

As a result of my initial stay at Gila, notes on a number of subjects were collected, and ample opportunity to write these notes up being lacking, I choose to present a résumé of them at this time. In accordance with the outline submitted for Tulelake by Shibutani and Miyamoto, there are a number of points omitted in my own report, notably on attitudes and social maladjustments. There are a few points in regards to administration, attitudes on authority, recreation, rumors, and the like, which have not as yet been discussed. The following are notes only, and do not attempt to present any full picture; rather, they are an outline. Some of the points to be discussed are elaborated upon to a considerable extent by Messrs. Okuno and Hikida.

Attitudes on authority (conversation with Mr. Miura)

It is apparent from the inter-relationships of the communities, as manifested here, that a definite resentment is manifested by the majority of the evacuees in regard to working under Japanese direction. The feeling of equality is one that comes out here very distinctly. Some of the evacuees admitted that there are "Japanese bosses" on the outside, but that here in the camp, everyone has been leveled. It was also true that on the outside, definite resentment arose when one Japanese worked for another. Etiquette demands reluctance to discuss money matters. When one Japanese worked for another, he was always willing to minimize the amount due him and to accept less because he did not wish to appear greedy in his employer's eyes. Now, many of

the evacuees feel that the Government is paying them money, and that they should be under the direct supervision of Caucasians. It is necessary for the Japanese, especially those who retain to a great extent their old world background, to respect the authority over them. Because they are living in America, they want this authority to be Caucasian. When Mr. Fryer was in charge here, in a very short time, he had become very popular. When it was found that he permitted himself occasionally to be undignified, a good many of the Japanese lost faith in him. It is odd that all leaders, whether Japanese or Caucasian, are expected to retain a certain amount of dignity. Unfulfilled promises are, of course, a source of loss of face; but oddly enough, the failure of administrative heads to conform with Japanese ways of thinking may be cause for unpopularity. Bluntness, or directness of speech has done much to render some Caucasian leaders unpopular. This is true of Mr. Landward, acting head of the Social Welfare Department. Landward has lost in popularity even though his intentions are of the best, because of his direct approach to a problem on hand, and his blunt way of expressing himself. It is true, not only in the Japanese, but also in the English that is spoken here by the Japanese of old world training, that they tend to use circumlocution, and to practice an indirectness of speech based on the dictates of Japanese etiquette. Administrative officers who failed to do the same might find that their popularity has waned.

Another interesting attitude that comes out in this community is the desire to give gifts in return for services rendered. It has been suggested by some of the Caucasian staff that this is the result of the

disorganization following evacuation. It has been stated that some Japanese wish to give gifts to Caucasians for services rendered, in order to show themselves to be loyal and benevolent towards Caucasians. I do not believe this to be the case, but rather think that gifts are offered in accordance with the Japanese pattern. It is customary that a gift be returned for a service -- the value of the gift to correspond with the extent of the service. Failure to do so makes the individual feel ashamed, and the peculiar idea of "loss of face" is again born out here. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that gifts are given freely among the Japanese themselves for favors and services. A rather interesting conflict comes out here under the "Hatch Act." All Federal employees are forbidden to receive gifts of any kind, since they may be conceived as bribes. Gifts of money are very frequently offered, and sometimes an individual will go to the trouble of purchasing some commodity or other article to give to a Caucasian who he feels has been kind to him. Such gifts, of course, must be refused, often to the embarrassment and concern of both parties.

A section on recreation which I wrote in October is not complete, and a number of points dealing with Issei recreation should be mentioned. The significant division which comes out most clearly in Mr. Hikida's paper of pioneer Issei and Yobi-Yose makes it necessary to understand these groups as distinct divisions, and to apply distinct cultural principles to both. In this center, Yobi-Yose people are employed for the most part and take advantage of recreational facilities offered by the administration. Among the pioneer Issei, the older people, difficulties arise because these individuals are not provided with ample

recreation by the administration, and for the most part, are not employed. Many manage to keep occupied, but now, as the period of relocation has progressed, many feel that they have had enough vacation, and are anxious to get back to work. Significant employment problems arise because it is obvious that old people of this kind are, for the most part, unemployable. They manage well enough in their own businesses and farms, but in the center, they are brought directly into competition with younger people and cannot do the work of younger men with the same degree of success. The daily life of such individuals has been touched upon, but there still exists the significant problem of the disposition of their leisure time. Some of these older Issei are very active, but others are quite frustrated because they have too much time on their hands. The women, particularly, being somewhat younger than the men in the main, are occupied with the care of their quarters; they join sewing circles, some have church interests, others make artificial flowers, arrange flowers, and still others visit and gossip, and women on the whole get along better than do the men. The men of this age group, although some play "go", cards, and the like, are not so willing to enter into the community spirit as do the women. It is true that they get together to talk and play, but do not usually have as exciting an outlet of expression for their leisure time as do the women. A discussion of this problem with Mr. Okuno revealed that certain of these men with literary tastes have met for poetry contests, but this only concerned a few of the more sophisticated. A new lease on life has arisen for some of these older men in the discovery of the form of Manzanita, similar

to the ebony of Japan. This is to be discovered in the desert, and some older men have organized walking tours in order to collect this very hard wood. The wood is polished, and used as decorations in the house, as a base for flower arrangements, and the like. The grain of this wood is very similar to that of the ebony forms known to Japanese artists. Unfortunately, the supply of this wood is limited, and it is now necessary to walk farther and farther into the desert in order to obtain it. As time goes on, however, the recreation department hopes to be able to send out crews to collect this wood for use by the older men. The wood is excessively hard and durable, a great deal of effort being necessary in order to render polished and artistic value. Some of the work that has been done with it is indeed beautiful. Some of the artistically inclined Issei also wish to indulge in the Japanese custom of "moon walking." In Japan, it is customary to walk at the time of the full moon, along the sea coast or in the mountains, reciting Haiku and Tanka on the beauties of nature, and serenity of the moonlight. In Arizona, there are frequently beautiful moonlight nights, and some parties have been organized to walk by the moon. Unfortunately, the residents, at night, are not permitted to leave the camp limits, and thus do not dare indulge in this custom to the extent that they would desire. It is interesting to note that this custom was not followed in pre-evacuation times in America. Now, however, that there is leisure time, and that the moonlight nights are reminiscent of those of Japan, the desire to do this has returned on the part of some.

Problems of disposition of leisure time for many of these Issei is one which will bear further research and study. Naturally, Nisei recreation is more fully worked out so far as the administration is concerned, and an individual Nisei may occupy his time in any sort of way, if he so desires.

It might be well to go into the matter of the many rumors which have circulated through this camp, most of which, however, will only be known through reports by other observers. I will list one or two here, which may not previously have come into the attention of the study.

(1) Rumor concerning other camps are very frequently bandied about. It is said that this or that individual, a political leader, was assaulted, or killed, in any number of Centers. Poston, and Gila, vie~~d~~ with one another in the matter of heat. It is said by those of Gila that all the babies are dying of heat at Poston, not one of them having survived. Other rumors of this kind are exceedingly frequent.

(2) The report has come in from time to time that coast cities have been bombed, and destroyed by enemy action.

(3) A racial distinction has provided the basis for a number of rumors. It is said that there is a definite discrimination against the Negro and Indian construction workers because of their race. It is stated that these Negroes and Indians are obliged to do the most dangerous tasks, while Caucasian workers are given easier and less dangerous work. In the course of construction in the Butte camp, Mr. Hikida says

it was necessary to blast a water main out of solid rock. At one time the dynamite charges went off prematurely, killing one Caucasian worker, and maiming two others. The rumor circulated like wildfire that fifteen Negroes had been killed, although the number varied from mouth to mouth. It was said that had Japanese been employed by the construction company, that they would have been made to do this dangerous work of lighting dynamite charges; similarly, the danger of cotton picking have been described elsewhere.

(4) Any Caucasian who is seen to be too friendly with the evacuees is said to be having illicit relations with some Japanese girl. Yeaton and Harding were particularly accused of such immorality.

(5) The rumor that another camp is to be made is also prevalent.

(6) The fear of various diseases is common. It is true that the Japanese are noted for their fear of tuberculosis and that families which have had tuberculosis members often had difficulty in marrying off their sons and daughters. The rumor circulated that this part of Arizona is "tuberculosis country", and that all who were here would quickly be infected by this disease. It is true that this part of Arizona is particularly beneficial to people suffering from consumption, and very likely consumptives from other Centers will be sent down here because of the beneficial climate. A tuberculosis ward was attached to the hospital in Camp 1. When the ward was opened, and those suffering from advance cases of the disease were confined in it, the sigh of relief emitted by the community was almost audible.

One case came to my attention, that of a young woman from the Tulalake Center, whose mother and sister had died of the disease. She was extremely unhappy and most maladjusted, because she was generally shunned by the community, and some of the Issei, in fact, were openly rude in avoiding her. She wants very badly to be married, and has gone with a number of Japanese boys, whose families frightened them off when they heard of the association. The girl is slightly inclined toward consumption herself, and her general ill health and mental depression have made her a most maladjusted individual.

(7) The break in the sewer line in Camp 1 mentioned in another report, caused considerable adverse comment when the statement was made that the administration willingly, and with malice of forethought, allowed the sewage to run about on the road as it did. The danger of typhus and of other diseases resulting from sewage was stressed by certain members of the community. In this same respect, it was said that the drinking water was poisoned. In spite of the fact that in the early stages of Camp 2, water had to be imported especially in trucks, the drinking water in that camp being pronounced undrinkable by Dr. Sleath.

Other rumors will be recorded from time to time.

In my analysis of the social groups of the Gila community, I did not go into any great detail on the matter of gangs and socially disorganized groups. The gang element, however, plays a significant part in the community, causing as it does, the fears of parents, trouble to the individuals concerned, and worry on the part of individuals generally. Gangs apparently did not exist to a large extent in the pre-evacuation period, but there were groups of individuals who ran together for social

reasons, particularly in the Los Angeles area. There are Issei gangs and similar groups among both Nisei and Kibei. The section I contributed on political life mentioned a group of what have been termed "gangsters" among the Issei, whose definite purpose was to discredit the efforts of the administration and of the Nisei, by spreading a series of false rumors. This group was particularly opposed to any Americanization of the Nisei and were harsh in dealing with individuals who were willing to arrive at some understanding of the problems of the second generation. This was apparently a pioneer group of Issei, and directed their attention against those who had normally assumed the reins of the community. It was mentioned that they intimidated capable people who might otherwise have been leaders politically, and socially. A number of people with whom I am acquainted were threatened with death, and other bodily harm. A committee of such Issei would meet with members of their own group, but who had expressed opposing opinions, in wash rooms, and would make these threats. The rumor which they started, threats which they presented, were sufficient to prevent many otherwise capable people from entering into the political life of the community. For a long time, they were successful in preventing the formation of the Community Council. It has been stated that the individuals of this sort were people who had been maladjusted, and perhaps snubbed socially in the pre-evacuation period, but that they could now arise into eminence because the natural leaders of the Japanese community, such men as business executives, officers in the Japanese Association, Buddhist and Shinto priests, and the like, had been interned. This group has now

quieted down somewhat, and is more anxious to cooperate with the community generally. They did draw up a petition which was sent to Mr. Dillon Meyer, requesting that Issei be allowed to hold elective office. Having gained a certain amount of attention from the National Office of the WRA, they have now relaxed in their demands. Many such individuals however, are exceedingly anxious that meetings be conducted only in Japanese, allowing predominance to the Issei and shutting out to some extent, the representatives of the second generation. Their original proposals were so vehemently expressed; their efforts were so intimately directed against the Nisei, and the fact that they chose such high-handed means of enforcing their demands, have provided justification for terming this dissatisfied group a gang. Many of their contemporaries were extremely dissatisfied by the actions of such agitators.

The gangs of the younger people are more exclusively and better organized groups have more of a social, than political purpose. The locality from which the members came usually has much to do with the formation of such groups. A number of young men got together in gangs of bad repute in the community. The Santa Anita Assembly Center was particularly noted for the gangster element, to the extent that many of the younger agitators there were separated from the bulk of the community and sent to Relocation Centers elsewhere. So troublesome were the groups at Santa Anita, at least according to the opinion of the WCCA, that it was necessary to break up the group as a whole, and divide it between all the Relocation Centers in the United States. At the present time,

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we have 1,000 Santa Anita people at Gila. Prior to the last entry of the Santa Anita people, many of these gang elements were imported here. One gang, coming from Santa Anita, is composed of older Nisei and Kibei, most of whom had a Hawaiian origin. They have banded together under the name "Hawaiian Sailors." Many of the members of this group are seamen, and are anxious to return to that profession, many of them having offered their services to the merchant marine. There is nothing especially bad about this group, but a bad reputation has preceded them in this Center. Some of them, it is true, have operated gambling rings, and have bribed construction workers to bring in liquor from the outside. It might be mentioned here, that liquor is not forbidden on the Project itself, but may not be brought into the area because this is an Indian reservation. This is the only reason that liquor is forbidden. The Hawaiian Sailors were apparently a large group at Santa Anita, and were broken up and dispersed through other Assembly Centers and Relocation Projects. The group came in two's and three's under escort. They were lectured by Mr. Fredericks, assistant director of Internal Security, who warned them that if they stepped out of line, they would meet with deportation to another Center. Fredericks had, what I at least, thought to be, a good idea in wanting to make them wardens, thus obtaining their confidence, and endowing them with a sense of responsibility. Williamson, the head of Internal Security, refused to listen to this idea, with the result that most of them remain idle, and are becoming more and more involved in the gambling rings which are known to function in the Center, and of which a discussion will follow shortly.

Another gang similar to the Hawaiian Sailors, but oddly enough, composed of a Y.M.C.A. group from Santa Anita, is the so-called "Exclusive Twenty Club," which acts similarly to the group described above. The members of this gang however, are of better background than the Hawaiian Sailors. Of the latter, many are single men whose families are in the Hawaiian Islands. The former have families in the Center who are most concerned over the activities of the members. In the main, these gangs range in ages from 16 to 35, the average age being somewhere around 21-22. I do not know the extent of membership, but I would guess that each gang has not more than 100 members, and not less than 40. These are the principal gangs, the membership of which is composed of young men. The problem of liquor and gambling which they bring about is significant. Boys' gangs composed of Nisei boys of average age 12-18 are numerous, and are indicative of a certain rowdy element in camp. There are boys from Los Angeles, who were sent to the Tulelake Assembly Center with their families. They call themselves the Los Angeles Wolves, and some wear tee shirts with this crest of a wolf's head on them. They are in opposition to boys from the Tulelake Assembly Center, whose home residence was in the San Joaquin Valley, because the latter were unable to buy tee shirts, or have other distinctive identification marks. These boys went around for awhile with crossed pieces of adhesive tape on their foreheads. Now that school has started, the boys' gangs have somewhat died down. There is also the Canal Camp, a rowdy gang of boys from the Turlock Assembly Center.

The Hawaiian Sailors have been accused of theft on a number of occasions. The fact that warehouses in the Butte camp were broken into, the locks being forced, and clothing and food being stolen, was attributed to the Hawaiian Sailors element. The thieves were never caught, and how well justified the condemnation of the community is that this gang was guilty I do not know.

The "Exclusive Twenty Club" and the "Hawaiian Sailors" have gained a bad reputation to the extent that young girls are forbidden by their parents to associate with the members. It is true that the Hawaiian Sailor element sponsored a gambling ring. Under the direction of Williamson and Fredericks a raid was made on Recreation Hall no. 4, now the Buddhist Church, in camp 1; and a number of gamblers were taken into custody. In this particular raid, a poker game was broken up, and over twelve hundred dollars was found on the table at one time. One of the gamblers confessed that sometimes stakes ran as high as five-hundred dollars. The games most frequently played are poker, and the Japanese Hanna. This particular group, on being closed down, threatened the warden who reported them. He became so frightened that he resigned his job. He was so anxious to resign, that he rushed up to Mr. Fredericks when the latter was addressing a group of people, and stammered out his resignation. Mr. Fredericks then attempted to deal with the ring leaders of the gang who were in the group being addressed by himself. There were a number of Issei in the group who stayed about curiously while the gang leaders and the warden concerned were discussing the

problem with Mr. Fredericks. He attempted to clear the space in which they were talking, but the crowd gathered around more and more until finally it was necessary to summon more wardens, in order to disperse the mass of people. The Japanese penchant for gossip, and of curiosity, is rather clearly demonstrated here. The group, anxious to hear what was being said, simply refused to disband. Finally, Fredericks conceived the idea of subjecting the gang leaders to ridicule before the eyes of the crowd. The embarrassment and loss of face which this occasioned was far more effective than the jail sentence which was later imposed on the gamblers by Mr. Smith, then Project Director. They are now subject to ridicule in the community because they are no longer active as a gambling element. Some of these Hawaiian Sailors involved requested that they be moved over to Camp 2 in order to escape the ridicule at their expense. This has proved the most effective way of dealing with such elements, although unfortunately, Mr. Williamson, the head of Internal Security, cannot see his way clear to using this weapon. I hope to go into some detail on the matter of the mal-administration of the Internal Security Department under the arrogant leadership of Williamson.

In spite of the break-up of one gambling ring sponsored in Camp 1 by the Hawaiian Sailors, the representatives of this gang in Camp 2 have also been active in arranging a gambling ring. This ring is conducted in greater secrecy, and as yet, no definite evidence has been uncovered to undermine it. The administration does not object to small games of chance on a penny ante base; it is rather, where

where large sums of money are concerned and there is actual fleecing of the unwary by experienced gamblers. Many credulous Issei have brought with them their life savings; some have the money which they obtained from the sale of their property. They are considered to be fair game by the experienced "city slicker" gamblers. Certain Issei have also begun gambling groups, and a number of Block Managers were dismissed from their positions for allowing gambling to go on in their homes, while they took a "front" position in their offices. In other words, certain Block Managers were guilty of sponsoring gambling rings.

Gambling has met with considerable opposition from women of the community, and it is often true that the wives of those who gamble will report on the time and place of gamblings. It was suggested that a number of women be hired who could report on such organized gambling activities, but as yet this has not been done. I have noted myself individuals who came to this camp with no money at all. One man whom I know to be a Hawaiian Sailor borrowed 50¢ from me for lunch when his train arrived at Casa Grande. In a short while he had paid me back, and now I learn that he has contributed a radio and an electric clock to his mess hall. He is one of the notorious gamblers of the community and had served a month in the Los Angeles County Jail for gambling at Santa Anita.

A number of cases of assault and battery have arisen. Of gambling, the offender, if caught, will serve the usual sentence for that

misdemeanor. In one case, however, two Issei got into an argument over a gambling game, and the one stabbed the other in his forearm after the first had struck his assailant with a long piece of two-by-four. Both are now serving six months in the County Jail. In such cases, the arrest is made by the Internal Security representative; the accused is taken to the County seat at Florence for trial. The examining magistrate, on finding the individual guilty, usually asks that the sentence be fixed by the Project Director. The sentence is usually suspended, the court action being sufficient in keeping the offender in line.

The problem of liquor is one which has caused considerable ill feeling among the evacuees, and among some of the members of the Internal Security. The Military Police, and the Caucasian construction workers would bring in liquor which they would sell for six dollars a pint.

In one case a Caucasian, incidentally a cousin of the Regional Director, Mr. Fryer, formed an agency of his own in conjunction with certain people who were active in gambling rings. For several weeks he brought in cases of alcohol which he sold at the above price. At length he was apprehended by the Internal Security Department, and in his car were found 2 cases of whiskey. He was held on charges of bringing liquor to Indian land and has been sentenced to a year in a Federal penitentiary. It is known that liquor has been brought into the camp and sold by many of the Caucasian construction workers, who

were here in rather large numbers during the initial stages of the moving-in of evacuees. In spite of this, however, there had been few cases of actual drunkenness. One man, very drunk, was arrested by the Wardens and was lectured to by Mr. Fredericks, assistant chief of Internal Security. An appeal was made to this man on the ground that continued actions of this kind on the part of the evacuees might result in control by the Military, much to the distress of the inhabitants of the camp. This had considerable effect on the group interested in purchasing liquor, with the result that there have been no examples of open drinking in the community. Oddly enough, the arrest of the individual concerned in this case was brought about by a report from Lieutenant Findley, the acting Commandant of the Military Police. Although the Military Police are not permitted to inspect the inside of the Relocation areas, it became obvious that the Military was seeking to assert a greater amount of control that would normally be apportioned to it by agreement and by Federal legislation.

Lieutenant Findley had asked that construction worker watchmen report any such cases to him before calling it to the attention of the WRA authorities. Why he should do this is debatable; it did not lie within his official jurisdiction, but nevertheless, when the case of drunkenness was reported to him, he personally made the arrest and handed the offender over to the Internal Security Department. This, together with other examples already mentioned, is rather clear evidence of continued encroachment by the Military authorities on the WRA domain. It is mentioned above that a group of people in the community have sponsored the liquor influx and the gambling. It is quite true that

there are individuals, mainly single men, who, like the gangsters described above, have banded together for gambling and for purposes of obtaining liquor. Community marks such men for disapproval and does not sanction their actions. The more responsible men of the community, men with families, responsible jobs, or other commitments, the members of the Community Council, certain Block Managers, and the like, have marked special activities for disapproval; nevertheless, gambling flourishes and the effects of gambling seemingly cannot be stamped out. Those who gamble and make money are the first who are proved guilty of purchasing liquor. Mixed in with this problem is the attitude which reflects itself in regard to the Internal Security Department. A dual attitude exists.

In Camp 1 the Wardens have gained for themselves considerable respect. Gambling activities in the Canal Camp have been largely curtailed. Camp 2, however, presents a different picture. Here, the Wardens are accorded very little respect and are unable to cope with such situations. Contrary to the hopes originally explained by Mr. Williamson, the college graduates, trained sociologists, psychologists, and the like, could not be hired as Wardens. The Department of Internal Security has succeeded only in hiring people of little education and inadequate background for the type of police work that Mr. Williamson hopes to set up in this community. In the Butte camp, people are most critical of the Warden Department, this attitude being further expressed in the Wardens themselves, who are afraid to go on raids against gamblers

to report on any other manifestations of maladjustments, in short, to impinge in any way upon the general will of the community. It is hoped through our observer Yusa that a detailed analysis of the Internal Security Department can be presented. It is known that certain gamblers from Camp 1 walk over to Camp 2, and remain all day to engage in such games as Poker, Hanna, and the like. Thus, although gambling activities have been stamped out in Camp 1, the gamblers are still active in Camp 2, and are more fully occupied than ever. The meeting place for gambling is in some person's house; look-outs, usually small boys, are posted. Naturally, it is easy enough to find out where gambling is going on. But even though a raid takes place, it is difficult to enlist the cooperation of the Wardens, and further difficult actually to call a halt to the activities. It is definitely known that some of the so-called Hawaiian Sailors have supported the gambling "ring." It is also known that a definite "ring" is involved since the games are sponsored by a group of people who not only play, but derive a certain amount of profit from sponsoring the games, demanding, it is said, a 10% cut of each pot.. Whether such games are honest or not is questionable since not enough is known about the actual conditions of play, the activities of the so-called ring, etc. A solution to the problem of gambling has been suggested by the Assistant Chief of Internal Security, Mr. Fredericks. It is very doubtful, however, whether the program he outlines could meet with official sanction or the will of the Community Council. He suggested that a gambling game be carried on under the direction of the division of Internal Security, and that a hall be used for such games which would

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be conducted under the eyes of representatives of the Internal Security Division. Thus, all such gambling would be open and above board. No attempt would be made to control stakes, but attempts would be made to control those who gamble; for example, if a man's family objected to such activity, he would not be permitted to play. Fredericks sounded out a number of people on the subject and met with some favorable reception. It is doubtful, though, that the National Office could condone such activity. Fredericks believes that were such a form of recreation devised, a good deal could be done towards keeping a dissatisfied element in line and preventing outbreaks of dissatisfaction among this group. He has offered to take full responsibility for the administration of such an arrangement.

The organization of the Division of Internal Security might be mentioned here, although a more detailed account will be procured at a later date (we hope). It is impossible as yet to present case analyses of the Wardens, or to ascertain the various groups which they represent. The general experience of the department has been that older married men are best qualified for this position. The position itself pays the skilled rate of sixteen dollars. Williamson, as mentioned above, hopes to enlist college-trained Wardens, but has been most unsuccessful. The result has been that Williamson is most dissatisfied with his department. He himself favors single men, believing them freer of group affiliations and more able to adopt an objective view of the community at large. In spite of objections from his Caucasian subordinates, Fredericks and Johnston, Williamson has followed this policy with few exceptions, without

realizing that such younger men are subject to criticism by the community at large for affiliating themselves too closely with the administration, and the fact that Wardens here are being regarded more and more as hostile to the best interests of the community. Outwardly, the department is well-organized since, as will be mentioned presently, the Military is confined to the outermost boundaries of the camp; it is up to Wardens to patrol the inner limits. In the residence area, they patrol on foot, and at night have the use of a car. Outside of the residence area, a mounted patrol follows the roads and water courses, reporting on accidents, and watching out for the general safety of the community. They have been trained in first aid. The department is well organized to look after the safety of the residence, but are not equipped to deal with maladjustments, or acts indicative of maladjustments. The gambling instance is a good one where in Camp 2, especially, the Internal Security personnel is too much afraid of adverse criticism and of losing their places in the social set-up of the community to act with objectivity. A previous report mentioned the fact that the community Council was opposed to the adoption of the term "policemen" or "police", and preferred the terminology "Warden" and "Internal Security" instead. This has been a great disappointment to Williamson who is most anxious to have a well-organized Police Department under his command. In order to achieve this, Williamson has provided his wardens with uniforms, khaki clothes with military cut, and khaki sun-helmets, as well as with shoes, coats, and other desirable accessories. Since the introduction of uniforms for the Wardens, many wish to join the organization to obtain the free clothing. The Wardens

still wear a green armband with the mark "W" on it, but it is understood that within a short time, badges will be issued to each member of the force. The Wardens are thus already set apart by their dress, and it seems likely that when badges are issued, they will be denied what little cooperation is now given them. It is well known that the Japanese communities are able by sheer weight of public opinion to keep the respective members in line. The Warden detail is regarded by many as an idle and ineffective luxury. The members are criticized as spies for the administration, and very little cooperation is given them. Outwardly, the organization is, as stated above, well organized and effective, - as individuals, the Wardens are, for the most part, incapable of asserting any influence on the feelings or reactions of the community. Williamson has been criticized by the administrative staff and meets with very little cooperation from his Caucasian aides. The chief objection against him that has been raised, is that he seeks an organization which runs in terms of clockwork, rather than one which is capable of dealing with the human factors of the community. Obviously, this cannot be done, especially with the accentuated conditions of community solidarity and front, and identification of the evacuees with each other as Japanese, and as evacuees together. Because of these factors, the consensus of the community is that the Internal Security Department amounts to no more than a farce.

In previous reports, it was mentioned that the Military kept strict control of the camps boundaries by the day, and over the residence boundaries, are, at all roads, guarded by the Military Police. It is no longer necessary for the interior boundaries to be patrolled by the Military Police. Between sundown and sunrise, Japanese Wardens check all traffic

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between camps between those hours. At first, the Military Police were strong in their demands in regard to night travel between camps, and two Caucasians were hired to conduct all necessary travelers between the two camps during the night hours. Since the outermost limits have been established, and these are patrolled by the Military Police, such situations no longer is necessary, and the Caucasian escorts have been dismissed. At night, the outermost residence limits are still taboo, but enforcement of such regulations is left up to the Warden detail.

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Gila

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Attitudes on authority (conversation with Mr. Miura)

It is apparent from the inter-relationships of the communities, as manifested here, that a definite resentment is manifested by the majority of the evacuees in regard to working under Japanese direction. The feeling of equality is one that comes out here very distinctly. Some of the evacuees admitted that there are "Japanese bosses" on the outside, but that here in the camp, everyone has been leveled. It was also true that on the outside, definite resentment arose when one Japanese worked for another. Etiquette demands reluctance to discuss money matters. When one Japanese worked for another, he was always willing to minimize the amount due him and to accept less because he did not wish to appear greedy in his employer's eyes. Now, many of the evacuees feel that the government is paying them money, and that they should be under the direct supervision of Caucasians. It is necessary for the Japanese, especially those who retain to a great extent their old world background, to respect the authority over them. Because they are

living in America, they want this authority to be Caucasian. When Mr. Fryer was in charge here, in a very short time, he had become very popular. When it was found that he permitted himself occasionally to be undignified, a good many of the Japanese lost faith in him. It is odd that all leaders, whether Japanese or Caucasian, are expected to retain a certain amount of dignity. Unfulfilled promises are, of course, a source of loss of face; but oddly enough, the failure of administrative heads to conform with Japanese ways of thinking may be cause for unpopularity. Bluntness, or directness of speech has done much to render some Caucasian leaders unpopular. This is true of Mr. Landward, acting head of the Social Welfare Department. Landward has lost in popularity even though his intentions are of the best, because of his direct approach to a problem on hand, and his blunt way of expressing himself. It is true, not only in the Japanese, but also in the English that is spoken here by the Japanese of old world training, that they tend to use circumlocution, and to practice an indirectness of speech based on the dictates of Japanese etiquette. Administrative officers who failed to do the same might find that their popularity has waned.

Another interesting attitude that comes out in this community is the desire to give gifts in return for services rendered. It has been suggested ^{by} ~~that~~ some of the Caucasian staff that this is the result of the disorganization following evacuation. It has been stated that some Japanese wish to give gifts to Caucasians for services rendered, in order to show themselves to be loyal and benevolent towards Caucasians. I do not believe this to be the case but rather think that ~~gifts~~ gifts are offered in accordance with the Japanese pattern. It is customary that a gift be returned for

a service--the value of the gift to correspond with the extent of the service. Failure to do so makes the individual feel ashamed and the peculiar idea of "loss of Face" is again born out here. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that gifts are given freely among the Japanese themselves for favors and services. A rather interesting conflict comes out here under the "Hatch Act". All Federal employees are forbidden to receive gifts of any kind since they may be conceived as bribes. Gifts of money are very frequently offered, and sometimes an individual will go to the trouble of purchasing some commodity or other article to give to a Caucasian who he feels has been kind to him. Such gifts, of course, must be refused ^{often} ~~often~~ to the embarrassment and concern of both parties.

A section on recreation which I wrote in October is not complete, and a number of points dealing with Issei recreation should be mentioned. The significant division which comes out most clearly in Mr. Hikida's paper of pioneer Issei and Yobi-Yose makes it necessary to understand these groups as distinct divisions, and to apply distinct cultural principals to both. In this center, Yobi-Yose people are employed for the most part and take advantage of recreational facilities offered by the administration. Among the pioneer Issei, the older people, difficulties come out because these individuals are not provided with ample recreation by the administration, and for the most part, are not employed. Many manage to keep occupied, but not, as the period of relocation has progressed, many feel that they have had enough vacation, and are anxious to get back to work. Significant employment problems arise because it is obvious that old people of this kind are, for the most part, unemployable. They manage well enough in their own businesses and farms, but in the center, they are brought directly into competition with younger

people and cannot do the work of younger men with the same degree of success. The daily life of such individuals has been touched upon, but ^{still} ~~there~~/exists the significant problem of the disposition of their leisure time. Some of these older Issei are very active but others are quite frustrated because they have too much time on their hands. The women, particularly, being somewhat younger than the men in the main, are occupied with the care of their quarters; they join sewing circles, some have church interests, others make artificial flowers, arrange flowers, and still others visit and gossip, and women on the whole get along better than do the men.

~~gexthexkxmenxkx~~ The men of this age group, although some play "go", cards, and the like, are not so willing to enter into the community spirit as do the women. It is true that they get together ~~and~~ to talk and play, but do not usually have as exciting an outlet of expression for their leisure time as do the women. A discussion of this problem with Mr. Okuno revealed that certain of these men with literary tastes have met for poetry contests, but this only concerns a few of the more sophisticated. A new lease on life has arisen for some of these older men in the discovery of the form of Manzaneta, similar to the ebony of Japan. This is to be ~~discovered~~ discovered in the desert, and some older men have organized walking tours in order to collect this very hard wood. The wood is polished, and used as decorations in the house, as a base for flower arrangements, and the like. The *Grain* of this wood is very similar to that of the ebony forms known to Japanese artists. Unfortunately, the supply of this wood is limited, and it is now necessary to walk farther and farther into the desert in order to obtain it. As time goes, however, the recreation department hopes to be able to send out crews to collect this wood for use by the older men. The wood is excessively hard and durable, a great deal of effort being ne-

cessary in order to render polished and artistic value. Some of the work that has been done with it is indeed beautiful. Some of the artistically inclined Issei also wish to indulge in the Japanese custom of "moon walking." In Japan, it is customary to walk at the time of the full moon, along the sea coast or in the mountains, reciting Haiku and Tanka on the beauties of nature, and serenity of the moonlight. In Arizona, there are frequently beautiful moonlight nights, and some parties have been organized to walk by the moon. Unfortunately, the residents, at night, are not permitted to leave the camp limits, and thus do not dare indulge in this custom to the extent that they would desire. It is interesting to note that this custom was not followed in pre-evacuation times in America. Now, however, that there is leisure time, and that the moonlight nights are reminiscent of those of Japan, the desire to do this is returned on the parts of some.

Problems of disposition of leisure time for many of these Issei is one which will bear further research and study. Naturally, Nisei recreation is more fully worked out so far as the administration is concerned, and an individual Nisei may occupy his time in any sort of way, if he so desires.

It might be well to go into the matter of the many rumors which have circulated through this camp, most of which, however, will only be known through reports ^{by} ~~and~~ other observers. I will list one or two here, which may not previously have come into the attention of the study.

(1) Rumor concerning other camps are very frequently bandied about. It is said that this or that individual, a political leader, was assaulted, or killed, in any number of Centers. Poston, and Gila, vie with one another in the matter of heat. It is said by

those of Gila that all the babies are dying of heat at Poston, not one of them having survived. Other rumors of this kind are exceedingly frequent.

(2) The report has come in from time to time that coast cities have been bombed, and destroyed by enemy action.

(3) A racial distinction has provided the basis for a number of rumors. It is said that there is a definite discrimination against the negroes and Indian construction workers because of their race. It is stated that these Negroes and Indians are obliged to do the most dangerous tasks, while Caucasian workers are given easier and less dangerous work. In the course of construction in the Butte camp, Mr. Hikida says it was necessary to blast a water main out of solid rock. At one time the dynamite charges went off prematurely, killing one Caucasian worker, and maiming two others. The rumor circulated like wildfire that fifteen negroes had been killed, although the number varied from mouth to mouth. It was said that had Japanese been employed by the construction company, that they would have been made to do this dangerous work of lighting dynamite charges; similarly, the danger of cotton picking have been described elsewhere.

(4) Any Caucasian who is seen to be too friendly with the evacuees is said to be having illicit relations with some Japanese girl. Yeaton and Harding were particularly accused of such immorality.

(5) The rumor that another camp is to be made is also prevalent.

(6) The fear of various diseases is common. It is true that the Japanese are noted for their fear of tuberculosis and that families who have had tuberculosis members often had difficulty in marrying off their sons or daughters. The rumor circulated that this part of Arizona is "tuberculosis country", and that all who were here would quickly be infected by this disease. It is true

that this part of Arizona is particularly beneficial to people suffering from consumption, and very likely consumptives from other Centers will be sent down here because of the beneficial climate. A Tuberculosis ward was attached to the Hospital in Camp 1. When the ward was opened, and those suffering from advance cases of the disease were confined in it, the sigh of relief emitted by the community was almost audible.

One case came to my attention, that of a young woman from the Tullake Center, whose mother and sister had died of the disease. She was extremely unhappy and most maladjusted, because she was generally shunned by the community, and some of the Issei, in fact, were openly rude in avoiding her. She wants very badly to be married, and has gone with a number of Japanese boys, whose families frightened them off when they heard of the association. The girl is slightly inclined toward consumption herself, and her general ill health and mental depression have made her a most maladjusted individual.

(7) The break in the sewer line in Camp 1 mentioned in another report, caused considerable adverse comment when the statement was made that the administration willingly, and with malice of forethought, allowed the sewage to run about on the road as it did. The danger of Typhus and of other diseases resulting from sewage was stressed by certain members of the community. In this same respect, it was said that the drinking water was poisoned, in spite of ^{the} ~~that~~ fact, that in the early stages of Camp 2, water had to be imported especially in trucks, the drinking water in that camp being pronounced undrinkable by Dr. Sleath.

Other rumors will be recorded from time to time.

In my analysis of the social groups of the Gila community, I did not go into any great detail on the matter of gangs and socially disorganized groups. The gang element however, plays a significant

part in the community causing as it does, the fears of parents, trouble to the individuals concerned, and worry on the part of individuals generally. Gangs apparently did not exist to a large extent in the pre-evacuation period, but there were groups of individuals who ran together for social reasons, particularly in the Los Angeles area. There are Issei gangs and similar groups among both Nisei and Kibei. The section I contributed on political life mentioned a group of what have been termed "gangsters" among the Issei, whose definite purpose was to discredit the efforts of the administration and of the Nisei, by spreading a series of false rumors. This group was particularly opposed to any Americanization of the Nisei and were harsh in dealing with individuals who were willing to arrive at some understanding of the problems of the second generation. This was apparently a pioneer group of Issei, and directed their attention against those who had normally assumed the reins of the community. It was mentioned that they intimidated capable people who might otherwise have been leaders politically, and socially. A number of people with whom I am acquainted were threatened with death, and other bodily harm. A committee of such Issei would meet with members of their/^{own}group, but who had expressed opposing opinions, in wash rooms, and would make these threats. The rumor which they started, threats which they presented, were sufficient to prevent many otherwise capable people from entering into/^{the}political life of the community. For a long time, they were successful in preventing the formation of the Community Council. It has been stated that the individuals of this sort were people who had been maladjusted, and perhaps snubbed socially in the pre-evacuation period, but that they could now arise into ~~eminence~~ eminence because the natural leaders of the Japanese community; such men as business executives, officers in the Japanese Association, Buddhist and Shinto Priests, and the like, had been interned. This group has now quieted down somewhat, and is more

anxious to cooperate with the community generally. They did draw up a petition which was sent to Mr. Dillon Meyer, requesting that Issei be allowed to hold elective office. Having gained a certain amount of attention from the National Office of the WRA, they have now relaxed in their demands. Many such individuals however, are exceedingly anxious that meetings be conducted only in the Japanese language, allowing predominance to the Issei and shutting out to some extent, the representatives of the second generation. Their original proposals were so vehemently expressed; their efforts were so intimately directed against the Nisei, and the fact that they chose such high-handed means of enforcing their demands, have provided justification for terming this dissatisfied group as a gang. Many of their contemporaries were extremely dissatisfied by the actions of such agitators.

The gangs of the younger people are more exclusively better organized groups which have more of a social, than political purpose. The locality from which the members came usually has much to do with the formation of such groups. A number of young men got together in gangs of bad repute in the community. The Santa Anita Assembly Center was particularly noted for the gangster element, to the extent that many of the younger agitators there were separated from the bulk of the community, and sent to Relocation Centers elsewhere. So ~~controversial~~^{troublesome} were the groups at Santa Anita, at least according to the opinion of the WCCA, that it was necessary to break up the group as a whole, and divide it between all of the Relocation Centers in the United States. At the present time, we have 1,000 Santa Anita people at Gila. Prior to the last ~~unauthorized~~ entry of the Santa Anita people, many of these gang elements were imported here. One gang, coming

from Santa Anita, is composed of older Nisei and Kibei, mostly of whom had a Hawaiian origin. They have banded together under the name "Hawaiian Sailors". Many of the members of this group are seamen, and are anxious to return to that profession, many of ~~which~~ them having offered their services to the merchant marine. There is nothing especially bad about this group, but a bad reputation has preceded them in this Center. Some of them, it is true, have operated gambling rings, and have bribed construction workers to bring in liquor from the outside. It might be mentioned here, that liquor is not forbidden on the Project itself, but may not be brought into the area because this is an Indian reservation. This is the only reason that liquor is forbidden. The Hawaiian Sailors were apparently a large group at Santa Anita, and were broken up and dispersed through other Assembly Centers and Relocation Projects. The group came in two's and three's under escort. They were lectured by Mr. Fredericks, assistant director of Internal Security, who warned them that if they stepped out of line, ~~xxxx~~they would meet with deportation to another Center. Fredericks had, what I at least thought to be, a good idea in wanting to make them wardens, thus obtaining their confidence, and endowing them with a sense of responsibility. Williamson, the head of Internal ~~Police~~ Security, refused to listen to this idea, with the result that most of them remain idle, and are becoming more and more involved in the gambling rings which are known to function in the Center, and of which a discussion will follow shortly.

Another gang similar to the Hawaiian Sailors, but oddly enough, composed of a Y.M.C.A. group from Santa Anita, is the so-called exclusive "Twenty Club", the group of which act similarly to the group described above. The members of this gang however, are of better background than the Hawaiian Sailors. Of the latter, many

are single men whose families are in the Hawaiian Islands. The former have families in the Center, who are most concerned over the activities of the members. In the main, these gangs range in ages from 16 to 35, the average age being somewhere around 21-22. I do not know the extent of membership, but I would guess that each gang has not more than 100 members, and not less than 40. These are the principal gangs, the membership of which is composed of young men. The problem of liquor and gambling which they bring about is significant. Boys gangs composed of Nisei boys of average age 12-18 are numerous, and are indicative of a certain rowdy element in camp. There are boys from Los Angeles, who were sent to the Tulelake Assembly Center with their families. They call themselves the Los Angeles Wolves, and some wear tee shirts with this crest of a wolf's head on them. They are in opposition to boys from the Tulelake Assembly Center, whose home residence was in the San Joaquin Valley, because the latter were unable to buy tee shirts, or have other distinctive identification marks. These boys went around for awhile with crossed pieces of adhesive tape on their foreheads. Now that school has started, the boys gangs have somewhat died down. There is also in the Canal Camp, a rowdy gang of boys from the Turlock Assembly Center.

The Hawaiian Sailors have been accused of theft on a number of occasions, the fact that Warehouses in the Butte camp were broken into, the locks being forced, and clothing and food being stolen, was attributed to the Hawaiian Sailors' element. The thieves were never caught, and how well justified the condemnations of the community is that this gang was guilty, I do not know.

The ~~Exclusive~~ "Twenty Club" and the "Hawaiian Sailors" have gained a bad reputation to the extent that young girls are forbidden by their parents to associate with the members. It is true that the Hawaiian Sailor element sponsored a gambling ring. ~~Under~~ Under the direction of Williamson and Fredericks, a raid was made on Recreation Hall no. 4, now the Buddhist Church, in camp 1; and a number of gamblers were taken into custody. In this particular raid, a poker game was broken up, and over twelve hundred dollars was found on the table at one time. One of the gamblers confessed that sometimes stakes ran as high as five-hundred dollars. The games most frequently played are poker, and the Japanese Hanna. This particular group, on being closed down, threatened the warden who reported them. He became so frightened that he resigned his job. He was so anxious to resign, that he rushed up to Mr. Fredericks when the latter was addressing a group of people, and stammered out his resignation. Mr. Fredericks then attempted to deal with the ring leaders of the gang who were in the group being addressed by himself. There were a number of Issei in the group who stayed about curiously while the gang leaders and the warden concerned were discussing the problem with Mr. Fredericks. He attempted to clear the space in which they were talking, but the crowd gathered around more and more until finally it was necessary to summon more wardens, in order to disperse the mass of people. The Japanese penchant for gossip, and of curiosity, is rather clearly demonstrated here. The group, anxious to hear what was being said, simply refused to disband. Finally, Fredericks conceived the idea of subjecting the gang leaders to ridicule before the eyes of the crowd. The embarrassment, and loss of face, which this occasioned, was far more effective than the

jail sentence which was later imposed on the gamblers by Mr. Smith, then Project Director. They are now subject to ridicule in the community because they are no longer active as a gambling element. Some of these Hawaiian Sailors involved, requested that they be moved over to Camp 2, in order to escape the ridicule at their expense. This has proved the most effective way of dealing with such elements, although~~y~~ unfortunately, Mr. Williamson, the head of Internal Security, can not see his way clear to using this weapon. I hope to go into some detail on the matter of the mal-administration of the Internal Security Department under the arrogant leadership of Williamson.

In spite of the break-up of one gambling ring sponsored in Camp 1 by the Hawaiian Sailors, the representatives of this gang in Camp 2 have also been active in arranging a gambling ring. This ring is conducted in greater secrecy, and as yet, no definite ~~eff~~ evidence has been uncovered~~d~~ to undermine it. The administration does not object to small games of chance on a penny ante base; it is rather, ^{there} where large sums of money are concerned, and ~~it~~ is actual fleecing of the unwary by experienced gamblers. Many credulous Issei have brought ~~with~~ them their life savings; some have the money which they obtained from the sale of their property. They are considered to be fair game by the experienced "city slicker" gamblers. Certain Issei have also begun gambling groups, and a number of Block Managers were dismissed from their positions for allowing gambling to go on in their homes, while they took a "front" position in their offices. In other words, certain Block Managers were guilty of sponsoring gambling rings.

Gambling has met with considerable opposition from women of the community, and it is often true that the wives of those who gamble, will report on the time and place of gamblings. It was suggested

that a number of women be hired, who could report on such organized gambling activities, but as yet, this has not been done. I have noted myself, individuals who came to this camp with no money at all. One man whom I know to be a Hawaiian Sailor, borrowed 50¢ from me for lunch when his train arrived at Casa Grande. In a short while he had paid me back, and now I learn that he has contributed a radio, and an electric clock to his mess hall. He is one of the notorious gamblers of the community, and had served a month in the Los Angeles County Jail for gambling at Santa Anita.

A number of cases of assault and battery have arisen. Of gambling, the offender, if caught, will serve the usual sentence for that misdemeanor. In one case however, two Issei got into an argument over a gambling game, and the one stabbed the other in his forearm, after the first had struck his assailant with a long piece of two by four. Both are now serving six months in the County jail. In such cases, the arrest is made by the Internal Security representative; the accused is taken to the County seat at Florence for trial. The examining magistrate, on ^{finding} ~~suspecting~~ the individual guilty, usually asks that the sentence be fixed by the Project Director. The sentence is usually suspended, the court action being sufficient in keeping the offender in line.

The problem of liquor is one which has caused considerable ill feeling among the evacuees, and among some of the members of the Internal Security. The Military Police, and the Caucasian Construction workers would bring in liquor which they would ~~next~~ sell for six dollars a pint.

In one case a Caucasian, incidentally a cousin of the Regional Director, Mr. Fryer, formed an agency of his own in conjunction with certain people who were active in gambling rings. For several weeks, he brought in cases of alcohol which he sold at the above price. At length he was apprehended by the Internal Security Department, and in his car were found 2 cases of whiskey. He was held on charges of bringing liquor to Indian land and has been sentenced to a year in a Federal penitentiary. It is known that liquor has been brought into the camp and sold by many of the Caucasian construction workers, who were here in rather large numbers during the initial stages of the moving in of evacuees. In spite of this however, there had been few cases of actual drunkenness. One man, very drunk, was arrested by the Wardens, and was lectured to by Mr. Fredericks, assistant chief of Internal Security. An appeal was made to this man on the ground that continued actions of this kind on the parts of the evacuees might result in control by the Military, much to the distress of the inhabitants of the camp. This had considerable effect on the group interested in purchasing liquor, with the result that there have been no examples of open drinking in the community. Oddly enough, the arrest of the individual concerned in this case, was brought about by a report from Lieutenant Findley, the acting Commandant of the Military Police. Although the Military Police are not permitted to inspect the inside of the Relocation areas, it became obvious that the Military was seeking to assert a greater amount of control than ^{would} ~~it~~ normally be apportioned to it by agreement and by Federal legislation. ~~Lieutenant~~

Lieutenant Findley had asked that construction worker watchmen report any such cases to him before calling it to the attention of the WRA authorities. Why he should do this is debatable; it did not lie within his official jurisdiction, but nevertheless, when

the case of drunkenness was reported to him, he personally made the arrest and handed the offender over to the Internal Security Department. This, together with other examples already mentioned, is rather clear evidence of continued encroachment by the Military authorities on the WRA domain. It is mentioned above that a group of people in the community have sponsored the liquor influx and the gambling. It is quite true that there are individuals, mainly single men, who, like the gangsters described above, have banded together for gambling and for purpose of obtaining liquor. Community marks such men for disapproval and does not sanction their actions. The more responsible men of the community; men with families, responsible jobs, or other impositions, the members of the Community Council, certain Block Managers, and the like, have marked special activities for disapproval, nevertheless, gambling flourishes and the effects of gambling seemingly cannot be stamped out. Those who gamble and make money are the first who are proved guilty of purchasing liquor. Mixed in with this problem is the attitude which reflects itself in regards to the Internal Security Department. A dual attitude exists.

In Camp 1 the Wardens have gained for themselves considerable respect. Gambling activities in the Canal Camp have been largely curtailed. Camp 2 however, presents a different picture. Here, the Wardens are accorded very little respect and are unable to cope with such situations. Contrary to the hopes originally explained by Mr. Williamson, the college graduates, trained Sociologists, Psychologists, and the like, could not be hired as Wardens. The Department of Internal Security has succeeded only in hiring people of little education and inadequate background for the type of police work that Mr. Williamson hopes to set up in this community. In the Butte camp, people are most critical of the Warden Department, this attitude

further expressed in the Wardens themselves who are afraid to go on raids against gamblers, to report on any other manifestations of maladjustments, in short, to impinge in any way upon the general will of the community. It is hoped through our observer Yusa, that a detailed analysis of the Internal Security Department can be presented. It is known that certain gamblers from Camp 1 walk over to Camp 2, and remain all day to engage in such games as Poker, Hana, and the like. Thus, although gambling activities have been stamped out in Camp 1, the gamblers are still active in Camp 2, and are more fully occupied than ever. The meeting place for gambling is in some persons house; look-outs, usually small boys, are posted, naturally it is easy enough to find out where gambling is going on. But even though a raid takes place, it is difficult to enlist the cooperation of the Wardens, and further difficult to actually call a halt to the activities. It is definitely known that some of the so-called Hawaiian Sailors have supported the gambling "ring". It is also known that a definite "ring" is involved since the games are sponsored by a group of people who not only play, but derive a certain amount of profit from sponsoring the games, demanding, it is said, a 10% cut of each pot.. Whether such games are honest or not is questionable since not enough is known about the actual conditions of play, the activities of the so-called ring, etc. A solution to the problem of gambling has been suggested by the Assistant Chief of Internal Security, Mr. Fredericks. It is very doubtful, however, whether the program he outlines could meet with official sanction or the will of the Community Council. He suggested that a gambling game be carried on under the direction of the division of Internal Security, and that a hall be used for such games which would be conducted under the eyes of representatives of the Internal Security Division. Thus, all such gambling would be open and aboveboard.

No attempt would be made to control stakes, but attempts would be made to control those who gamble; for example, if a man's family ~~has~~ objected to such activity, he would not be permitted to play. Fredericks sounded out a number of people on the subject and met with some favorable reception. It is doubtful though, that the National Office could condone such activity. Fredericks believes that were such a form of recreation devised, a good deal could be done towards keeping a dissatisfied element in line, and prevent out-breaks of dissatisfaction among this group. He has offered to take full responsibility~~for~~ for the administration of such an arrangement.

The organization of the Division of ~~the~~ Internal Security might be mentioned here, although a more detailed account will be procured at a later date (we hope). It is impossible as yet to present case analyses of the Wardens, or to ascertain the various groups which they ~~represent~~ represent. The general experience of the department has been that older married men are best qualified for this position. The position itself pays the skilled rate of 16 dollars. Williamson has mentioned above hopes to enlist college-trained Wardens, but has been most unsuccessful. The result has been that Williamson is most dissatisfied with his department. He himself, favors single men, believing them freer~~er~~ of group affiliations and more able to adopt an objective view of the community at large. In spite of objections from his Caucasian subordinates, Fredericks and Johnston, Williamson has followed this policy with few exceptions, without realizing that such younger men are subject to criticism by the community at large for affiliating themselves too closely with the administration, and the fact that Wardens here are being regarded more and more as hostile to the best interests of the community. Outwardly, the department is well-organized since, as will be mentioned presently, the Military

is confined to the outermost boundaries of the camp; it is up to Wardens to patrol the inner limits. In the residence area, they patrol on foot, and at night have the use of a car. Outside of the residence area, a mounted patrol follows the roads and water courses, reporting on accidents, and watching out for the general safety of the community. They have been trained in first aid. The department is well organized to look after the safety of the residence, but are not equipped to deal with maladjustments, or acts indicative of maladjustments. The gambling instance is a good one where in Camp 2 especially, the Internal Security personnel is too much afraid of adverse criticism and of losing their places in the social set-up of the community, to act with objectivity. A previous report mentioned the fact that the community Council was opposed to the adoption of the term "policemen" or "police", and preferred the terminology "Warden" and "Internal Security" instead. This has been a great ^{dis-}~~sur-~~appointment to Williamson who is most anxious to have a well-organized Police Department under his command. In order to achieve this, Williamson has provided his wardens with uniforms, Khaki clothes with military cut, and Khaki sun-helmets, as well as with shoes, coats, and other desirable accessories. Since the introduction of uniforms for the Wardens, many wish to join the organization to obtain the free clothing. The Wardens still wear a green armband with the mark "W" on it, but it is understood that within a short time, badges will be issued to each member of the force. The Wardens are thus already set apart by their dress, and it seems likely that when badges are issued, they will be denied what little cooperation the cooperation now gives them. It is well known that the Japanese communities are able by sheer weight of public opinion to keep the respective members in line. The Warden detail is regarded by many as an idle and ineffective luxury. The members are criticized as spies

for the administration, and very little cooperation is given them. Outwardly the organization is, as stated above, well organized and effective--as individuals, the Wardens are, for the most part, incapable of asserting any influence on the feelings or reactions of the community. Williamson has been criticized by the administrative staff, and meets with very little cooperation from his Caucasian aides. The chief objection against him that has been raised, is that he seeks an organization which runs in terms of clockwork rather than one which is capable of dealing with the human factors of the community. The criticism has been leveled, that he regards every member of the community as a potential law-breaker, and that he attempts to inculcate this spirit in his personnel. He attempts to have his Wardens adopt as objective an attitude as possible, in dealing with the individuals of the community. Obviously, this cannot be done, ~~esp~~ especially with the accentuated conditions of community solidarity and front, and identification of the evacuees with each other as Japanese, and as evacuees together. Because of these factors, the consensus of the community is that the Internal Security Department amounts to no more ~~x~~ than a farce.

In previous reports, it was mentioned that the Military kept strict control of the camps boundaries by the day, and over the residence boundaries by night. An agreement has finally been reached whereby the interior boundary, such as the ~~reside~~ residence boundaries, by night are to be patrolled by the Warden detail, while the outermost boundaries, are, at all roads, guarded by the Military Police. It is no longer necessary for the interior boundaries to be patrolled by the Military Police. Between sundown and sunrise, Japanese Wardens check all traffic between camps, between those hours. At first, the Military Police were strong in their demands in regard to night travel between

camps, and two Caucasians were hired to conduct all necessary travelers between the two camps during the night hours. Since the outermost limits have been established and these are patrolled by the Military Police, such situations no longer is necessary, and the Caucasian escorts have been dismissed. At night, the outermost residence limits are still taboo, but enforcement of such regulations is left up to the Warden detail.

As a result of my initial stay at Gila, notes on a number of subjects were collected, and ample opportunity to write these notes up being lacking, I choose to present a résumé of them at this time. In accordance with the outline submitted for Tulelake by Shibutani and Miyamoto, there are a number of points omitted in my own report, notably on attitudes and social maladjustments. There are a few points in regards to administration, attitudes on authority, recreation, rumors, and the like, which have not as yet been discussed. The following are notes only, and do not attempt to present any full picture; rather, they are an outline. Some of the points to be discussed are elaborated upon to a considerable extent by Messrs. Okuno and Hikida.

Attitudes on authority (conversation with Mr. Miura)

It is apparent from the inter-relationships of the communities, as manifested here, that a definite resentment is manifested by the majority of the evacuees in regard to working under Japanese direction. The feeling of equality is one that comes out here very distinctly. Some of the evacuees admitted that there are "Japanese bosses" on the outside, but that here in the camp, everyone has been leveled. It was also true that on the outside, definite resentment arose when one Japanese worked for another. Etiquette demands reluctance to discuss money matters. When one Japanese worked for another, he was always willing to minimize the amount due him and to accept less because he did not wish to appear greedy in his employer's eyes. Now, many of

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the evacuees feel that the Government is paying them money, and that they should be under the direct supervision of Caucasians. It is necessary for the Japanese, especially those who retain to a great extent their old world background, to respect the authority over them. Because they are living in America, they want this authority to be Caucasian. When Mr. Fryer was in charge here, in a very short time, he had become very popular. When it was found that he permitted himself occasionally to be undignified, a good many of the Japanese lost ~~faith~~ in him. It is odd that all leaders, whether Japanese or Caucasian, are expected to retain a certain amount of dignity. Unfulfilled promises are, of course, a source of loss of face; but oddly enough, the failure of administrative heads to conform with Japanese ways of thinking may be cause for unpopularity. Bluntness, or directness of speech has done much to render some Caucasian leaders unpopular. This is true of Mr. Landward, acting head of the Social Welfare Department. Landward has lost in popularity even though his intentions are of the best, because of his direct approach to a problem on hand, and his blunt way of expressing himself. It is true, not only in the Japanese, but also in the English that is spoken here by the Japanese of old world training, that they tend to use circumlocution, and to practice an indirectness of speech based on the dictates of Japanese etiquette. Administrative officers who failed to do the same might find that their popularity has waned.

Another interesting attitude that comes out in this community is the desire to give gifts in return for services rendered. It has been suggested by some of the Caucasian staff that this is the result of the

disorganization following evacuation. It has been stated that some Japanese wish to give gifts to Caucasians for services rendered, in order to show themselves to be loyal and benevolent towards Caucasians. I do not believe this to be the case, but rather think that gifts are offered in accordance with the Japanese pattern. It is customary that a gift be returned for a service -- the value of the gift to correspond with the extent of the service. Failure to do so makes the individual feel ashamed, and the peculiar idea of "loss of face" is again born out here. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that gifts are given freely among the Japanese themselves for favors and services. A rather interesting conflict comes out here under the "Hatch Act." All Federal employees are forbidden to receive gifts of any kind, since they may be conceived as bribes. Gifts of money are very frequently offered, and sometimes an individual will go to the trouble of purchasing some commodity or other article to give to a Caucasian who he feels has been kind to him. Such gifts, of course, must be refused, often to the embarrassment and concern of both parties.

A section on recreation which I wrote in October is not complete, and a number of points dealing with Issei recreation should be mentioned. The significant division which comes out most clearly in Mr. Hikikd's paper of pioneer Issei and Yobi-Yose makes it necessary to understand these groups as distinct divisions, and to apply distinct cultural principles to both. In this center, Yobi-Yose people are employed for the most part and take advantage of recreational facilities offered by the administration. Among the pioneer Issei, the older people, difficulties arise because these individuals are not provided with ample

recreation by the administration, and for the most part, are not employed. Many manage to keep occupied, but now, as the period of relocation has progressed, many feel that they have had enough vacation, and are anxious to get back to work. Significant employment problems arise because it is obvious that old people of this kind are, for the most part, unemployable. They manage well enough in their own businesses and farms, but in the center, they are brought directly into competition with younger people and cannot do the work of younger men with the same degree of success. The daily life of such individuals has been touched upon, but there still exists the significant problem of the disposition of their leisure time. Some of these older Issei are very active, but others are quite frustrated because they have too much time on their hands. The women, particularly, being somewhat younger than the men in the main, are occupied with the care of their quarters; they join sewing circles, some have church interests, others make artificial flowers, arrange flowers, and still others visit and gossip, and women on the whole get along better than do the men. The men of this age group, although some play "go", cards, and the like, are not so willing to enter into the community spirit as do the women. It is true that they get together to talk and play, but do not usually have as exciting an outlet of expression for their leisure time as do the women. A discussion of this problem with Mr. Okuno revealed that certain of these men with literary tastes have met for poetry contests, but this only concerned a few of the more sophisticated. A new lease on life has arisen for some of these older men in the discovery of the form of Manzanita, similar

to the ebony of Japan. This is to be discovered in the desert, and some older men have organized walking tours in order to collect this very hard wood. The wood is polished, and used as decorations in the house, as a base for flower arrangements, and the like. The grain of this wood is very similar to that of the ebony forms known to Japanese artists. Unfortunately, the supply of this wood is limited, and it is now necessary to walk farther and farther into the desert in order to obtain it. As time goes on, however, the recreation department hopes to be able to send out crews to collect this wood for use by the older men. The wood is excessively hard and durable, a great deal of effort being necessary in order to render polished and artistic value. Some of the work that has been done with it is indeed beautiful. Some of the artistically inclined Issei also wish to indulge in the Japanese custom of "moon walking." In Japan, it is customary to walk at the time of the full moon, along the sea coast or in the mountains, reciting Haiku and Tanka on the beauties of nature, and serenity of the moonlight. In Arizona, there are frequently beautiful moonlight nights, and some parties have been organized to walk by the moon. Unfortunately, the residents, at night, are not permitted to leave the camp limits, and thus do not dare indulge in this custom to the extent that they would desire. It is interesting to note that this custom was not followed in pre-evacuation times in America. Now, however, that there is leisure time, and that the moonlight nights are reminiscent of those of Japan, the desire to do this has returned on the part of some.

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Problems of disposition of leisure time for many of these Issei is one which will bear further research and study. Naturally, Nisei recreation is more fully worked out so far as the administration is concerned, and an individual Nisei may occupy his time in any sort of way, if he so desires.

It might be well to go into the matter of the many rumors which have circulated through this camp, most of which, however, will only be known through reports by other observers. I will list one or two here, which may not previously have come into the attention of the study.

(1) Rumor concerning other camps are very frequently bandied about. It is said that this or that individual, a political leader, was assaulted, or killed, in any number of Centers. Poston, and Gila, view with one another in the matter of heat. It is said by those of Gila that all the babies are dying of heat at Poston, not one of them having survived. Other rumors of this kind are exceedingly frequent.

(2) The report has come in from time to time that coast cities have been bombed, and destroyed by enemy action.

(3) A racial distinction has provided the basis for a number of rumors. It is said that there is a definite discrimination against the Negro and Indian construction workers because of their race. It is stated that these Negroes and Indians are obliged to do the most dangerous tasks, while Caucasian workers are given easier and less dangerous work. In the course of construction in the Butte camp, Mr. Hikida says

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it was necessary to blast a water main out of solid rock. At one time the dynamite charges went off prematurely, killing one Caucasian worker, and maiming two others. The rumor circulated like wildfire that fifteen Negroes had been killed, although the number varied from mouth to mouth. It was said that had Japanese been employed by the construction company, that they would have been made to do this dangerous work of lighting dynamite charges; similarly, the danger of cotton picking have been described elsewhere.

(4) Any Caucasian who is seen to be too friendly with the evacuees is said to be having illicit relations with some Japanese girl. Yeaton and Harding were particularly accused of such immorality.

(5) The rumor that another camp is to be made is also prevalent.

(6) The fear of various diseases is common. It is true that the Japanese are noted for their fear of tuberculosis and that families which have had tuberculosis members often had difficulty in marrying off their sons and daughters. The rumor circulated that this part of Arizona is "tuberculosis country", and that all who were here would quickly be infected by this disease. It is true that this part of Arizona is particularly beneficial to people suffering from consumption, and very likely consumptives from other Centers will be sent down here because of the beneficial climate. A tuberculosis ward was attached to the hospital in Camp 1. When the ward was opened, and those suffering from advance cases of the disease were confined in it, the sigh of relief emitted by the community was almost audible.

One case came to my attention, that of a young woman from the Tulelake Center, whose mother and sister had died of the disease. She was extremely unhappy and most maladjusted, because she was generally shunned by the community, and some of the Issei, in fact, were openly rude in avoiding her. She wants very badly to be married, and has gone with a number of Japanese boys, whose families frightened them off when they heard of the association. The girl is slightly inclined toward consumption herself, and her general ill health and mental depression have made her a most maladjusted individual.

(7) The break in the sewer line in Camp 1 mentioned in another report, caused considerable adverse comment when the statement was made that the administration willingly, and with malice of forethought, allowed the sewage to run about on the road as it did. The danger of typhus and of other diseases resulting from sewage was stressed by certain members of the community. In this same respect, it was said that the drinking water was poisoned. In spite of the fact that in the early stages of Camp 2, water had to be imported especially in trucks, the drinking water in that camp being pronounced undrinkable by Dr. Sleath.

Other rumors will be recorded from time to time.

In my analysis of the social groups of the Gila community, I did not go into any great detail on the matter of gangs and socially disorganized groups. The gang element, however, plays a significant part in the community, causing as it does, the fears of parents, trouble to the individuals concerned, and worry on the part of individuals generally. Gangs apparently did not exist to a large extent in the pre-evacuation period, but there were groups of individuals who ran together for social

reasons, particularly in the Los Angeles area. There are Issei gangs and similar groups among both Nisei and Kibei. The section I contributed on political life mentioned a group of what have been termed "gangsters" among the Issei, whose definite purpose was to discredit the efforts of the administration and of the Nisei, by spreading a series of false rumors. This group was particularly opposed to any Americanization of the Nisei and were harsh in dealing with individuals who were willing to arrive at some understanding of the problems of the second generation. This was apparently a pioneer group of Issei, and directed their attention against those who had normally assumed the reins of the community. It was mentioned that they intimidated capable people who might otherwise have been leaders politically, and socially. A number of people with whom I am acquainted were threatened with death, and other bodily harm. A committee of such Issei would meet with members of their own group, but who had expressed opposing opinions, in wash rooms, and would make these threats. The rumor which they started, threats which they presented, were sufficient to prevent many otherwise capable people from entering into the political life of the community. For a long time, they were successful in preventing the formation of the Community Council. It has been stated that the individuals of this sort were people who had been maladjusted, and perhaps snubbed socially in the pre-evacuation period, but that they could now arise into eminence because the natural leaders of the Japanese community, such men as business executives, officers in the Japanese Association, Buddhist and Shinto priests, and the like, had been interned. This group has now

quieted down somewhat, and is more anxious to cooperate with the community generally. They did draw up a petition which was sent to Mr. Dillon Meyer, requesting that Issei be allowed to hold elective office. Having gained a certain amount of attention from the National Office of the WRA, they have now relaxed in their demands. Many such individuals however, are exceedingly anxious that meetings be conducted only in Japanese, allowing predominance to the Issei and shutting out to some extent, the representatives of the second generation. Their original proposals were so vehemently expressed; their efforts were so intimately directed against the Nisei, and the fact that they chose such high-handed means of enforcing their demands, have provided justification for terming this dissatisfied group a gang. Many of their contemporaries were extremely dissatisfied by the actions of such agitators.

The gangs of the younger people are more exclusively and better organized groups have more of a social, than political purpose. The locality from which the members came usually has much to do with the formation of such groups. A number of young men got together in gangs of bad repute in the community. The Santa Anita Assembly Center was particularly noted for the gangster element, to the extent that many of the younger agitators there were separated from the bulk of the community and sent to Relocation Centers elsewhere. So troublesome were the groups at Santa Anita, at least according to the opinion of the WCCA, that it was necessary to break up the group as a whole, and divide it between all the Relocation Centers in the United States. At the present time,

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we have 1,000 Santa Anita people at Gila. Prior to the last entry of the Santa Anita people, many of these gang elements were imported here. One gang, coming from Santa Anita, is composed of older Nisei and Kibei, most of whom had a Hawaiian origin. They have banded together under the name "Hawaiian Sailors." Many of the members of this group are seamen, and are anxious to return to that profession, many of them having offered their services to the merchant marine. There is nothing especially bad about this group, but a bad reputation has preceded them in this Center. Some of them, it is true, have operated gambling rings, and have bribed construction workers to bring in liquor from the outside. It might be mentioned here, that liquor is not forbidden on the Project itself, but may not be brought into the area because this is an Indian reservation. This is the only reason that liquor is forbidden. The Hawaiian Sailors were apparently a large group at Santa Anita, and were broken up and dispersed through other Assembly Centers and Relocation Projects. The group came in two's and three's under escort. They were lectured by Mr. Fredericks, assistant director of Internal Security, who warned them that if they stepped out of line, they would meet with deportation to another Center. Fredericks had, what I at least, thought to be, a good idea in wanting to make them wardens, thus obtaining their confidence, and endowing them with a sense of responsibility. Williamson, the head of Internal Security, refused to listen to this idea, with the result that most of them remain idle, and are becoming more and more involved in the gambling rings which are known to function in the Center, and of which a discussion will follow shortly.

Another gang similar to the Hawaiian Sailors, but oddly enough, composed of a Y.M.C.A. group from Santa Anita, is the so-called "Exclusive Twenty Club," which acts similarly to the group described above. The members of this gang however, are of better background than the Hawaiian Sailors. Of the latter, many are single men whose families are in the Hawaiian Islands. The former have families in the Center who are most concerned over the activities of the members. In the main, these gangs range in ages from 16 to 35, the average age being somewhere around 21-22. I do not know the extent of membership, but I would guess that each gang has not more than 100 members, and not less than 40. These are the principal gangs, the membership of which is composed of young men. The problem of liquor and gambling which they bring about is significant. Boys' gangs composed of Nisei boys of average age 12-18 are numerous, and are indicative of a certain rowdy element in camp. There are boys from Los Angeles, who were sent to the Tulalake Assembly Center with their families. They call themselves the Los Angeles Wolves, and some wear tee shirts with this crest of a wolf's head on them. They are in opposition to boys from the Tulalake Assembly Center, whose home residence was in the San Joaquin Valley, because the latter were unable to buy tee shirts, or have other distinctive identification marks. These boys went around for awhile with crossed pieces of adhesive tape on their foreheads. Now that school has started, the boys' gangs have somewhat died down. There is also the Canal Camp, a rowdy gang of boys from the Turlock Assembly Center.

The Hawaiian Sailors have been accused of theft on a number of occasions. The fact that warehouses in the Butte camp were broken into, the locks being forced, and clothing and food being stolen, was attributed to the Hawaiian Sailors element. The thieves were never caught, and how well justified the condemnation of the community is that this gang was guilty I do not know.

The "Exclusive Twenty Club" and the "Hawaiian Sailors" have gained a bad reputation to the extent that young girls are forbidden by their parents to associate with the members. It is true that the Hawaiian Sailor element sponsored a gambling ring. Under the direction of Williamson and Fredericks a raid was made on Recreation Hall no. 4, now the Buddhist Church, in camp 1; and a number of gamblers were taken into custody. In this particular raid, a poker game was broken up, and over twelve hundred dollars was found on the table at one time. One of the gamblers confessed that sometimes stakes ran as high as five-hundred dollars. The games most frequently played are poker, and the Japanese Hanna. This particular group, on being closed down, threatened the warden who reported them. He became so frightened that he resigned his job. He was so anxious to resign, that he rushed up to Mr. Fredericks when the latter was addressing a group of people, and stammered out his resignation. Mr. Fredericks then attempted to deal with the ring leaders of the gang who were in the group being addressed by himself. There were a number of Issei in the group who stayed about curiously while the gang leaders and the warden concerned were discussing the

problem with Mr. Fredericks. He attempted to clear the space in which they were talking, but the crowd gathered around more and more until finally it was necessary to summon more wardens, in order to disperse the mass of people. The Japanese penchant for gossip, and of curiosity, is rather clearly demonstrated here. The group, anxious to hear what was being said, simply refused to disband. Finally, Fredericks conceived the idea of subjecting the gang leaders to ridicule before the eyes of the crowd. The embarrassment and loss of face which this occasioned was far more effective than the jail sentence which was later imposed on the gamblers by Mr. Smith, then Project Director. They are now subject to ridicule in the community because they are no longer active as a gambling element. Some of these Hawaiian Sailors involved requested that they be moved over to Camp 2 in order to escape the ridicule at their expense. This has proved the most effective way of dealing with such elements, although unfortunately, Mr. Williamson, the head of Internal Security, cannot see his way clear to using this weapon. I hope to go into some detail on the matter of the mal-administration of the Internal Security Department under the arrogant leadership of Williamson.

In spite of the break-up of one gambling ring sponsored in Camp 1 by the Hawaiian Sailors, the representatives of this gang in Camp 2 have also been active in arranging a gambling ring. This ring is conducted in greater secrecy, and as yet, no definite evidence has been uncovered to undermine it. The administration does not object to small games of chance on a penny ante base; it is rather, where

where large sums of money are concerned and there is actual fleecing of the unwary by experienced gamblers. Many credulous Issei have brought with them their life savings; some have the money which they obtained from the sale of their property. They are considered to be fair game by the experienced "city slicker" gamblers. Certain Issei have also begun gambling groups, and a number of Block Managers were dismissed from their positions for allowing gambling to go on in their homes, while they took a "front" position in their offices. In other words, certain Block Managers were guilty of sponsoring gambling rings.

Gambling has met with considerable opposition from women of the community, and it is often true that the wives of those who gamble will report on the time and place of gamblings. It was suggested that a number of women be hired who could report on such organized gambling activities, but as yet this has not been done. I have noted myself individuals who came to this camp with no money at all. One man whom I know to be a Hawaiian Sailor borrowed 50¢ from me for lunch when his train arrived at Casa Grande. In a short while he had paid me back, and now I learn that he has contributed a radio and an electric clock to his mess hall. He is one of the notorious gamblers of the community and had served a month in the Los Angeles County Jail for gambling at Santa Anita.

A number of cases of assault and battery have arisen. Of gambling, the offender, if caught, will serve the usual sentence for that

misdemeanor. In one case, however, two Issei got into an argument over a gambling game, and the one stabbed the other in his forearm after the first had struck his assailant with a long piece of two-by-four. Both are now serving six months in the County Jail. In such cases, the arrest is made by the Internal Security representative; the accused is taken to the County seat at Florence for trial. The examining magistrate, on finding the individual guilty, usually asks that the sentence be fixed by the Project Director. The sentence is usually suspended, the court action being sufficient in keeping the offender in line.

The problem of liquor is one which has caused considerable ill feeling among the evacuees, and among some of the members of the Internal Security. The Military Police, and the Caucasian construction workers would bring in liquor which they would sell for six dollars a pint.

In one case a Caucasian, incidentally a cousin of the Regional Director, Mr. Fryer, formed an agency of his own in conjunction with certain people who were active in gambling rings. For several weeks he brought in cases of alcohol which he sold at the above price. At length he was apprehended by the Internal Security Department, and in his car were found 2 cases of whiskey. He was held on charges of bringing liquor to Indian land and has been sentenced to a year in a Federal penitentiary. It is known that liquor has been brought into the camp and sold by many of the Caucasian construction workers, who

were here in rather large numbers during the initial stages of the moving-in of evacuees. In spite of this, however, there had been few cases of actual drunkenness. One man, very drunk, was arrested by the Wardens and was lectured to by Mr. Fredericks, assistant chief of Internal Security. An appeal was made to this man on the ground that continued actions of this kind on the part of the evacuees might result in control by the Military, much to the distress of the inhabitants of the camp. This had considerable effect on the group interested in purchasing liquor, with the result that there have been no examples of open drinking in the community. Oddly enough, the arrest of the individual concerned in this case was brought about by a report from Lieutenant Findley, the acting Commandant of the Military Police. Although the Military Police are not permitted to inspect the inside of the Relocation areas, it became obvious that the Military was seeking to assert a greater amount of control than would normally be apportioned to it by agreement and by Federal legislation.

Lieutenant Findley had asked that construction worker watchmen report any such cases to him before calling it to the attention of the WRA authorities. Why he should do this is debatable; it did not lie within his official jurisdiction, but nevertheless, when the case of drunkenness was reported to him, he personally made the arrest and handed the offender over to the Internal Security Department. This, together with other examples already mentioned, is rather clear evidence of continued encroachment by the Military authorities on the WRA domain. It is mentioned above that a group of people in the community have sponsored the liquor influx and the gambling. It is quite true that

there are individuals, mainly single men, who, like the gangsters described above, have banded together for gambling and for purposes of obtaining liquor. Community marks such men for disapproval and does not sanction their actions. The more responsible men of the community, men with families, responsible jobs, or other commitments, the members of the Community Council, certain Block Managers, and the like, have marked special activities for disapproval; nevertheless, gambling flourishes and the effects of gambling seemingly cannot be stamped out. Those who gamble and make money are the first who are proved guilty of purchasing liquor. Mixed in with this problem is the attitude which reflects itself in regard to the Internal Security Department. A dual attitude exists.

In Camp 1 the Wardens have gained for themselves considerable respect. Gambling activities in the Canal Camp have been largely curtailed. Camp 2, however, presents a different picture. Here, the Wardens are accorded very little respect and are unable to cope with such situations. Contrary to the hopes originally explained by Mr. Williamson, the college graduates, trained sociologists, psychologists, and the like, could not be hired as Wardens. The Department of Internal Security has succeeded only in hiring people of little education and inadequate background for the type of police work that Mr. Williamson hopes to set up in this community. In the Butte camp, people are most critical of the Warden Department, this attitude being further expressed in the Wardens themselves, who are afraid to go on raids against gamblers

to report on any other manifestations of maladjustments, in short, to impinge in any way upon the general will of the community. It is hoped through our observer Yusa that a detailed analysis of the Internal Security Department can be presented. It is known that certain gamblers from Camp I walk over to Camp 2, and remain all day to engage in such games as Poker, Hanna, and the like. Thus, although gambling activities have been stamped out in Camp 1, the gamblers are still active in Camp 2, and are more fully occupied than ever. The meeting place for gambling is in some person's house; look-outs, usually small boys, are posted. Naturally, it is easy enough to find out where gambling is going on. But even though a raid takes place, it is difficult to enlist the cooperation of the Wardens, and further difficult actually to call a halt to the activities. It is definitely known that some of the so-called Hawaiian Sailors have supported the gambling "ring." It is also known that a definite "ring" is involved since the games are sponsored by a group of people who not only play, but derive a certain amount of profit from sponsoring the games, demanding, it is said, a 10% cut of each pot.. Whether such games are honest or not is questionable since not enough is known about the actual conditions of play, the activities of the so-called ring, etc. A solution to the problem of gambling has been suggested by the Assistant Chief of Internal Security, Mr. Fredericks. It is very doubtful, however, whether the program he outlines could meet with official sanction or the will of the Community Council. He suggested that a gambling game be carried on under the direction of the division of Internal Security, and that a hall be used for such games which would

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be conducted under the eyes of representatives of the Internal Security Division. Thus, all such gambling would be open and above board. No attempt would be made to control stakes, but attempts would be made to control those who gamble; for example, if a man's family objected to such activity, he would not be permitted to play. Fredericks sounded out a number of people on the subject and met with some favorable reception. It is doubtful, though, that the National Office could condone such activity. Fredericks believes that were such a form of recreation devised, a good deal could be done towards keeping a dissatisfied element in line and preventing outbreaks of dissatisfaction among this group. He has offered to take full responsibility for the administration of such an arrangement.

The organization of the Division of Internal Security might be mentioned here, although a more detailed account will be procured at a later date (we hope). It is impossible as yet to present case analyses of the Wardens, or to ascertain the various groups which they represent. The general experience of the department has been that older married men are best qualified for this position. The position itself pays the skilled rate of sixteen dollars. Williamson, as mentioned above, hopes to enlist college-trained Wardens, but has been most unsuccessful. The result has been that Williamson is most dissatisfied with his department. He himself favors single men, believing them freer of group affiliations and more able to adopt an objective view of the community at large. In spite of objections from his Caucasian subordinates, Fredericks and Johnston, Williamson has followed this policy with few exceptions, without

realizing that such younger men are subject to criticism by the community at large for affiliating themselves too closely with the administration, and the fact that Wardens here are being regarded more and more as hostile to the best interests of the community. Outwardly, the department is well-organized since, as will be mentioned presently, the Military is confined to the outermost boundaries of the camp; it is up to Wardens to patrol the inner limits. In the residence area, they patrol on foot, and at night have the use of a car. Outside of the residence area, a mounted patrol follows the roads and water courses, reporting on accidents, and watching out for the general safety of the community. They have been trained in first aid. The department is well organized to look after the safety of the residence, but are not equipped to deal with maladjustments, or acts indicative of maladjustments. The gambling instance is a good one where in Camp 2, especially, the Internal Security personnel is too much afraid of adverse criticism and of losing their places in the social set-up of the community to act with objectivity. A previous report mentioned the fact that the community Council was opposed to the adoption of the term "policemen" or "police", and preferred the terminology "Warden" and "Internal Security" instead. This has been a great disappointment to Williamson who is most anxious to have a well-organized Police Department under his command. In order to achieve this, Williamson has provided his wardens with uniforms, khaki clothes with military cut, and khaki sun-helmets, as well as with shoes, coats, and other desirable accessories. Since the introduction of uniforms for the Wardens, many wish to join the organization to obtain the free clothing. The Wardens

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still wear a green armband with the mark "W" on it, but it is understood that within a short time, badges will be issued to each member of the force. The Wardens are thus already set apart by their dress, and it seems likely that when badges are issued, they will be denied what little cooperation is now given them. It is well known that the Japanese communities are able by sheer weight of public opinion to keep the respective members in line. The Warden detail is regarded by many as an idle and ineffective luxury. The members are criticized as spies for the administration, and very little cooperation is given them. Outwardly, the organization is, as stated above, well organized and effective, - as individuals, the Wardens are, for the most part, incapable of asserting any influence on the feelings or reactions of the community. Williamson has been criticized by the administrative staff and meets with very little cooperation from his Caucasian aides. The chief objection against him that has been raised, is that he seeks an organization which runs in terms of clockwork, rather than one which is capable of dealing with the human factors of the community. Obviously, this cannot be done, especially with the accentuated conditions of community solidarity and front, and identification of the evacuees with each other as Japanese, and as evacuees together. Because of these factors, the consensus of the community is that the Internal Security Department amounts to no more than a farce.

In previous reports, it was mentioned that the Military kept strict control of the camps boundaries by the day, and over the residence boundaries, are, at all roads, guarded by the Military Police. It is no longer necessary for the interior boundaries to be patrolled by the Military Police. Between sundown and sunrise, Japanese Wardens check all traffic

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between camps between those hours. At first, the Military Police were strong in their demands in regard to night travel between camps, and two Caucasians were hired to conduct all necessary travelers between the two camps during the night hours. Since the outermost limits have been established, and these are patrolled by the Military Police, such situations no longer is necessary, and the Caucasian escorts have been dismissed. At night, the outermost residence limits are still taboo, but enforcement of such regulations is left up to the Warden detail.

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As a result of my initial stay at Gila, notes on a number of various subjects were collected, and ample opportunity to write these notes up being lacking, I choose to present a resume of them at this time. In accordance with the outline submitted for Tule-lake by Shibutani and Miyamoto, there are a number of points omitted in my own report, notably on attitudes and social maladjustments. There are a few points in regards to administration, attitudes on authority, recreation, rumors, and the like, which have not as yet been discussed. The following are notes only, and do not attempt to present any full picture; rather, an outline. Some of the points to be discussed are elaborated upon to a considerable extent by Messrs. Okuno and Hikida.

Attitudes on authority (conversation with Mr. Miura)

It is apparent from the inter-relationships of the communities, as manifested here, that a definite resentment is manifested by the majority of the evacuees in regard to working under Japanese direction. The feeling of equality is one that comes out here very distinctly. Some of the evacuees admitted that there are "Japanese bosses" on the outside, but that here in the camp, everyone has been leveled. It was also true that on the outside, definite resentment arose when one Japanese worked for another. Etiquette demands reluctance to discuss money matters. When one Japanese worked for another, he was always willing to minimize the amount due him and to accept less because he did not wish to appear greedy in his employer's eyes. Now, many of the evacuees feel that the government is paying them money, and that they should be under the direct supervision of Caucasians. It is necessary for the Japanese, especially those who retain to a great extent their old world background, to respect the authority over them. Because they are

living in America, they want this authority to be Caucasian. When Mr. Fryer was in charge here, in a very short time, he had become very popular. When it was found that he permitted himself occasionally to be undignified, a good many of the Japanese lost faith in him. It is odd that all leaders, whether Japanese or Caucasian, are expected to retain a certain amount of dignity. Unfulfilled promises are, of course, a source of loss of face; but oddly enough, the failure of administrative heads to conform with Japanese ways of thinking may be cause for unpopularity. Bluntness, or directness of speech has done much to render some Caucasian leaders unpopular. This is true of Mr. Landward, acting head of the Social Welfare Department. Landward has lost in popularity even though his intentions are of the best, because of his direct approach to a problem on hand, and his blunt way of expressing himself. It is true, not only in the Japanese, but also in the English that is spoken here by the Japanese of old world training, that they tend to use circumlocution, and to practice an indirectness of speech based on the dictates of Japanese etiquette. Administrative officers who failed to do the same might find that their popularity has waned.

Another interesting attitude that comes out in this community is the desire to give gifts in return for services rendered. It has been suggested ^{by} ~~that~~ some of the Caucasian staff that this is the result of the disorganization following evacuation. It has been stated that some Japanese wish to give gifts to Caucasians for services rendered, in order to show themselves to be loyal and benevolent towards Caucasians. I do not believe this to be the case but rather think that ~~gifts~~ gifts are offered in accordance with the Japanese pattern. It is customary that a gift be returned for

a service--the value of the gift to correspond with the extent of the service. Failure to do so makes the individual feel ashamed and the peculiar idea of "loss of face" is again born out here. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that gifts are given freely among the Japanese themselves for favors and services. A rather interesting conflict comes out here under the "Hatch Act". All Federal employees are forbidden to receive gifts of any kind since they may be conceived as bribes. Gifts of money are very frequently offered, and sometimes an individual will go to the trouble of purchasing some commodity or other article to give to a Caucasian who he feels has been kind to him. Such gifts, of course, must be refused ^{often} ~~xxxxxxx~~ to the embarrassment and concern of both parties.

A section on recreation which I wrote in October is not complete, and a number of points dealing with Issei recreation should be mentioned. The significant division which comes out most clearly in Mr. Hikida's paper of pioneer Issei and Yobi-Yose makes it necessary to understand these groups as distinct divisions, and to apply distinct cultural principals to both. In this center, Yobi-Yose people are employed for the most part and take advantage of recreational facilities offered by the administration. Among the pioneer Issei, the older people, difficulties come out because these individuals are not provided with ample recreation by the administration, and for the most part, are not employed. Many manage to keep occupied, but not, as the period of relocation has progressed, many feel that they have had enough vacation, and are anxious to get back to work. Significant employment problems arise because it is obvious that old people of this kind are, for the most part, unemployable. They manage well enough in their own businesses and farms, but in the center, they are brought directly into competition with younger

people and cannot do the work of younger men with the same degree of success. The daily life of such individuals has been touched upon, but ^{still} ~~there~~/exists the significant problem of the disposition of their leisure time. Some of these older Issei are very active but others are quite frustrated because they have too much time on their hands. The women, particularly, being somewhat younger than the men in the main, are occupied with the care of their quarters; they join sewing circles, some have church interests, others make artificial flowers, arrange flowers, and still others visit and gossip, and women on the whole get along better than do the men.

~~xxxThexxxxxxx~~ The men of this age group, although some play "go", cards, and the like, are not so willing to enter into the community spirit as do the women. It is true that they get together ~~xxx~~ to talk and play, but do not usually have as exciting an outlet of expression for their leisure time as do the women. A discussion of this problem with Mr. Okuno revealed that certain of these men with literary tastes have met for poetry contests, but this only concerns a few of the more sophisticated. A new lease on life has arisen for some of these older men in the discovery of the form of Manzaneta, similar to the ebony of Japan. This is to be ~~discovered~~ discovered in the desert, and some older men have organized walking tours in order to collect this very hard wood. The wood is polished, and used as decorations in the house, as a base for flower arrangements, and the like. The *grain* of this wood is very similar to that of the ebony forms known to Japanese artists. Unfortunately, the supply of this wood is limited, and it is now necessary to walk farther and farther into the desert in order to obtain it. As time goes, however, the recreation department hopes to be able to send out crews to collect this wood for use by the older men. The wood is excessively hard and durable, a great deal of effort being ne-

cessary in order to render polished and artistic value. Some of the work that has been done with it is indeed beautiful. Some of the artistically inclined Issei also wish to indulge in the Japanese custom of "moon walking". In Japan, it is customary to walk at the time of the full moon, along the sea coast or in the mountains, reciting Haiku and Tanka on the beauties of nature, and serenity of the moonlight. In Arizona, there are frequently beautiful moonlight nights, and some parties have been organized to walk by the moon. Unfortunately, the residents, at night, are not permitted to leave the camp limits, and thus do not dare indulge in this custom to the extent that they would desire. It is interesting to note that this custom was not followed in pre-evacuation times in America. Now, however, that there is leisure time, and that the moonlight nights are reminiscent of those of Japan, the desire to do this is returned on the parts of some.

Problems of disposition of leisure time for many of these Issei is one which will bear further research and study. Naturally, Nisei recreation is more fully worked out so far as the administration is concerned, and an individual Nisei may occupy his time in any sort of way, if he so desires.

It might be well to go into the matter of the many rumors which have circulated through this camp, most of which, however, will only be known through reports ^{by} ~~and~~ other observers. I will list one or two here, which may not previously have come into the attention of the study.

(1) Rumor concerning other camps are very frequently bandied about. It is said that this or that individual, a political leader, was assaulted, or killed, in any number of Centers. Poston, and Gila, vie with one another in the matter of heat. It is said by

those of Gila that all the babies are dying of heat at Poston, not one of them having survived. Other rumors of this kind are exceedingly frequent.

(2) The report has come in from time to time that coast cities have been bombed, and destroyed by enemy action.

(3) A racial distinction has provided the basis for a number of rumors. It is said that there is a definite discrimination against the negro and Indian construction workers because of their race. It is stated that these Negroes and Indians are obliged to do the most dangerous tasks, while Caucasian workers are given easier and less dangerous work. In the course of construction in the Butte camp, Mr. Hikida says it was necessary to blast a water main out of solid rock. At one time the dynamite charges went off prematurely, killing one Caucasian worker, and maiming two others. The rumor circulated like wildfire that fifteen negroes had been killed, although the number varied from mouth to mouth. It was said that had Japanese been employed by the construction company, that they would have been made to do this dangerous work of lighting dynamite charges; similarly, the danger of cotton picking have been described elsewhere.

(4) Any Caucasian who is seen to be too friendly with the evacuees is said to be having illicit relations with some Japanese girl. Yeaton and Harding were particularly accused of such immorality.

(5) The rumor that another camp is to be made is also prevalent.

(6) The fear of various diseases is common. It is true that the Japanese are noted for their fear of tuberculosis and that families who have had tuberculosis members often had difficulty in marrying off their sons or daughters. The rumor circulated that this part of Arizona is "tuberculosis country", and that all who were here would quickly be infected by this disease. It is true

that this part of Arizona is particularly beneficial to people suffering from consumption, and very likely consumptives from other Centers will be sent down here because of the beneficial climate. A Tuberculosis ward was attached to the Hospital in Camp 1. When the ward was opened, and those suffering from advance cases of the disease were confined in it, the sigh of relief emitted by the community was almost audible.

One case came to my attention, that of a young woman from the Tulake Center, whose mother and sister had died of the disease. She was extremely unhappy and most maladjusted, because she was generally shunned by the community, and some of the Issei, in fact, were openly rude in avoiding her. She wants very badly to be married, and has gone with a number of Japanese boys, whose families frightened them off when they heard of the association. The girl is slightly inclined toward consumption herself, and her general ill health and mental depression have made her a most maladjusted individual.

(7) The break in the sewer line in Camp 1 mentioned in another report, caused considerable adverse comment when the statement was made that the administration willingly, and with malice of forethought, allowed the sewage to run about on the road as it did. The danger of Typhus and of other diseases resulting from sewage was stressed by certain members of the community. In this same respect, it was said that the drinking water was poisoned, ^{the} in spite of ~~that~~ fact, that in the early stages of Camp 2, water had to be imported especially in trucks, the drinking water in that camp being pronounced undrinkable by Dr. Sleath.

Other rumors will be recorded from time to time.

In my analysis of the social groups of the Gila community, I did not go into any great detail on the matter of gangs and socially disorganized groups. The gang element however, plays a significant

part in the community causing as it does, the fears of parents, trouble to the individuals concerned, and worry on the part of individuals generally. Gangs apparently did not exist to a large extent in the pre-evacuation period, but there were groups of individuals who ran together for social reasons, particularly in the Los Angeles area. There are Issei gangs and similar groups among both Nisei and Kibei. The section I contributed on political life mentioned a group of what have been termed "gangsters" among the Issei, whose definite purpose was to discredit the efforts of the administration and of the Nisei, by spreading a series of false rumors. This group was particularly opposed to any Americanization of the Nisei and were harsh in dealing with individuals who were willing to arrive at some understanding of the problems of the second generation. This was apparently a pioneer group of Issei, and directed their attention against those who had normally assumed the reins of the community. It was mentioned that they intimidated capable people who might otherwise have been leaders politically, and socially. A number of people with whom I am acquainted were threatened with death, and other bodily harm. A committee of such Issei would meet with members of their/^{own}group, but who had expressed opposing opinions, in wash rooms, and would make these threats. The rumor which they started, threats which they presented, were sufficient to prevent many otherwise capable people from entering into/^{the}political life of the community. For a long time, they were successful in preventing the formation of the Community Council. It has been stated that the individuals of this sort were people who had been maladjusted, and perhaps snubbed socially in the pre-evacuation period, but that they could now arise into ~~eminence~~ because the natural leaders of the Japanese community; such men as business executives, officers in the Japanese Association, Buddhist and Shinto Priests, and the like, had been interned. This group has now quieted down somewhat, and is more

anxious to cooperate with the community generally. They did draw up a petition which was sent to Mr. Dillon Meyer, requesting that Issei be allowed to hold elective office. Having gained a certain amount of attention from the National Office of the WRA, they have now relaxed in their demands. Many such individuals however, are exceedingly anxious that meetings be conducted only in the Japanese language, allowing predominance to the Issei and shutting out to some extent, the representatives of the second generation. Their original proposals were so vehemently expressed; their efforts were so intimately directed against the Nisei, and the fact that they chose such high-handed means of enforcing their demands, have provided justification for terming this dissatisfied group as a gang. Many of their contemporaries were extremely dissatisfied by the actions of such agitators.

The gangs of the younger people are more exclusively better organized groups which have more of a social, than political purpose. The locality from which the members came usually has much to do with the formation of such groups. A number of young men got together in gangs of bad repute in the community. The Santa Anita Assembly Center was particularly noted for the gangster element, to the extent that many of the younger agitators there were separated from the bulk of the community, and sent to Relocation Centers elsewhere. So ~~contre-~~^{troublesome}~~versible~~ were the groups at Santa Anita, at least according to the opinion of the WCCA, that it was necessary to break up the group as a whole, and divide it between all of the Relocation Centers in the United States. At the present time, we have 1,000 Santa Anita people at Gila. Prior to the last ~~xxxxxxxx~~ entry of the Santa Anita people, many of these gang elements were imported here. One gang, coming

from Santa Anita, is composed of older Nisei and Kibei, mostly of whom had a Hawaiian origin. They have banded together under the name "Hawaiian Sailors". Many of the members of this group are seamen, and are anxious to return to that profession, many of ~~which~~ them having offered their services to the merchant marine. There is nothing especially bad about this group, but a bad reputation has preceded them in this Center. Some of them, it is true, have operated gambling rings, and have bribed construction workers to bring in liquor from the outside. It might be mentioned here, that liquor is not forbidden on the Project itself, but may not be brought into the area because this is an Indian reservation. This is the only reason that liquor is forbidden. The Hawaiian Sailors were apparently a large group at Santa Anita, and were broken up and dispersed through other Assembly Centers and Relocation Projects. The group came in two's and three's under escort. They were lectured by Mr. Fredericks, assistant director of Internal Security, who warned them that if they stepped out of line, ~~xxxx~~they would meet with deportation to another Center. Fredericks had, what I at least, thought to be, a good idea in wanting to make them wardens, thus obtaining their confidence, and endowing them with a sense of responsibility. Williamson, the head of Internal ~~Police~~ Security, refused to listen to this idea, with the result that most of them remain idle, and are becoming more and more involved in the gambling rings which are known to function in the Center, and of which a discussion will follow shortly.

Another gang similar to the Hawaiian Sailors, but oddly enough, composed of a Y.M.C.A. group from Santa Anita, is the so-called Exclusive "Twenty Club", the group of which act similarly to the group described above. The members of this gang however, are of better background than the Hawaiian Sailors. Of the latter, many

are single men whose families are in the Hawaiian Islands. The former have families in the Center, who are most concerned over the activities of the members. In the main, these gangs range in ages from 16 to 35, the average age being somewhere~~s~~ around 21-22. I do not know the extent of membership, but I would guess that each gang has not more than 100 members, and not less than 40. These are the principal gangs, the membership of which is composed of young men. The problem of liquor and gambling which they bring about is significant. Boys gangs composed of Nisei boys of average age 12-18 are numerous, and are indicative of a certain rowdy element in camp. There are boys from Los Angeles, who were sent to the Tulelake Assembly Center with their families. They call themselves the Los Angeles Wolves, and some wear tee shirts with this crest of a wolf's head on them. They are in opposition to boys from the Tulelake Assembly Center, whose home residence was in the San Joaquin Valley, because the latter were unable to buy tee shirts, or have other distinctive identification marks. These boys went around for awhile with crossed pieces of adhesive tape on their foreheads. Now that school has started, the boys gangs have somewhat died down. There is also in the Canal Camp, a rowdy gang of boys from the Turlock Assembly Center.

The Hawaiian Sailors have been accused of theft on a number of occasions, the fact that Warehouses in the Butte camp were broken into, the locks being forced, and clothing and food being stolen, was attributed to the Hawaiian Sailors' element. The thieves were never caught, and how well justified the condemnations of the community is that this gang was guilty, I do not know.

The ~~The~~ Exclusive "Twenty Club" and the "Hawaiian Sailors" have gained a bad reputation to the extent that young girls are forbidden by their parents to associate with the members. It is true that the Hawaiian Sailor element sponsored a gambling ring. ~~Under~~ Under the direction of Williamson and Fredericks, a raid was made on Recreation Hall no. 4, now the Buddhist Church, in camp 1; and a number of gamblers were taken into custody. In this particular raid, a poker game was broken up, and over twelve hundred dollars was found on the table at one time. One of the gamblers confessed that sometimes stakes ran as high as five-hundred dollars. The games most frequently played are poker, and the Japanese Hanna. This particular group, on being closed down, threatened the warden who reported them. He became so frightened that he resigned his job. He was so anxious to resign, that he rushed up to Mr. Fredericks when the latter was addressing a group of people, and stammered out his resignation. Mr. Fredericks then attempted to deal with the ring leaders of the gang who were in the group being addressed by himself. There were a number of Issei in the group who stayed about curiously while the gang leaders and the warden concerned were discussing the problem with Mr. Fredericks. He attempted to clear the space in which they were talking, but the crowd gathered around more and more until finally it was necessary to summon more wardens, in order to disperse the mass of people. The Japanese penchant for gossip, and of curiosity, is rather clearly demonstrated here. The group, anxious to hear what was being said, simply refused to disband. Finally, Fredericks conceived the idea of subjecting the gang leaders to ridicule before the eyes of the crowd. The embarrassment, and loss of face, which this occasioned, was far more effective than the

jail sentence which was later imposed on the gamblers by Mr. Smith, then Project Director. They are now subject to ridicule in the community because they are no longer active as a gambling element. Some of these Hawaiian Sailors involved, requested that they be moved over to Camp 2, in order to escape the ridicule at their expense. This has proved the most effective way of dealing with such elements, although/ unfortunately, Mr. Williamson, the head of Internal Security, can not see his way clear to using this weapon. I hope to go into some detail on the matter of the mal-administration of the Internal Security Department under the arrogant leadership of Williamson.

In spite of the break-up of one gambling ring sponsored in Camp 1 by the Hawaiian Sailors, the representatives of this gang in Camp 2 have also been active in arranging a gambling ring. This ring is conducted in greater secrecy, and as yet, no definite ~~xxx~~ evidence has been uncovered to undermine it. The administration does not object to small games of chance on a penny ante base; it is rather, where large sums of money are concerned, and ~~it~~ ^{there} is actual fleecing of the unwary by experienced gamblers. Many credulous Issei have brought with them their life savings; some have the money which they obtained from the sale of their property. They are considered to be fair game by the experienced "city slicker" gamblers. Certain Issei have also begun gambling groups, and a number of Block Managers were dismissed from their positions for allowing gambling to go on in their homes, while they took a "front" position in their offices. In other words, certain Block Managers were guilty of sponsoring gambling rings.

Gambling has met with considerable opposition from women of the community, and it is often true that the wives of those who gamble, will report on the time and place of gamblings. It was suggested

that a number of women be hired, who could report on such organized gambling activities, but as yet, this has not been done. I have noted myself, individuals who came to this camp with no money at all. One man whom I know to be a Hawaiian Sailor, borrowed 50¢ from me for lunch when his train arrived at Casa Grande. In a short while he had paid me back, and now I learn that he has contributed a radio, and an electric clock to his mess hall. He is one of the notorious gamblers of the community, and had served a month in the Los Angeles County Jail for gambling at Santa Anita.

A number of cases of assault and battery have arisen. Of gambling, the offender, if caught, will serve the usual sentence for that misdemeanor. In one case however, two Issei got into an argument over a gambling game, and the one stabbed the other in his forearm, after the first had struck his assailant with a long piece of two by four. Both are now serving six months in the County jail. In such cases, the arrest is made by the Internal Security representative; the accused is taken to the County seat at Florence for trial. The examining magistrate, on ^{finding} ~~signing~~ the individual guilty, usually asks that the sentence be fixed by the Project Director. The sentence is usually suspended, the court action being sufficient in keeping the offender in line.

The problem of liquor is one which has caused considerable ill feeling among the evacuees, and among some of the members of the Internal Security. The Military Police, and the Caucasian Construction workers would bring in liquor which they would ~~xxx~~ sell for six dollars a pint.

In one case a Caucasian, incidentally a cousin of the Regional Director, Mr. Fryer, formed an agency of his own in conjunction with certain people who were active in gambling rings. For several weeks, he brought in cases of alcohol which he sold at the above price. At length he was apprehended by the Internal Security Department, and in his car were found 2 cases of whiskey. He was held on charges of bringing liquor to Indian land and ~~has~~ been sentenced to a year in a Federal penitentiary. It is known that liquor has been brought into the camp and sold by many of the Caucasian construction workers, who were here in rather large numbers during the initial stages of the moving in of evacuees. In spite of this however, there had been few cases of actual drunkenness. One man, very drunk, was arrested by the Wardens, and was lectured to by Mr. Fredericks, assistant chief of Internal Security. An appeal was made to this man on the ground that continued actions of this kind on the parts of the evacuees might result in control by the Military, much to the distress of the inhabitants of the camp. This had considerable effect on the group interested in purchasing liquor, with the result that there have been no examples of open drinking in the community. Oddly enough, the arrest of the individual concerned in this case, was brought about by a report from Lieutenant Findley, the acting Commandant of the Military Police. Although the Military Police are not permitted to inspect the inside of the Relocation areas, it became obvious that the Military was seeking to assert a greater amount of control than ~~was~~^{would} normally be apportioned to it by agreement and by Federal legislation. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Lieutenant Findley had asked that construction worker watchmen report any such cases to him before calling it to the attention of the WRA authorities. Why he should do this is debatable; it did not lie within his official jurisdiction, but nevertheless, when

the case of drunkenness' was reported to him, he personally made the arrest and handed the offender over to the Internal Security Department. This, together with other examples already mentioned, is rather clear evidence of continued encroachment by the Military authorities on the WRA domain. It is mentioned above that a group of people in the community have sponsored the liquor influx and the gambling. It is quite true that there are individuals, mainly single men, who, like the gangsters described above, have banded together for gambling and for purposed of obtaining liquor. Community marks such men for disapproval and does not sanction their actions. The more responsible men of the community, men with families, responsible jobs, or other impositions, the members of the Community Council, certain Block Managers, and the like, have marked special activities for disapproval, nevertheless, gambling flourishes and the effects of gambling seemingly cannot be stamped out. Those who gamble and make money are the first who are proved guilty of purchasing liquor. Mixed in with this problem is the attitude which reflects itself in regards to the Internal Security Department. A dual attitude exists.

In Camp 1 the Wardens have gained for themselves considerable respect. Gambling activities in the Canal Camp have been largely curtailed. Camp 2 however, presents a different picture. Here, the Wardens are accorded very little respect and are unable to cope with such situations. Contrary to the hopes originally explained by Mr. Williamson, the college graduates, trained Sociologists, Psychologists, and the like, could not be hired as Wardens. The Department of Internal Security has succeeded only in hiring people of little education and inadequate background for the type of police work that Mr. Williamson hopes to set up in this community. In the Butte camp, people are most critical of the Warden Department, this attitude

further expressed in the Wardens themselves who are afraid to go on raids against gamblers, to report on any other manifestations of maladjustments, in short, to impinge in any way upon the general will of the community. It is hoped through our observer Yusa, that a detailed analysis of the Internal Security Department can be presented. It is known that certain gamblers from Camp 1 walk over to Camp 2, and remain all day to engage in such games as Poker, Hana, and the like. Thus, although gambling activities have been stamped out in Camp 1, the gamblers are still active in Camp 2, and are more fully occupied than ever. The meeting place for gambling is in some persons house; look-outs, usually small boys, are posted, naturally it is easy enough to find out where gambling is going on. But even though a raid takes place, it is difficult to enlist the cooperation of the Wardens, and further difficult to actually call a halt to the activities. It is definitely known that some of the so-called Hawaiian Sailors have supported the gambling "ring". It is also known that a definite "ring" is involved since the games are sponsored by a group of people who not only play, but derive a certain amount of profit from sponsoring the games, demanding, it is said, a 10% cut of each pot.. Whether such games are honest or not is questionable since not enough is known about the actual conditions of play, the activities of the so-called ring, etc. A solution to the problem of gambling has been suggested by the Assistant Chief of Internal Security, Mr. Fredericks. It is very doubtful, however, whether the program he outlines could meet with official sanction or the will of the Community Council. He suggested that a gambling game be carried on under the direction of the division of Internal Security, and that a hall be used for such games which would be conducted under the eyes of representatives of the Internal Security Division. Thus, all such gambling would be open and aboveboard.

No attempt would be made to control stakes, but attempts would be made to control those who gamble; for example, if a man's family ~~has~~ objected to such activity, he would not be permitted to play. Fredericks sounded out a number of people on the subject and met with some favorable reception. It is doubtful though, that the National Office could condone such activity. Fredericks believes that were such a form of recreation devised, a good deal could be done towards keeping a dissatisfied element in line, and prevent out-breaks of dissatisfaction among this group. He has offered to take full responsibility~~ty~~ for the administration of such an arrangement.

The organization of the Division of ~~the~~ Internal Security might be mentioned here, although a more detailed account will be procured at a later date (we hope). It is impossible as yet to present case analyses of the Wardens, or to ascertain the various groups which they ~~xxxx~~ represent. The general experience of the department has been that older married men are best qualified for this position. The position itself pays the skilled rate of 16 dollars. Williamson has mentioned above hopes to enlist college-trained Wardens, but has been most unsuccessful. The result has been that Williamson is most dissatisfied with his department. He himself, favors single men, believing them freer~~er~~ of group affiliations and more able to adopt an objective view of the community at large. In spite of objections from his Caucasian subordinates, Fredericks and Johnston, Williamson has followed this policy with few exceptions, without realizing that such younger men are subject to criticism by the community at large for affiliating themselves too closely with the administration, and the fact that Wardens here are being regarded more and more as hostile to the best interests of the community. Outwardly, the department is well-organized since, as will be mentioned presently, the Military

is confined to the outermost boundaries of the camp; it is up to Wardens to patrol the inner limits. In the residence area, they patrol on foot, and at night have the use of a car. Outside of the residence area, a mounted patrol follows the roads and water courses, reporting on accidents, and watching out for the general safety of the community. They have been trained in first aid. The department is well organized to look after the safety of the residence, but are not equipped to deal with maladjustments, or acts indicative of maladjustments. The gambling instance is a good one where in Camp 2 especially, the Internal Security personnel is too much afraid of adverse criticism and of losing their places in the social set-up of the community, to act with objectivity. A previous report mentioned the fact that the community Council was opposed to the adoption of the term "policemen" or "police", and preferred the terminology "Warden" and "Internal Security" instead. This has been a great ^{dis-}~~dis-~~appointment to Williamson who is most anxious to have a well-organized Police Department under his command. In order to achieve this, Williamson has provided his wardens with uniforms, Khaki clothes with military cut, and Khaki sun-helmets, as well as with shoes, coats, and other desirable accessories. Since the introduction of uniforms for the Wardens, many wish to join the organization to obtain the free clothing. The Wardens still wear a green armband with the mark "W" on it, but it is understood that within a short time, badges will be issued to each member of the force. The Wardens are thus already set apart by their dress, and it seems likely that when badges are issued, they will be denied what little cooperation the cooperation now gives them. It is well known that the Japanese communities are able by sheer weight of public opinion to keep the respective members in line. The Warden detail is regarded by many as an idle and ineffective luxury. The members are criticized as spies

for the administration, and very little cooperation is given them. Outwardly the organization is, as stated above, well organized and effective--as individuals, the Wardens are, for the most part, incapable of asserting any influence on the feelings or reactions of the community. Williamson has been criticized by the administrative staff, and meets with very little cooperation from his Caucasian aides. The chief objection against him that has been raised, is that he seeks an organization which runs in terms of clockwork rather than one which is capable of dealing with the human factors of the community. The criticism has been leveled, that he regards every member of the community as a potential law-breaker, and that he attempts to inculcate this spirit in his personnel. He attempts to have his Wardens adopt as objective an attitude as possible, in dealing with the individuals of the community. Obviously, this cannot be done, ~~exp~~ especially with the accentuated conditions of community solidarity and front, and identification of the evacuees with each other as Japanese, and as evacuees together. Because of these factors, the consensus of the community is that the Internal Security Department amounts to no more ~~x~~ than a farce.

In previous reports, it was mentioned that the Military kept strict control of the camps boundaries by the day, and over the residence boundaries by night. An agreement has finally been reached whereby the interior boundary, such as the ~~residence~~ residence boundaries, by night are to be patrolled by the Warden detail, while the outermost boundaries, are, at all roads, guarded by the Military Police. It is no longer necessary for the interior boundaries to be patrolled by the Military Police. Between sundown and sunrise, Japanese Wardens check all traffic between camps, between those hours. At first, the Military Police were strong in their demands in regard to night travel between

camps, and two Caucasians were hired to conduct all necessary travelers between the two camps during the night hours. Since the outermost limits have been established and these are patrolled by the Military Police, such situations no longer is necessary, and the Caucasian escorts have been dismissed. At night, the outermost residence limits are still taboo, but enforcement of such regulations is left up to the Warden detail.