship of the U. S. Corps of Engineers, construction was started on three camouflage-net-garnishing plants, one for each of the three communities that make up the center in which some of the American citizens would be employed. A noodle factory, established on September 1, averaged between 700 and 800 pounds of noodles daily throughout the remainder of the period. Three adobe brick factories, set up about half way through the quarter to provide construction materials for the community schools, had turned out a total of 85,000 bricks by September 30.

Although a cooperative enterprise association was not formally organized at the center during the quarter, rather definite plans were developed for one and considerable educational work on cooperative principles was carried out among the residents. At the

close of the quarter, canteens were in operation at all three communities while the largest and oldest of the three also had a beauty parlor, barber shop, and general store. Total business of all these establishments was \$83,998.04 in August and \$79,087.48 in September. From the profits, the unincorporated enterprise association subsidized a number of community recreational activities, including the exhibition of 16 mm. sound movies on a weekly basis at all three communities.

Plans for community government, first formulated during May and June, were revised in July and August in line with national policies established by the War Relocation Authority. Temporary councils were elected during the quarter at all three Poston communities. In addition, an advisory council of nine alien evacuees was elected in Community No. 1 to meet with the temporary council and to participate in the work of the governmental committees. A judiciary committee of three evacuees, established in July to hear all cases involving violation of the community Code of Offenses, convened twice weekly throughout the remainder of the period.

By the close of the quarter, a total of 561 evacuees had left the center for the best fields of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and Nebraska. During the period there were 63 births and 28 deaths at the center.



### Tule Lake

Favored with a fertile soil and a considerable acreage immediately available for cultivation, Tule Lake in extreme northern California functioned as the chief agricultural producer among relocation centers during the second quarter. From the 2,600-acre farm, evacuee agricultural workers in August and September harvested nearly 400 tons of potatoes and approximately 900 tons of other root crops and table vegetables. Out of this total harvest, valued at roughly \$26,000, some \$8,000 worth of vegetables was consumed at the center; another \$15,500 worth was shipped to Minidoka, Colorado River, Gila River, Manzanar, and Central Utah; and \$2,700 worth was sold on the open market. A hog farm and a poultry farm were just getting under way at the close of the quarter.

With 802 men out in sugar beet work and another 20 working for the Great Northern Railroad in Oregon, the population of the center on September 30 stood at 14,646. Of this number, approximately 7,000 had been classified for employment and approximately 6,000 had actually been assigned to jobs. During the quarter, construction crews completed the interior lining of nearly all barracks for winter protection and made a substantial start on the erection of three factory buildings--one for the garment factory and two for the

tent-making plant. Excavation work was finished for all three buildings and concrete foundations were laid for two by September 30.

Schools were opened on September 14 in the recreation halls with an enrollment of 2,430 in the high school and 1,519 in the three elementary schools. Although a temporary furniture factory established in one of the warehouses managed to provide some equipment, there was a definite shortage of desks, chairs, and tables throughout the last two weeks of September. The teaching staff, originally planned to include 38 non-Japanese and 12 evacuee teachers in the high school and 30 non-Japanese and 8 evacuee teachers for the elementary schools, was short at the close of the quarter (due to resignations and recruitment difficulties) by 22 high school instructors and 8 grade school teachers.

Definite progress was made at the center in the organization and operation of community enterprises. On September 30, the community had four stores handling a variety of merchandise, a combined beauty and barber shop, a shoe repair establishment, a watch repair shop, a radio repair shop, and a laundry. Together, these enterprises in September had a combined payroll of 205 evacuees and did a total business of more than \$90,000. Throughout the latter part of the quarter, plans for the organization of a cooperative enterprise association to manage all these undertakings



were developed by a special congress of delegates composed of one representative elected by the residents of each block. On September 28, the congress met and nominated a panel of candidates for the association's board of directors. Election of the directors was scheduled for October 1, 2, and 3.

With completion of the base hospital in July, the health program at the center advanced rapidly. The medical staff, comprising both evacuee and non-Japanese doctors and nurses, handled over 9,000 clinic patients in July and August. During September the program was further expanded to include the immunization of children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and lockjaw.

On Labor Day, the residents of the center staged one of the largest outdoor shows held to date at any relocation community. The program, which featured a flag dedication ceremony, a parade, a beauty queen contest, exhibits, talent shows, and athletic contests, attracted nearly 14,000 spectators or roughly 90 per cent of the total population.

#### Gila River

On July 1, the Gila River Relocation Center in the desert of south-central Arizona was still in the throes of construction. Nineteen days later, when the advance contingent of evacuees arrived from Turlock Assembly Center, construction was badly behind schedule

and community utilities were operating on only a fractional basis. In the weeks that followed, as evacuees continued pouring in on schedule and the building program continued to lag, housing facilities were stretched almost to the breaking point. On August 8 Butte Camp--the smaller of the two communities that make up the center--was completed. From August 12 through August 20, while construction on the other camp was getting under way, this community, with a capacity of only 5,000 evacuees, had to house between 6,000 and 7,000 people. Evacuees overflowed the barracks and were temporarily crowded into every available recreation hall, laundry, and ironing room. Postponement of evacuee arrivals during the latter part of August, however, eased the situation considerably and permitted the construction crew to narrow the gap between actual capacity and population on hand. At the close of the quarter, with the total population at 11,553, construction was still going forward on Canal Camp and utilities were still being installed. But the greatest housing difficulties had been overcome.

Scheduled to be the principal food producer among relocation areas during the late fall and winter months of 1942, Gila River had nearly 7,000 acres in alfalfa when the War Relocation Authority took over the land. In order to meet fall production schedules, the Authority was compelled to use non-Japanese labor in getting the land preparation and planting work under way. As rapidly as possible, however, evacuee workers were assigned to the farm. By



September 30, about 450 acres had been planted to carrots, broccoli, squash, radishes, and other vegetables. The only crops actually harvested during the quarter were radishes. Seventy-five crates of them were pulled during the latter part of September and distributed to the community kitchens.

Due to the acute shortage of labor for harvest work in the long-staple cotton area of central Arizona, arrangements were made in September to permit employment of evacuees from Gila River in Pinal and Maricopa Counties on a commuter basis. Since the cotton fields were located in Military Area No. 1, a special authorization was required from the Western Defense Command. This was granted by Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt on September 13. By the close of the quarter, the average number of evacuees from Gila River commuting to the cotton fields daily was about 250.

Because of the turbulent condition of the center throughout much of the period, progress in the organization and development of many community activities was somewhat slower than at most relocation areas. By September 30, however, one store was functioning in each of the two communities and the combined daily sales were averaging around \$1800. A temporary community council had been elected in Canal Camp and had already held three meetings. A mimeographed newspaper was appearing twice weekly. Construction work was well

under way on the buildings for a camouflage-net factory. Only American citizens were employed on this enterprise. A Red Cross Chapter had been organized and was operating branches in both communities.

#### Minidoka

Located near the heart of the sugar-beet region in south-central Idaho, the Minidoka Relocation Center led all relocation communities in turnout of evacuees for outside harvest work. By September 30, a total of 1,444 residents had left the center on work-group leave and the sign-up was still continuing in full swing. Before the quarter closed, the center was already beginning to experience a marked shortage of available workers for essential community services.

Like Gila River, the Minidoka Center felt the pinch of war-time shortages rather sharply in its basic construction program. When the advance contingent of colonists arrived at the center on August 10, for example, the kitchen stoves in the mess halls where they were to cook their evening meal were just being installed. When the mass arrivals began, 6 days later, construction of living quarters was approximately on schedule, but only the barest beginning had been made on installation of necessary utilities. Throughout the remainder of the period, the community struggled along with inadequate lights, insufficient warehouse space, no sewerage,



no hot water and outdoor latrines. By September 30, the construction of the bare physical essentials of community life was 97 per cent complete, but utilities were still largely lacking.

In the light of these extremely trying construction difficulties and the large exodus of harvest workers, the center achieved a noteworthy degree of community stability during the period. Of the 8,042 evacuees actually in residence on September 30, more than 3,000 were at work and another 939 were awaiting assignment. Approximately 1,200 males and nearly 2,500 females were classed as unemployable. The 200-bed hospital, almost completely organized with a total staff of 200 people, was handling an average load of 77 patients. Schools were getting ready to open in the barracks in early October with a staff of 39 evacuee teachers and 36 non-evacuee instructors and an enrollment of nearly 2,000. Community enterprises, although not incorporated, were well under way with three stores, a watch repair shop, a laundry and dry-cleaning pick-up service, and a mail order service already in operation. Land development workers had completed a 6-mile canal connecting the center with the Milner-Gooding irrigation system and 9 blocks at the eastern edge of the community were planted in rye grass to tie down the dusty soil. Plans for the community agricultural program for 1943 were fairly well worked out.

First steps toward the organization of a community government were taken on September 29 when the residents of each block met in their respective dining halls and elected 72 delegates (two per block)

to a community congress. Under the plan, the delegates were scheduled to meet as a body early in October and choose seven members from their ranks as an organization commission. This commission would then draw up a comprehensive plan of government which would be submitted to the entire community for referendum vote.

#### Heart Mountain

On the benchland of northwest Wyoming, in an area planned for irrigation by "Buffalo Bill" Cody more than 50 years ago, the Heart Mountain Relocation Center received its first contingent of evacuees on August 12. By the time the last group of colonists arrived on September 17, basic construction work was completed and the community was already beginning to assume a tentative pattern of organization.

A temporary community council, composed of both alien and American-born Japanese, held its first meeting on September 8. Five days later a judicial committee of seven judges and two alternates was selected by the council and presented to the colonists for approval or rejection. After this slate had been overwhelmingly approved at an election held several days later, the court was scheduled to hold its first session on October 12.

A 150-bed hospital was completed by the Army engineers and turned over to the War Relocation Authority toward the middle of September. Operating with a staff of six doctors and one interne



plus nine registered nurses (seven of them evacuees), seven student nurses and 37 nurses' aides, the hospital handled a total of 178 in-patients during the latter part of September. Meanwhile the out-patients' clinic was treating an average of 65 patients a day and providing some medical service for the company of military police which guarded the exterior boundaries of the area.

The community schools were just getting ready to open as the quarter ended. On September 30, one of the center's five elementary schools started classes in a recreation hall with an enrollment of 205 pupils. The other four elementary schools and the junior-senior high school (grades 6 through 12 ) were scheduled to begin early in October.

A canteen, handling a wide variety of merchandise (exclusive of dry goods), was opened in one of the barracks on the very day the first contingent of evacuees reached the center. Before the close of the period, another canteen and a general department store were also in operation and plans were being laid for a barber shop, beauty parlor, watch repair shop, and dry cleaning and laundry service. The department store, which threw open its doors on September 28, handled \$2,000 worth of business and catered to nearly 3,000 customers on the first day of operations.

Unlike some of the earlier relocation centers which were built with uniform-sized living quarters for each family, Heart

Mountain had its barracks originally laid out in compartments of four different sizes. Even this plan, however, was not enough to provide satisfactory quarters for families which varied in size from two to fifteen persons, and considerable readjustment in the housing scheme was necessary during the period.

With 865 evacuees out in the sugar beet fields and 12 away from the center on potato harvest work, the population of Heart Mountain on September 30 stood at 9,995. Of this number, nearly 4,000 had been assigned to a variety of jobs at the center.

As the quarter closed, an embryonic pottery plant was getting under way in one of the garage buildings and a land subjugation crew of nearly 100 evacuees was preparing to rehabilitate the Heart Mountain Canal which brings irrigation water a distance of 28 miles from Shoshone Reservoir to the northeast corner of the relocation area. Because of the lateness of the center's opening, however, no plans were made for an active agricultural program until 1943.

#### Granada

When the Granada Relocation Center in southeastern Colorado received its first contingent of evacuees on August 27, construction of the community was a little better than half completed. On September 30, when the final contingent of colonists arrived from



Santa Anita, the evacuee barracks had been erected in all 30 blocks. Plumbing facilities, however, had been installed in only 12 of the blocks and mess halls were operating in only 19.

At the close of the period, 527 evacuees had left the center for group agricultural work and 90 others were commuting daily to and from jobs on nearby farms. Of the 6,892 evacuees in residence, approximately 1200 had been assigned to jobs at the center.

A temporary community council, composed originally of three aliens and two American-born evacuees, was elected when the community was only four days old. As other contingents arrived from assembly centers, new members were added and the council gradually developed into a well-rounded group serving as liaison between the WRA staff and the community at large. Election of a permanent council was scheduled to take place early in October.

Only a bare beginning was made on the organization of consumer enterprises. By the close of the period, however, there were two canteens and a variety store in operation and a shoe-repair shop was getting ready to open. Total sales at the three stores up to September 30 amounted to a little over \$11,000.

Although the hospital was not completed, a temporary clinic was established in one of the barracks to handle emergency cases. The medical staff included a non-Japanese doctor serving as director,

four evacuee doctors, six non-Japanese registered nurses, and 10 evacuee nurses' aides. No deaths occurred at the center prior to September 30 and there was only one birth.

With a total staff of 40 teachers either on the job or awaiting official appointment, the community school system was just getting ready to open at the close of the period. Pending procurement of construction materials for regular school buildings, one entire block was set aside to house the elementary school, the junior high school, and the senior high school. Classes were scheduled to start on October 12.

#### Central Utah

Populated mainly by evacuees who formerly lived in the San Francisco Bay area, the Central Utah Relocation Center officially began operations when the first evacuees arrived on September 11. Nineteen days later, at the close of the quarterly period, the community had a population of 5,803 evacuees and was already beginning to take on some semblance of organization.

Seven members had been elected to the temporary community council. A canteen was doing an average business of more than \$600 a day. An emergency hospital, established in one of the barracks had handled a total of 19 patients. More than 2,300 residents had been assigned to jobs at the center. Only 11 evacuees had gone out



of the community for sugar-beet work, but an additional 55 had signed up with the sugar companies and recruitment was still going forward.

As the period closed, the center was still a scene of construction, excavation, and dust. Evacuee barracks had been completed in all but a few blocks. But the erection of other buildings necessary for project operation and the installation of utilities throughout the center was only barely under way.

#### Rohwer

Starting operations on September 17, the Rohwer Relocation Center in southeast Arkansas was concerned during the second quarterly period mainly with induction of evacuee contingents and with assignment of residents to essential service occupations. Of the 2,264 evacuees who arrived prior to the close of the period, 815 were classified for work and assigned to jobs at the center. On September 30, construction was 79 per cent complete on evacuee barracks, but only half of the community's 18 blocks were actually ready for occupancy.

#### Jerome

Although the Jerome Relocation Center, also in southeast Arkansas, received no evacuees during the second quarterly period, the administrative staff was on hand (along with the construction crew) during the latter part of September getting the community ready for an early October opening. Construction was reported about 60 per cent complete on September 30.

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