



*Granada Relocation Center,
Amache, Colorado*

“RELOCATION”

What Are the Relocation Centers Like?

THE Granada Relocation Center at Amache, Colo., is typical of the ten camps in seven Western states in which evacuated Japanese-Americans are living. The Centers are managed by a civilian agency, the War Relocation Authority, appointed by the President for this job. A company of military police is stationed at each Center to control entrance and exits. The total cost of maintenance of the evacuees in the Centers and administration of the Centers is borne by the Federal Government.

The buildings are of a temporary type of construction described as “so very cheap that, frankly, if it stands up for the duration we are going to be lucky.” They are grouped in blocks, each composed of twelve residential barracks, a recreation hall (usually used for offices), and two large community buildings containing latrines, laundry, showers, kitchen, and mess hall. Thirty or more such blocks make up a Center, usually surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, with military guard towers at intervals.

Residential barracks are 120 by 20 feet, divided up into six one-room apartments, ranging in size from 16 by 20 feet to 20 by 24 feet, with from two to seven people housed in each room. They come equipped only with bed, blankets, and stove. Population at the Granada Center, smallest of the ten, was 7,620 in April, 1943, of whom more than two-thirds are American citizens—born and reared in this country. Most of the 2,123 aliens

came here as laborers and merchants in the early 1900's, and have not been allowed to become citizens. About half the population came from rural areas, the other half is urban, and their occupations before evacuation embraced practically every phase of American life.

School children make up one-quarter of the population, with 1,909 persons registered from nursery school through high school. Classes taught by both Caucasian and Japanese-American teachers are held in barracks, with meager equipment. School buildings are now going up at some Centers.

Food is served in community mess halls, cafeteria style. Cost of meals for all Relocation Centers has averaged not more than forty-five cents per person, and there is rationing just as there is outside. Describing the food in one Center, a California newsman wrote: “It is substantial, healthy, and not very appetizing. It is a combination of American and Japanese dishes, and tastes like something bought for about thirty-eight cents a day—which is what it happens to cost. They have no butter, but apparently plenty of margarine, and enough tea to serve it twice a day. Meatless days come at least three times a week.”

Employment is offered about half of Granada's population in twenty-five different departments, and the pay ranges from \$12 to \$19 a month even for the highest skills, with the government bearing the brunt of maintenance. There are farms at all the Centers, employing many people. This typical Relocation Center has a 150-bed hospital, a biweekly newspaper, fire and police departments, and an elected community council to han-

dle minor governmental functions. Cooperative stores, with 2,387 members, gross more than \$40,000 per month.

For What Are These Centers Planned?

Set up to receive people evacuated from Pacific Coast areas, the ten Relocation Centers were to have been self-supporting paternalistic democracies. As nearly half of the evacuees of working age had agricultural experience, it was hoped that they would raise all their own food and a surplus as well, with some industries thrown in to make the communities as self-sufficient as possible. Plans were formulated for limited self-government, for schools under advanced educational methods, for stores cooperatively operated by and for the community. In short, far-sighted War Relocation Authority policy sought to undo as much of the harm caused by the evacuation as possible.

Actual practice has fallen short of these ideals. The inhospitable locations of the Relocation Centers, the low wage scale, the rising demand for resettlement outside the Centers, the paradox of a theoretical liberty denied in practice, political pressures against the WRA, and deep psychological factors have all worked to modify original plans and ideals. It is now realized that no matter how well planned and administered, a camp in which one racial group is segregated is an un-American and unhealthy thing. Thus the WRA is now bending its policy toward resettlement outside the Centers.

Location of the Centers

The location of the Centers alone has been enough to deny any possibility that they might speedily become self-supporting. The Hearst columnist who in the early days of the war wanted these people moved into the interior—"and I don't mean a nice part of the interior, either"—certainly got his wish. At Poston, Ariz., site of the largest Center (population 20,000), the three sections of the camp were nicknamed Roaston, Toaston, and Duston, and the names tell the truth about most of the Centers, where desert heat and dust are bywords in summer. The camps have the hardships of the typical frontier community—mud, inadequate housing, physical hardship, and subjugation of desert land, but without the zest and self-interest of voluntary pioneering.

Factors beyond control of the War Relocation Authority probably forced these locations, for a Center had to be away from military zones but near adequate transportation and power, had to have agricultural possibilities on land owned or controlled by the government (to prevent specu-

lation), but could not displace already existing white settlers. Coupled with these restrictions was vigorous local opposition wherever the War Relocation Authority went. Typical of the ignorant prejudice of every Western state was Idaho Governor Clark's statement: "Japs live like rats, breed like rats, and act like rats. We don't want them buying or leasing land and becoming permanently located in our state." The result was that with limited exceptions the Relocation Centers were established where nobody else wanted to live: Western desert, arid Great Plains, or cut-over parts of Arkansas.

What About Low Wage Standards?

Resentment at the low wage scales is another factor that has disrupted Relocation Center life. The evacuees employed at the Centers receive \$19 a month for skilled or professional labor, \$12 for "apprentices," with the great majority getting \$16 a month. In addition, all those in the Centers receive meals costing not over forty-five cents a day and minimum housing. It is natural that American citizens and aliens convicted of no crime should resent such sub-standard pay. This feeling is accentuated because Caucasians working within the Centers receive standard pay. Thus many white school teachers receive in the neighborhood of \$2,000 a year, but an accredited Japanese-American teacher, doing the same job, will get but \$19 a month. These low wage scales mean that many families are using up their reserves and that many others face destitution. The drabness of much of the work, coupled with these small allow-

Housing quarters in Relocation Centers are cheap, crowded, bare. They are equipped only with stove, bed, and blankets



ances, offers no individual incentive, and many persons find time hanging heavily on their hands.

What Are These Outcasts Thinking?

In the early days of detention, a little girl saw a dog trying to climb through the barbed-wire fence into an Assembly Center. "Don't come in here, little dog," she cried. "You won't be able to go back to America." That thought more than anything else explains the failure of the Relocation Center as a way of life. Evacuation has created or accentuated psychological and mental attitudes that do far more harm than physical suffering or hardship. "It seems that we are alone against a world of persecution," a Japanese-American student wrote. "It is evident that the average American has such prejudice against those of yellow skin that we can never hope to be placed on a parity with the so-called fellow Americans. But we are loyal in spite of being deprived of friendship and tolerance."

Evacuation effectively smashed the hopes and dreams of both old and young. The older, alien Japanese, although themselves denied the right to become American citizens, have helped build America and have sacrificed their lives so that their children might enjoy the fruits of American citizenship. Evacuation has meant for them a bitter realization of failure. The discrimination against their children has caused them intense suffering; and for themselves, separated from the homes and jobs of a lifetime, they know they are too old to start again.

For the younger American citizen of Japanese ancestry the disappointment has been as sharp.

Relocation high school students, thoroughly Americanized in West Coast schools, become disillusioned and cynical at evacuation's denial of democracy



Is this the American Way? Does this crowded dining-hall represent our future treatment of racial minorities? America must decide this burning question

These Nisei had the lowest delinquency of any racial group, oversubscribed their quotas to community chests, made outstanding records in both school and college, and formed a Japanese-American Citizens League to ease their participation in normal American life. In the evacuation they see the negation of much of this effort. As Rep. Clifton A. Woodrum of Virginia observed, "there has been a terrific dislocation for those who are American citizens. They were picked up body and baggage and moved out, and I imagine it would have a severe psychological effect upon a man who was really a loyal American citizen."

"What Will Happen to Us?"

The insecurity of not knowing what will happen next is the most pronounced characteristic of both aliens and citizens in the Relocation Centers. Property losses before and during the evacuation, the sense of constantly being pushed about, changes of official policy, government promises freely given and freely broken — all these have bred a fear and a cynicism that bodes no good for the future. There is ample basis for this insecurity. A young American-born farmer who lived on the California coast was urged by the Army to move voluntarily out of the zone that was to be evacuated. He moved to an inland part of the state, bought a farm, put in his crops, and sent for his family. Then the Army changed its mind, the remaining part of California was frozen, and he was evacuated. "I figure we've lost that boy," a War Relocation Authority official observed. "He was a good American when the war started. He hated Japan. Now he still hates Japan, but he hates us, too." Many thousands like this young man moved



in accordance with requests only to be caught by later changes of policy.

Scores of American citizens received a form letter from the Western Defense Command beginning: "Certain Japanese persons are currently being considered for repatriation to Japan. You, and those members of your family listed above, are being so considered." The recipients of this letter, many of them boys and girls born here who had never set foot in Japan, were justly perplexed. "What do they mean, Japanese persons?" they asked. "Doesn't being born and brought up here make us Americans? And that phrase, 'repatriation to Japan.' The only country we could be repatriated to is the United States of America! To send us to Japan would be to expatriate us!" These Americans wondered if the government were deliberately trying to force them into the arms of Japan, and their minds ran again on that thing they most fear: deportation to Japan after the war.

What About the Future of the Camps?

"I don't like Relocation Centers." That statement came from Dillon S. Myer, director of the War Relocation Authority, in a speech in which he also said that "the major emphasis now in the War Relocation Authority is the relocation of people outside of the Centers." Thus the best future for the Relocation Centers would be their abolition. Myer points out that "serious damage could be done if they went on for very long," and thus the faster these innocent people can be brought back into normal life the better. Two programs are now under way to effect this. One is enlistment in the Army; the other releasing indi-

viduals on "indefinite leave," which amounts to permanent resettlement in everyday life. While difficulties are being encountered, owing to the segregation of the men into "combat units" of the Army and difficulties in the housing and job situations in many cities, considerable progress is being made, although a great deal depends on the public's response and action.

The alternative to such resettlement is the continuation of these camps into the indefinite future. An observer in one Center points out that they are "far from being typical American communities. The children hear more Japanese and less English than they ever have in their lives before, and with every month their Japanese improves and their English deteriorates. The tide in the Centers inevitably will turn increasingly toward the older cultural pattern. For the first time in their lives these independent people are learning to accept government aid. This is a habit easily acquired and not easily lost. Thirty thousand boys and girls are growing up in a situation of government dependency which undermines family solidarity and destroys initiative, ambition, and self-respect. To call the Centers de-Americanizing institutions is not criticism of the very excellent work of the WRA. It is simply to point out the end inherent in the system of mass segregation and dependency."

The cry of one of the children in the camps, "Mother, I don't like Japan. Let's go back to America," needs to be answered. The following pages show why it should be answered, because of the loyalty and assimilation of the people, and because of the future well-being of American democracy and the relations between the white and colored peoples.

AFTER watching thousands of Americans of Japanese ancestry who were uprooted from their homes adapt themselves to crowded life behind barbed wire, the manager of the Tulare Assembly Center paid them this remarkable tribute:

"It has been a revelation to me to see how you have adapted yourselves to this strange and difficult life, and to watch the many ingenious ways in which you have found outlet for your energies. I have admired your willingness to do the menial tasks as well as those that brought ready recognition. I have marveled at the educational system you have developed in the face of innumerable obstacles so that you might make yourselves more useful. Through it all, in your work and in your play, you have maintained your dignity and your happy disposition.

"In this way I have learned from you how to become a better American, and for that I shall remember you always in humble gratitude."

LOYALTY

Are Japanese-Americans Racially Different?

PEOPLE are divided into many races by their physical differences. Some have white skins, some black; more brown or yellow. Americans of Oriental ancestry, though with different skin, different noses, different eyes from most Americans, think, feel, and act about the same way. Scientists have proved beyond question that underneath these physical differences all humans are basically the same. Yet the myth that Japanese-Americans, because they look different, are different, is believed by many people. They are, according to Rodney Brink, *Christian Science Monitor* reporter, "members of a race whose loyalties to the United States have not been fully established." Al Dingeman, campaigning for Congress in California, told his constituents that Japanese-Americans "have proved to be treacherous and untrustworthy as a race." The United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco was told early this year that "dishonesty, deceit, and hypocrisy are racial characteristics." This was given as a reason why residents of Japanese ancestry should be denied United States citizenship.

Adolf Hitler also believes that people are basically different according to race. Much of the horror he has inflicted on the world is because of his ignorance on this question. In 1932 he told the Dusseldorf Industry Club: "It is beyond question that certain traits of character, certain virtues, and certain vices always recur in people so long as their inner nature—their blood-conditioned composition—has not essentially altered."

Hitler and those Americans who have adopted similar race doctrines are wrong. Men inherit physical characteristics from their parents, but cultural traits such as honesty, loyalty, integrity, and bravery are not inherited. They are acquired through environment and education. Thus many whites brought up in American homes and educated in our schools are honest, love democracy,

and hate war. But other people brought up in Germany—or America—who are also white, may think dishonesty necessary, despise democracy, and call war noble.

Ruth Benedict, of Columbia University, points out that "all over the world, since the beginning of human history, it can be shown that peoples have been able to adopt the culture of people of another blood. There is nothing in the biological structure of man that makes it even difficult." And Lawrence Guy Brown, in his exhaustive study, *Immigration*, says, "An individual of any race has the capacity to acquire the culture of any group if the process of socialization begins early enough."

In times of stress and crisis, it is easy to be swept away by the delusion that people are different because they look different. But this ignorance is our greatest danger. As Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes said in 1942, Americans must avoid this "Hitler-like contempt for other groups and creeds and races." A Naval Intelligence officer who studied the whole question of Americans of Japanese ancestry reported: "The entire 'Japanese problem' has been magnified out of its true proportion, largely because of the physical characteristics of the people. It should be handled on

Sunday afternoon at Granada Relocation Center, Amache, Colorado. Furniture and decorations were made by the girls from scrap lumber and wallboard



the basis of the *individual*, regardless of citizenship, and *not* on a racial basis."

Have the Japanese-Americans Been Assimilated?

The strongest practical evidence that Japanese are not different as a race is the remarkable degree to which children born in this country have been assimilated into the American way of life. That this is so true is convincing evidence of the strength of American democracy. Milton S. Eisenhower, as first director of the War Relocation Authority, had access to information that makes him uniquely able to judge how well they have been assimilated. He told a Congressional committee that the second generation born in this country "have attended only American schools with other American children. They have learned the democratic way. They know no other way. Many of them are in the American Army. . . . Most of them can speak no other language but ours. They are thoroughly Americanized."

Paying tribute to the degree of social assimilation that had taken place; Carey McWilliams, in his new book, *Brothers Under the Skin*, points out that "they showed, from the outset, great eagerness to adopt American ways. . . . In every way they tried to deport themselves in a creditable manner. There was no crime problem among them (nor has there ever been one); and they paid their debts. Even during depressions, they were never dependent upon public relief or assistance."

Ignorance of this fact has been in good measure responsible for the evacuation. There have been many statements, some from high government sources, asserting that Japanese-Americans have not been assimilated. Colonel Bendetsen, for example, in outlining the reasons for the military necessity of the evacuation, included Japanese-Americans as part of a "national group almost wholly unassimilated and which has preserved in large measure to itself its customs and traditions." Colonel Bendetsen, like the many others who make such assertions, must be unaware of the facts.

Research on this problem was carried on for many years at Stanford University under Professor E. K. Strong, following a Carnegie grant in 1929. Here are a few of his findings:

"Mentally and morally the Japanese-Americans are similar to whites. . . . Morally, the Japanese-Americans are possibly superior to the whites; at least their record in delinquency and crime is better. . . .



LIFE asserted that you can tell "Japs" because they "show humorless intensity of ruthless mystics." These youngsters, typical sixth-graders, belie such nonsense

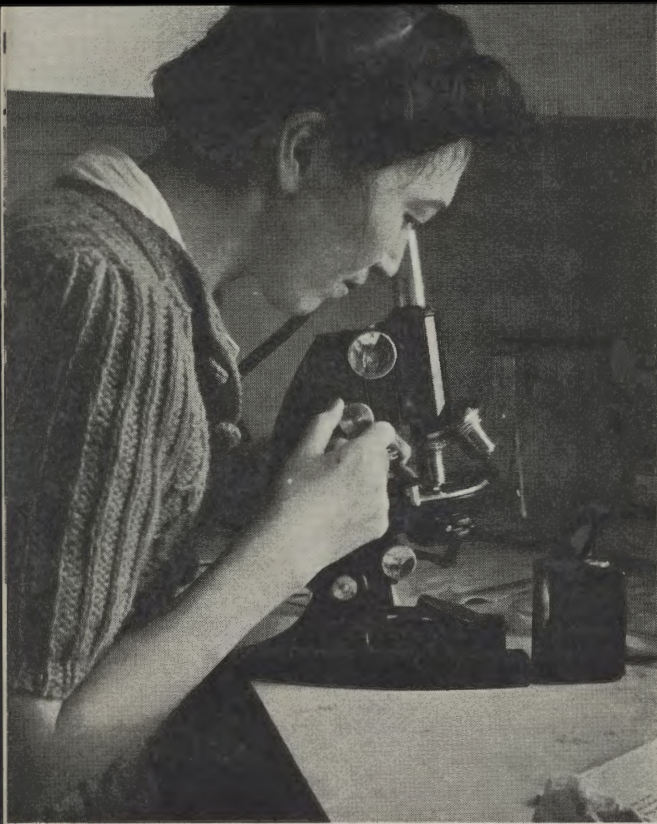
"The vocational interests of Japanese and whites are very similar.

"There is little or nothing in the data in this section to warrant the statement that Japanese as a class are tricky, deceitful, and dishonest. Their credit ratings are so nearly equal to those of the whites as to warrant the belief that they behave in practically the same way as their white competitors.

"On the basis of an adaptation of Voelker's honesty test, twelve-year-old Japanese children obtained an almost perfect score (99.9), with Chinese second (87), in comparison with the score of 50 for Anglo-Saxons."

Assimilation is a process of give and take. Thus many Japanese-Americans have adopted our main religious pattern, the Stanford study finding that "the United States born second generation are predominantly Christian." Those who remained Buddhists have westernized that religion. And like other national groups new to America, they have contributed much to our way of life. In agriculture their industry, thrift, and efficiency helped make possible a continuous supply of fresh vegetables; they improved or introduced our techniques of cultivation, drainage, fertilization, and cooperative marketing. Their methods resulted in higher standards for our vegetable markets, in improved quality and artistic display of merchandise, in courtesy, and in sanitary precautions.

So strong was their Americanization that when members of the American born and raised second generation visited Japan, they found themselves in a strange land, unhappy and unwelcome. A



Miss May Kumasaka, chief laboratory technician at Minidoka, was a laboratory technician in Seattle before the evacuation

Japanese manufacturer indicated his disgust for them in these words:

"They're too individualistic. They can't learn filial piety and loyalty to the Emperor. I do not hire Nisei. The food doesn't suit them. The winter doesn't suit them, they expect central heating. And they don't suit me. My employees must do only what they're literally told to do. Nisei want to learn everything that's going on and make suggestions about what they think they've learned in the States. They may look Japanese to you. They don't to me"—Randau and Zugsmith, *The Setting Sun of Japan*, Random House, 1942, p. 99.

The feeling was mutual. Japanese-Americans in Japan wrote back to America that "the customs and manners of these people are very peculiar," or, "I feel out of place in Japan. Everything seems too strange to me." This deep chasm between Japan and Americans of Japanese ancestry shows how far the latter had been Americanized.

Assimilation was not complete. It never is with any second generation. Children of immigrants have to be the bridge between their parents and America, an experience not only of the Japanese-

Americans but common to second-generation Americans of Italian, French, Irish and many other backgrounds. Thus Japanese-Americans lived with their parents, adding the best of that culture to our rich life, and taking American life and ideas into the Japanese environment.

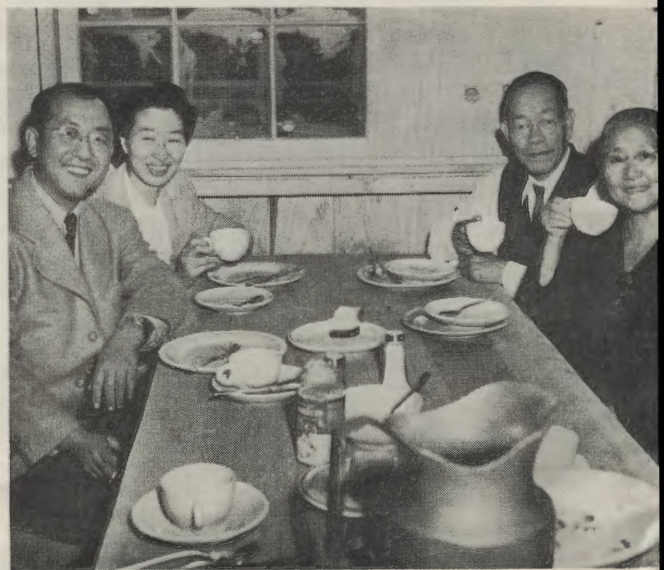
But the most powerful force slowing up the Americanization of these people stemmed from us; it was the economic and social discrimination to which the Japanese-Americans were subjected on the Pacific Coast. Because many jobs, many residential areas, many social contacts were denied them, they were forced back again and again into the first-generation environment. But despite home environment and outside discrimination, assimilation had proceeded so rapidly that, in the words of the Naval Intelligence officer mentioned above, "in another ten or fifteen years there would have been no Japanese problem, for the Issei (Japanese-born first generation) would have passed on, and the Nisei (American-born second generation) taken their place naturally in American community and national life."

Are Japanese-Americans Loyal?

Pick at random any cross section of 110,000 people in the United States. You will find men, women, and children of varying kinds and occupations, some aliens, most citizens, the greatest majority loyal, some lukewarm, a few actively disloyal. Those of Japanese ancestry in the United States are such a group. No one doubts some of them may be passively or actively pro-Japanese. The Department of Justice has interned 1,974 such suspected individuals for the duration, along with 1,448 Germans and 210 Italians.

But for the group as a whole, "the loyalty of the overwhelming majority . . . has not been seri-

Fiction: Evacuees eat better food than the rest of us, blared press and hate-groups; Fact: Food is "adequate but plain," averages forty cents per day per person



ously questioned by informed persons." So stated the director of the Alien Enemy Control Unit of the Department of Justice. The Congressional Committee Investigating National Defense Migrations, chaired by Rep. John Tolan, after hearing all sides, corroborated this: "We cannot doubt, and everyone is agreed, that the majority of Japanese citizens and aliens are loyal to this country." The War Relocation Authority's former director, Milton S. Eisenhower, brother of the United Nations' commander in North Africa, reported on June 15, 1942: "I would say that from 80 to 85 per cent. of the Nisei, who are American-born citizens of Japanese descent and who have never been out of the United States, are loyal to the United States." Of course, persons such as Congressmen Martin Dies, Leland Ford, and John Rankin have questioned the loyalty of the Americans of Japanese descent. So have many sincere citizens misled by racial propaganda. But against this ill-informed opinion is the word of President Roosevelt, Secretary of War Stimson, the War Relocation Authority's present director, Dillon S. Myer; James C. Baker, bishop of the Methodist Church for the California area; Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, commanding general, Hawaiian Department, United States Army; Ray Lyman Wilbur, chancellor of Stanford University; W. C. Sawyer, former national vice-commander of the American Legion; August Vollmer, noted criminologist and professor of police administration at the Universities of Chicago and California; Monroe E. Deutsch, vice-president and provost of the University of California; John Dewey, philosopher; Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary; Chester Rowell, distinguished San Francisco newspaperman; Frederick J. Koster, chairman, San Francisco Chapter of the Red Cross. All these and many more testify to the loyalty of the typical Japanese-American.

A number of these Japanese-Americans are working in war industries, including two in factories making bombsights and others in airplane plants. As volunteer farm workers last fall, nine thousand of them harvested enough sugar beets for some 260,000,000 pounds of sugar. Thousands are in the armed forces, the commander of a battalion of Japanese-Americans reporting, "I've never had more whole-hearted, serious-minded cooperation from any troops." This statement is typical, according to a War Department release, which adds: "Americans of Japanese blood . . . are wanted because the government and the Army are convinced of their loyalty."



Maintaining Jerome Relocation Center roadways in Denson, Arkansas, is a man-sized job. A former Californian of Japanese ancestry operates a bulldozer

Can We Separate the Loyal from the Disloyal?

In most cases we certainly can, but only if we give up the misleading habit of judging men wholesale on the basis of race or color. Instead, we must deal with them individually on the basis of their past records and by means of objective, carefully prepared tests. It is not the American way to assume that a man is guilty until he is so proved beyond reasonable doubt. The alleged danger of subversive activity does not stand up against the statement of the director of WRA that not a single act of sabotage or other subversive conduct has been charged against any of the 14,000 evacuees so far released from the Centers to resettle or take short-term jobs (June 1, 1943). The United States Army has accepted some thousands of Japanese-Americans and the FBI has been engaged for months in checking up the records of the evacuees. The present WRA program calls for the removal from all the camps to a single center of all evacuees whose loyalty is questioned by the governmental authorities. Such a plan will need to be administered very carefully to guard

against injustice to individuals, but the authorities are confident that such separation is feasible.

The War Relocation Authority has discovered how difficult it is to undo a great wrong or to make good come out of evil. It is honestly and intelligently trying, against the opposition of crackpots, sensationalists, racists, and the Dies Committee school of patriots, to resettle Japanese-Americans as normal citizens anywhere in this country except on the Pacific Coast from which they have come. It is making some progress, about 9,000 persons having been more or less permanently resettled, but rapid progress is blocked in part by the argument, "If these people are dangerous in California, why aren't they dangerous in Iowa or Illinois?" It has also been blocked by the attitude of many of the evacuees themselves who, under the impact of fear and discouragement, are willing to accept the low order of security of the Relocation Centers. Their fears are exaggerated, but not groundless, because of the discriminatory laws enacted in some states against them and the constant talk, especially on the Pacific Coast, of their deportation to Japan, or at least of the complete and permanent removal of the rights of citizens from them.

There has been a great deal of deliberate falsehood told about the number of Japanese-Americans who are "disloyal," and who proved disloyalty by their answers to the WRA questionnaire asking if they would forswear allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. Some thought the question an insult. Some were afraid that to answer in the affirmative might mean death for them after their deportation to Japan. Some may be actively disloyal. It is profoundly to be hoped that any tests of disloyalty will be much more fair and far more searching than those of the Dies Committee and the Hearst press, and that every individual will receive a careful hearing *as an individual*.

Treatment of enemy aliens on an individual rather than a group basis is an American tradition. To treat the whole group as disloyal because of a few disloyal ones does tremendous injustice, and is inconsistent with democracy. Justice Hugo L. Black, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court decision, said:

"The policy of severity toward alien enemies was clearly impossible for a country whose life blood came from an immigrant stream. . . . Harshness toward immigrants was inconsistent with that national knowledge, present then as now, of the contributions made in



Old-timers pit their wits in the game of "Goh" at Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Wyoming

peace and war of immigrants who have learned to love the country of their adoption more than the country of their birth" — Kawato Case, 1942.

Did Japanese-Americans Engage in Fifth-Column Activities?

Three days after Pearl Harbor, Attorney-General Biddle declared that "there has been absolutely no evidence of fifth-column or sabotage activities." A month later Hawaiian Delegate King reported that "despite statements to the contrary, I am assured . . . that no fifth-column activities have taken place." This statement was given nation-wide coverage in the Washington Merry-Go-Round column.

Nonetheless, the untruth, first started by returning civilians from Honolulu, that there had been fifth columnism and sabotage gained such wide credence that *Time* reported early in January, "The Jap fifth column had done its job fiendishly well—and had not yet been stamped out." Even the liberal *Nation* was sucked in, an article by Howard Costigan in the February 14 issue carrying the two most popular stories: that roads were blocked by stalled trucks and that "directing arrows were discovered cut in the sugar cane."

How these tales got going will be one of the best stories of the post-war era. Robert J. Casey, of the *Chicago Daily News*, arriving in Honolulu with other reporters a week after the attack, was still on the dock when he heard the one about the Japanese pilots who were shot down wearing Hawaiian high-school rings and carrying Honolulu streetcar tokens. The reporters were skepti-