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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 16, 1942

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
338 Giannini
Campus

Dear Dr. Thomas,

I have finished the Shibutani-Najima report and hasten to offer the following comments.

Written under unusual conditions of stress, it is undoubtedly a highly creditable document, whose value is if anything enhanced by the writers' emotional involvements—quite irrespective of the correctness of their strictures in the light of what was feasible, a point on which naturally neither they nor we can venture authoritative statements. I should certainly want the authors to continue interlarding their observations with their reactions, no matter how subjective. In our ultimate synthesis we can then utilize the material for demonstrating how some of the more educated sufferers responded to the abnormal conditions to which they were subjected.

On the other hand, I think their attention should be directed to the fact that, being saturated with the data, they assume knowledge on the part of the reader which I, at least, do not possess. To take a minor point, just how is "contraband" defined? More important is the treatment of the JACL. One can, of course, divine from the references what manner of organization it is, but that is not enough. Unless you have on file a fairly full statement as to the past history, constituency, professed and actual aims of the society, it ought to be elaborated by one of our Japanese collaborators—perhaps preferably by two or three independently. Otherwise we are liable to miss some of the implications of the present behavior imputed to them.

Certain specific statements as to attitudes likewise evoke demands for more information. Lacking pagination in my copy, I am unable to give an exact reference, but I have noted several sentences that pique my curiosity. Some Japanese are said to find life filled with excitement. Who are they? Again, in one place it is said that certain evacuees do not speak Japanese. What would their background be? And why did the Administration disapprove what seem to have been thoroughly innocuous Memorial Day exercises?

I should like to have a somewhat sharper definition of the "intellectual" faction of the radicals. I get a somewhat inconsistent picture of them as on the one hand so conservative as to be on good terms with the JACL, on the other sharing in the ideology of the entire radical group, with denunciation of opponents as "fascists". Perhaps a stricter definition of the terms "faction" and "group" would clarify;

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or a dichotomous (or more intricate) classificatory diagram, say:

I Conservatives

- (1) Issei (all of them?)
- (2) JACL

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II Progressives

- (1) Communists
- (2) New Republic Liberals

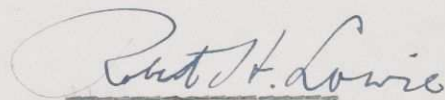
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Finally, the reported criticisms of the diet are enormously suggestive. Again and again there is emphasis on the dearth of milk and butter. Now this is extremely important if true—so important that in my opinion it requires careful checking in different groups. For Eastern Asia is notoriously a non-dairying area, a fact consistently emphasized by earlier writers and from a theoretical angle by Eduard Hahn and Berthold Laufer. As for Japan specifically, the official report of Commodore Perry's visit states that cattle were used only for ploughing and packing (Francis L. Hawks, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron, New York, 1856, p.523). Goats were almost unknown in Japan in 1882 and sheep scarcely to be seen until a few years before that (Basil Hall Chamberlin, translator, Kojiki, p.XLIII), so that these species are barred as a source of milk. According to the geographer Preston E. James (An Outline of Geography, 1935, p.334), "the Japanese culture contains no traditional familiarity with domestic animals for other than draft purposes"; and "only recently, in the northern part of the country, have dairy cattle been introduced."

Accordingly, such questions as the following arise: Do the persons complaining of the lack of butter and cheese belong uniformly or preponderantly to the younger, thoroughly Americanized generation? Have the older people adopted Occidental food habits to such an extent as to crave dairy products? What, if any, is the line of cleavage dividing those who crave from those who disdain such products? For instance, do they come from the northern sections of Japan? Has the Japanese Government succeeded in imposing a dairying diet on that section?

Man's conservatism as to food habits has often been noted. At present two committees of the N.R.C. (one of them under Margaret Mead) are struggling with relevant problems. I think this aspect of the report by itself is worthy of most careful attention.

Sincerely yours,



Robert H. Lowie

Bob Spencer

3 - 12 - A
Rivers, Arizona

December 29, 1942

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of the 26th and for the nice candy which you left with Charles for me. I went to Butte on Wednesday afternoon and heard from him that you had left in a rush by plane. I had brought the Supplemental Report on the Tada Case for you to look over and forward to Dr. Thomas. As Kikuchi stated that he was forwarding some papers to her I left my report with him. Dr. Thomas should have it by now.

I hope you have had a nice Christmas and certainly wish you a very happy new year, wherever you may be during the future. We have had a terrific wind and dust storm throughout most of Christmas day in spite of an early morning shower which sprinkled the ground somewhat. In our block we had a sumptuous turkey dinner which tasted very good at the time. However, either the turk was not quite sufficiently cooked or the stuffing had soured, and during the night about three-fourths of the block residents began to suffer from stomach aches and had to run back and forth to rest rooms for relief. In addition our block had a Christmas program of various forms of entertainment and towards the end of the program a raffle was held. Instead of awarding a few good prizes to lucky winners, our block chairman, an old Issei with some very peculiar ideas, thought that evryone should be given some sort of a prize. The result was ridiculous as well as disheartening. The raffle took about two hours and the prizes were a joke - a can of peaches or apricots, six clothepins, small package of raisens or fig bars, box of tooth picks, five cents in coin, four pennies, one penny, etc. These prizes were announced as answers to various conundrums in Japanese. It was rather funny at first but certainly got awfully boring at the end. It was on the whole a Christmas which I will never forget. Last Sunday we made mochi (rice cakes) for the block at the laundry room. It was an all-day affair with most of the adult residents participating. Mochi is generally used as part of the New Year feast and the usual custom is to make it several days or a week before New Years. The rythmic pounding was done to the tune of Japanese music or singing and the process was quite a gay affair. The New Year program ought to be interesting and I am sure you would find many points of interest if you were here.

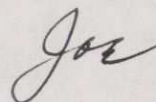
You would be interested, I am sure, to know that Takeo Tada had left on December 26th for Ann Arbor, Michigan to take a position as instructor in Japanese at the University of Michigan. Masato Inouye, the Yale and Waseda graduate, and his wife also left for the same school at that time. The peculiar thing about Tada was that the assault case was the deciding factor in his acceptance for the position. As he was formerly connected with the Japanese Chamber of Commerce at Los Angeles, there was apparently some considerable doubt as to his loyalty to this country. The fact that he has had several years of education in Japan also might have placed him in the Kibei category. The fact that he had been assaulted because of his cooperation with the administrative officials was, as I had heard it, a point which had been instantly taken in his favor. I was very glad to hear that he had been accepted for the position as he would be in a position to be of definite service to our country.

Since the Tada incident there have been no repercussions of any kind at this camp as yet, and it appears that everything will run along more smoothly. However, I have heard yesterday that a group of so-called agitators at Butte are trying to obtain Mr. Bennett's approval for the organization of a club to bear the name of Kyowa-Kai (Peace or Pacifist Society). What their plans and purposes are, I have not been able to learn quite fully but I think that Kikuchi will be in a more suitable position to follow up on their activities.

It was certainly with a feeling of frustrated hopes that I heard the announcement of General DeWitt's Christmas eve proclamation that the enemy alien curfew regulations as to German aliens had been lifted. The reason given that adequate precautionary and preventive measures have now been provided would apply equally well as to the Japanese. It appears even more true as to citizens of Japanese descent, almost all of whom I would consider normally to be loyal Americans. I look forward most anxiously to the time in the very near future when "equal protection of the laws" can be extended to us.

Please extend my very best wishes to Dr. Thomas and I hope she has fully recovered from her illness. Again I wish you the best of luck and good fortune in the trying days ahead, and if the powers that be should so ordain, I hope you will be able to come to Gila again.

Sincerely,



May 30, 1943

Spencer letter:

"Arizona has just passed a law which forbids the use of any facility by a person whose movements are restricted by military edict. This means that all Japanese in Arizona, evacuee and resident, are forbidden to make purchases in the state, to make use of hotels, restaurants, theaters, bars, etc. Food may be purchased and some clothing. The Standard Oil Co. was fined \$1000 for selling gasoline to an evacuee and not giving notice thereof in three different newspapers. Arizona spirit has grown anti-evacuee to such an extent that it is analogous to that of Southern California. Did you ever hear of such a mess. Standard Oil was all set to bring the thing to the Supreme Court but reneged at the last moment. All evacuees who now drive their cars out of Arizona must have a Caucasian escort in order to circumvent this new law, to purchase gasoline, etc. I do not know what the effect of this will be on our proposed conference. There may be some hotel & difficulty in Phoenix."

February 18, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California

Dear Dorothy,

So much has taken place since my last letter to you that I will continue writing a kind of report of my notes on the situation so as to keep you informed how things are going here. I suggest that you have certain parts of my letters copied and filed as reports inasmuch as I find that this method of getting information to you quickly is rather a practical one. I think that all the information will be coming out through the reports that I have in mind and through Charlie's diary.

The significant thing which is concerning the community at the moment is the fact, as I mentioned before, of volunteer Army enlistment and registration of all people between the ages of 17 and 38. I have already described the marked Kibei antagonism to this measure, an antagonism which emanated from not only the Kibei Club but which was supported in both camps by the Issei Vigilante Committee, and the rather marked pressure group which has arisen from among the single men in both camps.

I have already mentioned questions 27 and 28 on the general questionnaire, which is being sent out. I shall forward to you soon blank copies of these questionnaire forms. Question 27, as you know, concerns willingness to enlist in an Army combat unit, while 28 asks for repudiation of any other power but that of the United States; and, of course, the Kibei, most of them holding dual citizenship, and many Issei have been very strong in their opposition to answering these questions in the affirmative. In fact, I believe that I have mentioned George Yamashiro's addressing his own Kibei Club on the subject of enlistment. His openly expressed attitude was one which has been found among many other groups and has been seconded by the majority of the Issei. When the Sedition Act was read to the Kibei Club and the threat was made that the act would be enforced if any of the Kibei or Issei are known to be keeping people from either enlisting or filling out the questionnaire form, the feeling settled down somewhat, and the Kibei became less out-spoken. The group pressure exerted by the Kibei, and single Issei particularly, was soon broken up by Bennett's proclamation that all such forms of agitation would be severely dealt with. This agitation then seemed to take hold of the community sentiment at large and to settle in every household where there were Nisei children who might be subject to eventual draft and who could volunteer and who, at any rate,

were obliged to fill out the questionnaire form. A number of cases have come to my attention. It has been said that some Issei have threatened suicide if their off-springs were to enlist in the Army. One Issei man is reported to have said to his son that if he enlisted in the Army, he would be killed not only in battle, but the father said that he would kill the boy himself before allowing him to enlist. Several other Issei have been known to threaten disinheritance should their off-spring enlist. One Kibei, Charlie tells this as a true story, went to the registration office with five dollars and his birth certificate asking that his citizenship be revoked and offering the five dollars in payment for the legal proceedings, and so it has come pretty much throughout the center.

Registration started last Thursday, and in the first days of registration, 75 per cent of those filling out the questionnaire forms were answering questions 27 and 28 "no" and "no". Captain Thompson, the officer in charge, has been exceedingly discouraged by this response. Registration in Camp Two started in those blocks which center around the Kibei hall, and it begins to appear that the Kibei were the first to be asked to fill out the questionnaire forms. Moving away from those blocks, a better response was elicited and the percentage of those answering in the negative began to drop a little bit early this week. In Canal, there are many Kibei who are simply not reporting for registration at the time appointed. The administration has been so discouraged by this negative answer that they have called in every one who has already filled in their questionnaire form and answered "no" and "no" to the two questions and have given them the opportunity of reconsidering on the assumption that there has been a misunderstanding all around. Not many, however, are answering the appeal for another interview and it begins to appear that the greater majority is opposed to changing their answers and that the two questions remain as they are, in the negative. Realizing the extent of the agitation exerted by the Kibei group, the administration had, as I said, read off the Sedition Act as a kind of threat. This was done last Friday night, but through Saturday and Monday, the negative answers to questions 27 and 28 still continued to pour in.

I've made some mention before of the Moab segregation project, and I think that all of us knew that agitators, pro-Axis enthusiasts, and others of that brand were to be taken there in time. In fact, it is already known that seven have already been taken away from Poston. It was never believed, however, that this would be on a very large scale or that it would come without warning; but that is exactly what happened on Tuesday afternoon when the FBI moved in and the military took control from 3 o'clock until 6 o'clock.

Monday afternoon, Bennett and Thompson and Landward, whose office is aiding the Army in bringing about the registration and enlistment together with Williamson the head of the Internal Security Department, and Terry the Project Attorney had a conference in which they decided that inasmuch as it was in their power to remove the

agitators, and since agitation was rampant, they would do so. Accordingly, they took the list of names of subversive leaders which had come into their hands, and the five of them went to Phoenix to confer with the United States Attorney-General and with the FBI to obtain a legal opinion as to whether there was sufficient case against the individuals named. The United States Attorney and the FBI gave this round-up their stamp of approval, and it was agreed that in cooperation with the Army, apprehension of subversive leaders would begin at 3 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon. The FBI officers in six cars met at 2 o'clock Tuesday afternoon at the MP barracks outside of Canal Camp. By 3 o'clock guards armed with tommy-guns had been placed around the entrance in the fences of both camps, jeeps were patrolling the road, and all inter-camp travel was frozen. All of those who were on the road between the two camps were obliged to remain there and no one, either Japanese or Caucasian, was allowed to leave the camps' innermost boundaries. The plan was to clear Canal of subversive leaders first, and from Canal ten individuals were taken. The six FBI cars moved quickly. They had the addresses and places of business of those who were suspects, and they attempted to strike each at the same time. Each FBI car had in it the FBI agent, a military driver, a WRA employee, and an armed guard. They called first at the houses of those who were to be arrested. The FBI agent, having a warrant for the arrest of the individual concerned, would force his way in, backed up with a soldier with a tommy-gun. People were prevented from entering or leaving the house. The Issei were given five minutes in which to change their clothes and say goodbye to their families, and then were taken to a point between the two camps where they were herded into trucks. The Kibei were given time to pack a bag of warm clothing and time to say goodbye to their families. They were then brought to the junction between the two camps and placed in another truck. The Canal round-up was completed in about twenty minutes. Nine Issei were taken and one Kibei. The Issei were, as nearly as I can tell, as follows: Hirokani, who figured so prominently in the Tada beating; Tani, the apparent head of the Kenkyu-kai and agent for the Rocky Nippon newspaper who had emerged as a leader at the time of the Tada beating; Fujimoto, the Issei advisor to the Kibei Club and head of the Sumo Club; Okamoto and Katagawa, Judo leaders; one woman by the name of Mrs. Matsuda who had been most active at the time of the hearing of Hirokani in that she supported actively the justification for Tada's assault; and three others who are not known to me. The one Kibei who was taken was a man named Akimoto, who is president of the Kibei Club. A number of the administrative staff were opposed to Akimoto's being taken because of the fact that he has been a conservative Kibei leader and has done much to keep the Kibei more or less favorably disposed toward the administration. He was taken because he had answered questions 27 and 28 "no" and "no", and it was believed that he had been one of those who had agitated for others to follow his example. The case against him was not clear, but he was taken anyway.

In Butte, six Issei were taken. They were: Dyo, leader of the Kyowa-kai; Ototaro Yamamoto, whom I have mentioned so frequently as a

leader of the Issei; his lieutenant, Ando; and three others who were rather out-spoken in their pro-Axis expressions. Twelve Kibei were taken from Butte and, of course, the first one nabbed was George Yamashiro (Poor George, and all my source of information gone); Yamashiro's lieutenant, Victor Inouye, the president of the Sumo Club; and vice-president of the Kibei Club, Fukumoto; and nine Kibei officers. The round-up in Butte took place just as quickly as the round-up in Canal. The six cars circled the camp and picked up the individuals concerned in no time at all. Yamashiro and his cohorts were arrested in the Kibei clubroom. Of course in both camps, news of the round-up spread quickly and several individuals who knew that they would be taken or feared that they would hid. About fifty people have remained in hiding for the last two days. Several people were hidden by their friends and have not, as yet, been apprehended. Two more were taken from Butte on Wednesday. On Tuesday, several people barricaded themselves in their apartments and refused to come out. A gun jammed through the window-pane quickly broke the resistance. No one was allowed in or out of houses concerned while the arrests were taking place.

All of the Issei, fifteen of them, are to be interned in the Lordsburg Internment Camp in New Mexico. The thirteen Kibei are to be sent to Moab. The Issei were placed on the train Tuesday night; the Kibei were taken in a truck driven by Mr. Fredericks, associate Chief of Internal Security here who is now being permanently transferred to Moab. Moab Center is known as a segregation or isolation center. It is run by the WRA under slightly different rules than control the usual relocation centers. No resettlement is to be allowed for these Kibei, and it seems likely that they will be disfranchised and deported after the war.

Now that this policy has been determined upon, there seems no doubt that others who attempt to emerge as subversive leaders may find themselves in a similar position. Since Tuesday afternoon, remarkably enough, several Kibei have come into the Project Director's office and asked to be transferred to Moab, and so the process of segregation is beginning with marked effects in the community. The first effect of this mass arrest in both camps was that of stunned surprise. The residents, including myself, could scarcely believe that this was actually happening. Of course, there has been talk of it from time to time, but it seemed very doubtful that it would actually ever occur. Everyone found his security threatened, and there have been no further demonstrations against Army volunteer enlistment. On Tuesday afternoon from 3 o'clock to 6 o'clock, little knots of people began to cluster around houses and street corners, and it looked as though a situation analogous to that which we witnessed at Poston was about to begin, but the feeling died down and the community settled down to peace and quiet.

Many of the Caucasian administrators are convinced that the right thing was done and that trouble can now be alleviated. It is significant to note, however, that the percentage of those answering "no" to questions 27 and 28 has risen from 75 per cent to almost 85 per cent today. A feeling that these individuals who were appre-

hended are martyrs is already rife. Some of the more clear-headed administrators are beginning to wonder if, perhaps, this was a wise move. To be sure, agitators and certain leaders were removed from the community, but it begins to seem very doubtful, however, that the real core of subversive leadership has been removed. Only the more out-spoken ones have been taken away. There are those who, in my opinion, remained behind who provided all along the brains for such subversive manifestations and declarations. As long as these men remain untouched, it appears to me that community sentiment will remain unchanged. It is my own opinion that among those taken, the only ones who approximated any kind of leadership at all were Dyo, Tani, Yamashiro, and Akimoto. It further appears to have been a very great mistake to have apprehended Akimoto. He kept the Canal Kibei siding with the administration and steering away from the Kenkyu-kai. Now, as he is gone, it seems that the Gila Young People in Canal will swing over to the Kenkyu-kai, lending to that organization greater strength than they have had before. It seems that the effect of such segregation, without apprehending the true leadership, serves to give these strong Issei organizations the quality of being more firmly established Secret Societies. Other front men will be found to supplant those who have gone, and actually, the community sentiments are, if anything, more pro-Japanese than before Tuesday. I was of the opinion that this sense of making the arrested men martyrs might precipitate a general strike. There has not been this effect, however, and it now appears as though this feeling will again die down, or after some deliberation, some demonstration may take place.

We have been wondering what the effect of this will be on the resettlement program. The fact that people continue to answer these so important questions negatively may when publicized jeopardize the chances of Nisei for employment in defense industries, leaving only domestic and farm work open to a limited few. Public opinion, too, can be turned stronger against resettlement. I understand that Dillon Myer is definitely in disfavor with Congress and that his own brain children, draft for the Nisei and the resettlement program, are seriously threatened by the Congressional investigation. It may be that a change in WRA personnel will see the whole pattern of the relocation centers changed. Myer is very worried according to reports, and there is the threat of Army control over the relocation center beginning July 1st, with the WRA relegated to a position comparable to that of the WCCA. There seems little doubt that the requests for clearance which are now pending for so many will be delayed. It is my own frank opinion that the situation is beginning to appear as critical as I thought it might be in my first letter regarding Army enlistment to you. One good effect this all has had so far as we are concerned is that the attention of the administration is being removed from us.

This, generally, is the report on the situation and I will keep you informed from time to time. No matter what happens, it seems that the draft for the loyal Nisei will still be coming through.

Charlie asked me to write one or two lines regarding his own situation. He does not know whether to leave the family now and enlist in the Army before the draft gets him, or whether he should try to get into a defense industry of some kind. In accordance with the latter plan, he has written to Louis Adamic, who promised Charlie his support in getting him a defense job somewhere in the Middle West. You are sufficiently well acquainted with the family situation to know what Charlie is up against. He wants to go out and to take Emiko and Betty with him, but he does not want to go to Chicago and allow the two of them to get into a whirl-wind round of social events with his other sisters there. He wants to know if you know of anyone he could ask for a job either in the Middle West or on the East coast. I told him that I thought you might, but that he ought to ask you himself. He is pretty discouraged, and I repeat that it might be well if you were to give him some encouragement about what he can do about getting out. Of course, his clearance hasn't come through as yet either.

Can you please send me some typewriter ribbons, Remington, if you can get them. Thank you.

I shall be looking forward to hearing from you soon regarding all these things that are taking place. Incidentally, if the situation dies down as it promises to do, might I in early March come home for about a week? There are so many things that I would like to talk over with you, and I would like to write up a few of the things that are hanging fire and which I have not had time to put down on paper. Remember me to everyone in Berkeley.

Yours,