

the first time at the Civic Organizations Office. Ways and means were plotted for combatting the JACL control of the camp. On the following night, the Community Forum held a discussion on the outdoor stage (the last) on the subject of crime in the colony. This forum discussion was largely an outgrowth of the concern of many Nisei of the beating administered during the past months by the Kibei elements.

On September 12, the first petition regarding doctors in the colony was circulated. During the past months, Dr. Carson (director of the Base Hospital) and Dr. Iki had gone to another center to help organize a hospital there; while he was gone, Dr. Harada had been in charge. Rumors had it that Dr. Carson had refused to order many items vital to the welfare of the people and that Dr. Harada had ordered them in his absence. Rumors had it further that Dr. Iki and Dr. Harada did not get along well together and Dr. Iki had persuaded Dr. Carson to send Dr. Harada out to another center.<sup>28</sup> Since most of the Sacramento people hated Dr. Iki, they immediately concluded that Dr. Harada must be a fine physician and began circulating petitions to retain him in the center. The first petition and the rumors about the conflicts went around before any public announcement was made about the departure of any doctor. Actually petitions meant nothing, since most people did not know what they were signing. The interest was rather high, however, and the feeling against Dr. Iki rose again.

On September 14, the payroll section began paying out July salaries. On the 16th, approximately 500 workers left for various beet-fields. On the 18th, there was an election of a Fair Practice Committee. Very few participated in the election. The most common comment was, "What's the use. We can't do anything."

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28. The fact of the matter was: there was some conflict in the hospital between Dr. Harada and Dr. Carson. Dr. Uyeyama also apparently did not hide his contempt for Dr. Carson (a much less experienced doctor.) Apparently Dr. Carson did resent these two doctors. However, he probably had little to do with their transfers; that was decided by Dr. Thompson of the regional office who sought to create a balanced staff in all hospitals. There was some reluctance to letting Dr. Iki go because he had donated so much of his own equipment to the hospital.

on the 21st, an indoor forum was held on the cooperatives. The meeting revealed the misunderstanding current about cooperatives in the center. On the following day, a Planning Board was proposed to advise the administration in regard to policy so that the people and the personnel could get along as amicably as possible. On the 23rd, the Merit Board was officially set up.

On September 16, the #3 canteen was robbed of some valuable goods. Someone slipped into the building at night either through a window or a door (both were open) and took some valuable items. Other things were scattered throughout the room.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, the theft of lumber was still a major problem.<sup>30</sup>

It was about this time that the mess hall trouble began to take shape. In August, the chief cooks had met and demanded that Mr. Pilcher (formerly steward at Wallerga and reputed to be anti-Japanese) be fired and that the Japanese be given complete control over the food situation. In spite of negotiations with the administration peacefully, nothing happened. Finally, on about the 20th of September a petition was circulated throughout the camp demanding (1) the immediate discharge of Pilcher, (2) the discharge of anyone else not working for the benefit of the community, (3) the replacement of those men by the Japanese, and (4) the complete control over the food situation by the Japanese. Over 9,000 people signed the petition.<sup>31</sup>

Charges and counter-charges were made. Mr. Pilcher was accused of keeping the best slices of meat (loins) for the Caucasian personnel and giving the rest to the Japanese.<sup>32</sup> Finally, Mr. Shirrell, after much delay, appointed a committee of Caucasians to investigate the whole situation.

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29. Tulean Dispatch, September 18, 1942

30. Field notes (TS), September 20, 1942

31. The petition was a farce. Very few people knew what they were signing. As Mr. Shirrell said at a Council meeting: "You know damn well 9,000 people didn't know that Pilcher did bad things. Somebody went up to them and told them that he was a son of a bitch, and they signed." Mr. Shirrell was much closer to the truth than he might have suspected. Field notes (TS), September 21, 1942

32. Contrary to W.R.A. regulations, this was being done. However, Mr. Peck, rather than Mr. Pilcher, was the culprit. Mr. Pilcher apparently never told Mr. Shirrell about this.

The weather became progressively colder as the days went on and the apprehensions about the conditions of the camp during the winter grew. People continued to dry vegetables and rice in preparation ~~for~~ the starvation. Many Nisei openly expressed a desire to get out of the camps. The feeling was still high against the Caucasians. Rumors were widespread that everyone on the coast would be transferred to Arkansas before long. These rumors became so widespread that Mr. Shirrell had to deny them in the Tulean Dispatch on September 25. It was about this time that the lull before the storm ended. The storm broke in full fury.

On September 22, lumber arrived on the project for the construction of a theatre. When it was learned, however, that the profits from community enterprises (supposedly the people's money) had been used to purchase the lumber and the equipment, a cry of protest went up. Toward the end of August, Kendall Smith (canteen director), foreseeing the government order forbidding the expenditure of more than \$200 for places of amusement, ordered movie projectors and lumber for the construction of a theatre. He had consulted several people before he made the move. Many Issei protested that they had not been consulted; many of them probably would have approved if they had been asked first, but there just wasn't the time in August. Smith had to make the order before the deadline and he thought that he would be helping the colony and did so.

During the heated discussion, the major issues were lost in the scramble, and once again the contention was brought forth that the Caucasians were trying their best to take away the money of the Japanese. It was contended that if there were a movie, the parents of large families were be handicapped because their children would always want money. Many of the more active Nisei, realizing that a movie house would be a boon in the cold winter months, argued against this, but it was of no avail. Finally, the City Council, on October 8 led by Walter Tsukamoto, passed a resolution favoring the theatre in spite of the opposition of the Issei.<sup>32</sup>

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32. This was a part of Tsukamoto's bid for power, and he failed miserably.

In the meantime, the construction crew, led by Issei and Kibei, refused to touch the lumber. Finally, when the Council gave the go signal, construction was about to begin, when some of Tsukamoto's opponents revealed to the Issei that the theatre resolution had been advanced by the attorney. Immediately the feeling rose again against Tsukamoto and once more the theatre issue was deadlocked.

At the same time, almost simultaneously, the community was confronted with another crisis. In spite of the warnings given him in August, O'Brien of the Office of War Information returned to the colony to ask for volunteers to broadcast to Japan. In spite of the warnings, he announced his intentions publicly through the block managers, and immediately another crisis ensued. Many Nisei were willing to broadcast to indicate their loyalty to the United States, but the Issei opinion dominated the block meetings. The vociferous Nisei were thrown out of block meetings. Some of the more level-headed Issei proposed that records be made and played back to them to make sure that no lies were being sent, but apparently this was not agreeable to the O.W.I. men; they refused. Meeting after meeting was held and in the heat of excitement, pro-Japanese agitators stole the scene. There was so much confusion that the level-headed Issei could not be heard. Many of them were unable to speak for fear of being embarrassed by some agitator.<sup>33</sup> The broadcast was not made.

It was in this issue, that the long-broiling conflict between the Issei and the Nisei came out in the open. To be sure, the large majority of the Nisei were not particularly interested and therefore followed the dictates of their parents on issues such as this, but many of the Nisei leaders definitely opposed the first-generation. The differences in outlook had been kept under cover, but with the broadcast issue they came out in the open. Sharp words were exchanged and the feeling was high. Nisei accused some Issei of being pro-Axis; while the Issei looked upon the Nisei with pity for not knowing better than to trust keto.

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33. Here again the difficulty arose over the approach used. Had O'Brien followed the advice given him on his first visit, he might have been highly successful. He was amazingly slow for a propaganda man.

During the height of the struggle between the Issei and the Nisei and the height of the ill-feeling against the Caucasians, another crisis confronted the Nisei world. This crisis gave some strength to the Issei position. Indeed this period was one of confusion.

At the end of a Council meeting on September 26, Tsukamoto stood up and announced very dramatically that the House of Representatives had passed a bill depriving all Nisei of citizenship and that the bill had been reported favorably to the Senate. He quoted a weekly of the American Civil Liberties Union. The news spread like wildfire. Everyone was upset. The administration frantically sent telegrams for conformation to Washington; Nisei wrote their friends. Most Nisei were very-down-hearted. Rumors ran wild. By the early part of the following week, some Nisei were saying with confidence that the bill had passed the House 202-21. The Nisei world was electrified by the news.

Within a few days, however, telegrams came back to the project saying that the rumor was not true--that no such things had happened and nothing of the sort was likely to happen. The American Civil Liberties Union apologized, but the damage had been done. Many of Tsukamoto's political opponents who had begun to organize in many ways (Tsukamoto's opponents included both rabidly pro-Japanese Issei and rabidly anti-Japanese liberal Nisei) took advantage of the situation. More rumors spread. The J.A.C.L. leaders clung to Tsukamoto's statement to the last, but finally had to admit the error.

On October 4, a Nisei Citizens' Rally sponsored by the Community Forum and the University of California Club was held on the outdoor platform. In spite of the fact that the meeting was held one week after the first word of the report, the attendance was pitifully small. Most of the people attending were disgusted with the apathy of the Nisei (who one week before had been so alarmed) (who now did not seem to care at all about their citizenship. The meeting unfortunately turned out to be a political struggle between the J.A.C.L. and anti-J.A.C.L. elements. Much criticism was directed against the organization, but nothing

constructive seemed to have come out of the meetings. The J.A.C.L. star did not shine much brighter for a while after the meeting nor did the opponents succeed in organizing anything to take its place. In a few weeks the issue died down and the Niseiworld went on as usual with its dates and dances with complete oblivion to anything else.

In the meantime, the hog farm was announced. On the last day of September, the cooprepresentatives nominated members of the board of directors and the organization began to get on its feet. On the following day, the City Council set up a Trust Fund for evacuee workers. On the 7th of October, the announcement was made that there was a scarcity of labor in the farm, and students were called from the high school to harvest the crops. This caused much confusion on the farm and brought complaints from parents--especially of girls. All colonists were urged to help and some Nisei work crews did take a day off to loaf in the farm. On the 9th, the opening of a poultry farm was announced when chicks arrived on the project.

The feeling against Caucasians was still high. Among the Nisei, football replaced baseball as the center of interest. There were complaints against Nisei apathy from some quarters. Some were worried about the conditions in the beet-fields since unfavorable reports had come in from those who had gone out. Rumors about moving to Arkansas persisted, and some people began to make preparations.

On the 10th of October, the Sacramento chapter of the J.A.C.L. met and voted \$500 to the national headquarters. Much ballyhoo was made of this. On the same day, parents of Nisei soldiers organized in the project. On the 13th, Miyamoto and Taketa, who had been sent out by Mr. Shirrell to look over the conditions in the beet-fields, reported favorably. On the 14th, a new W.R.A. policy that anyone (Issei as well as Nisei) could leave the project was announced. On the following day, the coop filed its incorporation papers. On the 16th, canteen #5 opened for the selling of articles of clothing.

The major source of interest at the time, however, was the mess situation. On October 8, the Caucasian mess investigation committee made its report. It stated that Mr. Pilcher was at fault in many ways, but noted that he was a good steward. Mr. Shirrell published the report in the Tulean Dispatch but did not take any other action. Mr. Pilcher continued in his ways, and finally, on October 11, the storm broke.

On the morning of the 11th, every mess hall in the project announced that a strike would begin on the following day. In order to force a sympathetic strike, in order to make sure that others did not go to work, breakfast was not served until 8:30 or 9. Lunch was not announced; people were asked to come when the bell rang. Supper was served anywhere between 4:30 and 7. The odd and <sup>un</sup>announced hours made it difficult for anyone to go to work. Those who did go to work had to go without eating unless they were fortunate.

The feeling in the colony was:

"These god damn keto think they got us by the balls, but we'll show them this time. They think that just because they got us locked up they can do anything they want to us, but this time we'll show them that we can make it tough on them."

"The fucken keto makes promises and makes promises and talks smooth but never does anything. Even the keto committee found Pilcher guilty but he's still here."

"Pilcher is no good. We must get rid of him."

"It's all right if we have to sacrifice a little. When Pilcher goes, we can have better food."

Actually, for several days no one knew what the difficulty was because the mess workers did not make known their demands. Mr. Elberson, the labor relations man, experienced some difficulty in getting the demands. When they were finally made known, it was found that the coincided with demands made before in many respects. They still demanded the dismissal of Pilcher; they demanded more and better food; they demanded clothing for workers and their pay checks. Mr. Elberson was able to settle things within a few days and the

mess halls went back to their regular schedules from the 14th.

During and immediately after the mess hall strike, the feeling ran high on both sides--Caucasian and Japanese. The colonists were very angered at the administration. Rumors went about the camp that Mr. Shirrell had told the men that he would make the place into a concentration camp. Even Mr. Shirrell, who had heretofore been the only Caucasian respected in the colony, was put on the hated and distrusted list. Rumors spread about him and his part in the plot with Pilcher to rob the people of what was justly theirs. It seemed that the feeling in the colony reached its peak at this stage.

On the other hand, it was not difficult to see that many of the Caucasian workers who had tried to work so hard for the colonists were getting sick and tired of the trouble. Many who had been very kind before were getting very impatient. They began talking about martial law and "insubordination." Talk about the "agitators" was common among the Caucasian personnel.<sup>34</sup>

In the meantime, the theatre issue reappeared. On October 8, as we have already noted, the City Council approved the construction of the movie theater. On the 11th, some of the more level-headed Issei held a meeting of their own (in which they themselves eliminated the agitators) and then sent a delegation to ask the Council to reconsider their stand. Finally, it was decided to put the issue to the vote of the colony. On October 19, a vote was had and the "No's" carried by a 5 to 2 majority. The voting was not always by secret ballot, for in more than one block a group of Issei stood by the ballot box all day and watched each voter. It was difficult under the circumstances for many Nisei to vote "Yes," even though they may have wanted to do so. Because of the overwhelming majority in the vote, this ended the theatre issue once and for all so far as the colony was concerned. What is to happen to the already purchased lumber is still to be decided.

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34. It seems to the writer that many of the Caucasians are very sympathetic but also incompetent and inefficient. They blame the "agitators" instead of their incompetence.

From this point onward, however, things in the colony began to cool off. The cool weather probably had something to do with it since it prevented people to congregating to discuss their ills, but probably the most important factors were the issuance of clothing to all workers during the middle of October and the payment of some of the August wages toward the end of the month.

Toward the end of the month, the weather became icy cold. Frost was a daily visitor, and snow fell for the first time. The interest in the colony shifted to catching geese (illegally) and then feeling the military police. Pleas were made for more beet-workers, and some responded. On October 18, a few of the blocks received their clothing allowance for August; the others had to wait when a sudden change was made in the policy.

The City Charter was completed and announced to the public on October 21, but there was little interest in it at the time being. On the 24th, the announcement was made that four doctors (including Dr. Harada, Dr. Iki, and Dr. Uyeyama) were leaving the center, but even this did not create much stir.

Thus, we have seen that the Tule Lake project underwent its critical period between the first week of August and the middle of October. The trouble began slowly with minor conflicts over lumber, minor irritations over whirlwinds and dust, minor complaints about the stench caused by the broken pipe in the cesspool. Gradually the resentment grew as wages were not paid, as misunderstandings arose over the canteen profits. The explosion came first over the ahodarakyo incident and then the major farm strike in which martial law was barely averted. Then came a series of organized protests--strikes in the packing shed, the construction crew, and the mess hall crew. Then there was a lull during which internal strife marred the attempt at organized protest. The Nisei-Kibei conflict came out after some brutal beatings. An intra-Nisei squabble arose over the queen contest. Then came the coal conflict, the theatre issue, and the broadcast fight. Conflict after conflict, misunderstanding and suspicion. This period marks the darkest spot in the history of the first half year in Tule Lake.

Things began to quiet down toward the end of October. On the 26th, an election was held for members of the Issei Planning Board. On the same day, the Public Assistance Grants for July, August and September were finally paid. On the 28th, six people went on trial before the Judiciary Committee for theft. On the 30th, the J.A.C.L. held a campwide meeting to plan for a future program for the Nisei in the camp. On the 31st, the Harvest Festival was held. It began in the morning with a parade (which included units similar to those found in Japanese parades), and in the afternoon there was a carnival with bingo, ball throwing, wheels, penny pitch, sketches, darts, fish pond, entertainment and raffle drawing, and greased pig. The whole day was declared a holiday. Just prior to the program, August paychecks were distributed. All of these factors helped to alleviate the ill-feeling and raised the morale considerably.

On November 2, the schedule for the Cabaret Internationale--a troupe to tour the camp--was announced. Dr. Howard K. Beale of the National Student Relocation Council came to the center to lift the morale of prospective students. On the 4th, the Planning Board of the Issei was established and began functioning. On the 6th, some of the September pay checks were distributed and the remainder were given out within a few days. This payment was a surprise to everyone who expected to wait another two months or so for the next pay. Needless to say, it greatly raised the morale.

The Nisei seemed to be quite anxious to help out. When it was announced that there was a shortage of labor in the farm, numerous work corp groups went out to work voluntarily. On the 7th, when the Dispatch announced that the Army wanted Nisei for Japanese language instructors, many expressed their intention to volunteer and did so in December.

There was some grumbling about lumber, as usual. The colonists had been warned time and again against stealing lumber,<sup>35</sup> but some of them continued

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35. Tulean Dispatch, November 4, 1942

to take the lumber that had been purchased for the theatre. The desire of the colonists for lumber at this time was understandable. The winter was rapidly approaching and many did not have enough wood to make *poches*. As long as the colonists felt that the lumber belonged to the Caucasians, they did not feel that it was wrong to take it if they could get away with it. Wardens who watched the piles were ridiculed and called down:

"Mr. warden, you must remember that you are a Japanese yourself and you should not take the side of the keto against your own people."

"Why do you young fellows continue to lick the tails of the Keto? Can't you find anything better to do?"

"It seems to me that wardens should help us steal the lumber."

The wardens, however, kept their vigil, and the thefts died down.

On November 12, the sale of scrip books for the cooperatives went into effect. On the following day, the Tulean Dispatch carried a headline that the wardens were "cracking down" on gambling in the colony. This was a farce and the Issei took it in good humor. Rumors had it that one of the wardens had been caught in a den himself. On the 17th plans for higher education in the center were announced and prospective students were asked to register. On the 19th, the Dispatch carried an article on the ruling of the Oregon federal judge on the unconstitutionality of the evacuation of Nisei. Very few Nisei, however, seemed to be concerned.

By this time, the real winter weather began to set in. The thermometer dropped below 10 degrees, and many Californians experienced bitter cold for the first time. Snow piled as high as six inches in some spots although it was usually much less. On some days, the rain drenched the area. On the 14th, an unusually severe gale blew out the power lines and the camp was in complete darkness from about 9:30 pm. to the next morning.

During this period, the interests of the community ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous. Many Nisei suddenly became fascinated by the Ouija board.

Groups met in rooms of friends and earnestly sought the answers to the dark future. This widespread fad may have been to a basic feeling of insecurity that many Nisei unquestionably have. The interest in the Luija board seemed to be accompanied by extreme interest in the outside world, a rising interest in getting out through Student Relocation, a rising interest in the possibilities of Nisei being drafted by the Army.

Another focal point was the City Charter. For some time, The Iseii did not take much interest in the Charter; however, when the day for the voting was announced, many of them got together and noted the desirability of the charter. The Nisei did not seem too concerned, although the charter was for an all-Nisei Council. One of the strongest arguments advanced against the charters was that Walter Tsukamoto had drawn it up and therefore it was subject to suspicion. In the final vote on November 16, it was ratified by a narrow margin.

About this time, the best field workers began to return to the center in large numbers, and the interest shifted to them. Reports about outside conditions circulated, and stories were told of how certain people succeeded in bringing whiskey back into the center. The Military Policy went carefully through all baggage and even searched some of the men, but somehow or other, liquor did get into Tule Lake.

In the extreme cold, the interest in coal also rose. Rumors spread that there was not enough coal, and they had to be officially denied in the Tulean Dispatch on November 23. Whenever a coal truck came in and dumped coal in the block coal pile, people rushed out from all directions with buckets and cans and boxes and hauled it away to their rooms. So many people dabbled after the coal that it was impossible to use the wheelbarrows that were available and sometimes so much coal was taken that the fireman for the washrooms had difficulty in keeping his boiler going. At one time, only powdered coal was to be found in any of the piles. Distribution was slow at that time because of the

lack of trucks.

On November 20, meat conservation was announced, but the Issei seemed to understand and very few complained. On the following day, plans for the payment of unemployment compensation were announced. This was supposed to have been paid from September, but due to the incompetence of the man heading the employment office, it was never done.<sup>36</sup> Interest rose in the Army language school over the weekend when several Nisei soldiers came to the center to recruit Nisei for work in the Intelligence Service. On the 26th, the morale took a leap when the colonists were given turkey for Thanksgiving--with all the trimmings. The cooks in some mess halls stayed up all night to prepare the food, and the day was one of gaiety and festivities.

The Army school issue caused some split among the colonists. Many Nisei wished to go; some because they wished to prove their loyalty to the United States and some because they could no longer stand the life in camp. Many of the Nisei faced the opposition of their parents who in turn had to buck the opinion of the community. Apparently there was little complaint if a Nisei were drafted (since then he could not help himself), but there was some opposition to Nisei volunteering for the United States Army. Some of the opposition, of course, arose when the parents thought their sons were to be used as spies.<sup>37</sup> Women (mothers and relatives of boys in service) passed about the sen-nin-bari (needle of a thousand hands)<sup>38</sup> to send to the soldiers. Here again, there was little opposition if the lad had been drafted, but people were hesitant about helping volunteers. At any rate, in spite of opposition, over 50 volunteers left the camp.

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36. The placement officer for a long time tried his best to get some other department to do the work that he was supposed to do. Finally he shoved part of the work on to the Social Welfare Department. This did not solve the problem, however, and at the date of writing, the question is still in the air.

37. This was not true; the men were used as interpreters.

38. The superstition is that if a soldier (in Japan) wears the belt in which 1,000 different hands have sewed stitches, he will never die. This is done widely in Japan for men in the Japanese Army.

On the 23rd of November, nominations were made for members of the new City Council. Many Issei participated in the nominations and elections and tried to bring in people whom they felt they could control since they themselves could not get in. As usual, the Nisei took very little interest in the affair.

The half year period that we are considering in this section ended on an ominous note. News had come from Poston of a riot by "pro-Axis" elements. At the same time, preparations were being made to put up a barbed wire fence separating the residents from the Caucasian personnel and the warehouse area. The colonists were not half as disturbed about this as were the teachers and some of the Caucasian personnel, but some expressed their resentment against the Army.

Thus, we can see that from the end of October, the situation quieted down. With the payment of salaries, much of the distrust of the Caucasians was driven under (naturally the hatred still remained.) Some of the more level-headed Issei began to take things into their hands. The Issei set up their planning board; they attempted to control the election of councilmen; the coop got under way with their support. Even among the Nisei, the J.A.C.L. made their bid for some unity and action. Aside from the paychecks, the Harvest Festival carnival and the Thanksgiving dinner probably served as powerful impetuses to the raising of the morale in the camp. As the crisis situations disappeared, those who had spoken loudly against the administration began to quiet down--some things they could no longer say. Other Issei began to take over the driver's seat.

#### Summary, Analysis, and Tentative Conclusions

Following the evacuation and relocation crisis, successive groups of evacuees attempted to adjust themselves to the life in Tule Lake. From May 27 on, group after group added to the population of Tule Lake. When we concern ourselves with goals and aspirations, however, we can speak definitely only of the first groups that arrived. To them there might have been a goal, but it would be

almost impossible to pick out any common aspiration that might have been held by the succeeding groups from Wallerga, Abboga, or Pinedale.

It seemed that most of the people who came in the advance crew had the desire of cooperating with the Caucasians to make Tule Lake "the best relocation center in the country." Blocks competed against blocks and people tried their best to help each other adjust to the camp life. The first group from Fortnad and Puyallup might have felt that way because they looked upon Tule Lake as their permanent home for the duration of the war, and the rural people from Clarksburg were perhaps even happy that the anxiety of the pre-evacuation days was over. These goals, however, were lost as the succeeding groups entered the camp--lost, never to be revived--and these goals were attained only by individuals, not by any group. People took great pains to fix up their own living quarters to make them as comfortable as possible, but the helping hands were withdrawn from others.

The first trouble/<sup>began</sup> when Wallerga people began coming in in large numbers. From this point on it could not be said that there was any common definition of the situation or of goals. Many may have had ideas as to what they wished to do themselves, but interest in the welfare of the community was lost. The people were restless and uneasy and acted in random fashion. Agitators came to the scene and the situation was such that they were able to focus the attention of the people on certain discontents. Sectional strife broke out; arguments arose over the lowness of the wages; trouble began on the farm; struggle after struggle came over lumber; arguments arose over canteen profits; Kibei and Nisei eyed each other with suspicion and distrust; fights broke out throughout the camp. In each of these unfortunate situations, agitators were able to blame someone--usually the Caucasian administration.

From the beginning of August the milling about ceased to be as aimless and random as before. The people began to feel that the Caucasians in the administration were trying their best to take everything they could away from the

unprotected Japanese. Some decided that the only way to solve the issue was to strike and force the hands of the Caucasians. Since there was so much discontent, it was relatively simple for a few agitators to stir up trouble. Then, came the storm.

Trouble began with the ahodarakyo and immediately thereafter the farm strike broke out. Then came the strikes in the packing shed and the construction crew. The furniture factory closed down. People were beaten up. Another flareup occurred over the coal situation. The building of a theatre unnecessarily became a major issue and caused much discontent. The issue of broadcasting to Japan split the factions in the community. Finally, came the camp-wide mess hall strike. Thus, we had the period of organized protest. The Issei in the colony seemed almost unified in their defiant stand against the administration.

Gradually the tenseness began to die down. The aimless milling about and the organized protest seemed to fade away. People began to go about their way preparing for the cold winter to come. Minor crises arose, but they did not attract as much attention as they might have before.

Was the trouble due to the agitators alone, as some people in the Caucasian administrative personnel seem to think? It seems that "agitator" is too simple an answer and probably a rationalization on the part of some who are really at fault. What, then, were the probable factors that led to the strife in Tule Lake?

First, of all, it seems that poor organization, lack of foresight, and inefficiency on the part of the administrative personnel was the major factor. The fact that the administration had no direct means of communication with the Issei in the colony until September was itself significant. Because of a stupid W.R.A. ruling against the use of the Japanese language (no fault of the project administration) the Issei were unable to understand what was going on. Naturally they began to view things with suspicion. Numerous promises were made in regard to wages, working conditions, lumber, and other things, but were never kept--or kept too late. Wages were not paid for months and many questioned the sincerity of

the W.R.A. No arrangement was made ahead of time for the distribution of scrap lumber; this naturally led to a wild scramble. The inefficiency of the workers in the administration might be illustrated by the cesspool incident which caused so much discontent, but in numerous positions Nisei working under incompetent Caucasians were much better trained than they were. Lack of task on the part of the Caucasian personnel probably was the major factor causing the disagreeable situation in connection with coal unloading and the theatre as well as with the issue of broadcasting to Japan. Thus, we see that while the agitators did do considerable damage, the incompetence and inefficiency of the administrative personnel provided the ammunition for them. Stupid errors probably did more than anything else to prevent a harmonious adjustment to the camp life.

The colonists, on the other hand, are not without fault. The pro-Axis agitators were present in the colony to take up the cry as soon as the situation made it possible for them to be heard. Outside difficulties were brought into the center to make adjustment difficult; for example, there was the Tsukamoto-Iki situation. Furthermore, the feeling of many of the people that the war would be over soon and that the camp was not a permanent home probably made some difference. Had the people all felt that there was no escape from Tule Lake, they might have worked much harder to make the place as comfortable as possible.

Perhaps a final factor contributing to the unrest was the physical elements. The terrible dust, the wind, the whirlwinds and then the cold and snow probably did not make anyone happy. The discomfort probably did serve to make people disgruntled and ready to cry out.

Thus, we can see that there were several factors that contributed to the unrest in Tule Lake. It cannot be explained in terms of "agitators" alone.

After the dark days had passed, the people gradually adjusted themselves to the camp life. New leadership began to rise among the Issei; the Nisei were, on the whole, apathetic as usual. As the W.R.A. began to fulfill some of their promises, the milling about almost ceased. Discipline once more prevailed.

Means were set up to prevent, if possible, the recurrence of trouble. Thus, at the end of November, six months after the first evacuee set foot in Tule Lake, the colony seemed to be on its way to the formation of a new social order--new ways and institutions by which they are to live for the duration of the war.

What were the goals and aspirations of the evacuees when they first arrived in Tule Lake? There might have been goals for the first group that arrived, but it is difficult to say there any existed after the Wallerger people began coming in.

What were the factors that impeded the reaching of these goals (of the first arrivals) and how were the impeding situations brought about? The misunderstanding, the suspicion and the distrust caused considerable milling around and non-cooperation; this was made worse by agitators who were given their cue by the inefficiency and incompetence of the administrative personnel.

What were the factors that contributed to the reaching of these goals? The goals have not been reached.

At long last--after six months--it seems that the residents in Tule Lake have finally settled down. This does not mean, however, that nothing can happen. The incidents of the summer months probably did not create any new attitudes of bitterness; those attitudes existed long before but were drawn out from their latent status by the situation. Once more these attitudes have become dormant, but they may be drawn up again by some stupid blunder. Perhaps new mechanisms of control can be set up before the recurrence of crises.

