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Interview with Harold Jacoby about Japanese Internment and World War II

1986

Interviewed by [Mary B. Arthur]

Transcribed by Katelyn Getchel

Tape 1

Interviewer: Present during this interview is Harold S. Jacoby and myself [Mary B. Arthur]. Dr. Jacoby do you understand that these recordings are for scholarly educational use as determined by the editor of the Pacific Historian as well as the director of the Holt-Atherton Pacific Center for Western Studies?

Jacoby: Yes, indeed.

Interviewer: Are you a native Californian?

Jacoby: Yes, indeed.

Interviewer: Are you a native Stocktonian?

Jacoby: No, I grew up in the Bay Area.

Interviewer: Where about in the Bay Area?

Jacoby: In Oakland.

Interviewer: Oakland? And you graduated from the College of the Pacific?

Jacoby: Yes.

Interviewer: And [get your] MA at Northwestern University?

Jacoby: That's right.

Interviewer: Then did you come directly to the University of the Pacific after you got your MA?

Jacoby: No, no I went on to University of Pennsylvania for two years, and then came to campus here in 1933.

Interviewer: And then finished up your thesis work while you were still teaching?

Jacoby: Yes, yes, the dissertation.

Interviewer: And what discipline are you trained in?

Jacoby: Well, that's a precious word, I think. My undergraduate majors in psychology which I discontinued going on into my graduate work, my graduate work was in sociology with a touch of anthropology, but nothing to specifically prepare me for work with the Japanese people or in Japan.

Interviewer: Nothing formal in a way?

Jacoby: Well, I had an interest in general in minority group relations and just happened, on what set of circumstances I don't remember, that in the year in which Pearl Harbor attack took place I was the adviser to the Japanese student's club on the University Stockton Junior College campus.

Interviewer: So that was more or less your first contact with the Japanese community on campus?

Jacoby: Yes, and this was contact with people rather than with the sense of a culture or a history. I enjoy the youngsters and at that particular time I'm not sure that was [or agree] that there was a sense of special treatment other than I knew what the whole history of Japanese people [in] the United States had been, but there was nothing to indicate that this was anything more than simply a social educational relationship with very fine young people

Interviewer: Was it a very large group of people []?

Jacoby: Right now, I'm trying to remember. I would say that probably around thirty-five or forty that students in the school that I knew of both at the junior college at College of the Pacific but had a number of particularly good friends in that group.

Interviewer: So, the focus of this group was just mainly social activities amongst the kids?

Jacoby: That's right.

Interviewer: Did they have any projects, or anything let's see [out in the community or anything?]

Jacoby: I don't recall, there are a lot of things that have been clouded over or covered over and over the years and I don't remember much of the experience with them except a number of the names I'm still trying to think of one right now lived in Alameda and who was a very fine student and they started talking to me and she married [Dekizaku] and a few others whose names [] I'm afraid a lot of particular memories to mind but not so much as a group so.

Interviewer: What would you say were your first contacts community wide with the Japanese people in Stockton?

Jacoby: Very limited. Of course, as Pearl Harbor occurred, and war broke out we became very much aware but I'm not sure that I had any special contacts with the community. I knew very little about it, I do recall [of course] our concerns were rather definite at the time. I think of one particular episode that I attended at the old Calvary church buildings, here at Calvary Presbyterian church building. After the evacuation was announced they invited all the Japanese-American people there to get information on the evacuation from, well, the persons who are gonna have something to do with the properties conservation because they gave instructions of the representative from the Federal Reserve Bank would be available for treatment of urban properties, somebody from farm security administration, to take care of farm property at that particular episode was probably my first real contact with the fact of the impending evacuation.

Interviewer: Did you have any personal friends who were Japanese?

Jacoby: Well other than the students? Other than the students yes, we kept in touch with them very definitely. Most of them stayed in school Roy Tashima that's right [I was trying to think of the last one] from Alameda. I think they're probably the most immediate one because the people from Alameda were moved first because of their closeness to the Naval Air Station or the Naval Station and got a little bit of the experience of closing up a church and everybody sort of getting ready to move out and blessed be the tie that binds and all the other things that go with that separating experience other than that I think I left before most of them.

Interviewer: Just to get a little perspective on it, for me anyway, were you married when you came to the University, to the faculty?

Jacoby: Oh, I was married and that ended and then I was remarried.

Interviewer: Oh, okay. So, was that after you came here?

Jacoby: Yes. [Joyce] became a secretary to the [Soon] Christian association and after a year, I convinced her to give up that job.

Interviewer: So what year was that?

Jacoby: Well we were married in '38 [1938] and she came in '37 [1937]. At the time that the students were fully aware of the fact that they were going to be evacuated, the why, and I think it must be the why alone, but others joined in we had a dinner for all of the students Japanese ancestry who were in the College the Pacific or Stockton Junior College that we were jointly at that time and we gave each of them a picture of the new chapel through the gate to the campus and so on and that came to light recently and I made some notes on the back of it and I've had it on my desk but apparently [I mislaid it] at some place under one of the geologically layers of the material on my desk. So, it was some little concern on the campus about what would be the future of the Japanese, the youngsters here in town.

Interviewer: Well this is probably backing up just a little bit, but when Pearl Harbor was attacked can you remember anything about the reaction of the Stockton residents toward the local Japanese people at that time?

Jacoby: This is where I have a great quarrel with a lot of the present-day interpretations of what happened. There's a certain feeling that there was a panic, that there was an emotional reaction against the Japanese people and so forth and they had to be evacuated. I was shocked at the utter nonsense. There was no reaction against the Japanese Americans in this community. There was a rather definite understanding and I can't think of the...I've had students go back and check through the newspapers of the Central Valley particularly for evidences of in story, in headline, in letters to the editor and so forth. There was almost no anti-Japanese sentiment directed at the Japanese Americans. Now, there was this exception. The invasion of the Philippines and the Bataan March created deep bitterness in the Filipino community and there were, I think, two killings here locally around the Christmas time sometime between the middle of December and the middle of January, something like that. Both of which were by persons of Filipino ancestry directed more or less, well randomly, but not quite [how do I, turn that off for a moment would you please]. The [failure] is I have analyzed it is this that there was a general tendency to make the distinction between these people are Japanese Americans these are not the people that we are caused Pearl Harbor. Then the government made a decision to lock them up. Up until that time there was a very little [no] suspicion in general, other maybe in some places but in general, but once they were locked up then there was a fitting is somebody does with something bad, you're locked up. These people are locked up, therefore they must have done something bad and the feelings and I know this for a fact because I came back to Stockton for some affair about a year later Lou Wood Miller was the registrar for Stockton College and he was a [very gentle], a lovely person. One who [would] cooperate as I recall on that dinner and everything else. I came back to Stockton the good many months after they were in the camps and he had turned so that he was just so suspicious he was so [not bitter] particularly but he just you couldn't convince him that there have been [any injustice done in] locking these people up. So, and that was one case, but it happened a lot of other places well known.

Interviewer: So, they're also probably wasn't a lot of suspicion or no one had the feeling that the Japanese were about to invade the Stockton area or anything like that?

Jacoby: Not one, not one bit here that I was aware of.

Interviewer: The only thing that I had read, I think, was in that newspaper article days of [infamy] that was done about four years ago. Someone had said that they even bother putting a line across the delta, you know, to keep out submarines or something like that but as far as you know you didn't feel that?

Jacoby: If you wanted, I'd be happy to let you read my rather extensive review of that particular book. All these books, the conclusions were well reached long before she wrote the book and I wrote it at the request of Sam Hayakawa at that time senator from the state and I don't know what use he made of it but, well I was not aware of any, oh, there were individuals and I can explain my theory of the whole reason for the whole evacuation was purely political. It had nothing to do with national security or winning the war or anything else. It got all caught up in a election campaign particularly between Warren and Culbert Olson for governor and between a former district superintendent of the district attorney in Los Angeles County who wanted to make a point and got up and wrapped up in congressional elections and finally Washington sort of caved in and said, "Okay we'll evacuate them if it will keep you people happy". So, now I document that, I think, rather extensively.

Interviewer: What as far as you know the reaction here then was that fairly similar to other local valley towns or?

Jacoby: As far as I could tell from the studies that the students have made rather careful treatment going through the newspapers of letters to the editor, editorials in the paper, other things that would reveal that upsurge of public opinion. There was no development of that sort during the two or three months immediately following Pearl Harbor. It was not until after the actual evacuation that the fears and sensitivities began to develop in this regard.

Interviewer: I guess just one more question on that line before we leave it would be as far as the FBI arrest, were there arrests here of what they considered key people?

Jacoby: Yes, that's another matter. The FBI, of course, had [tabbed] a number of persons who they consider to be the leaders in the Japanese communities here, the Japanese association which is the main overarching organization, and they had collected particular information, not so much about inner attitudes but outer evidences of persons continued relationship. They checked whether the individual had relatives in Japan or whether they're in the Japanese army. They checked who had been active in developing money, raising money for the Japanese Red Cross. [Portions] on down the line. There was a whole series of items that were kind of the touchstones and I ran into this because of my field I got into the security end of things that were in the camps and I knew pretty much how the FBI functioned and if you have a complex of three or four of these together a particular person had held a responsible position in an organization here in Japanese life, this made suspect. The FBI had prepared all this material. There was considerable anticipation at top levels that we were drifting a hither and yon. The moment that, within twenty-four hours of Pearl Harbor, the FBI had moved in and had arrested all of these

individuals and they were moved out. Now, this had nothing to do with the War Relocation Authority (WRA). This was simply they [were aliens], all of them, therefore the limitation on particular kinds of constitutional rights or something. They were initially moved to certain centers, [Shanks] Park outside of [San Francisco] was the location here, and subsequently moved inland to Bismarck, North Dakota to, oh God, I can't think of the names of the places, anyway, but there they were given more extensive enquiries and interrogations and, I can't give you the exact figures, but about one in five was detained, maybe it'd been a little higher, but not many and they were then returned to the, by this time, to the relocation centers where their families were living and so there was no evidence of actual, let's say espionage, actual preference for Japan over the United States or anything else. It was done entirely on the basis of these rather objective measurements and there were a number of them that were detained during the duration of the war. In many cases, their families join them in Crystal City, Texas. They had a family camp and they were detainees they were interned, this is where the proper use of the word interned, they were interned by the Federal Government Department of Justice and this is a totally separate operation. Now, this happened in every community. This did take out of every community along all the way here, the leaders in every community, but there was an acceptance of this. They were alien. The FBI still had a reasonably good record of being objective and that they were properly dealt with, I think, at every stage. I had my contacts with the FBI during that period which gave me a great deal of respect for their way of procedure and so on and even the Japanese community realized that in terms of security this was an understandable action by the United States government. Now, whether it was really needed is something else. There have been some documents that came out of, particularly one document by a naval intelligence officer who hadn't clearly indicated that there was no need for fear of sabotage or espionage, you know, within the Japanese communities over here. I think it boiled down to the, finally, the argument was that these people were not dangerous, but the Japanese community might be a place where infiltrators, men who've gotten to shore in some way and upon covering the Japanese community, and the Japanese community was not and had a reputation for not being too cooperative and tell ya about itself so that's the way it goes but no, that was the impact of the initial departure.

Interviewer: I think you might have touched on this at the very beginning too when you're talking about the students, but did you feel any strong reaction amongst the students or the local Japanese people, either American born or those born in Japan? What was their reaction against the Japanese when they bombed Pearl Harbor? Was it any?

Jacoby: The ones that I know, and I think this is fair to say, they had a sinking heart because they realized that they were in a precarious position and I know this, the documents show this that after Pearl Harbor the recruiting stations up and down the state we're just flooded with young Japanese wanting to enlist and then what the army did was to [not stop enlistments] but to either discharge of all the [Nisei] who were already in the army or transfer them to non-sensitive positions. I ran across the fiancé of one of my secretaries at Tule lake who was in the army and that he'd been shifted from military, actual combat training type service to the officers' mess at

camp Hale in Colorado and I happened visit him there and coming back from a conference, but it turned a lot of the young Japanese against the country [who] simply said, "Look give us a chance to fight and show something instead of locking us up."

Interviewer: But as you said a lot of them were dismissed or moved to other insensitive type...

Jacoby: Well, the ones that were there, there was quite a few thousand Japanese Americans already in uniform at that time.

Interviewer: When did this battalion that was four hundred forty second and when did that...

Jacoby: Yeah, that took almost a year before it was organized. No, there was a hundred and tenth battalion from, oh, that isn't quite the right word but, anyway, from Hawaii that has its own particular history but we didn't know about those things at the time, but they were a former National Guard that was demobilized and then these guys decided that they would go and become a work battalion and help clean up after the fight and then they asked to be reconstituted as a fighting unit and brought them over to Camp Savage in Wisconsin for training and that was before they recruited for the four forty second. The four forty second has a story of that and it's a long one and it was part of the problem at Tule Lake.

Interviewer: Right, I've been told that only about three percent of the Japanese population in San Joaquin County actually lived in Stockton. Where were the largest Japanese communities? [] at that time?

Jacoby: French Camp, French Camp, Lodi, I'm not sure-I probably have the statistics in here, but I won't bother about it-three percent sounds a little low on that score, but they were also in the various Island locations out here. The French Camp was a very important setter, as I said, and Lodi that-I know [when] they selected the assembly centers, they drew some arbitrary lines and I guess the line was north of Sacramento, I mean, north of Lodi, between Lodi and Sacramento, but I think some from the Northern part of this county were forced to go to Sacramento and they separated, at the time, separated family, separate friends anyway, separated families and that happened, but we did everything in our power to restore, I mean, to move people to [so they could] join families if they got separated by this particular process. Government went to considerable lengths at that point.

Interviewer: Could you explain exactly what executive order 9066 entailed, just briefly?

Jacoby: No, I couldn't tell you. I would have to refresh my memory on that. I've got the documents in here, very clearly, no I-

Interviewer: I just thought it had to do with evacuation.

Jacoby: The evacuation there were several phases. One that affected a particular place like Alameda, Bainbridge Island in the Puget Sound and the island in Long Beach, San Pedro, Terminal Island. Now, those were, there were considerable Japanese population there. They were very close to,

particularly, naval stations and these people were asked to move out, they were the earliest ones. Then a very strange thing happened, the army announced that, probably, Japanese people would be asked to move from the coast along here and if any of them would move east of Nevada into Colorado or further east, Nebraska or so forth. The army would assist them. They could go anywhere they wanted to, and the army would provide the funds for them to go, and something like ten thousand actually moved. Well, this created panic on the [Taos] Mountain area because here were Japanese families were coming into town at the time when we were just going to war with Japan. Now, they have no background in the town. You could start a whole lot of rumors about, "Hey, did you see the Jap in town?" and so forth. And very quickly the governors of those states said, "Hey, wait a minute. We don't want any kind of this unorganized, unplanned movement. It's gonna kick back." Only one governor of these seven or eight that were involved in the states which they were directed, offered any kind of cooperation. All those others said we don't want them. So, within about several weeks after that whole thing was started, they stopped it and simply said, "Look if there's going to be any movement, it's gotta be on a kinda of an organized, a planned, an assisted and arranged movement. It did somethings though that some of the people-well, yes, some of them were told, "Well look if you move out Alameda and move away so far, right, well you're all right." Then when the first order came out in California, it affected only the Western half of California, I think, highway ninety-nine was dividing line. Anybody that the military zone one, military zone two and we're evacuating military zone one and that's it. So, I remember one particular couple, she was living at the time with the [Courses]. [Course] at the time was Dean of Students and had a big football player and so forth, lovely people. And [Kay Takai] was living with them and she married [Kay Yositomi] and they went up to live in the hills back of Fresno someplace up and through there and that was outside of-that was a military zone two. The next thing you find out that they're going to evacuate the whole thing. So, you had people moving out of Alameda into here then moving out of military zone one into military zone two and then finally being taken into the camps. They finally round up and-where they had a big round up in Oregon, the sweater at [Pendleton, Pendleton] and they are pillars of the community up there now. Everybody knows the [Kay and Takay] up through there, but they'll tell you some interesting stories about the way in which they were, in a sense followed, not personally, but by the course of events and upset several times.

Interviewer: What are your recollections of the weeks and days preceding the time the Japanese were to report to the local assembly center at the fairgrounds after they []?

Jacoby: Well, let me give you this, you see, Stockton, I think, stopped evacuated at least they didn't move around till around June. I'm not sure the dates on that in particular. Meantime though, Joyce and I had gotten very much upset over this whole thing and were about to offer our services, the American Friends Service Committee, they talked about placing persons in the camps to be available and so forth. In the meantime, I met former minister of the Unitarian church down here, who is with the federal agencies, farm security or something else [Milind Dempster] and I happened to mention what we're interested in and [] "Well why don't you go

to work for the War Relocation Authority (WRA)?" and I said, "What do you mean?" "Well, they're looking for people [with hotel work] in San Francisco." He gave me a name of a person to write to and I wrote to and I practically had a telephone call. See, this was wartime, and they were scraping the bottom of the barrel and decided to bring me down for an interview. Well, I went down, and this would have been in early April, I think, I kept the document that I got all the papers in. I never throw anything away. I lose things, but that's something else, but I talked with two men who were gonna be project directors of the relocation centers and within a very few days, I was, I think even before the first of May, because of course I had to come back here and get Leave of Absence from both the Stockton Junior College and from the College of the Pacific.

Interviewer: That was what I was wondering, if you were able to take a leave of absence or if you had to resign?

Jacoby: Oh, yeah, I had no trouble. Of course, part of the thing they were looking forward to-well, losing all the man in this [] student body anyway and nobody wants to do sociology. All they wanted was somebody who could teach math, science, and American history. And so, I don't know, it wasn't my problem. Tully Knoles very readily granted me leave and Dwyane Orton arranged for that to the Stockton Unified School District. So, I left here, you see, the early part of May to report to Tule Lake and we were up there for almost two weeks before the first Japanese were moved in. So, I wasn't around Stockton about the time that these, developments, yes, the stirrings and as it came out the Stockton people went in a very different direction than where I was going, so I didn't have any early re-contact with any of the people that I knew very well from back in this district and the young people. So, I'm not much of an observer of what went on at that particular time.

Interviewer: I'm checking something, just a moment. I can't remember what it was right now, but when you were hired by the WRA [War Relocation Authority] you knew at that time then that you would be assigned to Tule Lake?

Jacoby: Well, I was more or less given opportunity. I meet the director of the Tule Lake Camp who later became, [he and] his wife very, very close friends of ours and I meet also the man who used to be the associate director at the-

End of Side A

Jacoby: They had large organization charts. This whole thing had to be thrown together so quickly and so much of it was on the basis of, oh, application of theory from other experiences and so forth, but they had this department and this branch and this section and this division and so forth. And when I went to interview, there was a very serious question on my part, how do I fit in? And, I think, on their part where could this guy be used? Primarily a classroom teacher, and that was about it and I'm not sure that I talked very seriously with a man from Gila River project, the Arizona project, about specifics, but I got the impression that if I had shown more interest in that than Tule Lake, I probably would have accepted a position in that particular project. Tule

Lake, I've never been up there, I knew it sounded good to get up there. It's desert and so on, but the man that I knew, the man, the project director, turned out to have been a representative from Houghton Mifflin Company and he had been, well, a book representative for a number of years, and before that had quite a distinguished career in public service and all the rest. And we got to talking and he knew my family in the Bay Area [we can talk about that] and he said, "What about Chief of Internal Security?" I said, "Well, do you need a police?" "No," he said, "Well, the one thing I'm trying to avoid is someone who is a professional police officer for that position. I'd like to have someone who understands the whole thing but, it's a different, little different orientation." So, I said, "Well if I'm acceptable, I'd be glad to take that." So, that's the way it was sort of sorted out. I didn't go down saying, "I am a specialist in this particular thing, and I could only work there." It was a process of kind of sorting out what they needed, what I was willing to try out.

Interviewer: Would you say there were any minimum job specifications for the position for Chief of Internal Security?

Jacoby: No, we wrote those later. I helped write 'em.

Interviewer: Before we go on to your duties at Tule Lake, I did remember the one question I wanted to ask and that was that I heard that most of the people in the assembly center in Stockton went to either Rohwer, is that how you say it, or Gila, Arizona?

Jacoby: No, it was either Rohwer or Jerome. They went to Arkansas. They went Arkansas.

Interviewer: Do you know what determined where the people went?

Jacoby: Top level bureaucratic decisions, and we ran it all kinds of changes of mind often. I'll give you a quick illustration. All of the camps as they opened up, they went first to the assembly centers and recruited groups of younger people to bring them in this kind of an advance group. They fitted in to various jobs, got ready, got the camp ready for to receive the people. At Tule Lake, the advance group entirely from two centers, one in Portland and the other from Puyallup in Washington and, we had about five hundred of them, came down and they were rather quickly put to work. I can think of two of them, particularly, that we're key figures in the police department and here and there and they're fitted in to the job. When they actually got around to it, all of the camps of Portland and [Puyallup] didn't come to Tule Lake. They went to Minidoka in Idaho. Well, then these people who were down there, we had strays lining up, "Hey, we want to get, our families have gone over there." Of course, they were young and so forth. Well, a lot of them did. We moved everybody right down to that wanted to go there, ultimately, transfers to restore the family, but many of them stayed where they were, and it worked out. So, there were mid-course changes in this. Now, another illustration is when they initially were going to evacuate in California only the area of military zone one. Then, they just, after a while, they decided military zone two and then where are you going to put these people? Well then, these were sort of parceled out. Now, the eastern half Oregon and Washington were never evacuated. If you lived up Tacoma, not Tacoma, no, Spokane, you were never evacuated. If you

lived in any of these towns, Burns, Oregon and so forth it was just one of those arbitrary lines and this is the same thing about where the groups went. Where do they have space for them? We have so many people in this assembly center, how should we sort them out?

Interviewer: So, these people that came to your camps ahead of time, they, you tried to get them back with their families?

Jacoby: The ones who wanted to go back with their families to go to Minidoka, Idaho everyone was moved. That involved...

Interviewer: [] None were moved to the place where the younger people [stayed].

Jacoby: No, well I wouldn't say never. I can't think of any case in that particular case, that particular matter, but one of our big jobs the first two or three months of the camps was reuniting families, and this involved extra expense. We had to send escorts and transportation and buy public transportation tickets and all the rest. They were not moved in cattle cars. I can assure you that. They didn't all get Pullman berths but something else.

Interviewer: Right, so what was the actual date that you arrived at Tule Lake or approximately?

Jacoby: Oh, somewhere around about the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, something there.

Interviewer: Of what month was that?

Jacoby: May.

Interviewer: And you were there before the first large groups of interned peoples arrived?

Jacoby: Oh yes. The Caucasian staff was there, and we dug in and did a lot of things. I mean, I could document all this. I've got files and files and files in there, but I think it would interfere with the-

Interviewer: If there's something else we need, we will.

Jacoby: A lot of these things are pretty indelibly fixed in my memory, although perhaps particular dates and hours are not.

Interviewer: Now, did Joyce go with you up there?

Jacoby: Well, she followed up. We had a youngster, who was by that time about nine months old and she came up, I think she arrived before the first Japanese came. Drove up in the car with young Jonathan with a dog and with a woman friend who drove up with her and went back by train. Oh, yes, she was up there the whole time.

Interviewer: What type of living accommodations did they provide you and your family?

Jacoby: Well, they the basic building on the project was a barracks building, but the barracks that were set up for the staff were of better quality. In fact, we had indoor plumbing, and ample electric

light facility, and the outside of the buildings were [] group board treatment, and they were plasterboard inside, and they were very comfortable. We had, maybe, a little more room than the typical Japanese family. I think the barrack building is a hundred-foot-long and I think they were four units, four family units in each one of these long buildings and we had about twenty-five by twenty space bedroom and a little kitchenette and so forth and the bathroom.

Interviewer: Were they adequately furnished for your needs?

Jacoby: Oh, yes. They'd run out and bought new furniture from Sears Roebuck for us. It was Sears Roebuck furniture. Oh, we were, of course, we would have accepted a lot less at that particular time, but we were very pleased with the circumstances. Now, the Japanese, a little different. They had a bed for each person and a mattress for each person, and a pile of blankets for each bed, and a pillow and one light in the middle of the room, and the toilets and other facilities were outside in a separate building, one for men one for women. The project, the units there were in blocks and each block was something like about eighteen buildings, seventeen or eighteen buildings, one big mess hall which is a double building, and then you have the []. Then in between the two rows of buildings, you had the washrooms and showers and some of the storage room that served that group. So, you had about two hundred fifty people to a block and then there was one hall, that was called the Rec hall or social hall, but we turned those into various kinds of operations. Our police department took over one of them for instance, and one was given to this church and one was given to this other church. Not every block had a completely free recreation hall.

Interviewer: Were there post office facilities in some of those main buildings too?

Jacoby: No, post office was up, initially, was up in the administrative center, but I can't remember just to whether they ever delivered mailed down all through there and by what means I don't remember, particularly, but there was no interference with either in going or outgoing mail. We had no right to censor any mail of any sort or that particular thing. I have a strong feeling on that whole thing because of so many of my young Japanese third generation youngsters who are all gung-ho about the experience and are insisting on calling them concentration camps, and it gives such an unfortunate wrong picture of what camp life was like, and it was bad enough, but it doesn't need to be elaborated by that implication, yes.

Interviewer: What would you describe, in some detail, what your duties consisted of?

Jacoby: Well, my first primary duty was to organize a, we didn't call it a police department we called it the warden's organization.

Interviewer: What was that?

Jacoby: The Wardens Organization, and we were not clear, completely, as to what we're going to be the requirements of this. I think our first job since these buildings were all wooden buildings, we started out, well, we started out in summer, we didn't have too much problem with fires, but

nevertheless there was that apprehension that, particularly, the night patrol was a matter of fire watch. This was one of the primary requirements. We were not going to run into any large amount of criminal activity. We got into a few things later on, but it was a breeze otherwise. But it was a night patrol, then later on the patrol of the, we had a tremendous warehouse area, both to serve the camps and to store property. Any person who live in Stockton, and was in Tule Lake, and who had stored his household property here in Stockton under government supervision, could have all of that moved at government expense to Tule Lake and put in a warehouse. And then when they left the camp, they could have that all moved to whatever center they were leaving, whether they were going to Chicago or going to Philadelphia or to Milwaukee or any place else. There was every effort made to assist in the conservation of property. Now, a lot of people got panicky and communication was, I'm quite sure, one of the problems, trusting, who do you trust, also, and you had three situations. Some who worked with the government and was very successful on this, some who worked with trustworthy friends and came back and had everything in good order, and some who work with untrustworthy friends because they didn't trust anybody else and one of the families that I knew very well, they used a doctor in Sacramento. They moved their household property up there and then moved much of it into their back room. They had a refrigerator and they had comfortable chairs and they fix their place up just beautifully because they had the trusting nature, I guess, just assume that the government would give them some assistance in that regard. Not that they were happy about being evacuated from Sacramento, but they lived, in the barrack rooms, a fairly comfortable existence.

Interviewer: I didn't realize any of that had been done.

Jacoby: Oh, that's the point that a book like *A Year of Infamy* doesn't touch at all on what life was like in the camps, and you get a kind of a feeling that it was bleak, that it was oppressive, and everybody is concerned with the barbed wire and men with guns and all the rest. That is just pure fiction.

Interviewer: Are you saying that yours didn't have any barbed wire or any men with guns?

Jacoby: I'm not sure we had any barbed wire. It was so far out that it was never a worry. One of our first jobs, the edge of the camps was right along highway five ninety-six, is it, that runs from Klamath Falls to Reno, a very busy highway, and then the Railroad is right there and across the way was an enormously large area we call Castle Rock. I guess we don't have a picture of it here. First job was to work, and I push this because I was concerned with the jobs we were having with the internal security. We went to, first to the camp director, the camp administration, then we went to the-We did have a National Guard unit with a separate camp right next door, that's another story. It worked out with that and we got to the point where Sunday's, all limitations were all off. They could climb over that and that was an enormously large rock. I guess, the first time we must have had five thousand people hiking over that particular rock. We never have any attempt at escape, and matter of fact, the Tule Lake town which is about five or six miles north of us was the center of a post-World War reclamation area where veterans of the first World

War had preference for property and there were a lot of veterans up through there and the American Legion was very strong. And there were some antagonism up in the town, up there. The thing that the people at camp appreciated was that between the camp, between the relocation center and the town, was this National Guard unit. [There] was a [Texas] that had been federalized. They were there, they felt that they were being protected from the townspeople by reason of the National Guard Unit and it never figured into the life of the camp, but the vision of, I don't think we had any gun towers or anything of that sort anywhere along there. We, the police department or the Ward's Organization, controlled the issuance of passes at the front gate. The passes that were there were military, presumably there, but the Ward's Organization had its own office there, issued the passes which were honored by the military police were there and the military police and our Ward's Organization got very friendly, very chummy. There was never any feeling of antagonism, never any feeling that these people were under the gun or the control of a military group on outside.

Interviewer: Was that National Guard unit there before the Tule?

Jacoby: Oh no, it was moved there in every [case]. I think it was moved there as security precaution and it, they were used in three different cases, at Manzanar, and at [Poston] and finally at Tule Lake, but that was in a later period. I had left three weeks before, and it grew out of a totally different set of circumstances. It didn't have anything to do with any unrest within the camp it, well it did in a sense, but I can tell you about that much later.

Interviewer: Do you think this caused a lot of worry on the part of the Tule Lake residents, having the relocation-?

Jacoby: Oh, I'm sure it did, I'm sure it did. I think the project director, Elmer [Sheral], and I may mention his name from time to time, tried to offset that because within the first two weeks of the camp opening, he had the Tule Lake Rotary Club down to the camp for dinner one night and to try to develop good relationships there, let them understand and so forth. But, increasingly, as the impact of the war developed, and the evacuation had taken place and, as I told you, when people, if they hadn't been evacuated there would be little or no suspicion, but once they were put into these camps then you've got this whole idea of when people do something bad, we put 'em in camps. We lock them up. These people are locked up, therefore, they must have done something and particularly American Legion is one of those channels in which it was very susceptible to a lot of this antagonistic feeling toward the Japanese-Americans. So, it would have come along. I know that, going up to Tule Lake, very often, occasionally we did, had more frequent contact with Klamath Falls, which is a little further away, but coming at a sense that we weren't particularly well liked. Now, that was radically changed. I can't give you the exact date, but it would have been the next fall or winter. I had a tremendous winter storm and Tule Lake was in the process of being reclaimed, in other words, they were moving out into the big farm by the camp and some of the farmers up there and it looked, for a while, as if the whole development was going to be inundated and they'd just lose the whole area and their crops planted and everything else. They recruited a group of men from the farm and engineering

operations in the camp. Went out there with drag lines and everything else and worked night and day for about three days to build a whole new dike across there and save thousands of acres of land and the farmers up there were just tremendously appreciative of this. I think, particularly, one young fellow came from Cortland up here, [Kay Hamataki]. They were all experienced, a great many of them, very experienced farmers, and operators of heavy farm equipment and the kind of indicated a totally, well, demonstrated a readiness to be of use to the community up through, but initially there was, I think there was- It went up this way with fairly good feelings. Then it dropped down and then I think it came back largely as a result of that particular episode.

Interviewer: Can you recall any other interactions with the community other than the time you invited them into the dinner and the agricultural?

Jacoby: No, we used to hear rumors and all sorts of things. Some of our cantankerous employees who came from that area would go back with horror stories of one sort or another, ripping them out of context, but no, I don't think there was any much other than the employees.

Interviewer: Was there any other socializing or anything between them?

Jacoby: No, no, no, no, not at all, not at all.

Interviewer: Was it a part of your job then to hire? Cause they were paid []?

Jacoby: I'll tell you about that, yes.

Interviewer: Okay, or to secure, anyway, that additional [security]?

Jacoby: Right away, we set up an announcement that we were looking for, initially, for men twenty-five years of age and over. We wanted, particularly, American born Japanese to be a part of a security force within the camp to have protection and so forth and had a good response. We had developed a little interview, well, I guess I did most of the interviewing, initially, and built them up and worked out the original assignments as we- The size of the camp grew by accretions. We would get five or six hundred over a period of a couple of days and then we wouldn't get anybody for a while and then we'd move on. So, we had a chance to recruit and orient a few of these people. I had a double job at that particular time. It was to develop both a police department, a Warden's Organization, and a social service department, and there was a gal who had been hired for this. She'd come out of, what they call it, the state, social security, social organization, probably, State Department of Social Welfare, at least to welfare worker. And she was sort of my assistant in that area. Well, we got into a little bit of problem and finally they, by agreement, that she was moved out and put under another department, because some conflicts of personality and my feelings that she was utterly incompetent to-

Interviewer: She was hired by the WRA [War Relocation Authority]?

Jacoby: Oh yes, and she rather quickly faded out of the picture and brought in another person of tremendous possibilities and a sort of improvement, but- So, I had, initially, the two responsibilities were linked in one. Later, they took away the social work, but they did transfer under my administrative control, the fire department. But we had a very experienced Fire Chief from a city in Oregon, Grants Pass I think, someplace up in there, and he had done all the groundwork and so forth and my job was simply kind of a counseling with him and carrying the ball of issues that he was concerned with in administration in that area. But it was kind of an ill-defined job and as we went along, I added, as the size of the camp grew and we were granted more persons, I added two people to the staff and one of them was a young chap who was a graduate of San Jose State police training program and was working for Palo Alto Police Department, a big, strong, husky, Yugoslav chap and I gave him a pretty bad time, I think, because I wanted to know what his attitude was towards the Japanese, how he felt about it. Well, he turned out to be just a prince of a person, just absolutely tops, but he came in and then at about the same time, we had another man who had been under sheriff in Sonoma County which, familiar with other operations. We divided the work and one of them took what we called an FBI unit. It was sort of a special investigation, certain events, break-ins. Oh, yeah. One of the early problems was lumber. These people came into these rooms without no lumber, no furniture other than the beds, had no places to put anything on, no tables []. We had a tremendous amount of scrap lumber around because the building was going on and the whole process. Well, for the first month or so there was no problem. We have such a high, such a large pile of scrap lumber that people could get all that. They did some amazing things with that, with the lumber and so on. Then, as the construction tapered off, and the number of people coming in, you had a greater demand than you had supply and a lot of the men were working other places and scrap rubber would be loaded at a certain time and a certain location and the men who worked all day felt they had a disadvantage over the men who weren't working and [had a great chance]- So, we had to set up some rules on that and we had a police department kind of guard the lumber pile till a certain time and then free to move in. Then they start building in some area and some of the lumber would disappear at night and the contractors would get all upset, so we had to put a special guard on the lumber. Outside of fires and the protection of lumber scrap and otherwise, that occupied a tremendous amount of time and then we had minor break-ins, particularly, into the dining halls, the community dining rooms, mess halls. It was just kinda a feeling that at that time we didn't have any stores open, no place to buy anything. They came along very quickly thereafter, but these mess halls, the government bought the food. It was to be for everybody. So, once the idea that they weren't stealing from anybody, they were just getting something that they wanted []. We had a few things of that sort, but as we went along, the kinds of tasks, the things that we had to spend most time with changed and developed. We had to have just a little bit of imagination as to what we were supposed to be doing.

Interviewer: This is probably something very minor, but how were these individuals who broke into the dining hall or something, of what was their disposition?

Jacoby: Well, we tried to work through the families. Sometimes we had no, well, there were some, somehow, we had a court which at the time was headed up by the project director. This is a different project director incidentally, the one I started work with, but the serious cases, we took down to Alturas which is the county seat, and we made use of the juvenile court down there and helped to scare the living daylights of some of these kids. Of course, there were not a difficult, they were not a delinquent population, except the real delinquency of the situations and pressures created and it wasn't very much, come right down to it, but there was enough so that the older people in the camp were beginning to get alarmed over the amount of juvenile delinquency. Well, we had as much juvenile delinquency as Stockton, as compared to the size that they had down there where, let me think, we had no problem whatsoever. But a few cases we did make use of the court down in Alturas and I was deputized as the deputy sheriff of Modoc county and so forth and so on. So, but we did not have a lock up and that's a whole issue that's separate, I hope we don't get into it 'cause it will take a lot of time. We finally, in one or two cases, did have to move out some persons we felt were too dangerous, because of tensions that arisen, into a separate camp outside, and then WRA [War Relocation Authority] found that they had a number of these persons in all of the camps, so they opened up a special detention camp. First, over in eastern Utah, and then Leupp, Arizona, at least I never visited either of the camps, but they were places to which really difficult, they were kind of the Alcatraz Island element. I think we played a little fast and loose with criminal procedure at moments. We were not constrained by all of the detailed procedures of, maybe I shouldn't put this in a paper, but-

Interviewer: You can cross it out if don't [].

Jacoby: I may want to, to be honest.

Interviewer: About how many people would you say then were directly under you, that you were responsible for?

Jacoby: Well, I had about a hundred twenty-five of the police department at its height with two non-Japanese staff members. Later, we added two more. Both came from the police department of Klamath Falls. Situations were getting a little more difficult, and I can explain that a little bit later because Tule Lake became a very peculiar camp. It was not, it started out just like all the others and then its life underwent two or three changes.

Interviewer: Right, well I had mentioned whether these employees that worked for you were actually paid and you had laughed and said you'd tell me about that?

Jacoby: Oh, yeah. The Japanese, they set up a national policy on this. There was, first of all, if you want to call it that, free housing, good medical care, food, there was a clothing allotment based on the age and sex and so forth. Persons who worked, there were three grade levels: twelve, sixteen, and nineteen dollars a month. The beginning level was twelve dollars a month, the intermediate level was nineteen dollars a month, the heads of organizations and professionals and so forth, the doctors, for instance, of the hospital were paid nineteen dollars a month. It was [tokened]-

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