

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

January 4, 1942

Dear Dorothy:

I wanted to start to work today on my report for Lowie but find that I will need additional information together with some of the material which you are sending down to me by express. If that package was send off Saturday, it should arrive here today. Charlie wanted me to tell you that he had received a package yesterday, containing twelve spiral notebooks, and says thank you very much. I hope that Charlie's stamps are on the way.

After writing you yesterday, I got ahold of Omachi and gave him the list of supplementary questions which I took down with me. Omachi had written some supplementary notes to the Tada case which I enclose here. Again, the results are not particularly voluminous and does not shed too much light on the background of the case. As soon as I get Lowie's report out of the way, I hope to go into that matter in detail with Omachi and Charlie, and correlate the information at our disposal. Joe undoubtedly has the information; it is simply a matter of getting him to set it down on paper in sufficient detail for our purposes.

As you know, Alice is leaving to go to Chicago, and Emiko is going to work in the camouflage net project. Since, as I told you, I prefer to do my dictation during the day and to proceed with the work of observation in the evenings, it is more or less imperative that I have someone with whom I can work during the day. As yet I have been unable to find anyone whom I can trust with the job. I wish, however, that you would send me citizenship affidavit forms if you can get ahold of them, so that I can enlist someone to undertake the work for me.

I am still waiting word from you as to the draft situation and I hope that those donkeys in Santa Fe decide soon. Other than this, no particularly startling developments have taken place, but I will keep you posted. Regards to everyone.

Yours,


Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Monday, January 4, 1942

Dear Dorothy:-

I managed to get into Gila yesterday after some difficulty. I had to spend Saturday night in Tempe because the bus schedules from Phoenix were changed all around. From Casa Grande I phoned the project and was called for. They were nice enough to send a car for me. In the meantime, I find that my room is taken up and I have been moved to Block 42 but still in Camp II. I'm pretty far away from the center of things. Since I can work at the Kikuchis that won't matter so much.

Yesterday was spent in renewing contacts here and being congratulated on my return. Things haven't changed so very much although I really haven't been away very long. I am still waiting for something to happen here although the holidays and the Manzanar incident have quieted the situation here down somewhat. The Kikuchis and the Yusas send their best regards. I haven't seen Mr. Hikida, Omachi, the priests, or Mr. Miura. I did see Okuno. Miura is playing sick in order to get more attention. With the reorganization of the social welfare department, Miura was forced out of things and resigned from the newly organized legal department in a huff. He now is keeping to his bed and sulking. I wonder how long that will go on.

This morning Alice received her travel permit to go to Chicago. I shall lose a good secretary. Pop is still in San Luis Obispo and the prospect of getting him down here is not good. Thompson, chief medical officer for the WRA, has decided on a policy which keeps all hospitalized patients in California where they are. The projects are too understaffed medically to keep patients like Mr. Kikuchi. It seems most unlikely that Pop will be able to come at this time. This gives Alice a problem. Not knowing if and when her father is coming she is rather hesitant to take the job in Chicago. Landward and I are putting pressures on her to go and I know Charlie will when he hears of it; we haven't seen him yet today since he is working on a case. If Alice decides, she will be leaving in a week or two. Emiko is going to work in the camouflage factory so that I'll have to be looking around for another girl. I hope that I can find someone to work for me in the daytime.

My mail has been sent to Berkeley. Would you please return it to me. I wonder if there's in it from the Selective Service board. The girl at the mailing desk didn't know. In the meantime I have been waiting with somewhat bated breath for news from you. I hope that the matter can be settled quickly. No news, I guess, is good news. Alice will write you soon and return to you the citizenship affidavits for herself and Emiko. Charlie may still use Emiko and I may too but not to the same extent as Alice.

As I say above, the situation is quiet still. On New Years' Day several Japanese flags were flying over ~~the~~ two messhalls and there were two more on the nearby Butte. Bennett took a rather sane view of the matter and there was apparently no hysteria. I think that Charlie covered the matter fairly well. There have been no further outbreaks but there is still dissatisfaction.

Regarding the books I wanted, there are a few things I can get started on down here without bothering Virginia at this time. I think that it might be best to get my own program under way before working out an additional program for my studies. Charlie and Earle both have a number of things I want to go into first. I'd also like to get a final report on the draft business.

I'm going over to see Omachi now and take up the Tada case with him. There are also a number of pwople I want to see. There have been no other startling developments but I will keep you posted. We'll be looking forward to receiving Charlie's stuff and the Tule Lake report.

Best to everyone. I hope that you get the secretary business settled.

Yours,

Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

January 6, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

Received your letter this morning with the enclosures of my mail from Gila. Thank you for sending them on to me. I read with interest that Morton has been able to go to Manzanar. I was quite surprised that permission for him to go did come to him, after what Cozzens had said. By this time you will have received my letters of Monday and Tuesday in which I tell you more or less what has happened up till now. One or two points have come up though which I want to mention at this time.

I notice that my draft case comes up in New Mexico as of last Monday. Since I did not get your letter until this morning, I wonder if you have received any definite word on it. Of course, any decision rendered by them will probably be sent by the regular mail and thus be some time in coming. Nevertheless, I am quite worried that their decision will be unfavorable. I hope that Chaney is right in his supposition that the New Mexico board is "playing ball". As you say, we shall see. I do hope however, that some favorable decision can be reached, and that I will be hearing from you very shortly regarding it. In the meantime, I shall try to carry on until I hear from you one way or another. If the board decides on a reclassification, I suppose that I should return to the Bay Region once more. Let me know however, what you think regarding the whole damn mess.

I forwarded Omachi's manuscript supplement to the Tada case yesterday. Charlie hung on to it until he was ready to send his own diary. I am glad that he did because that gave me the opportunity to read Omachi's work without going directly to the other camp to see him. I think that Omachi's letter of the 29th is rather illuminating and I am returning it to you for the files. There is some rather interesting information in it. I have already gotten a line-up on what Omachi mentions as the Kyowakai, the parallel development of the Camp 1 Kenkyu-kai, here in Butte. Omachi has your outline of suggestions anent the Tada case and will have some answer ready for me when I see him tomorrow. Will be able to go over the material then in detail, and then I can check it with Charlie, thus smoothing out any of the contradictions and allowing us to place the proper emphasis where it belongs.

Another unpleasant situation has arisen for us, something which I was afraid was going to happen. As I told you before, there is an

information man here by the name of LeBaron. Because Ken Tashiro, the editor of the paper, plans to go out, LeBaron has more or less taken over the editorial department of the paper and is concerned with directing its policy. He has had a little difficulty in getting enough people interested in his own work, to become his own employees. Aside from the paper and the collecting of ~~the~~ incidental memorandum from the administration, LeBaron hasn't a darn thing to do. The result is that he has suddenly developed an interest in our work and Charlie tells me that he remarked to Ken Tashiro that the U.C. study should cooperate with him and that he saw no reason why the WRA could not commandeer any information that we were getting. He attempted to get Charlie to work for him, but Charlie, of course, refused, and then while I was away I gather that he asked Charlie if he could see some of the material that Charlie was writing. Charlie stated that he was keeping his own personal diary and that as such his material was invalid. This may put the rest of us somewhat in a spot however, especially if LeBaron feels that he can get our material and asks Bennett to make us show it to him. I intend to see Bennett about the matter and explain the arrangement which we made with the WRA regarding the pursual of our material. Charlie does not take the matter at all seriously, but I am very much afraid that LeBaron will be just another replica of Cook at Tulake. I will see Bennett as soon as I can catch him, regarding this problem and if approached by LeBaron will explain to him the arrangement we have made in accordance with your suggestion. Any further suggestion which you might have to offer however, regarding a situation like this will be appreciated.

At the beginning of the semester I was in Berkeley for a time you will recall, and took out a locker in the men's gymnasium meaning to return it before I left to go to Gila. I suddenly discover that I have forgotten all about it and that I have kept the locker all semester. When Morton returns, I would appreciate his taking the enclosed card and turning my locker in when he gets over sometime to the gym. Thank you very much and thank Morton for me.

That is all the news for the moment. I shall anxiously be awaiting word from you on my own situation and I am crossing my fingers for a favorable result. Regards to all.

Yours,

Bob
Bob

T.S. Had a talk with Bennett and was assured of his interest. Perhaps LeBaron won't be as much of a hindrance as I thought. I hope not.

I think the business is about to pop. I'm glad I came back. The dissolution of the wardens in Camp I is coming to a head in the aftermath of the Hirokane case. Details later.

January 8, 1942

Professor Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:

You will be glad to learn that I have finally been successful in obtaining from my draft board a six month's deferrment. I am most grateful to Dr. Thomas and Professor Chaney for their efforts in my behalf. Now I am able to carry on the field work here for some time before having to go back to the worries of abandoning this project. I have just written to Dr. Thomas informing her of my receipt of a reclassification to class 2B until July 4th of this year. It may be possible that a further request for deferrment may now be got under way through the U.S. Employment Service which perhaps can be inveigled into requesting additional deferrment. At any rate, I have a new lease on life for six months and I am now free to look forward to your visit in early February.

I was very glad to be able to come back here and to renew again the excellent contacts which I have made. I have been keeping pace as best I can with the rapid turn-over of political events. I shall be keeping up with these in addition to working out the other analysis which we have discussed in the past. Everyone has been glad to see me back and I feel now that our work together can progress once more.

Please write me as to the more specific details of your coming when you know about them. Please extend my best regards to Mrs. Lowie and to the other members of the Anthropology Department.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RFS:ak

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

January 9, 1942

Dear Dorothy:-

Thank you for your phone call. I still can hardly believe that the draft board was kindly disposed to our petition. I really foresaw a carrying of the case to Washington. As to the next step - I really hope that through a contact with the USES some further promise can be given. As you said, I shall wait for advice from you before doing anything. I can write to my uncle in the USES if you think it wise but perhaps you have made all the arrangements. I'll wait to see what you have in mind.

Now that I'm free again I can get started without that shadow hanging over me. The first problem is Lowie's paper and then I mean to get under way with the rewrite of the Tada case. I have already discussed that to some extent with Joe and with Frederick, my ally in Internal Security. Things are moving pretty fast. I have a fair coverage on most of what's going on however. The Kenkyu-kai, gambling, a lottery, trouble among the wardens, and administrative strife are included in my notes of this week. I'll send them on to you as soon as I can get them organized.

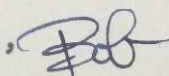
Alice is leaving in the middle of next week. At her suggestion, I have taken on a friend of hers as my secretary. The girl, Mary Otomo, is to be taken on in the same capacity as Alice. I have not committed myself to her but have told her that she may be assured of occupying the same status as Alice. She is quitting her secretary job. She has been working with the chief cost accountant. In accord with that, and with the fact that I have Goro Yamaoto working for me, I need citizenship forms. I hope that you can forward them to me. Emiko forgot to sign hers. Now that we have her employed in the camouflage factory, I don't think that she will be interested in doing any further work. I think that her affidavit can be destroyed or kept in case we do need her some time. I don't think that Charlie or I will use her. Miss Otomo will be our best bet. I am trying to get the Tada case copied for your use. I think that I will turn it over to Miss Otomo. It should be in your hands sometime in the week.

I'm glad that Morton was so successful in getting the stuff from Manzanar. I think that's excellent. He seems to have gone and come in quite a hurry. What are Mari's and Togo's prospects?

Since I am sure to stay here now, I am including my expenses for the trip down. I'm sorry that they run rather high. I really had no choice in the matter of travel and accommodations due to the crowded conditions of travel. I hope that it will be easier to get around when the holiday season is really over.

When do you want me to go to Topaz?

Remember me to all in Berkeley. I'll write soon again.

Yours, 

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

January 13, 1942

Dear Dorothy:

We have received a number of things in the past day or two for which I must now write and thank you. Charlie's diary, both the typed one and the written manuscript, arrived yesterday, and Monday I received from you the citizenship affidavit forms. In view of the fact that your letter as to the disposition of the affidavit forms was not quite clear, I am having Alice execute one of those which you sent me, and I am enclosing it here. Charlie and I both thank you for the office materials which also came yesterday.

Things are working out fairly well. A great deal has been happening particularly of what might be called subversive nature. The Issei and Kibei activities are becoming more intense and a great deal of follow up work on them is necessary. I am having the Tada case report, that is my own analysis, typed up at your request by my new secretary Mary Otomo. And I am still trying to get Lowie's paper out of the way so that Joe, Charlie and I can get together on the completed case. Actually, however, I would like to say now that the Tada case in itself, when viewed in a time perspective, begins to lose its importance and must be understood to be simply the outward manifestation of an undercurrent which is sweeping the camp. Naturally, we can get all the details on the Tada case now and hope to place them in your hands shortly. More important, however, is the growing strength of the Kenkyu-kai and the Kibei organization. It is fortunate that I returned to camp when I did in order to get the proper understanding of this whole situation. I think I have it now. My new rewrite of the Tada case will show just where the case sits in correlation to camp politics. From the way things are turning over, it will become apparent that about all I can do here is to follow up the further manifestations of this terrific split in this community. It may be that I am going overboard on this functional approach to community politics but the whole thing has loomed so darned important that you can't deny its affect on the whole community. It is absolutely the driving force here now and its ramification affect heavily organized departments, both administrative and evacuee. I am glad that Lowie is coming at this time so that he too can see some of these extremely fascinating occurrences. In Lowie's paper, I have taken an approach with regard to religion which entirely neglects the more purely anthropology side and attempts to show the role of religion in relation to the community as a whole. It is simply impossible to pick up any one point and neglect the dramatic occurrences which are taking place here. I hope that I can make this sufficiently clear in my paper in order to meet Lowie's requirements.

Goro Yamamoto somewhat fizzled out as a translator and I shall have to get a new one, this time an Issei recommended highly by Mr. Okuno. For that reason, I would like to get perhaps a few dollars to give to Yamamoto when I see how much he has done for me. Can we put that on a basis of a "case history"? I won't be using him again so I don't see any point in executing the citizenship affidavit for him. The other man is an Issei. I have not talked to him about this matter at all, but I know he would be willing to earn a few dollars by translating for me. The question that I raise is will the fiscal department allow another Issei and can we state on our request "translation". If necessary, it occurs to me that I can put some of this on my travel allowance. How about that?

Alice is leaving shortly for Chicago. Mr. Kikuchi's removal to Gila is still in abeyance.

Charlie is beginning to think in terms of Topaz and he knows that I am due to go up there within a few months anyway, and indeed, as soon as I feel that I can safely take a vacation from here, I would like to go up there to see what can be done to organize a study up there. I wonder if Lowie ever wrote Tsuchiyama asking that she go up there. Naturally, if I go, Charlie wants to go too, and I certainly would like to have him along because of the contacts that he has with the Tanforan group. Do you suppose we could arrange permission for him to get up there with me? Charlie is sick with Valley Fever or something, and has been in bed since Sunday. He is beginning to be a little bit discouraged about the value of his material saying that it is no more than worthless notes. It occurs to me that it might be a good idea for a word of encouragement to come from you. Charlie has been in a rather unhappy frame of mind and I think the trip to Topaz in prospect would do him some good and that a small word from you would also be helpful. This, I think, is all the news for this time. Be looking forward to hearing from you soon. Did you get your secretarial problem settled? Best to all in Berkeley.

Yours,
Bob
Bob

January 17, 1943
Gila

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks to Morton for his letter and above all to you for going to bat for us on the university bonus. Gosh, you're a swell boss.

Hope you enjoyed the Tule Lake visit. We here received all the materials from the bunch up there. It's quite a tome, isn't it? Charlie and I are somewhat put out. Both of us feel our efforts have been surpassed.

This is longhand because Alice is using my typewriter. Hers is already packed away. She is leaving in a week. Bad news about Pop's coming here. It looks as though outside patients, 700 for all the centers, are frozen. I want to go into that more fully in my next letter. We may be able to do something. Alice got her first check for \$60.00. I'll submit another statement when she leaves. The family is rather sad about her going and Pop's situation.

Checks for Okuno and Hikida will be in order. Also another \$10.00 for Ochi. The two Issei have more manuscripts prepared. They continue to be my pride and joy.

I'll finish Lowie's paper this week. I am not satisfied with it but I feel that I can't waste more time on it. The role

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of religion becomes very unimportant compared with what is really happening here. No open trouble but give the boys time.

Enclosed is Merry O'tomo's affidavit. I've put her to work already on copying. Am sending you the Tada notes tomorrow.

That's all, I guess. I'll write again soon. By the way, did Morton turn in my gym locker.

Best to everyone in Berkeley

Yours,

Bob

January 21, 1943

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy:

I received your letters yesterday about your new headaches and I am worrying with you. I should hate to see Bob reclassified and have to go through all the agonies that I did. Where does Tamie get off thinking that we might have to be subject to a Senate investigation. As you say, she is a screw-ball, but even so, I wonder how much Leighton would know or have to do with a thing like that. Who is this Stauber person? Is he replacing Embree as Documentation Head? I hope the darn thing can be settled satisfactorily as we have settled other such difficulties in the past. Now, however, if I should run into any trouble with the information man here, I can always point out that you, in our home office, are making arrangements for any contact with the WRA authorities. That a Senate investigation is to be got under way is obvious. FBB men are coming around to the Projects and are making inquiries into every department. This is alleged to be action which takes place prior to a formal congressional investigation. I do not know what you have done with the more confidential and more contraversial materials which have been sent in. Fredericks, my friend on Internal Security, tells me that the FBI has the nice habit of subpoenaing everything that it feels might be of use to it. Of course, we have had our worries about the FBI before, but in view of a formal investigation of the Relocation Projects, undue attention, I am afraid, will be brought to us. I hope the thing can be settled satisfactorily.

In one of the letters I sent to you last week, I made reference to Alice's leaving and the condition of Mr. Kikuchi. Landward, who is now in charge of leaves, Dr. Sleath, and the WRA Chief Medical Officer Dr. Thomson who was here, have all stated that the travel of people from their places of hospitalization to the Projects must now be frozen until adequate facilities and personnel on the various Projects can be arranged for. Mr. Kikuchi, while able to come to the Center here would, nevertheless, require a certain amount of nursing care which only a hospital could give. Too great a burden would be placed on the family if he were to be left at home. And indeed, they will not permit his residing with the family in the residence barrack. This brings up a rather questionable point for us. Naturally, the Kikuchi's are somewhat upset considering not only the possibility, or impossibility, of being reunited with their father, but by also the effect which a strange environment might exercise on Mr. Kikuchi during his convalescence. Naturally, his mental state will not be

too favorable. Alice says that he is inclined to take a pessimistic view of things and that, unable to understand the situation, he might feel that the family has deserted him. You and I both feel our responsibility in this matter rather deeply. In view of Mr. Kikuchi's condition and his state of mental health, it would seem advisable that some member of the family, possibly one of the girls or Mrs. Kikuchi, go out to San Luis Obispo for a temporary visit. Landward is sorry to say that a request directed to the WCCA for permission for a member of the family to travel into California, would be denied inasmuch as there is no immediate physical danger to the patient. I know that the family would appreciate anything that we might be able to do to either facilitate a transfer for Mr. Kikuchi to Gila, or facilitate the obtaining of travel permission for one of the members of the family. Like the other Kikuchi's, however, I am rather at a loss to know what we could do. I give you the facts of the case wondering if you might have a suggestion.

Okuno and Hikida received their checks and thank you for them. You haven't, as yet, told me of what I could do about hiring an Issei to do my translation. I assume however, since you did not raise any objection, that I can go ahead and submit a bill for services marked "Translation".

I have just about completed Lowie's paper and shall send it off tomorrow. After this, I shall commence writing up the factors of political disorganization which occur here. Charlie, after recovering from his recent seige of what we guess was "valley fever", has begun writing again in earnest. I am continuing to use Earl as an informant; he is not writing anything. As I told you, Omachi is working on an economic report. Until I am free to get together with him and Charlie on the Tada case, he will work on this. With Lowie's paper out of the way, I can do that now. Hikida handed me yesterday his own autobiography and a number of essays similar to the kind he submitted before. I shall use them as I did previously, as a basis for eliciting information, and shall send the completed report as soon as I complete it. Okuno too, has a number of manuscripts ready to submit. While the Priest is way ahead of everybody, and I am still having trouble with the translation. That takes care of us from a work angle, I think, except for one other point which is worrying me a bit.

I mentioned that Alice is leaving, and I submitted to you a citizenship affidavit for Miss Otomo. In order to hire Miss Otomo, whom I have already used as a typist, it will be necessary that she leave her secretarial job. When she went to request clearance, her employer in the Fiscal Department denied it and took the matter up with the head of Employment, Mr. Huso. We come back again to this question of the so-called revolving fund. The only private employment allowable on the Project, is the Camouflage Net Project. This is the only one which may pay in existence of the prevailing 19 dollar wage. Mr. Huso therefore, informed me when I talked to him, that I could pay Miss Otomo only 19 dollars and that the rest would have to revert to the community revolving fund, the disposition of which has not yet been ascertained. I pointed out to Huso that my other workers here were employed on the Project and that they were not conceived to have private employment by virtue of the fact that they work for us. I

stressed the fact that this was a University of California Fellowship which they held, and that it was similar to any academic fellowship on the outside. I, therefore, told Mr. Huso that I would take Miss Otomo on this fellowship basis. We did not go into the matter of payment or how such payment was to be effected. I explained to him that this point had been cleared with Provinse and McEntire. He agreed that this, if ~~agreed~~ cleared by the home office, was agreeable to his own department. I think the thing is straightened out, but I was rather surprised to find that Huso knew that Charlie, Omachi, and Earl were associated with the study. Naturally, we haven't tried to conceal it, but nevertheless, I did not think that the Division of Employment would know about it. I explained to Huso that the honorarium which we pay could be held in trust as a basis for further education for our people after they left the Center. Huso is very nice and does not try to make trouble but I do hope that questions regarding payment have not again been raised by the National WRA officials.

Charlie is going around muttering "Topaz, at the end of March". I think it is a swell idea that we all get together in Salt Lake the last week in March. Both Charlie and I are looking forward to it and I know Omachi will too, when I tell him. We have a little time to wait before that comes through, but now Charlie, at least, has something definite to look forward to. His outlook has changed already, and he is much more cheerful these days.

That is all the news I guess. We are awaiting Lowie's visit on the 8th and I think things are all settled for the Lowies to come even though housing on the Project is at a premium.

I might mention that Mr. Henderson is leaving to take a job with the Federal Housing Authority in San Diego. Everyone is very sorry to see him go. He says that now that the people are settled, and stoves, linoleum, and partitions are up, his work now would be entirely employment, and he says that he cannot agree with the proposed relocation program, and that he cannot submit to send the people out to what is ostensibly permanent employment in the sugar beet fields. I shall be sorry to be losing one of my best Caucasian contacts on the Project. Remember me to W.I. and everyone in Berkeley. Thanks to Morton for his recent letter.

Yours,

Bob

January 23, 1942

Dr. Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:-

Enclosed you will find my paper "The Role of Religion in the Gila Relocation Center" to satisfy the requirements for Anthro. 244. I must admit that I am not satisfied with the report; so much has happened here at Gila of greater interest that I worked on the paper only at intervals. I'm sure that you will agree that it is a rather hackneyed job but I do hope that I was able to convey just what I was trying to do in this analysis. As you will see, I have somewhat neglected the elements of acculturation which appear in camp and have turned my attention more to the sociological side. I hope that the paper arrives in time so as not to place too great a burden on you during the final examination period. I must admit that I am unfamiliar with the present semester program and so do not know when the semester is to end.

George and the rest of us are awaiting your arrival two weeks from today. George is quite excited over the speech you are to make before his Young Buddhist group. He has consulted me as to a topic for your address. While he is sending you a list of topics of interest, I might mention that the general camp spirit at the moment is concerning itself with the new program of relocation. Many are so worried over the prospect of facing adjustments in a strange environment. For this reason it will be significant if you could discourse on the position of the marginal man in Anglo-American society, with particular reference to the Nisei. Controversial subjects of this kind make for the keenest interest among the Nisei who will make up the bulk of your audience. If you consider a topic of this kind too controversial, the analysis which you might give of any aspect of Japanese culture from your own Caucasian viewpoint would be of great interest also. I might mention however, since you do wish to make some preparation for this discussion, that the group is mixed. My own experience tells me that to keep a discourse down to a high school level makes for greater popular appeal and a better reception.

Speaking for myself, I am most anxious that you should come here and I am eagerly awaiting your and Mrs. Lowie's arrival. I hope that you can advise me about the exact time of your arrival so that I can arrange transportation.

-2-

In the meantime, I am continuing to report on the various developments of camp life. It is unfortunate that community dissatisfaction is growing. I hope to have an analysis of this growing feeling ready for transmittal shortly.

My best regards to you and to Mrs. Lowie. I shall look forward to seeing you both in Gila shortly.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RFS:ak

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

January 28, 1943

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

I have been waiting for some word from you before undertaking another letter. During the week, I received Morton's letter regarding the files of the Nichi Bei. I have made inquiries around the camp, and it begins to appear that those people who might logically have copies of back issues do not have them. It has been suggested that you write to the son of the owner of the Nichi Bei paper whose name is Yasuo Abiko, Topaz. In the meantime, I shall not give up the search, but I'm not sure that I can find copies that you want here in the center. If I do find them, how much are you willing to give for them?

Charlie and I have just been discussing the new batch of worries that have suddenly cropped up. Just before lunch today, I learned of a new development that rather startles me and I don't know if it has come to your attention as yet. Our worry is no longer to be with the Information and Documentation people. I learned from Gaba -- good soul that he is -- that Embree has been made head of a new organization, the WRA Social Analysis Division, and that he intends to go to each project in order to recruit personnel who will be of aid in eliciting information comparable to that which we are getting. He plans to have a Caucasian representative in each project who will enlist a Japanese staff, presumably of trained students, to make studies of this kind. Naturally, you can see where this will leave us. Possibility that our material is to be subpoenaed is not without foundation. The remarks made by some of the people in Internal Security, as I mentioned, lead me to believe that a subpoena of our material might be possible. I gather from Fryer's wire to you that Embree will be in to contact you personally at which time he will probably explain his aims and purposes to you and demand cooperation. Inasmuch as he is our rather bitter enemy, I don't see how we can possibly avoid providing him with some of our information. It seems to me that our worries about the Documentation people are all over, but that this new concern of the Social Analysis Department is far more formidable.

Charlie isn't getting along with Tuttle, his boss, and it appears that all of the departments are closing their doors to

our pleas for recognition and are attempting to shut us out to some extent. Most of the department heads have brilliant ideas of research work which they will do. In connection with our research jobs here, they are beginning to get more and more jealous of our attempts to elicit information from them. Such a situation may place our observers in a rather bad light. Charlie feels that his own material, since it is a personal diary, is inviolate. Omachi and my Issei are not in so favorable position, nor am I.

Before your letter arrived and before we learned of Embree's new status, Charlie and I were debating about expressing to you all the material we have at hand. I could keep the written forms of the diary and could send off all of my material inasmuch as I know just about what I have written, and because I plan now to begin a new analysis and take it from a new angle. My next endeavors will concern themselves with an analysis and history of the rising of the pressure groups in this community, and I think that it will be well for me to send to you all the information that we have at hand. Omachi is reading the Tule Lake report and I think that it will be well to send that back to you soon. It is too dangerous to leave lying around even though Charlie considers the report his own property. There are a few people here in whom I can place, without reservation, implicit trust. Fredericks, in Internal Security, has offered to keep my material for me in case any demand is made by the Project Director or the Information people. If I feel that pressure is growing, I shall take advantage of his offer until I can express the material to you. I am beginning to be quite concerned over the whole situation which seems to me more ominous than anything that has come our way thus far. Charlie suggests that he resign from the study, at least officially, but that he continue to do his diary and cooperate in every way. His honorarium could of course be held in trust for him just as we are doing now.

I don't understand what is meant by this difference between an "A" and "B" Selective Service rating. If Chaney will recommend Billingsmeier's deferment on an "A" basis, will he now do the same for me, even though I have been given a "B" rating? I don't understand, moreover, the misunderstanding which gave rise to that recommendation on Chaney's part. I hope you write about it being a lucky break. I think that if it is at all possible, it will be well to make any such arrangements now as necessary so that I can feel a bit more secure than I do. I'm already thinking in terms of the future and what I can do regarding my status in July.

Alice hasn't left us yet; first of all, there was a sudden freezing of evacuee departures for a time, and she is leaving Saturday morning for Chicago. I am enclosing a bill for her services from December 28 on up to the time when I let her go.

I have now settled the secretarial difficulties and hope that you have done the same.

You can understand our present position in relation to Mr. Kikuchi, but I do hope that some equitable arrangement can be made some time in the future when we hope our standing with the WRA is more amicable.

Charlie, on reading Fryer's wire and your letter, was quite disappointed about the ^{possible} wrecking of the Topaz plans. Like myself, he has begun to be quite worried, too. I hope that legal advice from the University attorney and justification of our own efforts will offer sufficient protection for our material. Charlie is most amused about your suggestion that I marry my prairie flower and thus consolidate my position. Between ourselves, I don't think it is such a bad idea at all.

I hope that you can handle Embree and his new Social Analysis Division. Isn't there some way that we can cooperate with the WRA? This idea occurs to me as perhaps worthwhile. Why can't I volunteer my services to Embree when he comes as one of the Social Analysts in the field? In that way I can sift the information which will be going to Washington and, furthermore, avoid any difficulties of conflict which will surely arise if an accredited WRA representative on the Project arrives here to work for Embree. Naturally, Embree may be suspicious of an offer like this, but it seems to me that there are certain things that I could give him without impunity to ourselves. I would think that he would have a great deal of difficulty in hiring anyone to do a social analysis. It is obvious that a woman will not be able to handle the job and I am pretty sure that Embree will want trained personnel. Just how he is going to be able to get them under the present circumstances is a question. I have one or two friends in Berkeley in the Anthropology Department who might qualify for such jobs and there are some kicking around the University of Chicago. But still, Embree expects to get ten people.

If necessary and if it were possible to arrange draft deferment on that basis, there should be no reason why I couldn't take the job with Embree and continue to cooperate with you. I don't think I need to assure you of my loyalty. I hope that you will keep in close touch with me in the future. I rather need your moral support through this issue and am hoping that you will be able to effect a satisfactory settlement. I will be glad when Lowie gets here.

Thanks to Morton for turning in my gym locker, and this, I guess, is all the news for the present, but I shall keep in close touch with you. Best regards to everyone in Berkeley.

Yours,

Bob

January 19, 1942
Zila

Dear Dorothy,

Enclosed are three typed copies of the Lada case for the files and for Louie. I shall compile the other pertinent data from Charlie and Omachi soon. I shall be submitting Louie's report at the end of the week, after which I shall feel much freer.

A murder took place last night but as the result of a ~~st~~ love triangle and not of community ill-feeling. Charlie, in welfare, will give coverage.

Omachi has a report (preliminary) on economic loss. It is not quite complete but will be soon.

No other news for the moment. I shall write more in detail as soon as I get my paper done.

Yours,

Bob

Charlie's Book XVIII
enclosed.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

January 21, 1943

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy:

I received your letters yesterday about your new headaches and I am worrying with you. I should hate to see Bob reclassified and have to go through all the agonies that I did. Where does Tamie get off thinking that we might have to be subject to a Senate investigation. As you say, she is a screw-ball, but even so, I wonder how much Leighton would know or have to do with a thing like that. Who is this Stauber person? Is he replacing Embree as Documentation Head? I hope the darn thing can be settled satisfactorily as we have settled other such difficulties in the past. Now, however, if I should run into any trouble with the information man here, I can always point out that you, in our home office, are making arrangements for any contact with the WRA authorities. That a Senate investigation is to be got under way is obvious. FBB men are coming around to the Projects and are making inquiries into every department. This is alleged to be action which takes place prior to a formal congressional investigation. I do not know what you have done with the more confidential and more contraversial materials which have been sent in. Fredericks, my friend on Internal Security, tells me that the FBI has the nice habit of subpoenaing everything that it feels might be of use to it. Of course, we have had our worries about the FBI before, but in view of a formal investigation of the Relocation Projects, undue attention, I am afraid, will be brought to us. I hope the thing can be settled satisfactorily.

In one of the letters I sent to you last week, I made reference to Alice's leaving and the condition of Mr. Kikuchi. Landward, who is now in charge of leaves, Dr. Sleath, and the WRA Chief Medical Officer Dr. Thomson who was here, have all stated that the travel of people from their places of hospitalization to the Projects must now be frozen until adequate facilities and personnel on the various Projects can be arranged for. Mr. Kikuchi, while able to come to the Center here would, nevertheless, require a certain amount of nursing care which only a hospital could give. Too great a burden would be placed on the family if he were to be left at home. And indeed, they will not permit his residing with the family in the residence barrack. This brings up a rather questionable point for us. Naturally, the Kikuchi's are somewhat upset considering not only the possibility, or impossibility, of being reunited with their father, but by also the effect which a strange environment might exercise on Mr. Kikuchi during his convalescence. Naturally, his mental state will not be

too favorable. Alice says that he is inclined to take a pessimistic view of things and that, unable to understand the situation, he might feel that the family has deserted him. You and I both feel our responsibility in this matter rather deeply. In view of Mr. Kikuchi's condition and his state of mental health, it would seem advisable that some member of the family, possibly one of the girls or Mrs. Kikuchi, go out to San Luis Obispo for a temporary visit. Landward is sorry to say that a request directed to the WCCA for permission for a member of the family to travel into California, would be denied inasmuch as there is no immediate physical danger to the patient. I know that the family would appreciate anything that we might be able to do to either facilitate a transfer for Mr. Kikuchi to Gila, or facilitate the obtaining of travel permission for one of the members of the family. Like the other Kikuchi's, however, I am rather at a loss to know what we could do. I give you the facts of the case wondering if you might have a suggestion.

Okuno and Hikida received their checks and thank you for them. You haven't, as yet, told me of what I could do about hiring an Issei to do my translation. I assume however, since you did not raise any objection, that I can go ahead and submit a bill for services marked "Translation".

I have just about completed Lowie's paper and shall send it off tomorrow. After this, I shall commence writing up the factors of political disorganization which occur here. Charlie, after recovering from his recent seige of what we guess was "valley fever", has begun writing again in earnest. I am continuing to use Earl as an informant; he is not writing anything. As I told you, Omachi is working on an economic report. Until I am free to get together with him and Charlie on the Tada case, he will work on this. With Lowie's paper out of the way, I can do that now. Hikida handed me yesterday his own autobiography and a number of essays similar to the kind he submitted before. I shall use them as I did previously, as a basis for eliciting information, and shall send the completed report as soon as I complete it. Okuno too, has a number of manuscripts ready to submit. While the Priest is way ahead of everybody, and I am still having trouble with the translation. That takes care of us from a work angle, I think, except for one other point which is worrying me a bit.

I mentioned that Alice is leaving, and I submitted to you a citizenship affidavit for Miss Otomo. In order to hire Miss Otomo, whom I have already used as a typist, it will be necessary that she leave her secretarial job. When she went to request clearance, her employer in the Fiscal Department denied it and took the matter up with the head of Employment, Mr. Huso. We come back again to this question of the so-called revolving fund. The only private employment allowable on the Project, is the Camouflage Net Project. This is the only one which may pay in existence of the prevailing 19 dollar wage. Mr. Huso therefore, informed me when I talked to him, that I could pay Miss Otomo only 19 dollars and that the rest would have to revert to the community revolving fund, the disposition of which has not yet been ascertained. I pointed out to Huso that my other workers here were employed on the Project and that they were not conceived to have private employment by virtue of the fact that they work for us. I

stressed the fact that this was a University of California Fellowship which they held, and that it was similar to any academic fellowship on the outside. I, therefore, told Mr. Huso that I would take Miss Otomo on this fellowship basis. We did not go into the matter of payment or how such payment was to be effected. I explained to him that this point had been cleared with Provinse and McEntire. He agreed that this, if ~~xxxxxxxx~~ cleared by the home office, was agreeable to his own department. I think the thing is straightened out, but I was rather surprised to find that Huso knew that Charlie, Omachi, and Earl were associated with the study. Naturally, we haven't tried to conceal it, but nevertheless, I did not think that the Division of Employment would know about it. I explained to Huso that the honorarium which we pay could be held in trust as a basis for further education for our people after they left the Center. Huso is very nice and does not try to make trouble but I do hope that questions regarding payment have not again been raised by the National WRA officials.

Charlie is going around muttering "Topaz, at the end of March". I think it is a swell idea that we all get together in Salt Lake the last week in March. Both Charlie and I are looking forward to it and I know Omachi will too, when I tell him. We have a little time to wait before that comes through, but now Charlie, at least, has something definite to look forward to. His outlook has changed already, and he is much more cheerful these days.

That is all the news I guess. We are awaiting Lowie's visit on the 8th and I think things are all settled for the Lowies to come even though housing on the Project is at a premium.

I might mention that Mr. Henderson is leaving to take a job with the Federal Housing Authority in San Diego. Everyone is very sorry to see him go. He says that now that the people are settled, and stoves, linoleum, and partitions are up, his work now would be entirely employment, and he says that he cannot agree with the proposed relocation program, and that he cannot submit to send the people out to what is ostensibly permanent employment in the sugar beet fields. I shall be sorry to be losing one of my best Caucasian contacts on the Project. Remember me to W.I. and everyone in Berkeley. Thanks to Morton for his recent letter.

Yours,



Bob

Robert F. Spencer
Gila Relocation Center
Rivers, Arizona

January 30, 1943

Major Karl T. Gould
Military Intelligence Service
Language School
Savage, Minnesota

Dear Sir:-

Thank you for your letter of January 26th in which I express my desire to become associated with the branch of the service which you represent.

Mention is made in your letter of a questionnaire form for applicants to the language school. Inasmuch as this form was not enclosed in the letter which I received, I should appreciate your sending me one.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

[3?]
January 31, 1942

Dear Dorothy:-

I hope that today brings a letter from you. I am most anxious for news regarding the troublesome situation which we seem to have gotten into. In my last letter I made mention of Embree's Social Analysis Division which is the current by-word on administrative lips. I have talked with several members of the staff: Hoffmann, Gaba, Tuttle, Korn, and others. In staff meeting it was stated that the UC Study would be cooperating with the Social Analysis Division altho to what extent is not as yet known. I guess that Embree will be in to see you soon. In that case it will be well to prepare some kind of stuff he can see. There seems no doubt that we have reached the end of our rope so far as the WRA is concerned. All of this, I think, is directly due to Embree's jealousy of the material to be obtained in the relocation centers. Maybe I'm wrong but I'm beginning to be extremely uncomfortable here. Le Barron (info.) is beginning to put the bite on me for material. Nice as pie to my face, he talks to the other members of the staff to the effect that my presence here is "suffered". In case of a showdown, he is biding his time before making a direct overture, I have two outs. The first is that the material is subject to your disposal and that it is centralized in Berkeley. The second is that inasmuch as administrative instructions call for, and they do, our cooperation with the Social Analysis Division, it will be well to wait until you make arrangements with that department before any cooperation with Le Barron can be brought about. It may appear that I am unduly worried over Le Barron but I don't think I am. You see, he has the support of project director Bennett in this. Bennett is apparently unable to understand the relation of the study to the WRA and expects more cooperation than I can justly give. No one had told Bennett about us and even though I have had talks with him he still is more or less unaware of what we are trying to do. I can reckon Bennett as an enemy and the insidious whisperings of Le Barron don't help much. I am frankly at a loss to know how to meet the situation. That's one of the reasons I shall be so darn glad when Lowie comes. I hope that you will tell him all of our troubles.

Re the Lowies' visit. I'm having all sorts of difficulty in getting permission for them to stay here. Staff accommodations are at such a premium that I, unwanted guest that I am, have been moved four times since Thursday. Even now my bag and baggage are sitting out in a hall while the housing committee decides where I am going to stay. I may have a room to myself after all though. I shall give it up to the Lowies when they come. I may have to stay off the project during that time, that is, I may have to stay with Hutch in Casa Grande and come in only days. I guess the Lowies can come in though. I think that Le Barron, who fancies himself something of an anthropologist, he wrote the phenomenal accounts of the discovery of King Tut's tomb and the like which have appeared so sloppily in Hearst's American Weekly, will be impressed by Lowie and that may lessen the antagonism.

Bennett is a fizzle as a director, a complete washout. A mild little man addicted to bridge playing he discourages all attempts ~~XX~~ on the part of administrative staff members to "fraternize" with evacuees. His latest is that all staffs (evacuee) train new people, as understudies or something, to take over the duties of those who leave to be relocated. Now where are they going to get the personnel? There are more than 500 Nisei in the camouflage net factory. How stupid. Who

is going to work as a trainee for 12.00 a month? Some in the net project are earning more than 100.00 a month. Now they're thinking of closing employment in the net project and what a mess that will be. Everyone wants to go.

In view of all these things I continue to be upset about our prospects. I continue to feel that unless we can make some equitable arrangement with the WRA, our sun is setting. God, I hope I'm wrong.

Re the Kikuchis: Alice left Saturday morning. Pop came in yesterday, missing Alice by a day. Poor Alice, she only stayed this long in order to be with her father or to see him at least. Now Pop is in the hospital and is completely paralyzed. His right side is useless and he cannot talk nor think clearly. It's very sad and it seems very doubtful that, after all these months, he will even partially recover. Mom thanks you for your moral support and whatever help you were able to give. Tom, Bette, and Miyako, of course, are in school, Emiko is in the net factory, Charlie working with Tuttle. That leaves Mom, who is not well, home alone during the day. I don't know what will be done about the father. Charlie will have to stay here as long as the old man lives.

A furor has arisen again over the new order allowing Nisei enlistment. This is apparently just a step toward eventual drafting. What of Charlie then? They don't allow dependency for Nisei soldiers. Some already in the army have applied for dependent's allowance and had it denied. The all-Nisei battalion is conceded by those interested to be discriminatory. Earle, oddly enough, was classed as a 4-E (C.O.) He may have to go away to camp somewhere although he doesn't think so.

Hikida and Okuno have turned in some swell stuff which I will comment on and give to Lowie. I have a tremendously long life history for Okuno which is not completed yet. Good people, they both try so hard and I think they're swell. Joe has been acting project attorney in Mr. Terry's San Francisco absence. He handed me some stuff on economic loss, a brief plan for the work he proposes doing with this. When Terry comes back he'll have more time. Now he has been interviewing clients in the evenings too. He is reading the Tule Lake report and has finally understood the necessity for detail. He wants me to submit the plan to you for criticism. In the meantime he is collecting data on the subject. I think that it will work out well. In the meantime I have asked him to follow up the workings of the community council and the constitutional committee. I am working on pressure groups which will take some time. I shall send you the material in sections. Part of it will be written, I hope, by Earle, who has this excellent in with the CAS. I'll use him as an informant as I have been doing anyway. The CAS figures pretty prominently in the political life of the center.

This has all been bad news. I hope we can make some kind of arrangement with Embree and his stooges. Where is he going to get 10 trained sociologists for the work he has in mind?

Again, I hope that there's mail from you. I'm beginning to be more than worried about all this. For the first time I am beginning to feel the pressure. Remember me to all in Berkeley.

Yours,

Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 2, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Your rather welcome letter came yesterday. I was glad to hear from you in view of the situation which has arisen and which I have touched upon in my last letters. At the time of writing your letter, you were apparently unaware of the fact that the Social Analysis Division had been created. I hope that my own communications have made that clear to you and that now you will understand the sweetness and the like which appears in your letter from Embree. I'll be awaiting with interest the result of your meeting with him.

I have felt the growing pressure against me here on the part of the administration, particularly through the efforts of Le Barron, and I have felt obliged to do something about it. Gaba had told me about the creation of the Social Analysis Division which was to be placed under the head of Community Services. I felt that I had to do something to combat the growing pressures, and for that reason I thought it wise for me to go in and have a talk with Hoffman, Chief of Community Services, and discuss with him the relation of his proposed Social Analysis Division here with me. I reiterated our desire to cooperate and explained that according to the terms of our study, there was actually little that we could do which would be of significant aid to administrative officials. He stated that he understood the terms of our study, the fact that it was necessary for us to protect our observers in the field, and that he was perfectly willing to sponsor staff meetings, that is, meetings of our staff with him and with the newly-appointed social analyst, whoever that will be, to discuss problems of administration. According to Hoffman's interpretation, and according to the understanding reached by those at the recent meeting in San Francisco, they do not wish to either subpoena or take our material; rather, they wish us to act more closely in cooperation with the administration and to help in administrative problems. I appreciate this, what I consider to be a rather friendly response from Hoffman, and think that I have him, at least, as an ally.

How Embree will want this information disposed of is another question; moreover, how much documentation will accompany the demands of Embree is questionable. Furthermore, I'm inclined to get extremely skeptical about Embree's desires and view them with suspicion. I do think, however, that I have been successful in establishing an amicable relationship with the administration here, and the

rest--that is, the dealing with Embree--will be up to you and Morton which, I guess, is as it should be. I feel much better about the situation now that I have seen Hoffman and again emphasized to him our position in the matter. I think Hoffman is to be regarded as a more powerful ally than Bennett. Now that Henderson is gone, I've got to have some substantial backer on the administrative staff and it might as well be Hoffman, unpopular though as he is.

I'm sorry about Lowie and the potential mess he is making of his trip. As far as the reservations are concerned, I don't see that I will be able to do very much. It is going to be difficult enough for me to get his stay here approved. I had it all approved and then the thing was changed again because of the shortage of housing. As I say, I may have to stay off the project while he is here. I think that, in the future, permission for those of our staff who want to come to visit here should be obtained from Cozzens in San Francisco. I think that the Lowies will be able to manage all right during their coming visit, but I must confess that it's been quite a headache to arrange.

The postscript in your letter brings up the question of secretarial help, and I would like to make it clear to you that I have taken Miss Otomo on in exactly the same capacity as I did Alice. There should, therefore, be no question as to that. My secretarial problem has been adequately solved and I trust that you have overcome the difficulty which the University put in your lap under secretarial help. My present difficulty concerns itself with that lousy business of translation. Goro Yamamoto does a substantial bit but doesn't want to do any more because it takes too much time. He says he got a check for which to thank you. I am now going to take on an Issei and will send you the particulars later. Actually, Ochi's stuff is quite worthwhile and, I think, worth the expenditure.

Some day when I can stop thinking in terms of community politics, I would like to sit down and write up the case histories that I have collected. Getting this information regarding political activities has been a time-consuming process and I have had to abandon, more or less for the time being at least, any plan for reading for my examinations. I hope that you will acquaint Lowie with the difficulties we face regarding the disposition of our material so that I can pass on to him verbally some other more specific details impossible in a letter. In the meantime, I hope that we can keep in close touch because in spite of Hoffman's friendship I'm still concerned over the future. That's all the news for now. Hello to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

February 2, 1943

Dr. Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:

Thank you for your recent letter advising us of the time and date of your arrival. I shall be looking forward to meeting you in Casa Grande next Monday. I shall attempt to meet the train when it comes in, but if it should be that difficulties of transportation arise, as well they might, it may be, perhaps, that you and Mrs. Lowie will be subjected to a delay in the Casa Grande station. I shall do my best, however, to meet you punctually. This, I think, is the only difficulty which you will meet in coming here. Once on the project, I think I can assure you of adequate accommodations and the like.

George has arranged for your lecture on the night of the tenth. I shall wait until your arrival before discussing that with you. In the meantime, I shall look forward to your arrival at the time specified.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

February 4, 1942

Dear Dorothy:-

Enclosed is Omachi' s brief report on property loss. Joe wants to know if the plan he presents here is adequate. He has a considerable file of notes regarding individual cases of property loss and wants to know just how to set it up. The boy keeps busy all right but is reluctant to hand you anything that is not finished, in spite of my many admonitions to do so. Will you write him about the success of this plan.

Charlie and I need some more stamps for mailing. If you would duplicate the last order we would appreciate it.

We could use some large manila envelopes too. Thanks.

Yours,

Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 5, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Your letter reprimanding me for my worries over the Social Analysis situation arrived this morning. It may be, as you say, that I have misinterpreted some of your worries; however, I would make it clear to you my own situation here is, so far as I'm concerned, rather precarious. In fact, in order to make it clear to you, I feel that I cannot emphasize it too much. While I realize that any decision affecting Embree will come from your office, nevertheless, in spite of the fact that all referrals should be made to Berkeley, there are still pressures here against me of which I am definitely conscious.

Le Barron has reached the ear of the Project Director and has urged that I be prevented from remaining here. Apparently, he feels that if he were successful in getting rid of me, he would be able to make use of the material which our observers are collecting here. This situation is further complicated by the inadequacy of housing. I have been thrust into a room with the Chief Electrician on the project, a horrible, drunken old man who speaks very badly against the Japanese, something about which, as you know, I have become very sensitive. A number of staff members are now obliged to live off the project due to the lack of living facilities. Le Barron is using this as a weapon, and it is a formidable one. I never realized how much Henderson protected me. Now that he is gone, I have suddenly become conscious of the pressures which would have otherwise been kept in check. There seems no doubt, even though I received Henderson's assurances, that I will be unable to arrange for the Lowies to stay on the project and that they will have to take advantage of the rides offered to and from Casa Grande.

Now it occurs to me, after having read your letter, that you will be worried over the fact that I went to see Hoffman. You needn't be since all that I offered to do was to cooperate with him more fully than I had been in the past. With Henderson gone, it is essential that I get some supporter on the staff. Since I already have Gaba, it is well to enlist the support of Hoffman, too. So I'm not committed to Hoffman in any way. He doesn't want my manuscripts; he simply wants advice occasionally as to impressions, attitudes, and reactions effected by his or Community Services program. If there were any question dealing with the manuscripts we have prepared, naturally, I would make reference to you. In order to clarify my own position on the project and to gain administrative support, I felt it essential to cultivate Hoffman. I am now well received so far as he is concerned. The

fact of growing administrative pressures against me is one that I cannot deny and one which worries me a great deal. I hope you understand my position now, and that Lowie will be able to allay to some extent the feelings that have arisen here that have been instigated by Le Barron. In accordance with this desire to cooperate, Charlie, Inez Lieberman, and myself have taken over counseling for Student Relocation. Furthermore, I am teaching Spanish two nights a week in the Adult Education program. In other words, I'm doing my darndest to make myself useful.

A number of staff changes are taking place here, too. Gaba's increasing unpopularity with evacuees makes it evident that a transfer will be effected for him in order to appease the growing sentiment. He is being forced out of office in the same way that Waller was at Tule Lake. Landward is being drafted, and Korn is leaving to take charge as Project Director of the Internment Relocation Center for subversive people at Moab, Utah. This means that in order to protect myself since all of my original support will soon be gone, I've got to string along with Hoffman. Lieberman, whom you will remember as something of a pest, has turned out to be very loyal to me, but he is being fired soon for his yeatonesque actions.

I should mention, if I've not done so before, that Hoffman suggested my recommendation for the job of Social Analyst here. In spite of the fact that the job will pay \$3200, I naturally won't consider it. I mentioned it in my letter to you only as an alternative if it became necessary to protect out material. I think you know by now that I don't jump at conclusions of this kind, and that I would not consider even mentioning it to any member of the administrative staff. I thanked Hoffman for his offer but declined the recommendation. If you think that the situation is okay, I'll stop worrying. I only hope that Embree doesn't continue to be a thorn in our side, but I'm very much afraid that he is going to ask you for copies of your manuscripts.

Lowie is coming and, as I say, I don't think that he will be as adequately cared for as you were. However, if that's the wish of the administration, really nothing can be done about it, but I think that once the Lowies get on the project, I can prevail on Hoffman to put them up here for one or two nights at least. I certainly hope so, since I would not like to subject Dr. and Mrs. Lowie to the inconveniences of commuting between here and Casa Grande. I must say, though, that visitors on the project are not welcomed, and it is difficult to arrange for any visitors even though I have spoken about Lowie's visit for several months.

I hope that this letter will reassure you somewhat that I haven't committed us or involved us in any way. I do want to repeat, however, the fact that I am extremely worried. That's all the news for now. Hellow to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

P.S. I promise that I will not discuss these worries with Professor Lowie.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 12, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

The Lowies have come and gone. While they were here, I had little opportunity to write to you or to anyone. Korn was kind enough to provide them with transportation from Casa Grande and back to Casa Grande again. They went in last night after four days on the project, remaining in Casa Grande last night and planning to take an early train this morning. I was unable to secure reservations for the Lowies on the day train back to Los Angeles, the reason being that reservations for such short trips are not accepted except 24 hours in advance. The Lowies understood this and accordingly made their own reservations from here. Mrs. Lowie did not spend very much time with either Dr. Lowie or me, inasmuch as she was concerned with visiting George Matsuura and making plans for his future in art school.

I am very much afraid that the Lowies' visit was rather ill-timed and that it has not been as advantageous to the study as you had hoped it would be. In the first place, I was never able to secure accommodations for the Lowies on the project and although Korn gave official permission for them to stay, Bennett and Hoffman raised objections inasmuch as permits to reside on the project have been banned for other visitors of this kind. I gave up my own room to them and stayed in an empty evacuee barrack, something which is definitely against the rules. Although Lowie met with favorable reception from many of the administrative staff, nevertheless, he took a positive stand in arguing with Bennett on the subject of the loyalty of the Nisei. A rather ticklish situation arose which I don't think Lowie himself realizes when in his address before the Young Buddhist Association group, he mentioned that controversial subject of the Japanese language and teaching of the Japanese language in the centers, emphasizing the fact that it is not necessary for the marginal man to discard his original culture in order to assimilate himself in the American scene. Although he pointed out that this was a cultural and not a political consideration, there were a number of Kibei in the audience of over 300 who are already tending to use the sanction that he gave for the teaching of the Japanese language to bring pressures on the administration. Hoffman is very much put out and is aided and abetted by "Tom" Sawyer, Superintendent of Schools. I continue to be worried over their attitude. Lowie's position is appreciable, but his remark about keeping the mother culture in assimilation was ill-timed in view of the terrifically critical situation which has suddenly hit this community. Other than these worries, however, I was very glad to see Dr. Lowie, and I do feel that his presence here was helpful to us so far as the evacuee attitudes are concerned even though

criticism has been leveled against him by the administration.

I realize that I may have been unduly worried about one or two points which have arisen in the past weeks, but I do think it is cause for concern here. I did not go into our own worries with Professor Lowie nor, in fact, would I bring up any cause which might give him concern. I think it well here to mention the fact that Lowie very quickly saw what was going on in the community and that, as I say, his sympathetic and kindly attitude won him many friends from among the evacuee population. Because Bennett has insisted upon maintaining a Caucasian oligarchy and suppressing the evacuee independency, any attempts to do what might be called fraternizing are viewed with disfavor. In the same sense, I find myself in a somewhat awkward position so far as Bennett is concerned.

[Now, it will be necessary to mention the things that are going on in the community which seem to have such terrific implications. I think it well here to mention some of this to you sort of in the form of a report. I shall try to keep you informed on it as the days go by. As you may have guessed, it concerns the opening up of volunteer enlistments in the Army to the Nisei. Landward, as Leave Officer, recently returned from Washington where he had become acquainted with the relocation program in a ten-day course of instruction given to Leave Officers from all projects and became aware of the fact that the Nisei were to be drafted but that first volunteer enlistments would be opened up to the Nisei, and that this program was to commence immediately. Simultaneously in all ten relocation projects, crews of Army officers and Caucasian and Japanese non-commissioned personnel are bringing under way propaganda for enlistment. This body of Army personnel which functions here and in other centers has a two-fold purpose. In the first place, they are to accept volunteers for enlistment in the Army, and in the second place, they are to register all Nisei including Kibei, except those who have applied for repatriation, between the ages of 17 and 38. The idea being to have a source of man-power for defense industries and to further clarify the situation in regard to the draft through registration. These Army men were to have presided at meetings which are designed to bring across to every group in the community these two facts: (1) the necessity for registration which is compulsory and (2) the desirability of enlisting in their own Nisei combat battalion which is now being formed. Incidentally, the latter will be in addition to the 100th Infantry which is an all-Nisei battalion made up principally from Hawaiian sources.

Lowie, Charlie, and myself attended the first meeting in which Captain Thompson spoke. Landward was there and Bennett. The meeting took place in Camp two with the heads of all organizations present as well as Block councilmen, Block chairmen, and Block Managers. The idea was to bring across to these leaders the necessity for enlistment, the fact that if the quota of 3500 for the ten relocation centers is not met, the results may be very catastrophic so far as public opinion and, more, administrative opinion will mold the future of the Japanese in America. There seems to be little doubt that if public opinion cannot see sufficient of the Nisei volunteering in the Army, the consensus in the country will be unchanged, namely to the effect that the Japanese in America are disloyal to a man.

So many issues are involved in the consideration of this fact, people concerned have resolved to discuss all principles involved; that this is not now a privilege and that this is not democracy, that the Japanese in this country have made their sacrifice by acceding to evacuation. These points, of course, are all well taken. The Nisei do not want to volunteer. It has been pointed out that the relocation program which is now in effect will be diverted if the breadwinner of any given family is either drafted or volunteers. The pressures in the community are simply terrific and seem to center around the Kibei clubs, the membership of which will be most seriously affected by any draft. Every day this week meetings have taken place. The first meeting was that, as I mentioned, for the ostensible leaders in the community. The second was sponsored by the J.A.C.L. for the Nisei. The third was an all-Issei meeting, while last night, a meeting before the Kibei took place. Similar meetings have taken place in both camps, and it is the aim of Captain Thompson here to try to reach everyone in the community. Charlie covers the first meeting in detail. Caucasians have been discouraged from attending the other meetings because it is said, and rightly, that the community at large will get the impression that the Caucasian administrators are aiding and abetting this "further enslavement". At every meeting so far, the Kibei have stood out as a radical group strongly opposing the move. Thompson has been as fair as I believe a man in his position could be. Realizing that controversial issues would be raised, Captain Thompson has had questions written by the audience. He reads them off and answers, attempting to give as honest an answer as he possibly can, but he is not always permitted to say what he wants to say. The audience will clap and boo or stamp its feet. In the Issei meeting in Butte Camp Wednesday night, handled by the Captain's Nisei aide, Sergeant Aburamen, the message was never brought over inasmuch as howls of derision greeted the Sergeant's words and the meeting ended in a near riot.

Everyone is terrifically concerned over the results of Captain Thompson's visit. There are some administrators here who can honestly see the reasons for hesitation on the part of these Nisei and the reasons for the terrific pressures against enlistment which are raised by the Kibei and the Kyowa-kai. Question of loyalties has been raised by others, sometimes with disastrous results. There are members of the administrative staff who think like the general public that the Japanese in the relocation centers have now shown their true colors. Bennett himself is at an utter loss to understand the attitudes which are expressed here. To analyze these attitudes briefly, it might be said that the entire concern is for the family group and the very strong desire to keep the family group together in this, the relocation center. It is said that if a family were allowed to get out and establish itself on the outside, many more Nisei would be able to feel secure in volunteering. An interesting application of Japanese concept of bushido has been raised time and again. It is said that the Nisei should volunteer in accordance with the Japanese law of chivalry and that in volunteering these Nisei who are put into a combat unit are giving up their lives. What then of their families? If a man is to give up his life, he does not wish to do so unless he is sure of his family's security. Coupled with this is the fear of the outside. The conservatism which keeps people back, the same factor that up until now has really been a detriment to relocation. The significant points that are raised by the stolid citizen-type of Issei and Nisei alike center

around this consideration. The Kibei bring in the dissatisfied element. They maintain that they have been railroaded into this thing and that the railroading was done by the J.A.C.L. Consequently, the J.A.C.L. is in a very bad spot. Kyowa-kai leaders went yesterday to the Project Director and asked that the two J.A.C.L. representatives to the Salt Lake convention be removed from the project for a week until the furor can die down; otherwise, they said they could not be responsible for the safety of either of these two, Ken Tashiro, former editor of the paper, and Nobu Kawai, J.A.C.L. organizer here.

To George Yamashiro was read the Sedition Act; he is the president of the Kibei Club. He was told flatly by Bennett that if his group did not cooperate with Captain Thompson in the meeting, which was held last night, he would be held personally responsible and could be indicted on a charge of sedition. The Kibei meeting was then very, very quiet. It is true that controversial questions were raised, but Captain Thompson encouraged the raising of controversial questions in his attempt to clear up the matter. After the meeting, however, the Kibei remained seated. Bennett, Landward, Thompson, and a few Caucasian administrators, members of the American Legion who had been invited, left. George Yamashiro then got up to address the meeting. He took a very significant stand. He stated that joining the Army, volunteer enlistment, and the like, was entirely an individual matter, but for himself, he said he would not join the Army because of his family, because of the fact that he had already been classed as 4-C, an enemy alien even though a citizen, nor would he do anything which would be detrimental to the cause of his race. He spoke in Japanese to the Kibei at large. This talk has not as yet come to the attention of the administration. Perhaps it should; I do not know. Yamashiro, moreover, said that he would not even ~~den~~ himself by working in the camouflage factory as many Kibei have done, that he wouldn't even touch money made at the expense of the blood of his brothers. When he had said this, the several hundred people in the Kibei recreation hall, as well as the Issei who had been standing outside, filed out without comment, without demonstration of any kind.

The controversial issue which is one of the sources for discontent arises out of the questionnaire which every person between the ages of 17 and 38 must fill out. This questionnaire has two questions in it, numbers 27 and 28, the gist of which is as follows: 27 states (I paraphrase), "Are you willing to serve in the combat forces of the United States?" 28 (likewise paraphrased) states, in effect, "Do you renounce allegiance to all foreign powers save the United States alone?" It is understood by Captain Thompson that these questions may justly be answered with reservation. For example, a person may say in answer to 27, "Yes, if I am drafted", in other words, he may answer conditionally. He also has the privilege of saying that he doesn't know. The Kibei have made a very strong issue of these two questions. They are not willing to serve in the combat forces of the United States; some are willing to serve in a non-combat capacity. Some of the more rabid, like George Yamashiro, refuse to answer affirmatively. Many think that if 27 is answered "Yes", they are subjecting themselves to Army enlistment. This point although if clarified once has been clarified 50 times very patiently by Captain Thompson has still not been fully understood. The community at large simply will not understand what the two-fold purpose of the registration is and that volunteer enlistment does not follow because a person has filled out the questionnaire.

The old issues against the J.A.C.L. have been revived and even the more intelligent Nisei who are anti-J.A.C.L. cannot see the matter in any other light. The far-reaching effects of the failure to enlist on the part of the Japanese population in America as a whole are not realized and are over-shadowed by the immediate issues at hand. Issues of principle, democracy, and of family disunity as well as of the fear of the unknown. All of these are perfectly understandable, but I would make it clear to you that this suddenly has become a tremendously serious thing, especially in view of proposed Army control of the relocation centers, the senatorial investigation, and other factors. Unless the Nisei, irrespective of any cause of the injustices which have thus far taken place, can see their way clear to enlist, the bulk of the American public opinion will be aroused in their disfavor. In speeches, Bennett has said, and Thompson has corroborated, that to all those who answer questions 27 and 28 in the negative will come disfranchisement and internment. Not only would those of questionable loyalty be effected by this, but all of the Japanese living in America as well. It is expected to get 350 volunteers from the thirteen-odd-thousand in Gila; 3500 being the quota for all the relocation centers. Gila must supply one-tenth. So far, although no call for enlistment has as yet been forthcoming and the attempt this week is to make this matter clear to the population, I have heard nowhere a favorable report. If 100 volunteer, my own expectations will be exceeded by far. It is also said by Bennett and Captain Thompson that unless the quota is met by volunteer enlistment, it seems very likely that the draft will be pushed through. If this is the case, what will happen to the relocation program and to the post-war resettlement of the Japanese?

I hope that you won't think that I am taking a particularly morbid stand. I wish that you could be here to see what's going on, to feel this terrific agitation in the community, and to talk with Captain Thompson, with Landward, and to have it made clear to you just exactly what this all does mean to the future of the Japanese in America. Thompson says that the Army is taking a favorable stand now, but it is only a tentative measure. If expectations are not met, George Yamashiro and his cohorts are in a position to destroy their own minority group in this country.

I don't think I have been successful in making this all very clear to you; it seems, in fact, to be a rather sketchy job. I did want to hit the high points and bring across the importance of this thing that has hit the centers. I hope that we will not have to turn our study into another channel and term it, "Evacuation and Repatriation Study". Our own worries about our material and the like suddenly appear very insignificant. I might mention that Bennett has taken a very dogmatic stand on this issue and that he is at a loss at the objections raised on the questions of loyalty and unloyalty to the United States, refusing thereby to recognize Japanese family system or the elements of Japanese culture. <Confidentially, Lowie had what Bennett considered to be the affrontry to point out that cultural implications were not being considered as fully as they ought to be. I was there and I know that Bennett was extremely annoyed.> I hope that, too, I haven't given you too dark a picture, but I'm very much afraid that I can see it in no other light. Of those who understand that situation, Nisei and Caucasian alike, there is the same feeling of despair for an adequate solution to this significant problem. Charlie, Omachi, and I have tried to keep

tab of the attitudes which make up this feeling in the community and what the results will be.]

I sent to you by Professor Lowie an unfinished manuscript relative to the pressure groups in this community and included some other information as well which I ask you to file and to insert in place as the other pages follow. I wanted to give you this manuscript for your comments. You asked me to write up the Tada case in completed form and I now have the notes ready to do that. What I must do first, however, is to present the background of pressures in the community and try to fit the Tada case in as one instance of increasing trouble. I hope to have all this ready in time and shall continue working along this same vein. I will agree with you that my own concern over what I took to be a very critical situation was that my own concern over what I took to be a very critical situation was perhaps a bit far-fetched. I must admit, however, that since Henderson's departure, I've really not felt particularly secure. Several have told me that Bennett has admitted that he does not like having us here. This was even before Lowie's visit. Landward is subject to draft and Korn is going to head the new relocation center in Moab, Utah, the center in which pro-Axis and trouble-making elements from other relocation centers are to be placed. With him my last high-ranking administrative supporter will be gone and, frankly, I don't like it. I would feel a lot more secure if I had sanction from some other members of the administration. I had thought Hoffman would be favorably inclined toward us. He is the only person left, but he hates Charlie. Moreover, since Charlie has emphasized his typical evacuee attitude and was caught stealing Council minutes, Hoffman is rather displeased.

I have had a good informant in Fredericks in Internal Security and people don't like him either. He is being railroaded out of here and transferred to Tule Lake very shortly. The fact that Williamson knows that I have been using Fredericks as an informant has not done me much good. Le Barron continues to be annoying although I think I underestimated his abilities. He has been more kindly disposed since Lowie's visit since he was apparently extremely impressed by Lowie, even though he persisted in calling him "Lowrie", and yet, oddly enough, he considers himself to be an anthropologist. I think that I'm getting temperamental, too, and becoming more and more of an evacuee everyday. May be my worries regarding the above situation are unfounded, but I think Lowie will collaborate me in saying that they are not. He, too, was fully aware of the situation here and its dangerous implications regarding the future of the Japanese in this country.

Can you send us some reams of yellow paper, say two. Also a similar number of stamps comparable to the the last order. We need some study envelopes and some large manila envelopes. I think that's about all. Would it be possible to send another \$10.00 to Bishop Ochi? Lowie, be the way, was very much impressed with him and he with Lowie. It will be well to keep up our amicable relationship with him since the work that he is doing is really valuable. I wish that I had some of the translations that I have now when I wrote my paper on religion for Lowie. Will you check and see how much we have given Ochi so far? As I understand it, he has only received \$10.00 and that was two months ago. In the meantime he is keeping

up his writing. Included here is a bill for services from Miss Otomo and I will appreciate your expediting her remuneration. She and I have agreed to keep this on a month to month basis so that this amount is for through January.

Again, I am not as worried about us, but I still have the feeling that we are sitting on top of a volcano. I am having difficulty in retaining my objective perspective. Remember me to everyone in Berkeley. I hope to hear from you very shortly.

Yours,

Bob

I think I have overemphasized somewhat the effect of Lowie's speech. Hoffman was disturbed but not too concerned. I was so glad to get your letter stating that an agreement had been reached and Roun has straightened me out here, plus Lowie's visit. I'm sorry to have caused you such concern and to have exhibited such temperament. Another letter follows explaining the latest developments.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 15, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

I received your letter of the 12th this morning, and I am deeply grateful to you for keeping me in touch so closely with things that are going on. I am sorry if my own sudden burst of temperament should have disturbed you. The letter which you will have received regarding Lowie's visit and regarding the difficulty here over the volunteer enlistment situation is, perhaps, somewhat on the dark side. Your own information cheers me up considerably, and now that I have written evidence of Embree's cooperation, I feel much more secure than I did, especially in view of the fact that Korn also straightened out my difficulties with Hoffman, Le Barron, and Bennett. Korn put himself out to make the Lowies comfortable here and has helped me in every way he could so that the administration could more fully understand my position. Bennett is content now that our work here is justifiable, and I have been called into meetings with Bennett, Korn, and Hoffman to offer my advice as to the approach to the problem of registration and volunteer enlistment. Moreover, I have been provided with adequate quarters, alone, in which to work, thanks to Mr. Korn; and I need no longer bother the Kikuchi's. In short, I feel very much contented with the present situation, much more so than I have in several weeks.

Lowie's visit was generally favorably received with the exception of the little furor he caused over his mention of the desirability of the use of the Japanese language. You were right in assuming that Lowie would make a good impression on the administrators here. He has succeeded in doing that and has justified our existence in the place of Le Barron and Bennett. So everything seems to be okay again, and I shall refer all further communications regarding material and the like to you.

[Charlie will describe in some detail the meeting which took place on Friday which was sponsored by Captain Thompson and Mr. Bennett. Much has been made of the Sedition Act, and it was stated publicly that those who hinder volunteer enlistment would find themselves subject to imprisonment under the terms of the Act of 1917. Your own copies of the newspaper will show that the Act has been publicized and held somewhat as a threat over the heads of those Kibei and Issei who were in strong opposition to enlistment. George Yamashiro has been particularly vociferous, as I pointed out before, in his opposition to the measure of volunteer enlistment. I think now, however, that since

actual coercion has been used to suppress the recalcitrant groups, the situation is smoothing out a little bit. In fact, the attitudes have changed to some extent, and it seems as though some volunteers will be enlisted. At least there is greater Issei understanding of the problem, and the more out-spoken Kibei have been silenced. Of course, there is still the individual family problem, the fact that this individual or that is prevented from enlisting by his family because of the desire to keep the family unit intact and to prevent neighborhood criticism which will inevitably result if a member of any given family is conceived to be fighting the mother country. These neighborhood criticisms were brought up before in regard to the subject of enlistment in the language school. Where before, however, the community was up in arms, the result of Friday's meeting has been somewhat to mollify community sentiments and to make for less opposition to Army enlistment. It seems that the next feeling will arise against the enlistees themselves when their names are made public. It is the desire of the Army and the administration to keep these names secret until the day of departure. Friday's meeting was a rather significant one.

Last Monday, you will recall that Block Managers, Block Councilmen, Block Chairmen, and certain club and organization leaders were present. On Friday, in view of the growing community sentiment, a list was prepared of leaders in the community as well as the officials mentioned above. Invitations were sent out to each of them requesting their attendance at the meeting in Butte, Friday night. Trucks provided transportation for those from Canal, and at this meeting the Sedition Act was publicly proclaimed and a much firmer stand was taken by Captain Thompson. It seems that this sort of procedure rather than a sympathetic handling of the problem was more in order.

In my last letter, I believe I mentioned that Charlie and I thought that if one-tenth of the quota of 350 were to volunteer, the situation would be about normal. It now begins to appear that more may be expected, perhaps, as some say, 250. I think that 100 to 150 will be the correct number if community sentiments do not change again. If the whole thing is kept out of the papers and they simply publicize the fact that 150-odd volunteered from Gila and, perhaps, an equal number from the other centers, infinite good can be effected to a favorable public opinion. If this does not work and adverse publicity is given, the whole program might as well fold up.]

Of course the community is much opposed to the draft, but it seems inevitable that Nisei drafting will begin soon. In that case, too, some of the members of our study will find themselves in the rather unenviable position of being drafted. Not the least of these is Charlie. Charlie has been discussing with me the advisability of his going out to take a defense job and take Emiko and Betty with him. It is my own opinion that Nisei drafting will begin in a month or two. I wish that you would look into the situation for Charlie. Perhaps write him a letter to bolster his morale. He is quite concerned over the problem, disliking to leave his family in its present situation. With him gone, he is afraid

that under such circumstances, relocation for them will be virtually impossible. Speaking of Charlie, too, he wants to have his checking account changed to a savings account with the same bank. He wonders if you could arrange this and hold his bank book for him. The checks could then be deposited into a savings account and not be liable to assessment as checks. We received Charlie's manuscript today and the stamps for which thank you.

Again may I say with the receipt of your letter, things have taken on a much brighter outlook. Earle, of course, is in a peculiar situation, having been classified as a conscientious objector. I wonder what the draft will do to him. I am pleased that things have worked out so well. Now, with the exception of one or two worries in regard to the study, I think that our administrative cares are over. I plan to see Omachi this afternoon and to go into detail on the subject of his reports. That I guess is all for the time being. I shall look forward to hearing from you soon. Thanks for everything.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bob". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed word "Yours,".

February 18, 1943

Dr. Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:

I should like to drop you a line or two to say how much all of us here enjoyed having you and Mrs. Lowie with us during the past week. I realize that the experience was worthwhile for you, and I hope that you were as comfortable as could be under the circumstances. I went to the Kawamoto wedding and reception after I left you last Thursday and found it quite enlightening inasmuch as it was the first Buddhist wedding that I had attended. Our friend, Reverend Ochi, officiated. I hope that you and Mrs. Lowie were comfortable in Casa Grande and that you had no difficulty in arranging your transportation. By this time, you have probably become adjusted to a new semester once more. Again, may I say that I am glad that you found time and opportunity to be able to visit here. Since your departure, I have found my relations with such people as Le Barron much improved.

Since your departure, the top has really blown off of things down here. The meetings which were held during the week regarding Army enlistment did not seem to produce any satisfactory result, and the Kibei Club continued to be active. On Tuesday, the FBI moved in and apprehended twenty-eight of the subversive Issei and Kibei leaders and took them off of the project to be placed in internment camps. George Yamashiro, whom you will remember, was among those taken. Tuesday afternoon here, there was a great deal of excitement, and I was very much afraid that a general riot or uprising would take place. Since then, however, the community has taken another turn and the situation is very, very quiet indeed.

The answers to questions 27 and 28, which you will remember as being discussed in the meeting we attended, are still being answered in the negative. The fact that agitators and leaders of the opposition were removed from the community has seemingly had little effect. It is my own opinion that the real leadership has not as yet been touched. I have just completed a lengthy and detailed account of the situation and have forwarded it to Dr. Thomas. I include a carbon copy of this letter with your own, giving the details of the situation.

On the day following your departure, our streak of delightful Spring weather began, and we have had pleasant, sunny, cloudless

- 2 -

days ever since. I am sorry that you had to be involved in the cold spell and in the dust storms. It is really much more pleasant here now.

I shall look forward to hearing from you regarding any questions or comments you may wish to bring up regarding this situation. I hope to see you in Berkeley within a few weeks. Please give my best regards to Mrs. Lowie.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 18, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California

Dear Dorothy,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bob", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

February 19, 1943

Office of the Registrar
University of California
Berkeley, California

Gentlemen:

In view of my present position with the University in connection with the Evacuation and Resettlement Study, I find that I will be unable to register as a student during the Spring semester of 1943.

I should appreciate you holding my student status in abeyance until such time as I can feel free to register again for further graduate work.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RFS:mo

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 19, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Your welcomed letter was received this morning. I simply want to write this note to acknowledge it. There is no particular change since I wrote yesterday. The sentiment in the community is growing to the effect that the men apprehended are martyrs.

[From the information that I have been getting from various members of the administrative staff regarding Tule Lake and other projects, I see that, as you say, a definite pattern is at work repeating itself almost exactly not only in two centers ^{but} in nearly all of them. Of course you will probably read that Manzanar and Poston are answering "yes" 97 per cent, but I learn that this average is falling down. Our own is on the increase. As the interviewers went from block to block and worked over more to the Nisei blocks and away from the Kibei blocks, our own percentage of those answering yes has increased. On the first day of registration, as I said, 75 per cent were answering the two questions "no".; by yesterday, however, 60 per cent were answering "yes" while in Camp One, about 80 per cent were answering "yes". I believe this difference to be caused by the fact that Kibei are pretty limited in Camp One as compared with Camp Two, and it has been the Kibei who have been the subversive element all along.

< I learned from Topaz (how I wish we had an observer there) that the group there is in a very bad spot. Before agreeing to registration, a group of Nisei got together and sent a wire to Roosevelt and Stimson in which they outlined ten demands and stated that they would not agree to registration until these demands were met. No one knows, as yet, what the demands were, but in view of the questions raised here during the past week, I have a pretty good idea that they were of what might be construed a disloyal or subversive nature. I understand that registration in ~~Poston~~ ^{Topaz} has been officially stopped. Perhaps, here, now that certain of the subversive elements have been removed, although it is generally agreed that the leaders are untouched, there may be a better response. >

Groups of Issei and Nisei have been appointed by the administration to make a house to house canvass to urge those who answered "no" to reconsider. Next Wednesday is the deadline for reconsideration. I shall be able to obtain copies of the questionnaire form from Landward, and I

shall forward them to you as soon as I get them.] It won't be necessary for Charlie to steal them. I shall keep handing in the details to you as I get them and keep tab as best I can on the whole situation.

Frankly, I don't know what to do about Earle. He feels so disgustingly secure here and is so oblivious to everything that is going on. For some strange reason, Mimi has taken a strong dislike to me, with the result that I no longer associate with the Yusa's except to see Earle now and again during the day. I told him time and again to write you acknowledging your December letter, but I know that he has not done so. I have an idea that Mimi blames me for his loss of status, so I suggest that you write him again and tell him to do something. So much is happening here and, frankly, I don't feel that I can waste my time asking him about CAS, the only thing he knows anything about at all, when I can get more about CAS from Mr. Hikida in ten minutes than from Earle in an hour. I just as soon wash my hands of the whole thing. Earle is entirely unconscious of what is going on, and at this time, he has done the Nisei more harm than good by telling everyone how he is a pacifist and how his own "CO" status has been sustained. So, you better write him.

I shall have completed my observations on the pressure groups in a day or two and shall forward the rest of that manuscript to you next week. I will follow that up with a report on Army enlistment.

Now that all this is going on in the center, attention has been removed from me and from Lowie. Everything seems to be pretty well quieted down on the administrative staff side, and we can turn our full attention to the new evacuee problem. Best regards to everyone.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bob", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

Spencer

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 24, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

I received your Sunday's letter this morning, and I am sorry to say that I find your news rather depressing. Yes, the situation at Tule Lake is certainly worse than the one here at Gila, and I fail utterly to see how Coverley could have made such a goose of himself. Apparently, similar situations have arisen at the other centers. I think I mentioned the situation that that I had heard about at Topaz, and the Heart Mountain Sentinel reports a two-day cessation of registration there. Poston and Manzanar, I'll admit, look good, but after the first few days, they too have fallen off. Apparently, what happened was that a call was put out for volunteers to register. Naturally, all those who volunteered were those who were agreed upon the answers they would give anyway. As they made the registration compulsory, their average dropped. Apparently, the same pattern is being repeated in all of the centers. I have not heard anything about the Arkansas, Granada, or Minidoka centers. One brief report from Granada indicates that registration is being much more favorably received.

Back to the situation here at Gila. You will be surprised to learn that since the round-up of what were thought to be subversive leaders, there has been no difficulty whatsoever. Although the percentage of volunteers is small, there is a fair percentage of those answering affirmatively, questions 27 and 28. Apparently, it is running about 70 per cent affirmative answers. I imagine that our over-all result will be around 65 per cent or 70 per cent affirmative answers. Some of those who answered questions 27 and 28 "no" are now reconsidering and returning to put in a changed answer. Today was to have been the deadline for this, but, apparently, they are going to extend it. Charlie has raised the interesting point that the camouflage workers had not been registered during those first few days. They are being registered now, and it appears that their answers will be predominantly "yes" with the exception of a small Kibei element now working in the net project. They may do something to raise the quota inasmuch as 300-odd men are concerned. And so, oddly enough, our situation is extremely quiet. In fact, so far as any manifestation of pressure groups or of subversive or dissatisfied elements is concerned, there is no out-spoken trend in the community against registration. This may be a lull before a storm, but on the whole everyone seems to be quite satisfied.

The power of the Kibei and of the Kyowa-kai was broken by the apprehension of their leaders, so-called, and the result is that the Kibei and Kyowa-kai people are reluctant to reorganize at this time, and as I mentioned before, pressures against registration have now become family affairs and are not subject to discussion or coercion by any one group. Even the feeling that those who were apprehended are martyrs has died down. There are five or six Kibei who are campaigning to get themselves in a position of leadership, but there is the same reluctance in possibly sharing the fate of George Yamashiro. And so, there is division in the ranks, with the result that the organized Issei front has somewhat fallen apart. The administration remains aloof as per Bennett's stupid policy of conservatism and nothing seems to be happening. Charlie and I wandered around yesterday afternoon trying to get attitudes and reflections, but nobody seems to be concerned any more. And that seems to sum up the situation up to the present time.

Today is the last day for registering men; tomorrow, women begin, and after that, aliens. Aliens are now eligible to serve in the armed forces, and some that I know of who fit into the specified age group are seriously considering it. By doing so, they realize that they will be able to take out naturalization papers. The initial furor has died down and certainly there is nothing here now that, in any way, approximates the Tule Lake situation. Possibly, it may be that as this initial feeling passes as it did at Gila with the apprehension of some of the subversive elements in the center, things may die down too. At any rate, while perhaps there is some concern for the people in Tule Lake, there should be none for any of our workers here. Omachi is a bit worried for fear that he will be accused of having given names to the FBI, but I don't think that you need to worry at all about Charlie. The only cause for his disfavor in the community was, I think, his affiliation with the JACL. The JACL, of course, has pretty much died down and does not promise to be the power that we all thought it might be. As Charlie says, it has become too unwieldy an organization and it is too much divided among itself. All of the JACL people have been, more or less, obliged to drop into the background. The result is, so far as Charlie is concerned, in a rather favorable condition. Of course, he is in trouble with certain of the administrative staff because of his nice habit of filching information, and now he wants to go and ask Hoffman for copies of the Council minutes, something which worries me a good deal, but I couldn't dissuade him from doing it. It would be better, though, if you didn't mention this to him and left it up to me to handle.

Charlie is very much disappointed over the possibility that we may have to postpone our Salt Lake City conference. He has, however, taken the somewhat optimistic view that the trouble at Tule Lake will soon be forgotten and that there should be no difficulty in going ahead with our plans. Of course, I have only your report on Tule Lake but I do think that it won't be necessary to reorganize our program as you suggest.

Of course, I say that the situation is very quiet, but I know now after six months here how unpredictable these community trends are. Even the fact that our anti-trust division friends are here, eliciting information for the Board of Economical Warfare regarding strategic emplacements, has caused no disturbances. A lethargy seems to have hit this community, and when I finish my own report on the story of Army enlistment, I think I shall go back to doing purely anthropological work unless something else pops. By the way, I wanted to ask you about my report regarding the background of the Tada case. I think we understand pretty well exactly what the implications of that occurrence were, and I realize that it should be carefully documented so that it might be saved as material introductory of an analysis of any kind of disturbances here. With the apprehension of the people who were most concerned with that assault, however, it seems that community trends are taking another turn and that this situation, which has been hanging over the community for these last few months, will change into something else which is entirely different and which is subject to the rise of new pressure groups. At the moment, with the exception of a play for leadership among the Kibei, I don't see any of that occurring. And that's about all.

I think I asked you about the possibility of my returning home for a short visit in early March inasmuch as registration has suddenly become routine and time for this seems fairly auspicious. I have a number of things I would like to talk over with you and inasmuch as I find my own little bursts of temperament becoming accentuated, I wonder if the change wouldn't allow me to equip myself for a more effective objective. I shall be interested in hearing of what you have to say. I sent the finished manuscript on pressure groups off to you as well as some excellent stuff that Okuno and Hikida handed in. This, accompanied by one of Charlie's completed books, should reach you shortly. I'm sorry that you are concerned over the situation, and I hope that things are in themselves satisfactory. That's all for now. Hello to everyone.

Yours,



P.S. Who is Ennis and what is the "DJ", and what does he want with me?
I only wish to be left alone.

Wednesday evening, Feb. 24

Dear Dorothy:

I have had some serious doubts as to whether I should increase your own worries by adding additional ones. In view of an occurrence this afternoon, I think that in order to protect our position here, you should be informed as to what has happened. Charlie and I are in what appears to be serious trouble, not of course, with the evacuees but rather with the administration. I'm beginning to feel that my own position here is in jeopardy and I have the uncomfortable feeling that I may at any time be holed into Bennett's office for summary dismissal from the project. Of course, I may be all wrong but I can't help worrying.

This whole situation is the result of a chain of circumstances which began some time ago as the follow-up of LeBaron's animosity. I think that you'll agree that I had established pretty amicable relationships with the staff here during my first months at Gila. Unfortunately, the Smiths left, followed by ~~Tom~~ Henderson, now Korn, and Landward soon. I had found two excellent sources of information in the liberal persons of Fredericks in Internal Security and in Lieberman, in adult education. Lieberman, you will remember, was thought by us when you were here, to be a kind of pest. Actually, he has proved really interested and loyal to us. Both he and Fredericks were swell about passing bits of news on to me. Bennett chose the earliest opportunity for transferring Fredericks and because of Lieberman's liberal stand on registration, has asked his resignation.

(over)

See Lieberman's editorial — Loyalty is not the only issue. Under Bennett's bigoted despotism, the administration has gone from bad to worse along an extremely conservative line. It's revolting. Unfortunately, I am the stork among the cranes, having been linked with these two, the only helpful associates on the staff that I have had.

I made a bid for friendship with Hoffmann, something which was perfectly all right and I thought I was well received. Then Lowie had what Bennett considered the temerity to argue on the subject that loyalty might not be the sole issue in this case of registration and enlistment. Hoffmann called me in recently to ask about loyalty and I replied that in view of the strong Japanese family tie loyalty was not so much a primary issue. I feel that I answered satisfactorily. Then Hoffmann said "What do people think of Gaba?" a question which I interpreted as pure interest on Hoffmann's part inasmuch as Gaba is his assistant. I may possibly have mentioned before that Gaba is really hated by the bulk of Jila residents.

It is said by some that Gaba's beating was aimed to discredit Gaba. Gaba works hard but he lacks appeal and the right kind of personality. Having expressed the willingness to cooperate with Hoffmann's Community Services Division, I felt that I could safely express what I had heard, surely not as an opinion but rather as what I know and as confidentially as I could. I told Hoffmann Gaba was unpopular, little more. Hoffmann told Bennett, Gaba, Korn, Williamson, and Brown what I had said. He made it appear as though I had

(2) volunteered the information and that I was trying to crucify Jaba. Oh, what a son of a bitch. Korn came to tell me before he left for Washington, that for Christ's sake, to lay off inter-administrative politics. I assured him that I had always and then he told me of Hoffmann's treachery. In the bustle over registration, the thing blew over although Korn said Bennett was "plenty sore", not only at me but at Lowie as well.

Today Charlie got mixed up in it and now I'm on tenterhooks wondering what next. Charlie had been in bad too. Hoffmann had dragged me over the coals because I had allowed Charlie to "file" case reports. This had been cleared with Landward when he handled welfare but had never been cleared with Tuttle. Tuttle had caught Charlie keeping carbon copies of his own case records and at the same time members of the Community Council reported to Hoffmann the complaint that Charlie was taking C.C. minutes. Hoffmann blew up and asked me if this was our definition of cooperation; Tuttle had reported Charlie to Hoffmann, his own superior. I got out of it as best I could, but told Charlie to lay off trying to get these things in that way. Charlie was terribly incensed over the fact that I get recognition and he, a Japanese, doesn't. The next thing that happened was that Charlie was going in and tell that "patronizing bastard" off. I've managed to hold Charlie in check for some time but now, because an issue has been raised over pay in the net project, Charlie wanted to see the council minutes. He went in to ask Hoffmann for them and Hoffmann wanted to know why he wanted them. Charlie explained.

(over)

Hoffmann said that he didn't think we had any right to send away material to Berkeley without the project director's knowing what it was. He pointed out that members of the council (jealous of C.K.) had complained. Hoffmann furthermore said that we had been receiving "confidential" information from administrative staff members and disseminating it among the people, an application again of the accusation levelled against me for "being like" liberal Fredericks and Lieberman. Charlie blew up and I'm afraid he didn't do us any good.

I'm not worried over the matter of material, that's been solved. I know Bennett to be hostile however, and I know Hoffmann to be a rat. I'm afraid, not without reason, that Bennett will ask me to leave. They seem to think that we are trying to be a pressure group all our own, in moving community reactions. This is what worries me and I don't know how to reassure them. I can go to Hoffmann and apologize for Charlie's outburst, and it really was an outburst, or I can go as Charlie wants me to do, before the council to explain our purposes. I don't know what to do and I feel that I can't let Charlie down. At the same time, to let this ride might be dangerous. I'm in a perfect dither.

Hoffmann said to Charlie that Bennett didn't know about the study. Well, for God's sake, I've been in to see the man and explain, I introduced Lowie and I've tried to be congenial. But you simply can't talk to that old goat. An engineer of sorts, a former auto salesman,

③ he has no more concept of what we're doing than the man in the moon. Furthermore, he hasn't the patience to listen. As Lieberman said, you can't explain social studies in terms of kilowatts and piston rings.

As I say, I'm puzzled and worried. Lowie, Charlie and I have done what we believed right! I am as communicative as a clam, I get criticized for it; I try to be helpful and answer questions, I get it in the neck. What will you do if that stinker Bennett tries to be self-assertive? I wish you could come down here for a short visit.

I nearly phoned you tonight but what good would that do? If I see Hoffmann I let Charlie down, if I take a firm stand I jeopardize our position the more. God on a horse, what do I do now? Well, it's late, too late to type; these partitions are anything but soundproof. I think I'm getting like Tom. This might be temperament but I think it's justified. Frankly, I'm very concerned and I think this is serious. Bennett can order me off the project.

Yours,

Bob

I can't fathom Hoffman's motives. Charlie thinks he wants to protect himself from having things written about him and to assure the protection of Embree's social analysis division. Hoffman doesn't know about our agreement with Embree. I better explain that, no?

Thursday
February 25, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

There has been a temporary lull in the crisis since the mob action of Monday night in which Reverend Kuroda, T. Hashida and others were subject to beatings. As a result of the abortive putsch directed against Tom Yego, the latter and his brother have departed to be followed later by their families.

The pressure on Tom and Frank has evidently been somewhat relieved during the past two days; the situation in their blocks however, is still critical. Tom and Frank both feel that they can no longer contribute anything to the study here, unless segregation is carried out. According to Jimmy the pressure on him has happily been dispelled by the fact that his block voted to register. I talked with him for a brief moment this morning as we both were bidding Fumi Sakamoto adieu. She left for New York. Kay and Keiko have thus far survived the ordeal, though Keiko is not ~~Totally~~ exactly calm about the whole thing. She dropped in yesterday on her way to register.

Tuesday the registration of male Nisei jumped from 71 on the day before to 212. Wednesday registration fell to 147. Today only 75 registered. The optimism of Tuesday evening has diminished. So far there have been a few over 1,600 male and female Nisei who have registered out of a total Nisei population of approximately 5,500.

Gradually more and more people are returning to work. Monday few evacuees came to work. Each successive day more evacuees worked. Today business was almost at the usual tempo. This is true despite the fact that response to registration has dropped decisively since Tuesday.

The organized resistance on the part of "Kibei" against registration is continuing in full force. The army and Internal Security Division are trying desperately to determine the leaders of "Kibei" resistance and then to apprehend them. For days there have been widespread rumors of an impending march of "Kibei" on the administration. In such an eventuality the military would be called in and would march the demonstrators right out the project gates. One group of Kibei wants to force the administration to treat its members as "Japanese nationals" and intern them as such. Then too there is the often heard cry "What about the 35 Kibei who are rotting in jail? What are you going to do about them." There is the general assumption on the part of this group that if few Nisei register the army might be forced to release the 35 apprehended. The latter have been turned over to the FBI and it seems evident, as Coverley stated, that few will ever return to the project.

There is a group of Kibei who have revolted against the

the mob violence of Monday night and who point out that the actions they take not only affect them personally but all other people in the project. They do not feel they have a right to take certain action under those circumstances.

The Nisei are beginning for the first time to form themselves into an organized body for their own protection. Nisei have organized in Ward II and are in the process of organizing in Ward VII. The process of organization is being effected **in the Wards easiest** to organize. Later more difficult ~~wikk~~ Wards will be organized.

There is almost a universal belief among the administrative personnel in the necessity of segregating the evacuees when this crisis has been met. It is widely felt that the community cannot any longer exist as it has in the past because this crisis has made the cleavage between those loyal to the United States and those loyal to Japan much deeper than it has ever been before. Every problem in the future would, they feel, raise the issue of loyalty. The community would degenerate into two armed camps, increasingly hostile to each other. In all the history of the Tule Lake Project there was never such unanimity among the administrative staff. When Frank and Tom were here yesterday, they expressed similar sentiments about the need for segregation. It is interesting that some administrators have threatened to resign unless segregation is effected, they feel the need that deeply.

Coverley has inaugurated a new type of administration. No longer is the sage Mr. Fleming sought for advice nor Don Elberson. The staff, in fact, knows very little about what the project director is doing or what his policy is, or what the policy of the WRA is, in this crisis. J.D. Cook has complained that Coverley has forgotten he belongs to the staff and is supposed to write reports for the Washington office.

The crisis is all important, yet the staff receives so little information concerning events and policies that a great deal of confusion results, and I might add frustration. The Caucasians kick rumors around at a stiff pace.

I have talked a number of times with Jake and he has been as helpful as his few spare minutes allow. Coverley plays games with me when I try to wheedle him for something in a nice sort of way. I can understand how Doug Cook feels. There are some things needed for a report on the crisis that only Coverley or Jake can supply, ~~KKKKKK~~

The report is being daily added to and each day time is spent on organization of the report. So much time has to be spent of circulating in the colony and among the staff members to pick up information. *The 11 page report I sent you was rapidly dashed off to give at least some picture of conditions, Dorothy. I didn't have time to add the background material which will be included in the real report.*

Yours.

Bob

Regards to W.I., Morton, the Paichargal, and the rest from Hanny & me.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

February 26, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Received your letter with its interesting news in regard to Tule Lake and also about Charlie yesterday. I don't know what to say about the worries you have expressed regarding the Tule Lake situation. In fact, the reports that have reached here indicate that the situation there is bad but that it is not the worst of the relocation centers. Possibly, there the situation will die down as it did here. All week now, in fact, ever since the round-up a week ago last Tuesday, that is, for the past ten days, there have been no difficulties at all. I believe I mentioned that even the round-up did not seem to have a particular significant effect.

Registration of aliens began on Wednesday, and yesterday, the registration of women started. A lieutenant from the WAAC is here to begin the recruitment of women in conjunction with Captain Thompson. This is spread throughout the community now and there have been no repercussions.

I have it confidentially from Landward that another round-up is to take place early in the week. I will be on hand to witness that, but if it should be that community sentiment remains unchanged and every indication points toward this, I think I will feel justified in coming home for a short visit. There are some things I'd like to talk over with you which impress me as of considerable importance, and I would like to see my Nose Doctor. If events continue along this same plane, I think that I will leave in about one week, coming by train probably over a week from Sunday or possibly Monday. This, of course, is subject to your approval.

By this time, you will have received Charlie's wire in which he expresses some doubt as to your Chicago offer. I've been meaning to take up this question of resettlement with you because I think it is an extremely important one and one which is now getting under way to the point where we should have follow-ups on it. Especially the understandings of the workers of these various Regional Employment offices and also of this Hostel system which they are working out in Chicago. I think that Charlie's reasons for not wishing to go to Chicago are fairly well founded. In view of the praise you gave him in your letter to him, he feels very much up in the air

since he is doubtful that he would be able to justify the research position which you offer him. He feels that he cannot exert sufficient control over the family. I think what he would rather do is to go elsewhere and to obtain a defense job, working on the analyses and resettlement problems in his spare time. I have asked him to write you, but he hesitates to do so for fear of seeming to be ungrateful and because he fears that you would not consider an alternative offer. I suggested, and he is amenable to this suggestion, some city near Chicago where he would be able to keep in rather constant touch with events there. Mrs. Adamic has sent him a tentative offer of jobs in St. Paul and possibly another in Cincinnati. He is anxious to consider these. He wonders if you would be amenable to such a proposition. I promised that I would write you explaining one or two of these doubts which face him at the moment and to express his concern, but I have also made him promise to write you. I think then that his final answer to your Chicago proposition will be negative, but he has not fully made up his mind. Even though he writes you, he will still present a full account of his own feelings on the matter in his diary.

This is one of the things I should like to talk with you when I return home. Incidentally, if I do return, I think that a week will see done everything that I want to do. I will keep you posted on what happens, however, and will not consider returning unless the situation here remains as it is. I shall write again soon and shall forward to you as complete a documentation as I could give under the circumstances of the registration program.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bob", with a stylized, sweeping flourish above the name.

Monday morning

Dear Dorothy:

The situation is becoming increasingly serious. Yesterday upon the decision of the WRA and the army 38 individuals were apprehended and moved from the center to Klamath Falls and Alturas. Those apprehended had signed a document asserting that they would not participate in the registration but would only sign repatriation papers.

A show of force was made. Twenty soldiers surrounded the block (42) with drawn guns and bayonets fixed. The people were systematically apprehended and hauled away while on-lookers from every block crowded around. Yells of "Banzai Tojo" were heard as the trucks moved away.

Kay and Keiko live in block 42 and their situation is quite serious. The degree of seriousness may be gauged from the two enclosures. Naj got them from Kay and Keiko today; he visited them to see what he could do. It probably wasn't the wisest thing to do certainly, but so far Naj is in the best position of all your Nisei observers. That is true despite his frankness, his contact with us at our home and working with me at the school. Naj carried the two enclosed documents in his boot to me at the WRA statistical laboratory and I'm forwarding them to you before marshall law is declared and a censorship effected.

The whole situation is unbelievably clouded. I'm trying desperately to gather pieces. The only one from whom decent information is available is Dr. Jacoby and he is almost impossible to corner. It is rumored that many block managers have resigned, wardens also; the planning board is meeting this morning and will probably resign. Instead of reacting as Coverley and the army expected the Issei are angered at the show of force and a general strike threatens. Work is about at half mast now and registration is almost nil.

I will prepare a more complete document this afternoon to supplement the 11 page paper I sent you Saturday morning. As you are well aware any correspondence with Tom, Frank, Naj., or Jimmy would cause embarrassment. I know that you are aware of that already but merely want to emphasize its importance.

Yours,
Bob

The documents enclosed were found on Kay's door. They are being followed wherever they go - backed at. They are saving at home to prevent an accident. Keiko wants to leave but Kay feels that would make their position even more serious.

Spencer - Gila
March 21, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

I'm sorry not to have written sooner as I know I should have since I arrived at Gila Friday noon. In the process of getting resettled however, I have neglected to do so.

Actually, I have little news; the situation at Gila has not materially changed since I left Gila two weeks ago. I stopped at Poston as per instructions and saw Tamie. There is some trouble brewing at Poston over the camouflage net project and Tamie wanted to stay there for a while to cover it. It seems that the mess hall workers there are objecting to serving the net workers because of the disproportionate wage scale, something of which we at Gila have already had the first signs. Tamie expects it to break at Poston soon. At Gila, although there is objection everyone is waiting until the declaration of dividends. There is the sum of \$35,000 in the camouflage fund. At that rate we should a dividend soon of about \$5.00 to each member of the community. There will probably be manifest dissatisfaction when the small dividend is declared. This is what apparently what is happening at Poston. Tamie says the atmosphere is just the same as before the November strike. At any rate, Tamie wants to remain behind for a few days and see what develops at Poston. She has a bad cold and wants very much to come to Gila when she is over it and when things quiet down a bit more. I told her it was OK and gave her some travel expense ~~XXXX~~ blanks to sign which I am forwarding with Charley's under separate cover.

I arrived at Poston Tuesday morning. Mich and Ann had left for Chicago on Monday night after a short visit to ~~XXXXXX~~ Gila and return. So I'm sorry that I missed them. At any rate they are out now and I know that you will see them in Chicago in May.

Arrived at Gila OK after a night I had to spend in Phoenix because of the delay and lateness of the trains. I missed the bus to Sacaton, got it in the morning on Friday. Your answer to Frank's legality questions was waiting for me and I promise that I'll take good care of it. I'll see Omachi tomorrow and talk over these things with him as well as pass on some of the material we discussed.

While I was away from Gila nothing of note happened. The figures on military enlistment have come out and I suppose that Charlie, I remember now that he did, mentioned that there were 102 enlistees at Gila. Captain Thompson and cohorts have gone. Enlistment may now continue however, until the inception of the draft for the Nisei. There are seven aliens among that 102.

A significant change has come over the administration. They have decided to allow the proposed travel to Phoenix and neighboring points. So, some may go and some may not. Those with cars, the staff, I mean, may take Japanese into the towns. The Tuttles are doing it today and some of the teachers have done so already. Hoffman has had several out to his house to dinner. [There is a change in Nisei spirit as the result of the lifting of the Zone I. All the enlistees have been permitted to visit Phoenix and many Nisei now feel that

they have a new lease on life. It hasn't affected the Issei, of course. The sense of strangling confinement has been lifted. The community has pretty much of a new spirit. An apparently significant result however, is that many Nisei are losing interest in the community ~~XXXXXX~~ itself, thinking in terms of the outside and of going out. Issei control is stronger than ever.] This is a matter I'd like to touch on soon.

The Senate investigation committee was here. I should mention that Landward told me something about that. By the way, the reason that some are being allowed out is that Bennett does not decide as to who shall go out. This is up to Landward as Leave Officer. He has told Bennett and Brown, assistant director, all kinds of lies in order to get their signatures on passes. Brown is pretty liberal about it though. But back to the Senate committee. Landward says, and I believe him, that the Senate committee was not designed out of any malice or anti-Japanese campaign. This was the story given to the newspapers. Actually, the Chandler group was not concerned so much with pampering. The point of the investigation was a test of the WRA. It was to see whether the program justified the expenditure of that much money under a civil agency. It was designed to test the plan of the WRA in regard to relocation and to establish the advisability of this move. This strikes me as fairly logical. Some sort of segregation is planned; we know that. Therefore, the problem of separating the sheep from the goats is one which might be left to the WRA or which may be placed under army control. The meeting in San Francisco was held to block any infringement on the WRA province by the army and aimed at setting up a more definite relocation system. The plan is to separate those Issei who are unemployable and place them in a separate project, probably Topaz, for the duration. Disloyal, so-called, Kibei and Nisei are to be placed in a separate segregation camp, where we don't know yet. Rapid relocation will be the program of the other centers. This will necessitate a good deal of moving around on the part of the WRA and evacuees. This program is to be submitted for approval to the committee and will be put into effect shortly. Gila, because of the agricultural possibilities and the salubrious climate, will be kept open for those who do not wish to relocate and will receive new allotments of evacuees from other centers from time to time. The idea is that the WRA will continue after June 30 and these different types of settlements will open up. A lot depends of course, on the opening up of defense work in factories, etc. to Japanese. So will you check on this plan and see what you can find about it.

Now, good news. Landward is letting me copy the verbatim minutes of the senatorial hearing as it took place on the project. It really is a mine of information and I know that it is worth while. It is about 100 pages long so I have put Merry to work and will be secretaryless this week. It will take her that long I am sure. Unfortunately, I will be unable to get a copy of the Phoenix hearing. Le Barron came to that as an uninvited guest and oh joy, is getting fired for his pains. They made him testify and Bennett, also there, had asked that no one go to the hearing unless invited. I know that this will be quite valuable for us and I will send it to you as soon as I can.

Hello from everyone except I haven't seen Omachi yet. Will tomorrow. Okuno and Hikida haven't received checks since January 14. Will you please see what is wrong? This places me in a somewhat embarrassing position and I would hate to break faith with them. So please check on it. I thought that surely they would have them by this time.

Included is Merry's expense account, or rather, the list of time spent during the current month. It should go in for the 26th, isn't that ~~xxx~~ right? Ochi's check received. Are you sure that you have the correct addresses for H. and O.?

Okuno - 61-6-C
Hikida - 64-7-B

I have asked Charlie to give notice. He is leaving as soon as he gets his case load disposed of for this month. He and I are then going to work on a number of things we have in mind.

That's all the news for now. I have renewed my objective ~~xxxxxx~~ approach and feel much better. Hello to everyone. Yours till next time.

Bob

Travel expense account - Robert F. Spencer

March 16, 1943

Fare, San Francisco to Los Angeles (Voucher 1)	\$18.95
Fare, Los Angeles to Phoenix via Poston (with Pullman - Voucher 2)	16.49
Dinner, Los Angeles	1.13

March 17, 1943

Breakfast, train	.78
Lunch, Poston, Arizona	.50
Dinner, Poston, Arizona	.50
Lodging, Poston, Arizona (no receipt available)	.50

March 18, 1943

Breakfast, Parker Arizona	.68
Lunch, train	.87
Dinner, Phoenix Arizona	.80
Hotel, Phoenix, Arizona (Voucher 3)	2.04

March 19, 1943

Breakfast, Phoenix, Arizona	.46
Fare, Phoenix, Arizona to Sacaton, Arizona (by common carrier - bus)	.83

Total	-	44.43
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Spencer - Gila
March 23, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

Charlie and I have been working together most of the day. Charlie says tell her that we did some hard work today. I agree. Charlie was able to get a loan of Le Barron's material regarding the WRA quarterly report for the last three months of 1942. We have been busily copying it all day as it appears to be extremely worth while. Particularly good is the statistics we have regarding the farm and the educations department and the hospital. Charlie and I plan to analyze this material and send it to you from time to time. Charlie quit his job today and will be working full time on the study with me. We plan to write a number of reports together and use this material we have collected as a base for it. It is my opinion that this will work out rather well. Certainly we have a mine of information. Miss ~~XX~~ Otomo is still working on the Senate hearing minutes which I explained in my last letter yesterday. In order to get the work copied, three of us have been working on it for several hours now, I took the liberty of hiring Charlie's welfare secretary, Kimi Sakanashi, and will present you with a small bill for her services. I can't take Merry away from her work on the Senate hearing. At the moment it is too important. I am particularly pleased with the work we have been doing and the material we have been able to get. You'll hear more of this later.

Charlie and I saw Landward today who advised that you write to Tom Holland in Washington regarding Charlie. Clearances are coming through all to slowly and it is necessary to expedite clearances for thos who have job offers. That is why I took the liberty of sending a wire to you. I hope that you will be able to wield some influence in Washington so as to push Charlie's release. I think that it can be done. I met Holland some time ago and know him to be favorably disposed toward us. As you know, he is McEntire's boss.

Charlie sent some material to you the other day. Will you acknowledge receipt of it. There were two diaries and some other material.

The hostels in Chicago are overcrowded. ~~XXXX~~ For this reason, Charlie wishes to make a reservation. He does not know when he should do so. It will be well I think, if you can advise him on this. I know nothing about the hostel system myself.

Miss Otomo has received her check and I expect thaat Alice has too. I'm very worried about Okuno and Hikida who haven't been paid since January 14. I trust that you will look into that. They really should be receiving two checks.

Charlie acknowledges the receipt of the stamps for which thank you. We shall be pretty busy with this material for a while but I will keep you informed as to our progress.

Omachi is in the hespital so I haven't seen him yet.

Best regards to all.

Yours,

Bob

NIGHT LETTER
MARCH 24, 1943

RIVERS ARIZONA

LANDWARD ADVISES IMMEDIATE LETTER REGARDING KIKUCHI TO
THOMAS HOLLAND WASHINGTON TO EXPEDITE CLEARANCE.
EMPHASIZE POSITION AND CONFERENCE APRIL FIFTEENTH.
OKUNO AND KIKIDA NO CHECK.

R. F. SPENCER

Gila
March 25, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

Today I received from you the notice regarding Earle. I think that the plan that you have adopted regarding him is a good one. I doubt seriously that he will contribute anything to you. Honestly, he really has nothing to contribute. I asked him to drop by to see me but he seemed reluctant to do so and did not come so I rather think that your letter will precipitate his resignation.

Mimi had her baby last night according to Charlie - a boy, weighing nine pounds. Earle is planning to go to Cleveland with his Christer friends soon so I really think that we will not have worry about him any more.

Omachi is rather seriously ill with Valley Fever and has been in the hospital. I still haven't seen him but will go over to the Canal Hospital tomorrow. I think that this will delay the report you wanted from him but it must be admitted that it is not his fault. The doctors advised him to quit his attorney's job for a few months until he recovers. Maybe during that time if he takes their advice, he will be able to produce for us.

Charlie is smitten with what he calls "Resettlement Fever" and I'm afraid that he has infected me too. We have outlined a plan for an administrative report based on my own planned outline of the administrative organization and the background material for the WRA Quarterly Report which Charlie was able to secure. As things go now, Charlie is planning to get out by the 15th if the release comes through. Things are very busy in the Kikuchi household and there is furious packing and planning.

Things in the community are pretty quiet. Actually, now that the power of the subversive groups was broken with the apprehension of the leaders, there has been no manifestation of any kind of feeling. There have been farewell parties for the army volunteers and no one seems to be objecting to a pro-American spirit any more. One of the things that has fostered this, I think, has been the lifting of the Military Zone. The sense of confinement is gone and the resettlement program is being pushed. So many are thinking in terms of resettlement. I don't like to think what this community will be like when all the Nisei leadership is gone and they're all going too.

I wrote to Tamie and asked her to come down when she could. If she can only tear herself away from X for a while she will be down. I don't ever remember telling you about X. He certainly seems to be a brain. I can understand Tamie's liking for him; he is probably is the only one at Poston with whom she can feel at home. All her Caucasian friends, Ann and Mitch, too, have left Poston. Spicer of course, is at Minidoka and Leighton is really not expected back. The "Bureau" has more or less folded up.

You ask me to keep constantly in touch with you and I try to. At this point, however, there is little of interest taking place here. I'm really stuck for news and Charlie and I have an excellent opportunity to work on our report together. If things are going to continue to be this dull, I should like to go where something is really happening.

Bennett is quite affable toward us. He sets up a barrier between himself and anyone coming in to see him however. I cooled my heels in his anteroom for two hours yesterday afternoon and then he went to Phoenix. He did say he was glad to see me back however. I told you that the arch-enemy was fired, namely, Le Barron.

Remember me to all in Berkeley.

Yours,

Bob

Gila
March 27, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

I'm glad that you found the opportunity to write to Thomas Holland for Charlie. Charlie received the copies of the letters which you sent yesterday. He is still planning to get out by the first or second week in April and I hope that he can make it. Perhaps your letter will expedite the clearance.

I'm afraid that my letters must be rather dull. Actually, there is nothing of note happening at Gila; the CAS is being reorganized to the point where it may be able to accomplish something useful and that I think, is about all that is worth telling you about. I've been getting around quite a bit but beyond the usual round of life, there is little to report on.

Joe is still pretty sick and remains in bed most of the time. Until he recovers I suppose we can't justly expect much from him. I received from the office the ultimatum you sent Earle. By the way, the report of the baby I sent you the other day was a false alarm. That was Dr. Earle Yusa whose wife whelped; Earle came in for a lot of premature congratulations. Mimi is in a rather bad way; she has eaten too much and got too heavy with the result that she is unable to walk and has infected feet. It seems to be her own fault. I spoke with Earle regarding the letter you sent and was assured of his cooperation. I told him to prepare an outline of the notes he claims to have been keeping and to send it to me. As soon as Charlie and I finish our opus and Charlie goes, I shall take up with Earle the material he has been collecting. It's all on CAS and the churches, of course, so I don't think that it will be too valuable inasmuch as I have covered the church groups pretty thoroughly and have obtained a good deal of pertinent CAS information from Hikida. However, Earle may have something by way of attitudes, Nisei recreation, and the like. I asked him to have the outline ready by tomorrow so that I can countersign it and forward it to you. Frankly, I doubt that he will give it to me.

Okuno, and I presume, Hikida, whom I have not seen, received 25 checks apiece for February. March is still to come. I'm glad that that worry is disposed of for me. Hikida is making a quick trip to Chicago next week to get first hand information on the resettlement phase. He is going with a wealthy friend, Mr. Oishi. The idea is that he will investigate the living conditions in Chicago and on his return spread propoganda to Issei regarding the advisibility of letting their children out to the Middle West. May I, provided that the keynote of the community here is the same as now, sometime within the next month or more, take at my own expense, a short trip of about 10 days duration to Chicago? I should like to see the Kikuchis there and the many others who left from Gila. I should like to see some of this resettlement phase also. You plan to be in Chicago during the month May, do you not?

Korn has returned here for a brief visit to work before taking a captaincy in the Military Governor School. He spoke to me today regarding the Embree deal. It seems he suggested me for Social Analyst here or in Topaz to Embree but Embree said that he was pretty sure the my loyalties were with the university, which of course, is true. At any rate, a social analyst, a man named James N. Barnett, is coming here soon in that capacity. I thought that Embree was going to leave Gila alone. Isn't he double-crossing you? I have always thought Embree was a louse and I continue to think so. I shall not like the competition. Barnett is a classmate of Korn's at Pennsylvania and has been teaching at some school in Connecticut. I wonder what he will be like. I have all your statements regarding the deal with Embree but I wish if you could add some further instructions you would.

Le Barron is gone and is being replaced by a newspaper man from Santa Rosa, California who will be here next week.

That's all the news for now. Best to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

Gila
April 1, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

I have been quite busy so I have not taken the opportunity to write sooner. Before getting down to other subjects, let me take up the matter of our financial circumstances. In the first place, please understand that neither Okuno nor Hikida have ever complained to me about the fact that their checks were delayed. Both of them continue to work like Trojans and inasmuch as neither received a check since early January, I began to feel somewhat concerned. And, although Okuno received a check, ostensibly for February, Hikida never received his, nor has he received one since January 14. Will you please check on that. Hikida, by the way, has taken a ten day furlough and gone to Chicago to investigate conditions of resettlement there with the idea of returning and informing Issei about the advisability of resettlement. He handed me another 25 pages of reports before leaving yesterday, all swell material, too. That's why delay in paying those two is a source for embarrassment for me.

Enclosed is Miss Sakanashi's affidavit. Will you send her a check for \$5.00 please. She has done ten hours of copy work for us on administrative material which Charlie "borrowed".

I don't know quite what to do about the Ochi material. He has prepared a great deal of material and I have had most of it translated. He is following my suggestion of giving a comparison of Buddhist life in the pre-evacuation period and now. This is extremely valuable material for a religious study and yet I wonder how significant you will think it. Lowie will love it. In any event, one man did thirty more pages of translation, spending more than 60 hours on it, verified by Okuno. I promised him \$15.00 for the job and so this is what he gets. Please make up the check to go to:

John I. Fukushima
32 - 11 - D, Rivers, Arizona

In view of our already limited budget it occurs to me that it will be advisable to drop Ochi at least until the beginning of the next fiscal year. I shall smooth the matter over in some way and keep stalling him off until June. What do you think of that? I do have material of more importance and for the next few weeks I shall need all the secretarial help I can get. I am putting Miss Sakanashi to work on the daily log of arrivals and departures, birth and death statistics, all of which answers the questions you once raised about dates and number of arrivals of evacuees. So in review, check on Hikida's check, checks for Sakanashi and Fukushima.

There is one other financial commitment I should like to discuss with you. I should like to give a small amount of money, one of our so-called honoraria to a block manager I know in Canal in return for information and a written report on the history of his block. I contemplate doing the history of five selected blocks, collective adjustments within the blocks, etc. We have Okuno's block, Hikida's (already written) Charlie's, Omachi's and Onoda's (the above b.m.) Onoda is probably in the best position to do this type of study and I should like to see it done. What do you think of this?

Amt on 3/31
Call
Acctg. ✓

K Sakanashi
\$5.00 ✓

John I. Fukushima
15.00 ✓

Tamie is here and oh dear God, what a mess. That gal is more temperamental than an opera star. She came with a Miss Colson, an employee of Leighton's bureau. I received her letter stating that she was coming on the same day on which she was to arrive. Under the present circumstances no strangers are allowed on the project, even other WRA employees, that is, to stay on the project. So when Tamie and Colson arrived on Tuesday night Colson was told that she would have to stay in emergency quarters but that she could not stay the following night. She burst into tears and blamed me. Tamie blamed me too, saying that I should have wired her. Tamie said that she didn't want to come anyway and that you and I made her come. So I have hardly seen her inasmuch as she has been visiting with the Santa Anita group. Tamie's mad and wanted to go back to Poston right away. She stayed at Charlie's the first night and then went to stay with X's brother, walking out on Charlie much to the family's annoyance. Then she came by this morning saying that she wanted to visit with her Santa Anita friends until Tuesday. This after I had spent some several hours yesterday arguing for a ride out to Phoenix for her. I finally got one with Father Clement, currently visiting here from Poston. He agreed to take her out to Phoenix and it was hard to do. Our transportation problem is hellish and evacuees are forbidden to travel over the week ends. Well, as I write this this morning, I don't know whether Tamie has gone out with Father Clement or elected to remain here until Tuesday. I know that she's mad at Charlie and me, although why, I'm sure I can't say. I think that she's getting into an escapist rut at Poston and doesn't want to leave it at all. Perhaps you had better write her when she returns to Poston and smoothe things over somewhat. Colson left after one night on the project and that, I think, is what Tamie is mad at. Tamie thinks this is a horrible place. When I pointed out that it was a good idea for her to get away from Poston she ~~XXXX~~ became quite indignant and said there was no reason for her to get away from Poston at all, that she was quite happy there. Charlie is quite disgusted and so am I.

No word on Charlie's release as yet. He's in a stew too for which I don't blame him. He's going to try to get out on April 11 if the release comes. Project Director's consent is sufficient now if the release comes through. He wishes that the thing were ~~XXX~~ settled though.

Spicer has been loaned to Embree for three weeks, setting up the social analysis division at Minidoka. He is to return to Poston at the end of that time, which will be soon. At Minidoka a social analyst by the name of John D. Young, ostensibly a sociologist is coming in to replace him. I've never heard of Young, nor of Barnett who is coming here.

Can you send us some typewriter ribbons. Two of those you sent in the last batch were used ones and not much good for anything. Thanks.

About the Denver trip. I don't know what I'll do yet. I received your letter yesterday telling about the change in plans. Charlie and I are puzzled about Yanaga. This, we presume, is Chitoshi Yanaga, late of U.C. What has he to do with us? I don't recall your ever having mentioned him. Well, Denver is all right with us. What of Omachi? Is he to come too. You don't mention this in your letter.

Typewriter
Ribbons

I had quite a conference with him two days ago. He has a small article which he gave me on army registration, getting pretty good detail for Canal, a matter which I was unable to cover. Hikida has one in preparation also. We have good coverage on that now. Well, if he is not to go to Denver, you had better the one to let him down. I realize that this is more or less a vacation for our people. I hope that Tamie doesn't act temperamental though. I don't want her over here again. At my own expense, I'd like to visit Chicago, so, if feasible, I should like to meet you in Denver and go on east with you for ten days or so. That will be then, the end of this month. Things are so uncertain, what with all our people resettling that I will have to see what the end of the month brings.

Charlie, I think, does want a travel advance but will explain his needs to you.

The community continues to be quiet. We are still working on our administrative report although Tamie disrupted our routine yesterday.

Not much is happening. Many, on finding that answers to 27 and 28 were negative, now are not permitted to go out to Phoenix and resettle. There is a great hue and cry and a rush to change answers, although now it involves cutting miles of red tape.

I used Tamie's visit as publicity for us.

That's all, I guess. Regards to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

Signed travel vouchers by Charlie & Tamie being forwarded separately. Travel exempt blanks received. Thanks

B

Have not heard anything about broadcasts. Saw Tamie's letter on this to you. Charlie doubts its authenticity. It seemed all right to me.

Robert F. Spencer
Rivers, Arizona

April 1, 1943

Dr. Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:-

You will be glad to learn that I am safely back at the Gila Center. I am sorry not to have written you sooner but I trust that Dr. Thomas has been keeping you informed. Since my return things have been very quiet and there is little of sensational interest to report, nothing, in fact, comparable to the state of unrest and dissatisfaction which was manifest during your visit. The arrest of the subversive elements in the community seems to have removed the spirit of dissension.

As you know, Dr. Thomas is sending Charlie out to Chicago to make a study of the resettlement adjustments. I shall be sorry to lose so able an assistant. The result is that he and I are working together on an analysis of the administration in relation to the evacuee population, keeping quite busy in an attempt to get a good deal done before he goes. If his FBI clearance comes through, Charlie will leave about the middle of the month. I may have an opportunity to go to Chicago myself to acquaint myself with the Japanese colony there and to observe the workings of the WRA employment office which is located there.

On my way to Gila I stopped at Poston to see Miss Tsuchiyama. She seems quite happy there. I urged her to visit Gila and she is with us today, although it must be admitted that she seems so well adapted to Poston now that she was reluctant to leave. This, I think, is traceable to a fear of the outside world which many of the evacuees have. She doesn't like Gila at all although she is very busily renewing acquaintances from the Santa Anita Assembly Center.

I have seen George recently. He is looking forward to seeing you in the Middle West in the Summer and to resettlement. Now that the military bounds in Arizona have been lifted, evacuees are free to visit the nearby towns. Many have already gone to Phoenix where they have been well received. George has been looking forward to a visit there. I urged him to go there if the opportunity arises. He has been confined almost a year now. For many April 1 marks the first year of camp life. George wishes to be remembered both to Mrs. Lowie and you.

I daresay that you are very busy getting your new military program under way.

Please remember me to Mrs. Lowie and the others in the department.

Very truly yours,

April 11, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

By this time you should have received Charlie's letter advising you that he is leaving on Tuesday. I received Morton's letter advising me of the present financial situation. Although, as you know, I do not understand these things, I think that I shall be able to keep track of my own expenditures. As for Charlie, things worked out so well for him and I do hope that he is able to swing the trip this week. I shall surely miss him.

I received your letter re Embree's questions as to the resistances to relocation. This is a matter which Charlie and I have taken into consideration in our administrative-evacuee analysis. Throughout the pages of this report we have attempted to show the aims of the WRA in regard to resettlement and also the evacuee attitudes toward it. I plan to have this report in your hands this week, probably to be sent off Wednesday or Thursday and I wonder if it will come in sufficient time to give you the information you require. If not, I shall outline briefly the reasons, or some of them, as I see them at Gila.

The first, and most important, is of course, the desire to preserve family unity. For this reason Issei are most reluctant to allow resettlement on the part of their children.

Fears of the outside are of course, most prominent. These fears supplement the first reason of the necessity for preserving family unity. Rationing, food shortage, hostility, and the entrance into unknown areas are noised abroad in the community..

Criticism of the jobs offered thus far. They are either menial or agricultural and so taking them is a blow to the pride of many. Rundquist and his FCC is gradually overcoming this.

I don't know how to overcome the desire to preserve family unity. Of course, publicity of various job offers in the Japanese language might help and this is contemplated. It stands to reason that a family of five or more with Issei parents and young children of whom one perhaps, is a potential breadwinner, cannot go out together if a poorly paying job is offered. The WRA's paying the costs of travel is of little help to families of this kind. They are very hesitant to leave the potential breadwinner to go out alone to make his way. That is where the fears come in, as a kind of justification for the refusal to split up the family at this time.

Drafting of Nisei is now a promised reality. It will be a short time before the machinery gets into motion. Chandler has requested 20,000 Nisei in the army and this, in my opinion, plays hell with any resettlement program. I told this to Rundquist when he was here. If no dependency is recognized for deferment, then every Nisei of the 17-38 age group will be called. Where is your resettlement program then? I suggest that these individuals and families be allowed to resettle first and then perhaps be drafted. Of course, it's not so simple as all that. This is of course a very real fear in the contemplation of resettlement. It seems that the draft and resettlement are at cross-purposes. As long as this is the case, although the

WRA officials maintain that it is not, you can't have wholesale resettlement. If you ~~XXXXX~~ draft Nisei from the relocation centers your maladjustments will be many. What then of the future? What of the dependents who are left in the relocation centers? Where will they go when the war is over? Those who are drafted or who will be will be of the opinion that the government will use them as a combat unit and that most of them will be killed. In my opinion this is all very true and I think it's a most valid criticism. Charlie, himself, expects to be drafted shortly. I think he's right.

So as long as this situation exists, resettlement presents grave difficulties. Another factor worth mentioning against the program is at Gila, at least, the existence of a camouflage net factory. Some weavers are making as much as \$225, 236, and over a month. Why should they want to go out. Even the poorest worker is making over \$100 a month. For the vast majority this is more money than has ever been made by any of them. When Nisei talk of going out and making money, the Issei say rightly that they can stay right here and make more and have their subsistence too. If camp life is too hard, a visit to Pheonix is always possible. Rundquist suggests, and I agree, that the net factory be abolished. It may, in May, with the expiration of the contract.

I think that this covers the major reasons against a resettlement program. For details I leave you to see ~~MY~~ Charlie's and my report on the various administrative departments. In this work, we have paid particular attention to attitudes. In the main, the report is fair, although weak on education and the hospital. For which I'm sorry. I shall try to emend these sections in the future.

Are the reasons I have given enough for Embree to sink his teeth in? If not, I can give some lessex important ones.

Charlie is packing today and I shall finish the report in question alone. He will probably have gone by the time you receive this so I hope that if you any further suggestions they are in tomorrow's mail.

I received two packages of Cahrlie's diary.

That's all for now. Shall write shortly.

Regards to all,

Bob
Other than the porposed resettlement program, things in the community are very quiet. Nothing sensational has happened. If it did, I should inform you immediately, as you know. As long as the situation continues in this way, I see no need for a daily letter, do you? So, don't worry that I don't write as frequently as I did. I shall let you know of Charlie's departure.

April 14, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

Charlie got off yesterday after some difficulty. It seems that Emiko's teeth couldn't get fixed and the poor gal was in the dentist's chair until 11:30 yesterday morning, having spent the night there. So she was pretty miserable on the ride to Phoenix and during the rest of the day there. Tuttle offered to drive the K.'s to Phoenix so I took the day off and went along to see them off. Their train left at 4:00 and they will be in Chicago on Friday. Charlie has arranged matters according to your letter and will keep account of his expenditures. I have explained all this to him and I know that he will manage all right.

I shall certainly miss the Kikuchis. I hope that the adjustment that they are able to make in Chicago will be satisfactory and that things work out all right for the girls. Charlie is pretty about Bette and Emiko going to school and all that, which he has explained to you ad infinitum. I'm glad that you will be out there in a short while to see how they are faring.

Meanwhile, back here, I have little news. The report I have is not finished yet and I lost a day yesterday, thus delaying your receipt of it for a while. I'll get it off probably over the weekend. I know that you have seen no efforts of mine since my return from the Bay Region and I hope that this report will justify my silence. As I told you, it's designed to follow somewhat the lines of the Tule Lake structural report, although it is not so voluminous. I am sending one copy so perhaps you can share it with Lowie.

We have had a big religious festival, Buddha's birth-date, and a phenomenal funeral, the biggest so far. I have joined the sumo club and wrestle occasionally. I now belong to the two most subversive organizations: the sumo and kibe clubs.

No more news for the time being. I did want to tell you that the Kikuchis got off all right and on schedule.

Hello to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

Gila
April 18, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

Thanks to Morton for his letter; I hope that you found the Klamath Falls meetings profitable.

Our social analyst has arrived. This is James Barnett on a leave of absence from the University of Connecticut Sociology Department. He seems to be a fairly decent chap, although he has called on me and like Bob's friend, Doug Cook, at T.L. he picks up manuscripts and begins to page through them. I was quite firm about that inasmuch as he picked up sections of the administrative report which Charlie and I were writing and which I regard as not fit for staff eyes. My heart sank but I was able to divert his interest. I honestly don't know what a man can do on coming cold into a community of this kind. He knows nothing about the Japanese at all, admits that he has never seen one. He wants to hire a staff of five workers and of course he's just out of luck on that score. There isn't anyone in the community at the present time available for his needs. There are people of course, who would be useful to him and me both but either they are well entrenched in jobs which they like, or they are in camouflage and thus have lost contact with the community. Most of the half-way sophisticated Nisei plan to resettle anyway. This all means of course, that Barnett must become more and more dependent on me, and, as I understand the situation, I am to offer him the fullest cooperation, although my manuscripts are not to be seen by him without official approval from your office. Is that right? At any right, that is the policy that I will follow. I believe that a social analyst can do a great deal of good by offering suggestions to the project officials. It seems doubtful, however, that any suggestions will be followed by that donkey, Bennett, whose unpopularity, by the way, is on the increase daily. Barnett seems to be a fairly nice individual and I don't anticipate any trouble from him. You will be glad to know that my worries are allayed.

I miss Charlie more than I can say. My whole solution to the problem of disposing of what leisure time there is has been disrupted. I used to drop over to the Kikuchis every afternoon before dinner and ~~XXXX~~ often would work there in the evenings. And of course, Charlie was always willing to contribute his views on the community. I have gone over and helped Mom and the kids resettle and have tried to keep Mrs. Kikuchi from worrying.

Charlie and I worked together so successfully on the administrative report that I wish that we had written together previously. I have thought of a few new items that ought to be added to the report before sending it on to you so I shall have to postpone its transmittal until this week. Moreover, I over-estimated Merry. She has several books of shorthand to transcribe, not being nearly able to keep up with us. So all the report isn't ready yet. I think you'll agree that the time devoted to it was worth while.

Omachi has completed his professional property loss report. It must be admitted that he has been very sick. This week I have asked him to get together with Merry and do some dictation. I shall supervise and ask questions. He has a great deal of material on community government and the formulation of the community

government which I know will be worth while. The professional report will be sent along soon. I should like to read it first. I'm hoping that I can work with Joe as successfully as I did with Charlie.

Little has been happening in the community. Cas has finally achieved a successful organization under Wolter's direction. He is swell, incidentally. Community emphasis is on resettlement entirely. Even Issei have been caught by the spirit, at least, enough to be willing to discuss it at great length. A rather serious blow has been dealt the resettlement program however, as the result of the horrible statement from DeWitt: "A Jap's a Jap, etc." So many have been thinking in terms of California and prior to DeWitt's utterance there seemed to be some hope, especially for those with sons in the ~~XXXXXX~~ service. If only the draft would come through is the general feeling at the present time. It really would relieve the minds of many and enable them to decide what course to follow.

That's really all the news at the present time. We are going into our warmer days and these increase the desire to get out.

For Morton's benefit, since he seems to be so interested in my love life, and Charlie's apt descriptions of it are now no longer available, I should say that I am becoming rather bored with the Prairie Flower. This is due to her assumption of a naive role which she thinks glamorous and the fact that she has somewhat successful competition in the person of, shall we call her, the Desert Rose? Desert Rose is Kibei, but definitely, which opens up a new field for research.

Until next time,

Yours,



Gila Relocation Center
Rivers, Arizona

April 19, 1943

Dr. Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:-

As Dr. Thomas may have told you, Kikuchi left last week for Chicago to work for us there on the problems of resettlement. Of course, I feel his departure keenly; not only was he a highly valued source of information but also a very good friend. Prior to his going Kikuchi and I worked together on a report entitled "Evacuee and Administrative Interrelationships". This is just about ready to be sent to Berkeley but unfortunately, it contains references to so many bulletins, reports, etc. of which we could only obtain one copy, that only one copy is available. I shall send this to Dr. Thomas and shall ask her to pass it on to you for your perusal when she has seen it. I hope that this will be satisfactory to you.

Kikuchi and I have been quite busily occupied on this report and have come out with a voluminous, if nothing else, production. This, I think, will explain my silence for these past few weeks. In the report we have made an attempt to analyze each of the administrative departments and the relation of these departments to the evacuee population. We have outlined the formal structure, the brief history, the personnel, and the evacuee attitudes toward the respective division. In the report on Mess Operations I had a copy of one section made for you relative to some of the mess hall habits. With this one exception we have digressed pretty far from the field of anthropology. I know however, that you will be interested in our report in view of the role played by the administration in the development of the community. The brief section I mention is included with this letter.

Thank you for your recent letter. I was surprised that Wallace was taken in the draft. He has an eye condition far worse than mine. Naturally, I am a bit concerned over my chances for remaining on the study and I refer again to the matter of my acceptance into the Army Japanese Language School where Elmendorf is. I have been accepted into the school and am unable to make a decision as yet. I hate to leave you and Dr. Thomas in a hole, so to speak and I know that it would be difficult for anyone else to pick up immediately where I leave off. At the same time, I dislike the possibility of being drafted into some branch of the service in which I have no interest and the opportunity of really learning Japanese is to me at least, quite attractive. Dr. Thomas is convinced that I can avoid the army during the year at any rate, although I am not so hopeful. The program now under way seems so intensive and I think it doubtful that I could remain with the study beyond July. I am, as you see, somewhat in a quandary, although I do not as yet have to make a decision. I shall receive formal notice from the language school of my acceptance soon. Until then, I can consider the possibilities. My acceptance is as yet informal, although the commandant of the school assured me that I would be admitted.

In the meantime I shall go on here until I have to decide. With Charlie gone, I plan to work out a few items alone. I want to do a sampling of several residence blocks and to write a history of them which will involve family relationships and adjustments, professional and occupational background, relation of the families to the community, etc. This will be an ~~apartment~~ apartment survey which I can do through my good friends, Hikida and Okuno and through several block manager friends I have. Hikida and Okuno, by the way, send their regards. In part, this study will entail case analyses of the kind I still work on and never seem to be able to finish. There are urban and rural blocks with different backgrounds, interests, and organization. I think that a study of this kind will be most helpful to an understanding of the community in general.

I have not forgotten your book at Ochi's. I haven't seen the bishop for several weeks but shall call on him tomorrow. I will see that you receive the book when he finishes it, as he probably has by this time.

We have had an interesting Buddhist festival in which George and his family played a prominent part. Of this, together with an elaborate funeral, I have full notes.

This is about all the news I have. Please remember me to Mrs. Lowie and to what remains of the department.

Yours,

Rivers, Arizona
April 21, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

I want to get this letter off this afternoon in order to get Otomo's and Sakanashi's items to you by the 26th. I shall pick up both accounts after the letter here is written so I hope that the gals have them and that they get to you in time.

Financially, I seem to be straightened out. Checks seem to be in order, Fukushima having received his for the translating. I call you attention again that Okuno and Hikida, whose work has been sitting on my desk for several weeks, entirely neglected, should again be remembered. I understand the delay in their reimbursements of course. So I now mention their checks, early this time. Okuno and Hikida's work will be remembered in my next item for study.

I have just sent Charlie's and my report off to you and hope that it is satisfactory. You will probably receive this ~~XXXXXX~~ letter before that reaches you.

I am depending on your efforts in July to keep me undrafted. For the past weeks I have had the problem as to whether or not I should accept the Army Language School's offer. Today, just after lunch, I sent a wire to Major Gould, the head of the school withdrawing my application for admission. I think that my choice is a wise one and I know that you will be pleased. I hope I won't regret my decision but I don't think I will.

Things are quiet and I must next turn my attention to the compilation of block histories, bringing in case analyses. This should be a lengthy and time consuming job. I mean it to be as complete as possible. More on this later. I am preparing a brief for the description of individual blocks, denoting the material I mean to cover. I shall send it you soon for criticism. I want you to give me some advice on the proper sampling. At present I think that I shall try to take blocks where I have contacts, as with block managers, etc. Representative blocks should be included of the following: White Zone, Turlock in ~~XXXXXX~~ Canal, Turlock in Butte, Tulare, Santa Anita, and professional and Kibei blocks. To go into this thoroughly will be quite a job. Here's where a case history analysis will be useful and where the Issei-Nisei relationship in its over-all aspects and in the family unit should be clearly demonstrated. Suggestions from you will be in order.

The social analyst, Dr. James H. Barnett has turned out to be one swell person. He is of the opinion that we can be mutually of aid and I'm sure he's right. I am helping him all I can to get settled in the community. His aim is administration, mine is a long range view of the problem. For this reason there can be no conflict between us. Neither of us is tinged with professional jealousy and I know that our relationship will be beneficial as well as very friendly. He is not concerned with "predicting trends in the community" and is not at all dogmatic in his views, like Kimball. He was a visitor in WI's seminar at Harvard some years ago and so remembers WI quite well, although he wonders if WI remembers him.

Resettlement is still the keynote of the community and I have discussed this at length in my report. I call your attention to statements made at block meetings and block managers' reports giving block consensus regarding resettlement. I have one copy of this and would like another, also one for Charlie. I have marked it in the report.

I need supplies badly as we are running out. Will you please, and thank you, expedite the following:

Three reams yellow paper (3 perforations)
Some sheafs carbon paper
Four standard typewriter ribbons
Three rolls Scotch tape
Lots of stamps, Charlie ran off with most of them
Study stationery and envelopes
Large envelopes for sending reports (8½" x 11")

That's all for now, thank you.

I received your letter today after your return from T.L. What are your plans re the trip east. You planned to leave as of the 1st of May, I recall. I see no particular reason for me to go to Denver, do you? I think I'd rather come home for a visit and use the money that way. I may have to soon, anyway, since I have some kind of skin irritation which defies my friend, Dr. Sugiyama. If it doesn't get better, I shall go a dermatologist in Phoenix if there is one there. Otherwise, I should like to have it looked at at home by other doctors. It seems to be getting worse.

Remember me to all in Berkeley and to WI.

Yours,

Bob

Robert F. Spencer
Gila River Relocation Center
Rivers, Arizona

April 22, 1943

Dr. Robert H. Lowie
Department of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Dr. Lowie:-

I wish to write this brief note to inform you of my decision relative to my entrance into the Military Intelligence Language School. After some deliberation, the gist of which I mentioned in a letter to you earlier this week, I decided against entering the language school. Accordingly, I wired to the commanding officer at Fort Savage yesterday and requested that my application for admission be withdrawn.

The opportunity to do work here is, I believe, of greater advantage not only to me but to the war effort as a whole. I hear from Elmendorf, currently enrolled in the same school, that the study of Japanese is subordinated to military regimen and that the time spent is not altogether, in his opinion, worth while. In considering all these factors I have decided to remain with the Evacuation and Resettlement study. Too little time was allowed me to sever my connection with you and Dr. Thomas and I feel too, now that Charles Kikuchi has left for Chicago, the study would suffer considerable if Gila were to remain unsupervised. I believe that my decision was a wise one and that I shall not regret it. Of course, I shall have to take my chances with the draft in July but I know that you and Dr. Thomas will lend support in my appeal for deferment.

Dr. Kroeber has written me outlining plans for the development of an army program at the University. I have written back expressing my interest. As you know, these plans are in a most nebulous state, but I hope that something can be made of them. Dr. Kroeber, too, mentions that he may be able to exert some pressure on my draft board.

The staff here joins with me in extending regards to Mrs. Lowie and to you.

Very truly yours,

Gila
April 21, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

If nothing else, Charlie and I have achieved volume in this report. For the information we have checked on the information contained in this and find it to be accurate. There will be certain discrepancies and contradictory statements resulting from the differences in time element between events and the actual write up of them.

Under separate cover, material relative to the housing department is being sent together with the maps mentioned somewhere in this report.

There will be apparent typographical errors which I hope you will overlook. All the material here has been reread for errors in context but not in spelling, etc. That looked as too big a job and I do want to get this off so I can start on my block histories tomorrow.

Will you please acknowledge receipt of this as soon as you get it. It represents many hours of work and several dollars to say the least, of secretarial help. Some of the sections are irreplaceable although we have copies of our own text.

One copy is enclosed only. I told Lowie that I was sending this to you and that there was just this copy available. I asked him to request you to allow him to see the material at his leisure. In this report, Charlie kept one copy for himself and I am retaining one for reference. So Lowie doesn't get one.

I shall write again later today or tomorrow to send along the necessary expense accounts for Otomo and Sakanashi.

Yours,

Bob

Gila
April 22, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

I have a few things I have been wanting to discuss with you and will so devote this letter to them.

Most of them concern my budget and Morton's letter of April 5, 1943 relative to it. In the first place, I see that about \$355.00 was remaining to me at the time Morton wrote that letter for case histories and secretarial expenditures. This, according to Morton's letter was to cover the period through August 31. This is correct, is it not?

Lest I run into trouble, I should like to plan for a minute as to how this money will be spent and to discuss this with you for your approval. As the drafts for Otomo and Sakanashi went in yesterday, I see that I have authorized payment there of 75.50 for secretarial expenses during the past month. This was necessary as there was a great deal of copy work to be done at this time. This leaves me roughly \$280 through this period until August.

The way I figure it, I shall need as much as I can have for secretarial expenses. The program I contemplate will merit that I think. The 280 will be thus for secretarial expenses and "case histories", bona fide or otherwise. Of this I want to give George Onoda 30.00, when the time comes, for a block analysis. The rest I want to be purely secretarial. In this case, I shall have to cut out Ochi and translators. These, while useful, are not so significant to the study as might be and therefore, while interesting and all that, we might dispose of the funds in question more usefully. So, I have 250 as I see it for secretarial expenses through another week of April, May, June, July, and August. I can authorize in that case, expenditures through these months of 60 per month for secretarial help. Now, am I right? Do you approve? I do not want to exceed the amount you have allowed me. I do not of course, want two secretaries but I did need Miss Sakanashi's help for the time being. That was while Charlie and I were working together.

Omachi has asked if he may be permitted to use Miss Otomo for a while. I agreed with the provision that I supervise. Omachi has a great deal of good stuff on political organization, including manuals, minutes, etc. Will you check to see that we have any of the following:

{ Community Government Manual, October 1, 1942
Solicitors' Statements re Legal Basis for Organization
of Evacuee Self-Government at Relocation Centers, Oct. 12, 1942.
WRA Tentative Policy Statement - May 29, 1942
Community Evacuee Government - Administrative Instruction
No. 34, Aug. 24, 1942

Omachi has borrowed these for a while but they must be returned. I suggested that, inasmuch as they will be useful to us on the sociological side, and also to Morton's interests, I send these to you and you have copied either in toto or what is useful of the section contained in these manuals and edicts. That I can do since we can hold the stuff a while. I asked Omachi to give us an analysis of community government in the light of these ideal plans for community government. What is the application of these

to existing self-government, etc.? With some success Omachi has worked this out and his report, although legalistic in aspect, will be useful. If you have any or all of this information please let me know by return post. Do you agree that your own office help can copy the sections you think useful? I do not wish to charge this large amount of secretarial expense to my own budget.

From Omachi I have received a report on professional economic loss. Again it is not sufficiently detailed. I told him to go to work on case analyses more in detail. He counters with the statement that such cases for the various professional groups will be repetitive and therefore waste time and space. I told him to go ahead and do it anyway. I think that by supervising his efforts I shall get him to produce better. At any rate I hope so. I feel responsible for him and I hope to God I haven't really picked a lemon. He has the material it's just a question of getting him to put it down on paper.

I shall send you Omachi's report as soon as I have received ~~XXXX~~ stamps from you. With my limited expense account, also I don't want to encumber it with stamps, and other incidentals.

I have taken my secretary off letter writing and use her only for reports. This will be more equitable, and profitable to me.

One other point- What are you doing to the money allotted to Earle. In spite of Shibutani I think it will be well not to pay Earle any more. I never see him any more. He handed me an outline for "Women's Clubs and Organizations" he thought to make a report on. No dice, it stunk. He just can't write reports and he's useless as an informant. I can do so much better with offhand acquaintances who don't realize that they are being informants. I could use the rest of Earle's allowance whatever it is if I can have it. That is, if you haven't given it to me already. Tell me about this.

That's all for now, I guess. Let me know how things are.

Regards to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

Gila
April 27, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

I was very pleased to get your lengthy letter of Saturday and to know how things stand at the present time. But I am just a bit worried that you have not received the report since I mailed and registered it as of Wednesday of last week. Probably you have it now, although I shall be anxious to know that it arrived safely.

To go back to the points of your letter: First, there is the matter of block analyses. I read with interest Morton's views on the various block political situations. My own contemplated block analysis will be a bit more far reaching in that I want a general view of the community, more, I guess, from a purely social side, rather than from a political angle. I hope of course, to include the latter. This idea of mine will be some time in execution as you can see from the enclosed memorandum. Hikida is already preparing some statements relative to his own block and I shall supplement his report when I see it, using it probably as a starting point. I want to get around to the point of what is a block, and what its relation to the community is. In this respect I am getting at a more purely social phase of the community. If I can supplement the material with case analyses of individuals, I believe that we shall really have something of value. In order to present a long range comparison from center to center, I have thought it might be well if some of the other investigators might see what my plan is. I accordingly had the material on my contemplated research dittoed and have copies available for each member of the staff. At your approval, I shall send one to each. I'm sorry that this idea did not occur to me before but one morning I suddenly woke up with it. So, before you get away on the 2nd, I wish that you'd look over my plans and see what you think of the thing. It may be too big an order but I doubt if we shall be able to get all the information I desire. It is my belief that this same thing should be done for Tule Lake as well before you close up the research there. In the course of my study I also contemplate the analysis of a block-wide population check and can probably get it for all blocks if this is necessary. Anyway, let me know your thoughts on the matter of my memorandum.

Here is an odd bit of news. Barnett feels that in his work here he will be too dependent on me and that his position as social analyst is valueless. He also has a weak stomach and cannot stand the food here. Moreover, he doesn't wish to be separated from his wife. He is therefore quitting as of Saturday. Very odd, don't you think? He is such an agreeable fellow and has done a lot for me by way of sparking my interest and research that I hate very much to see him go. We have become very good friends in his short stay here. He doesn't get on with Hoffman and hates Bennett. Don't we all? Now I'm afraid that some shtunk like Opler will replace him. Embree is quite

particular about whom he has as social analyst. I understand that there are a full number of applications for social analysis jobs but that Embree is unwilling to take less than a Ph.D. or someone with Japan training. Barnett's real reason for quitting seems to be that he cannot see the justification for his position.

I'm truly sorry about Billingmeier. I agree that he is a swell person and that he undoubtedly can deliver. I shall be glad to come in for a conference to Berkeley on the 12th. It is to be understood of course, that I will have to make reservations. I cannot leave here if something should break. And there is some promise of things breaking soon. More of this later. So tentatively, I shall be down as of the 12th. I can understand Billingmeier's hesitancy and mental disturbance. I have felt it keenly too after eight months here and it can be very palling at times. Sometimes, I have just hated this place and wanted so much to get away. Charlie with his resettlement fever, affected me that way for a long time. I feel better now that Charlie is gone although I miss him very much. I am coming to like it here more as I find the staff more amiable. This has been due to Wolter, Barnett, and Cozzens' help with Bennett. Tuttle too has been swell. So I am better adjusted here than I was. I think that a three day conference with Bob will be a great help and I shall be glad to participate and help out where I can. I hope that this letter reaches you in time to get the plans for the thing settled. I'll get the letter out this afternoon.

I have had a similar problem in Omachi. As I type this letter he is dictating a section on political organization to Miss Otomo and seems to be doing well. Naturally, Joe seems to be a conservative and is most reluctant to make any remarks about anyone which may be damaging. I had to overcome ~~XX~~ this in supervising his efforts. He will have a good section on the development of the constitutional committee. Joe does better at dictation. He doesn't type you see, with the result that all his mss. are longhand. While Charlie could do this admirably, Joe has a little difficulty. He'll be all right, I think.

I should be most anxious to have Jimmie here with me for several days as you say. If possible, for a longer time. So I shall look forward to that. I have a number of things to discuss with him and should like some of his Tulare contacts too. For some time I have been planning a critique of his Nisei classification and should like to bring that up for his attention.

Isn't that Colson a dope? Just brimming with S.A.

Will you keep me posted on your Chicago stay so I can direct letters to you if necessary.

Re the things that are breaking. The WRA has reversed its stand, to be published tomorrow, relative to Issei office holding. Issei are now to be admitted on the Council. This will make for a definite change in the community, although the Issei advisory board was a step in that direction. From time to time, I have

made mention of the fact that Issei have agitated for office and a voice in the community government. I have traced this development at some length. Now the Issei have their way. The WRA has hesitated to allow this because Issei office holding has been used as a pressure tactic to get Issei recognition. Now the WRA feels that the Issei will have won a victory. It may be so, in fact, they will have won. There is still this stupid tendency on the part of the WRA to try to preserve the letter of democratic procedure. I think this was the only solution. You can't get Nisei to serve willingly on the council. This will come out rather clearly in Omachi's discussion of the Canal council and it is already shown by Charlie's and my analyses of the council in Butte.

This means that in Canal the council will become a power. In Butte there will be a struggle for power between block managers and councillors. This latter struggle will be significant. It will be interesting anyway. If I see any evidences of it I'll let you know. I guess that those liberal Issei who are now on the advisory board (see latest report on Administration and Council) will become councillors. Okuno, Hikida, Fukushima, etc. Hikida has already lost favor with the people for siding too closely with the administration. This has earned the condemnation of the block managers so I guess that this will have some definite repercussions. Boy, what fun.

What have you heard relative to the executions of the Tokio bombers? Short term leaves have been stopped here as a result of fear of outside opinion. The community feels that the administrative staff is panicky. Indefinite furloughs were stopped from Thursday until today and it seems that short term leaves to Phoenix, etc. will be definitely curtailed, for a couple of weeks at least. This was Bennett's doing. Myer, here for a brief visit, escorting Mrs. Roosevelt incidentally, was extremely angry at Bennett for doing it. If Bennett had his way there would be no short term leaves. He couldn't of course, countermand the order. Myer, I mean. Bennett and Hoffman are continually at each other's throats. Hoffman is getting better in his treatment of the people and perhaps my judgements of him in the administrative analysis are not too justified or at least subject to emendation.

Well, that's all the news I think. Oh yes, will you rush me some stenographic notebooks please. We are out and having to use plain sheets of paper which I gather is hard.

I hope I receive the other supplies soon.

Remember me to everyone. I shall be home in two weeks unless the unforeseen occurs.

Yours,

Bob

Gila R/C, Rivers, Ariz.
April 29, 1943

Official Note of Thanks to: Mr. and Mrs. (sic) F. S. Frederick
(Moab Big Shot, opps)

From: Official Representative of Rockefeller Foundation Garment
Company and Chief Investigator of same, R. F. Spencer

Subject: If I had two, I'd be king, etc.

Dear people:-

I received your so-called "mess of junk" as of this morning and find the same extremely useful. I don't know how effectively we will be able to use this material in our final write-up but it will be most necessary that we follow up these phases of evacuation especially if the process of segregation is to followed out. So I shall have the material copied by my gal, who can be well trusted and rush it back to you as soon as possible. That will be next week or thereabouts of Tuesday. Will that be OK?

I offer hearty thanks for thinking of me and for the receipt of this material. The boss in Berkeley will be most grateful too.

Before saying anything else, I must offer congrats and stuff. I was agreeably surprised to find that you and Miss Loowus had taken the step although not astounded. So, my children, peace on you and may all your troubles, oh, wotthell.

I am not in the army yet and the boss hopes to keep me here at least through the year, which I hope also since I am most interested and am not sufficiently patriotic to want to carry a gun and clean latrines. I also am thinking of matrimony and may take the step on my visit to Berkeley in a couple of weeks.

Now to answer your questions: I have heard of interning the "no" answerers and am aware of a number of administrative rumors thereto pertaining. The gist of the matter seems to be that although segregation is contemplated it will be difficult to effect with the result that the planning stage is still in process. Here is one statement I have heard: Tule Lake and Manzanar are in the military zone. Both are sore spots. As the process of resettlement is speeded up in other centers, the loyal population in these centers in Calif. will gradually be brought to the centers which are being vacated. Some kind of segregation camp is therefore contemplated at Tule Lake and/or Manzanar. The whole thing is in a very nebulous state although I have this from Colonel Rasmussen.

Why did you move from Moab to Leupp? I heard of the contemplated move but did not know that it had been executed. Are your facilities there capable of taking care of many dissenters? I have heard that they are. What is your total population now?

I am most anxious to visit you at Leupp. Possibly I can arrange it in late May. Will you let me know about accommodations? If you can arrange it I should appreciate it. Moreover, I should like to see you if nothing else. As I am going to San Francisco on the 12th it may be that along about the 20th I can go from the Bay Area direct to Winslow via Santa Fe, RR.

This business of classifying types of evacuees and internees is interesting. I should like to know more about it. I think it will be done solely on the basis of negative answers.

Re the situation here. Ever since the apprehension you never saw a more peaceful community. Things are peaches and cream and moving smoothly. Bennett's paternalism is a bit gripping but on the evacuee side there is utter contentment. I believe somewhat in intuition and I feel no cause for worry now. There is not the slightest feeling of tension in the community. The round-up of the bad boys seemed to quiet everything down. There are resentments of course but for the most part this is as model a community as it can possibly be under the circumstances. I have returned to the matter of purely social analyzing.

On the administrative side we have a new aide to Hoffman in CAS. A man on the Washington payroll by the name of Wolter. He takes a lot of authority and says "Well, this is a Japanese city, let the Japanese do as they please with it". The result is that the CAS program is turned back to the community to make or break of do with as they see fit. And the result of that is that recreation is suddenly spontaneous and a great success. Hoffman and Bennett raised their eyebrows but Wolter has been firm. He is one swell guy and knows his business. And that has helped to quiet the group down. Wolter has fought against this eternal supervision and the people are actually happy over it. Bennett is unhappy over it but Wolter is a power. Internal Security has been taken over by services and Williamson is kowtowing to Bennett and Wolter. There is no longer any need for an organized police system in the metropolitan sense because the problem of leisure time has been solved for so many. Even your friends the gamblers are out of the picture.

All the Internal S. people now wear big badges. Williamson's says "CHIEF". I had a bitter argument with Johnston over the badge thing. I told him he looked silly. I just couldn't keep it in. I thought he would agree but he got really indignant. I think you are right after all and like you, I am disappointed.

Gaba resigned under peculiar circumstances which I do not understand. He is now with FSA in Vallejo, California. Korn got a captaincy and is here waiting for orders to depart. Landward was drafted, too bad. Liebermann is still here but waiting to be transferred or ~~REMOVED~~ fired. I shall hate to see him go. On the evacuee side, Kikuchi has gone to Chicago. I never see Fukuzawa. I have been asked to teach at the University of California in July and am anxious to begin there. I hope they fix up their plans OK. Teaching the army Japanese ethnography will keep me out of the army.

Again, I hope to see you soon. I shall let you know more definitely soon and shall ask if accommodations can be arranged. Thanks again for the material which I shall return as soon as possible.

Yours,

Gila
May 5, 1943

Mr. Morton Grodzins
207 Giannini Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Morton:-

This is just a note to let you know that I have my train reservation to San Francisco for Monday and so will probably show up in the office a week from today, Wednesday, the 12th. Dorothy suggested that I get away sooner so that I could read the Billingsmeier mss. but I deem it impractical to get away before this. Weekend travel is well-nigh impossible and I can't do justice to getting away before Monday. Accordingly, I wish that you in some way could brief, if the manuscript is too voluminous, some of Dorothy's and your own outstanding comments re the T.L. piece. Bob, I presume, will be around as of that day too. I shall probably pull in the morning of the 12th some time so be ready for me.

I am interested in your comments regarding the sumo business. I have been sumoing regularly and was scheduled to enter the tournament for Boys' Day tonight. Your correspondent, however, has suffered two broken ribs so is out of commission, and painfully, for a while. Gad, the things I suffer for science. I have been wanting an in with the sumo group for a while and so the best in I could think of was to join. I like to wrestle but not at the present cost. In Berkeley, please remember to treat me gently.

There is no correlation between my sumoing and my Desert Rose. This D. R. however, is quite a young woman; not possessive and far more carnal than the P. F. The P. F. and I are at strained relations.

Supplies received and thanks. There were no stamps however. Will you please check on that. I have a good deal of stuff to send around. Ms. to Charlie, etc.

Dorothy I presume, is well under way to Chicago. I am back to Berkeley and shall miss the first day luncheon which we are accorded by the boss on returning to UC after the field. It will be good to get back though.

And so, boy, will see you.

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And so, boy, will see you.

Yours,

Bob

Our Reg. April 24 -
Sent by Mail
Div. registered,
May 1.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

May 25, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

Upon my return from the south yesterday I contacted Morton and was told of your wire and shown his letter, the one he wrote to you suggesting solutions to the problem of the study. It is with some hesitation that I write now to tell you of my own decision relative to Kroeber. I am taking Kroeber's job and shall prepare to remain with the study, if that is acceptable to you, until Kroeber's program begins. Kroeber doesn't know when the War Department will want to begin the instruction and although July 1 is more or less the contemplated date, there is the possibility that the program will be postponed until October. If this is the case, I should be most anxious to remain at Gila until whatever date Kroeber may call me.

I am sorry not to have written sooner giving confirmation of my decision, although in reading Morton's letters I gather that he has pretty well informed you of the step I am about to take. I have hesitated to admit the decision inasmuch as I disliked leaving the study. In the past year I have come to have a strong belief in the possibilities of the study and I feel that in this matter I have been between two very hot fires. I think I can admit without reservation that I have not held my personal motives of the moment so strongly as to influence the present decision. I sincerely hope that you will not feel that I am doing the disloyal thing in joining forces with Kroeber. When Kroeber approached me on this matter he simply took it for granted that I would work for him on his program relative to Southeastern Asia. He stated it in such a way as to preclude no alternative. He was, or seemed to be, quite furious at my hesitation to accept his offer with the proper alacrity. Kroeber, I feel, I may be wrong, left me no out. I must admit that I feel ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ that I am letting you down. But I have now made the decision and so will begin teaching for Kroeber very shortly, whenever his program begins.

This, I know, leaves you in a helluva hole regarding the work in the field. Kroeber's program will not entail too much time with the result that if you were willing, I would be able to spend time getting down on paper the material I have been collecting. There is a great deal that I want to write, a great deal which should be documented. I figure that I will need secretarial assistance for about two months at least in order to get this information down. If I cannot in any other way collaborate I should like to give you the benefit of all my notes of the past year.

Gila I believe, is too fruitful a field to let go. I believe that some replacements can be effected either through another Caucasian or through further Japanese assistants. This afternoon

I am going to have a talk with Lowie concerning the matter of a suggested replacement from his side. After all, he suggested me and possibly he may be able to find someone who will do the job even better than I have been doing. There is of course, the factor of the Japanese Language which has been a great help to me but actually that isn't essential.

I can appreciate Sakoda's unwillingness to go to Gila to stay. Certainly, I do not think that Tsuchiyama should direct Gila. She is doing well at Poston and I know that she would be adverse to taking care of both camps. She did not like Gila and I know that she doesn't want to go there. Moreover, I do not think that she could pick up my contacts. Above all things, I should like to see Miyamoto at Gila but I don't think from what I hear, that he would be amenable to it. In this case, we should have some other assistant. I have discussed the matter over with Morton several times. When I return to Gila I will have either to train a new Caucasian assistant or to recruit a new Japanese assistant. I have several in mind who would be quite adequate.

I hope to get off to Gila tomorrow. When I return I shall work up the contemplated block studies and get as much information as I possibly can regarding all these other matters. I still would like some communication from you regarding gaps to be filled in. You can see the thing in so much more of an objective light.

I shall write you more in detail when I return to Gila. I only hope that a satisfactory arrangement can be worked out whereby the study will not lose out.

Regards to WI and everyone in Chicago.

Yours,

Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

May 30, 1943

Dear Dorothy:-

Upon my return to Gila on Friday I found your letter of the 25th waiting for me. A letter from Sakoda was also there and since he made it clear as to the time of his arrival I wired him details immediately. I shall expect him on the fifth and have made arrangements for him to stay with me. At the present time, Bennett is in Washington and I have no idea how long he will stay. Rumor has it that he is being dragged over the coals by Myer for his over conservative attitude in regard to his treatment of evacuees. There seems to be some truth to this statement and Bennett, moreover, has become terrifically suspicious of certain members of his staff ~~XXXX~~ who he believes, have denounced his administration to such people as Rundquist, etc. Oddly enough, he seems to be centering his resentment around the people he calls the "social theorists" including the new Services head, Wolter. His resentment is especially strong against Barnett and against Embree. I am included in this also. He fears us. Fortunately, your letter was sent to Wolter and I can expect cooperation from him. He will arrange things for us permitting Jimmie to go out. I cannot deny the practical side of this problem, however impractical you may think me. There is the very great difficulty of transportation and it cannot be easily overcome. I am a bit worried over the present situation and I think that it will be well for you to give it some thought as well.

Arizona has just passed a law which forbids the use of any facility by a person whose movements are restricted by military edict. This means that all Japanese in Arizona, evacuee and resident, are forbidden to make purchases in the state, to make use of hotels, restaurants, theaters, bars, etc. Food may be purchased and some clothing. The Standard Oil Co. was fined \$1,000 for selling gasoline to an evacuee and not giving notice thereof in three different newspapers. Arizona spirit has grown anti-evacuee to such an extent that it is analogous to that of Southern California. Did you ever hear of such a mess? Standard Oil was all set to bring the thing to the Supreme Court but reneged at the last moment. All evacuees who now drive their cars out of Arizona must have a Caucasian escort in order to circumvent this new law, to purchase gasoline, etc. I do not know what the effect of this will be on our proposed conference. There may be some difficulty in having Tamie, Jimmie, and Nishimoto stay at a hotel in Phoenix. If you wish to go ahead with the conference I suggest that you wire me at once as to its proposed definite dates so that I can make hotel reservations in Phoenix. This will be difficult since with the proximity of Luke, Thunderbird, and other air fields there is a terrific influx of military and civilian people into Phoenix. Housing is virtually impossible to find. It might be better to have the meetings on the project except that you and WI cannot stay on the project. There is really nothing I can do about that. It is unfortunately true that this is so. Hoffman as acting project direc-

tor, has jurisdiction over it but I can honestly say that there is no available space. However, I'll try to inveigle Wolter into using his influence. This will possibly be better than a meeting in Phoenix. You'd better let me know what can be done and what you think will be an adequate solution to the problem. I'm really afraid that hotel accommodations for the three from the other projects cannot under this new law be obtained. Perhaps we should meet in Salt Lake, Gallup, or Albuquerque.

I agree that it will not be necessary to have any of my people at the conference.

Before going on, I have no reason to hesitate at Jimmie's coming here. He will be safe on the project itself. I want him here and shall go over the subjects you mention in all detail possible.

I have the feeling that you are furious at me for leaving the study. Dorothy, I must admit that I have never had to make so difficult a decision before and I hope that you can appreciate the reasons for my taking the step. In a sense, giving up the work that I have done and the contacts I have here is tremendously hard and even painful. I do regret the hole in which I place you. I hope though, that you will allow me to do some volunteer work for you in my spare time and apparently, I shall have a bit ~~XXXXXX~~ when I return to Berkeley. All my notes have to be written up and I do have my conclusions to get at. I feel that I can be adequately replaced and that it will be unwise to let Okuno and Hikida go as yet. I do not know when Kroeber will call me. The first of July, he thinks. If this is so, he will let you and me know in good time. I don't know what to say except that I feel guilty at letting you down. With me it was a question of antagonizing you or Kroeber and I chose to get you down on me rather than Kroeber. Thank you for your good wishes.

I have material on the block studies ready to ~~XXXX~~ begin. I shall begin as soon as I can, although at the moment I am without a secretary. Since I am to be here such a short time I think it well that I collect raw data and as much of it as I can and save the write-up until I return. I can get notes in sufficient detail to write them up later. As you say, I shall fill in as many of the gaps in my notes and reports as I can.

That's all for now. I shall look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible on the above subject.

Regards to everyone.

Yours,

Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

May 31, 1943

Dear Morton:-

I have just completed a letter to Dorothy in regard to the Phoenix conference. At the present time, it looks pretty impossible inasmuch as Arizona in my absence has passed a law which forbids the use of all facilities, stores, restaurants, hotels, etc. to persons whose movements are restricted by military edict. This is of course the Japanese. It looks as though Tamie, Nishimoto, Jimmie and others simply cannot go and stay anywhere in Arizona, buy food in a restaurant, etc. As you know the Thomases cannot stay on the project, so wotthehell. I don't know what Dorothy will want to do and I wish you'd find out about the law. This sure is a situation. The law has just gone into effect and is raising hell with resettlement. Any Japanese who now wishes to drive his car cannot buy gasoline, etc. Standard Oil was fined \$1,000 for an infraction of selling gas to an evacuee and attempted to fight it, then reneged. Anyway, there is another problem.

I hope that the boss has cooled off somewhat about me. I don't like to have the feeling that she is angry.

I have little other news. Have arrived safely and begun to get busy on a few things. Block studies, etc.

Enclosed is the expenses incurred on the trip down. Spencer is pretty broke so, but you can't do anything about it can you?

Myself, I miss my frau. From us regards to Ruth and Mike.

Hello to the office.

yours,



Expenses - Robert F. Spencer

May 27, 1943

Fare - San Francisco to Los Angeles (Se. voucher #1)	\$18.95
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Lunch, Los Angeles	.87
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Fare - Los Angeles to Phoenix, Arizona (Se. voucher #2)	18.14
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Dinner, train	1.27
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May 28, 1943

Breakfast, train	.85
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Lunch, Phoenix, Ariz.	776
-----------------------	-----

Fare, Phoenix, Ariz. to Sacaton, Ariz. (bus)	.83
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May 29, 1943 - Wire to James Sakoda, Tule Lake, California, relative to proposed visit to Arizona	<u>.58</u>
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Total:-	\$42.25
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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 4, 1943

Dear Morton:-

I received a communication from the boss this morning advising me of her proposed conference in Phoenix on the 10th to the 12th. In spite of the difficulties which ~~XXXXX~~ I outlined in my last letter to you Dorothy, at Bennett's advice, is going ahead with the conference and has arranged hotel accommodations for Jimmie and me. I hope that everything works out all right.

I enclose for the files a letter from Dorothy to Bennett which requests the necessary transportation for Jimmie and me. Dorothy says she has been in communication with Bennett. I wonder how this is so.

At any rate, we shall go ahead with the conference and I shall then definitely know how I stand with Dorothy.

I received from the office my checks, for which thank you and also the reports of the block managers which I asked to be copied. Will you get me Ochi's stuff as soon as possible. I shall need it in order to confer with the boy and I have been letting that prospect slide.

Let me hear from you and tell me what goes on.

Regards to everyone; hello to Ruth and Mike.

Yours,

Bob

June 16, 1943

Reverend G. Ochi
631-P
Gila River Relocation Project
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Reverend Ochi:

I am enclosing herewith English translation of the materials which you have prepared for us. May I say that I have found this material extremely useful, and hope that in the future some arrangement can be effected whereby you may continue it under my successor. I trust that I shall be able to obtain a translation of the statistical material on religion, the manuscript which I recently received from you.

May I extend my best wishes to you and Reverend Suzuki. I should be most happy to hear from you if you find the time and opportunity to write to me.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer
Research Assistant

RFS:mw

Enclosure

July 2, 1943

Mr. George Miura
72-9-C
Gila River Relocation Project
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Mr. Miura:

I am sorry not to have written you before this, but you will understand that the problem of getting settled and of establishing myself in my new routine has been difficult. I write now in order to introduce to you Miss Rosalie Hankey, a young woman and an anthropologist whom Dr. Thomas is sending to Gila to replace me. I have, of course, given your name as one of my best friends at Gila, and I know that you will be as good to her as you ever were to me. Miss Hankey is arriving on the project over the next weekend, and I know she will look you up soon after she arrives. You will, I know, enjoy meeting Miss Hankey, since she is an extremely capable person, a good field worker, and of marked sympathy for the Japanese people.

I do not know when I can return again to Gila, but I hope that when I do you will have already been successful in obtaining the position you desire and will have left the project. I repeat my advice to you that above all things you should look toward resettlement.

Dr. Thomas joins with me in extending regards to you and Mrs. Miura. I hope that I may hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RS:mw

July 2, 1943

Miss Mary Togami
Staff Housing Department
Gila River Relocation Project
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Mary:

Inasmuch as you seem to be the brains and the entire power behind staff housing, I am taking the liberty of addressing this communication to you.

We, of the University of California study, have received permission from Mr. Bennett and Mr. Hoffman to send a replacement for me to Gila. This will be a young woman by the name of Miss Rosalie Hankey, who will arrive on the project on Friday night, July 9. I hope you can make some arrangements for accommodation for her and, if possible, provide her with a room alone where she can work as well as live. I appreciate the many kindnesses you extended to me, and I hope that you can make some arrangement for Miss Hankey.

Thank you very much for your concern.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RS:mw

July 2, 1943

Mr. George Onoda
4-1-C
Gila River Relocation Project
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Mr. Onoda:

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication of June 26. I can appreciate the difficulties which face you in compiling the block material for us, and I assure you that any arrangement you wish to make about sending us this material will be satisfactory. Pending further word from you I will expect the complete survey during the week of July 10.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RS:mw

July 2, 1943

Mr. & Mrs. William K. Tuttle
Gila River Relocation Project
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Bill and Louise:

I am sorry not to have written you sooner, but in the process of getting settled and looking for a house which, incidentally, we have not as yet found, I have been forced to postpone all obligations of correspondence, and so on. I wanted to write now, not only to say "hello" but to tell you that Dr. Thomas is sending a replacement for me to Gila in the person of one, Miss Rosalie Hankey.

While I don't know Rosalie very well, she is a fellow anthropologist, and I am quite sure, in view of her past record and personality, that she will manage very well at the project. I am also quite sure that, unlike me, she will not step so heavily on the toes of the administrative officials. I have advised her to contact you, and told her that she would find you most helpful and cooperative, as I know she will. She is leaving Berkeley next Wednesday and expects to be on the project a week today, Friday night, July 9. I am sorry that I neglected to ask her whether or not she plays chess. But probably you can discover that for yourself. At any rate, this letter will serve to introduce Rosalie, and I hope that you can introduce her to some of the people in your office, as well as to other of our mutual friends.

My own work is progressing rather well, and I am now, in the second week after my return, falling into a kind of routine.

Regards to everyone from my frau and me. Write me when you have the chance and pinch Billy Boy for me.

Yours,

July 15, 1943

Mr. Hugo Wolter
Chief of Community Services
Gila River Relocation Project
Rivers, Arizona

Dear Hux:

As you know, the position which I occupied at Gila has been filled by a fellow anthropologist, Miss Rosalie Hankey, of this University. Dr. Thomas believes, with good reason, that Rosalie will be most adequate for the task of securing social data. I hope, too, that she will hit it off better with the administration than I was able to do. In a recent letter received from her, Rosalie mentions that she has made your acquaintance and that you very kindly put yourself to the trouble of helping her get acquainted. We appreciate your efforts and cooperation.

One point which causes me to write at this time is that she mentions that in view of the crowded housing conditions for the staff in Butte, she has been put in Canal. You will understand, of course, that her work will entail follow-ups of the material that I have been obtaining. My contacts in Canal were fairly limited, inasmuch as the majority of my acquaintances live in Butte. You will, I am sure, see the inadvisability of Rosalie's being made to live in Canal. While it is true that she can have ample time to work in Butte during the day, the night travel is, as you know, virtually impossible. Under these circumstances, it will be difficult for her to follow-up my contacts during the evening, the time which I found best suited to obtaining the information I required. Since I have been away from Gila for a month now, I have, of course, lost contact with such matters as staff housing. I wonder, however, if some arrangement could not possibly be made whereby Rosalie could move to Butte? Under the circumstances, her value to us is considerably limited by her residence in Canal. I would appreciate very much your looking into the matter of housing for Rosalie and seeing if possibly some arrangements could be made for her in Butte. As you will remember, I was living in Block 42. If Block 42 has not been closed, would it not be possible for her to occupy either my old quarters or one of the barracks in that Block? It would make for a much more successful carrying on of her work. As I say, we shall be most grateful if you would see what you could do toward getting Rosalie fixed up in Butte.

I have tried to keep in as close contact with Gila as I could in spite of my new teaching position, and I view with

Mr. Hugo Wolter - 2.

July 15, 1943

alarm some of the attacks against Japanese Americans that have manifested themselves recently. Now that Rosalie is established at Gila, I feel relieved that my work will be able to continue.

Fred Henning, whom I see every Sunday, wants to be remembered to you, and I want you to remember me to the rest of the staff at Gila. Thanks again for your trouble.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Spencer

RFS:mw

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

September 6, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

Noon today finds us writing this letter in the car waiting for the lunch call. After a delay in driving up the valley, we found that we were only able to go as far as Redding. This, however, did not prevent us from arriving at the project shortly after noon yesterday. Not knowing exactly where to go, we found Jimmy and the three of us went to see Best at his home. He quickly arranged for our stay by calling on Peck who assigned us quarters in Tule Lake's "Golden Hotel". Arriving at the Golden Hotel, we found that someone else had been given the quarters assigned us, and so last night were obliged to return to Klamath Falls.

This morning we have unsuccessfully waited for nearly two hours in order to see Best, who has been tied up with the Military. We do have a definite appointment at one o'clock and at that time I hope to get access to his files. Talks with Opler and Jacoby last night convinced me that I will probably get my best leads through Shirrell's files and Hayes'. Unfortunately the morning is gone, but perhaps the afternoon will be more successful.

I found Opler not quite so formidable as I had anticipated and he seems rather a likable person despite an apparent tendency to brag.

This note will let you know that we have arrived safely even though we have little progress to report. The fact that Meyer has given approval to our visit here lends us considerable prestige with the result that I expect no difficulty in getting at these files, especially after the housing debacle of last night.

Yours,

Bob

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

September 7, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

Since writing you at noon yesterday we have managed to get settled. Peck put us in a house in Tule Lake or rather I should say the famous "Golden Hotel" where we occupy very unpleasant quarters and with our fellow guests are at the night long mercy of a drunken landlady. However, this at least places us near the project and leaves us free to work.

After writing you we had lunch and saw Best following an hour and one half wait. He got us started and we ~~have had~~ virtually the freedom of the place since. It begins to look as if our stay here will not be too successful from the point of view of getting for you the information you want. We have had made available to us all of the project files with the possible exception of the Hospital files. Best feels that Pedicord may raise some objection to our going through them, inasmuch as the Hospital is regarded by him as a separate unit. However, we began yesterday afternoon on the Central files in which copies of all but confidential information repose. We went through those rather rapidly and it is my opinion that they will not be of such great value as we might originally have thought. I look for our best results to come out of the project director's confidential file. Today I went through Hayes' files and will continue that into this evening. Unfortunately there is not as much information as one might expect in them. Some of the material we have abstracted and have purloined other sections of it. You see, it is principally composed of letters, wires and other similar material which do not shed too much light on the problems at hand. I think we can complete Hayes' files today and tomorrow we should have the project director's. There may be some difficulty there since among other things this contains personnel information which, while I would like to go through it, cannot be too valuable for your purposes. I am somewhat disturbed over our inability to find anything really startling and I hope that at the end of our week here we will have enough information to justify the expenditure on your part. I feel that if I can spend a little more time on the Central files, get Hayes' and the Project Director's stuff, possibly go through the employment records and maybe get at the hospital I'll have done all I can. I thought I would see Carter or Harkness and find out if each of the Service heads had submitted reports to the Chief of Community Services.

I think that's about all I'll be able to do this week and I am sorry to say that things are not as hopeful as they might be. Apparently they wrote letters about these things but inclined to be rather hush-hush about every untoward incident. We'll do what we can.

Yours
Bob

P.S.

Our best information is on the tent factory and it's failure. We could get a good deal out of the letters if time permitted but due to the volume of them we can only abstract the more pertinent ones and pay attention to the things you mentioned even to the neglect of some of Frank's desired information.

Sept. 8, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

The enclosed will give you some idea of what we've been doing.

WE've been getting some rather good stuff that I think will reward your sending us here, but for the most part there seem to be no specific documents on many of the issues that Frank raises.

I should mention that Opler, Carter and Jacoby have been darn cooperative and that Best, Harkness and even Peck have put themselves out in our behalf. When we go through our contemplated pile of stuff I think we will have done all we can in our limited time. At any rate, we really know what's in the files in Tule Lake. We thought we might hear from you today.

Regards to everyone,

Yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bob", written in a cursive style.

PROGRESS REPORT

September 8, 1943

It is unfortunate that we have had to spend as much as one full day in getting access to our sources of information. The limited time allotted to us and the fact of the concern of the Administration over the Segregation Program have prevented the utilization of our limited time at Tule Lake to the fullest. However, it has been possible to obtain access to numerous files and some valuable information has been elicited. Following a conference with the Project Director R.R. Best, the central files that is to say, a master file kept in the mail room, in which repose copies of all data which is presumably of a non-confidential nature, was made available to us first. From this file it was possible to obtain some knowledge of itemized materials available on the project. For the most part this has been correspondence relative to Administrative problems and not of immediate concern to the question pertinent to the evacuees which it was our function to answer. From this file have been obtained copies of every Administrative instruction, bulletin and circular letter, (from the inception of the WRA program). It is not known how valuable this information will be but since the opportunity presented itself to secure copies it was thought wise to do so. Because of the tremendous volume of correspondence in this Central File it is virtually impossible to track down answers to the questions relative to strikes and the like and it may be wondered if indeed, such information may be located through these channels. Thereafter, it was possible to go through the files of the former Assistant Project Director Mr. Joe Hayes. This individual, while during his employ with the WRA, he enjoyed a rather a notorious reputation, nevertheless shed little light upon himself or his activities through the correspondence and memos that he issued. Pertinent material to various points has been extracted from this source. Thereafter the files of the Assistant Chief of Community Services, Mr. C. Carter, were subjected to scrutiny. Some information was obtained from them, but of not too valuable a nature. Harkness' files were examined and a list of material obtained. This was not too helpful inasmuch as both Carter's and Harkness' files have contained only the barest of reports from the inception of the project. Monthly reports and progress reports have been the main item. It will be possible to obtain all items of information and social analysis from Washington. Thus far, considerable information has been obtained although it's value is questionable, due to the lack of narrative reports and memos in the materials examined.

For the remainder of our stay we have arranged to view the following:

1. File of the Planning Board on Labor disputes, and registration.
2. File of the Community Council Chairman, Harry Mayeda,
3. File of the Central Block Manager, Wallace Tsuda (?)
4. The Confidential file of the Project Director.
5. The File of Internal Security Division and the Project Attorney.

6. Information from Carter relative to unofficial comments and documentation of incidents.

This, in the main, will be the remainder of our task. We trust that we will find sufficient to warrant our journey here.

R.F.Spencer
E.A.W.Spencer