During the first quarter, possibilities for other useful public projects to be undertaken by the evacuees off the relocation areas (such as road construction, reforestation, soil conservation, flood control, and the like) were explored with a number of public agencies. No definite plans, however, were formulated for works of this kind.

**Agriculture**

Since nearly 45 per cent of all the gainfully employed evacuees were engaged in agriculture (as managers, operators, or laborers) prior to evacuation, farm work will naturally occupy a prominent place in the employment program at relocation centers. Primary aim of this activity at each center will be to produce a maximum proportion of the foods needed by the resident population. A secondary goal will be to raise a surplus for shipment to other relocation centers. And a third objective will be to grow crops especially needed in the Nation's war effort or for shipment under the Lend-Lease Program. Although some of the centers such as Manzanar will probably never be able to grow vegetables in sufficient quantity to meet the community needs, others such as Colorado River and Gila River are expected eventually to contribute substantial amounts of food and fiber toward the winning of the war.

In the first quarter-year of the program, the most active relocation center, agriculturally, was Tule Lake where much of the land was ready for planting when the first evacuees arrived toward the end of May. By June 30, about 2,500 acres of the area's fertile loamy soil had been planted in barley and a variety of table vegetables. Through-
out the fall of 1942, the Tule Lake farm lands were expected to supply all the needs of the community for cabbage, carrots, beets, potatoes, onions, rutabagas, turnips, parsnips, and spinach and to produce a surplus of most of these crops for shipment to other centers. To pick up the burden of food production in the latter months of the year when the harvest at Tule Lake begins to taper off, plans were made at Gil River for an intensive planting program during the winter season. Because of the warm, dry climate of this area and the existing irrigation system extending over nearly half the land, the prospects were that it would be one of the principal sources of winter vegetables for evacuee communities in the first year of the relocation program.

Due to the expense connected with establishment of dairy or beef herds at relocation centers, livestock plans for the evacuee communities were confined mainly to the raising of hogs and poultry. At some of the centers, however, shortages of local milk supply seemed to indicate the need for a dairy program within the centers, at least on a limited scale.

**Manufacturing**

To provide work opportunities for evacuees with manual skills, the Authority explored a wide range of comparatively simple industries which might be established at relocation centers. Here again, the primary objective was to meet requirements of the evacuee population.
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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 leftover 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 $1300. 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 wartime 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,
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