

CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY  
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

Japanese American Oral History Project

An Oral History with LUCY ADAMS

Interviewed

By

Arthur A. Hansen and Sue Embrey

On October 16, 1993

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CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: LUCY ADAMS

INTERVIEWER: Arthur A. Hansen and Sue Embrey

DATE: October 16, 1993

LOCATION: Santa Cruz, California

PROJECT: Japanese American

AH: This is an interview with Mrs. Lucy Adams by Arthur A. Hansen and Sue Kunitomi Embrey for the Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program at California State University at Fullerton. The date of the interview is October 16, 1993. The interview is being held at approximately 10:00 a.m. The interview is being conducted at the home of Mrs. Adams in Santa Cruz, California. Mrs. Adams, during World War II, was assistant project director in charge of community management at the Manzanar War Relocation Center. I am a professor of history at California State University at Fullerton and director of the Japanese American Oral History Project. Mrs. Embrey is the chair of the Manzanar Committee that leads the pilgrimages back to Manzanar every year—they are having their twenty-fifth this year—and she was at Manzanar during World War II and worked as the managing editor of the *Manzanar Free Press* during the time that she was there. Are we ready to begin the interview today? Okay.

Now, you are a few years at Manzanar—and they must have seemed very, very long—but I know that you were living and doing other things prior to getting to Manzanar, and you've done a lot of things after Manzanar. So, we want to ask you about all of that, too, but we'll go into much greater detail on the Manzanar period. Now, from some notes that you gave to me before the interview, it indicates that you were on April 4, 1898, so now you're in your second century, and you were born in San Francisco. Can you tell me a little bit about your family background? Your parents, who they were, and where they lived before your birth in San Francisco?

EA: [Ernest Adams, son of Lucy Adams] Ma, can you hear him?

LA: Yes, um-hm. Well, I would say that touches a few highlights of my ancestry.

EA: He wants to know about your parents, where they came from.

LA: My parents were both born in Australia of Englishmen who immigrated to New South Wales in the 1870s, and they met and married there. My father was educated in England. My mother continued and carried on her education in New South Wales in, Australia. And they were married in 1897.

AH: Where were they from in England?

LA: Both from the south of England, one from Somerset, and the other from Yorkshire.

AH: And what was the purpose of coming to Australia?

EA: Her parents did not come to Australia. They were born in Australia.

AH: Oh, I thought she was saying—

EA: It was her grandparents.

AH: Okay, so your parents were born in New South Wales?

EA: Your parents were born in New South Wales?

LA: That's right, in Sydney New South Wales.

AH: But, your father went back to England to get educated?

EA: Your father was educated in England, though he was born in New South Wales?

LA: That's right.

AH: And where was he educated?

LA: Oh, in school outside London in Islington.

AH: And was this a socialist school?

LA: No, it was one of the oldest established educational schools, Owens, which was from the seventeenth century.

AH: Was it a special type of school in terms of its philosophy?

EA: Was there anything special about the school? Was it a religious school? Like Methodist or something?

LA: No, it was one of the traditional long established schools, like Marlborough and Eton. I wouldn't say quite as distinguished as those.

- AH: So, what she is talking about is that is that it was a public school. And it was not a university, it wasn't Oxford or Cambridge. It was a public preparatory school like Eton or Harrow.
- LA: In this country, it would be called a private school.
- AH: Right, I understand. Like a prep school in this country, like Groton or something. Now, did your father go to the University in England?
- LA: No, he did not go to a university.
- AH: Okay. And what did he do when he went back to New South Wales?
- LA: Well, he had intended to go to sea, but he got ill. He got so ill that his family was told he couldn't live at England, he moved have to move someplace else. And since the family came from New South Wales, he returned as a young man of seventeen to New South Wales to get better, and also to live.
- AH: And once he got there, what sort of work did he get?
- LA: Well, presently, he got a job with a wholesale hardware company, and he held that job. He also became an active member at the Wesleyan Church and a lay preacher. And at that time and in that church, he met the girl who became my mother. She was in the chorus.
- AH: So, your father was from what they would call in England, the dissenting churches, a Methodist Church, right?
- LA: The Wesleyan Methodist Church.
- AH: Yes. Did he travel a lot in this job, in wholesale hardware work? Was he away from the house a lot?
- LA: No, when he got married, they were going to come to England to work with his father who was established in business in London. But, my father was not personally interested in that kind of business, so after they were married, they took a sailing vessel in which there were only passengers from Sydney, Australia, to San Francisco, with one stop in \_\_\_\_\_ (inaudible) Island.
- AH: And so, he left New South Wales and came to the United States?
- [recording paused]
- LA: They decided to stay in California.
- AH: Did he have any prospects for work here?

LA: Well, he got a job at a wholesale hardware company, and he decided that what he wanted to be was a civil engineer. He studied civil engineering, and that became his profession for life.

AH: So, he didn't go to a college to study civil engineering?

LA: No.

AH: He studied it himself?

LA: I would say he took a correspondence course.

AH: Did he get a license to become a civil engineer or not?

LA: I assume so. (chuckles)

AH: Tell me a little bit about your father's personality? What type of man was he?

[00:10:00]

LA: Well, first of all, he was, in many ways, a traditional upper-middle class Englishman, but he was also a strong patriot. He was very much interested in the military. He enlisted in First World War and finally became a colonel.

AH: Thank you. I'm going to stop this just for a second. [recording paused] You were talking about your father enlisting in the military and eventually becoming a colonel. Did he become a colonel during World War I or after World War I?

LA: No, after. My son will strongly remember.

AH: Oh, you're named after him? Did you have siblings, brother or sisters?

LA: I had two sisters, one of whom died at the age of nine. The other sister died about five years ago.

AH: Were they older or younger than you?

EA: Hilda was the other sister. She was younger than you.

LA: A year-and-a-half younger.

AH: Tell me a little bit about your mother, what kind of person she was.

LA: She went to school in Sydney. She wanted to become a schoolteacher, but after her father's death, she had to help her mother. So, I would say that she helped her mother

- who then took boarders in the house where they lived. That's where—well, she met my father at the church.
- AH: She was a Methodist, too, then?
- LA: Oh, yes.
- AH: Well, you became quite a successful, professional woman—
- LA: He became a civil engineer, mainly in oil fields. He worked with Doheny, and then with the Pan American Oil Company as a chief engineer. His business established in Los Angeles.
- AH: Do you feel that you took after your father more or your mother? Because your mother had a lot of professional ambitions but those were thwarted. Did your mother serve as a role model to you?
- EA: He is asking who you took after more, your father or your mother?
- LA: Well, I would have to say much more after my father because my mother was very much a domestic person. She had lots of interests, but she was very much a domestic person.
- AH: Did your mother, as well as your father, encourage professional development, your education?
- LA: Well, of course, they were both very interested, but my father did much more, let's say, to promote it.
- AH: You started school in San Francisco.
- LA: I didn't start school there.
- AH: Okay, you moved to Los Angeles in 1902 when you were four years old, right?
- LA: I moved to the oil fields outside of Bakersfield.
- AH: Oh, really? Which town?
- LA: My father was an oil field engineer and became associated with the Associated Oil Company, which the Associated Oil Company had a lease on the oil fields outside Bakersfield.
- AH: Where outside of Bakersfield? Like in Taft or Oildale? Which town was it?

LA: It was on the oil fields on a place then called Oil Center. I went to visit a few years ago, couldn't even get in there. (chuckles) The whole thing was roped off. And, of course, the oil field had long ago been drained off, and we couldn't get in there.

AH: What are your recollections of living in the Oil Center area?

LA: Well, I would say I was a child growing up there from when I was four until I was eight. It was a place I loved.

AH: What made you love it so much?

LA: Because there was so much free space around and a place to play.

AH: Was it a place that had decent schools to go to?

LA: Oh, no. (chuckles) It had one school with two teachers. When we first went there, there was no—of course, it was a small town, and there was no church. And father was interested in getting a church, missionary church started there, which he did.

AH: Did they hire a minister?

LA: No, you didn't hire a minister.

AH: Did he preach himself?

LA: He was often a lay preacher.

AH: What kind of schooling did you get at home? Did your father teach you a lot at home and your mother teach you a lot at home?

EA: Did you get any schooling at home?

LA: Well, I learned to read, and I would say I would get a great deal of schooling at home.

AH: And how long did you stay in that area, around Bakersfield?

LA: We moved away from the oil fields and came to Los Angeles in 1906, late 1906.

AH: When you were about eight years old, then?

LA: That's right.

AH: Where did you live in Los Angeles?

LA: In West Los Angeles on Pico Street. (chuckles)

AH: And what schools did you go to there?

LA: There was a grammar school then. I went to the grammar school.

AH: And did you continue in that area for a long time in that West Los Angeles area?

LA: I stayed in that area until I went to school in England for a year in 1913.

AH: Did you go to a grammar school in England?

LA: Well, I went to what was called Highbury Hill High School.

AH: And where was that located?

LA: In West London.

AH: Was it a boarding school?

LA: Well, it was a boarding school, but I attended as a day pupil.

AH: And whom did you live with?

LA: With my grandparents, my father's mother and father.

AH: What was your schooling experience there like as an American?

LA: Well, I never studied quite so hard or learned so much as I did at the school there.

AH: How was it being in school in England? Was it a thrill for you or did you miss your parents a lot?

LA: Well, I was so busy with the new experiences there that I wouldn't say that I missed them at all.

AH: What caused you to come back to California after the one year?

LA: Because the war broke out, and my father and mother thought I should come back.

AH: So, you were in England when war broke out?

EA: You were in England when World War I broke out?

LA: That's right.

AH: Can you tell us a little about your recollections of that war since you were going to figure in the next war in a different capacity?

LA: Well, first of all, my grandfather was a strong liberal, and he felt already that war was coming. And I think that he didn't want the responsibility of me there. Anyway, they decided right away I should return home.

[00:20:20]

AH: And how did you come home? By a ship?

LA: My dad's grandparent's found a couple with whom they suggested I travel, though, I must say, I thought I didn't need anybody at that time. (chuckles)

AH: Yeah, because you were about sixteen years old then. You were a young woman.

LA: That's right.

AH: And did you leave from Southampton, or where did you sail from?

EA: Where did you sail from?

LA: Liverpool to New York.

AH: And then, how did you get from New York to San Francisco?

LA: By train.

AH: Was that an adventure?

LA: I wouldn't say it was an adventure, but I enjoyed it.

AH: Did you get to stay in New York and see the sites there?

LA: I was assigned at first to two Salvation Army nurses that were coming. I traveled with them I think to just outside Salt Lake City, and from Salt Lake City, I came by train by myself.

AH: Did you get a chance to see New York very much when you came?

LA: No, I wouldn't say not.

AH: You saw the Statue of Liberty?

LA: No, I still remember when I went over big buildings. I also remember some horse drawn—

AH: Vehicles.

LA: Vehicles, that's right.

AH: So, by the age of sixteen, you had been in San Francisco on the West Coast, went to England, you came across to New York, and went through the whole United States, but you still hadn't been to Australia, right?

LA: That's right.

AH: Have you ever been to Australia?

LA: Yes, I have.

AH: When did you finally get there?

LA: About eight years ago, I visited there. I took one of my grandchildren with me, and we went down and visited the dozens of relations that we still have there. And went around New South Wales and Queensland where I visited various members of the family.

AH: You probably heard a lot of stories about Australia growing up?

EA: Did your parents and others tell you stories about Australia when you were growing up?

LA: My mother certainly did.

AH: Did you know Australian songs?

LA: Well, I knew "Waltzing Matilda." Oh, my mother told us great many stories of Australia when she was growing up.

AH: Do you identify yourself more with an Australian background or a British background?

LA: I would say, half-and-half.

AH: That's a very tactful answer.

LA: Well, perhaps I should say, one-third of each.

AH: One-third of each?

LA: The last third was in California.

AH: You came back, and you enrolled at Los Angeles High School.

- LA: That's right. I was an active debater.
- AH: Now, when you went to the school over there in Pico, before you went to England, and then you came back and went to Los Angeles High School, did you go to school with any Japanese students?
- LA: No, but I had one Japanese friend when I was in college.
- AH: At Stanford?
- LA: At Stanford, yes, the only Japanese girl at Stanford at the time. She was a medical student who later became a Dr. Kazue Togasaki, who later on, was interned in Manzanar. She was one of my close friends when I first went to Stanford. As I said, she was the only Japanese girl there.
- AH: Tell me about your experience at Los Angeles High School. What was Los Angeles High School like at that time?
- LA: Well, I'd say it was the usual thing. My outside activity was debating, and I won the state debating championship with my partner.
- AH: And where did they have that championship contest?
- LA: Well, we had the championship in Anaheim.
- AH: That's right next to where I live! Now, you chose to go to Los Angeles Junior College; you didn't go directly to Stanford. Why was that?
- LA: Because I stopped off, and I studied shorthand and typing for a year, so I can pay my way at Stanford.
- AH: So, you were getting some skills so that you could work your way through college?
- LA: That's right.
- AH: Now, Stanford University is a very prestigious university and an expensive school now. Was it both of those then?
- LA: It was expensive then, but I had to pay my way, at least in part.
- AH: Did you have some student friends who had already gone to Stanford when you went up there?
- LA: No, but a couple of my professors in Los Angeles wanted me to go there.
- AH: So, they told you that was a good school to attend?

LA: That's right.

AH: Where did you live when you went there working your way through school?

LA: Well, I lived in the dormitory.

AH: And did you get a job as a typist somewhere?

LA: Well, I took several jobs there. I waited on tables, and then I took a job down in Palo Alto working in a restaurant.

AH: As a waitress?

LA: As a cashier.

AH: Now, they used to refer to Stanford as the farm. Was it very farm-like at the time?

LA: Was it what?

EA: Was it like a farm at Stanford when you were going there?

LA: Well, it had—I wouldn't say like a farm.

EA: Was it rural?

LA: The surroundings were rural. Stanford itself was not rural but the surroundings were.

AH: How big was Stanford when you went there?

LA: I don't have any idea.

AH: Five thousand or less?

LA: Of course, it was supposed to be limited to five hundred girls, and I would say around two thousand men.

AH: Oh, so they put a cap on how many women could go there?

LA: Oh, yes.

AH: I didn't know that.

LA: By the way, my son also graduated from Stanford.

AH: Was there a lot of prejudice against women at Stanford when you were there?

LA: I wouldn't say—prejudice against them? No, I didn't feel any prejudice against them.

AH: What sort of subjects did you pursue at Stanford? What was your major at Stanford?

LA: History with an emphasis on Oriental history.

AH: No kidding! And did they have some courses on Chinese and Japanese history at that time?

LA: There were, I would say, about thirty Japanese men and just one Japanese student.

[00:30:03]

AH: But, did they teach courses on Japanese history and Chinese history?

LA: Oh, yes. Professor \_\_\_\_\_ (inaudible) was professor of Oriental history there, and he was my major professor.

AH: Did they offer courses in Asian languages?

LA: No. Major languages, but not Japanese, neither Japanese or Chinese.

AH: What was your intention when you studied history? What did you want to do?

LA: Well, I'm not sure what I wanted to do. (laughs)

AH: (laughs) Who is at that age, right?

LA: What I wanted to do was have the adventures and to travel.

AH: Which you certainly did have.

LA: Yeah.

AH: And you were employed as research assistant to Francis Hearst. Was that after you left Stanford?

LA: No, it was while I was at Stanford that I met him because he wanted someone who could do some secretarial work while he was there as a visiting lecturer. And I had already, as I said, learned to do typing and so on, so he employed me there.

AH: What type of field was he in?

LA: He'd been editor of *The Economist* in England. He was a very important person.

AH: So, this was a terrific experience for you?

LA: It certainly was.

AH: And how long did you do that?

EA: How long did you work from Mr. Hearst?

LA: Well, let me see, I would say altogether about four-and-a-half years.

AH: So, you worked with him initially in Stanford, and when he went back to London you went with him?

LA: He asked that I should go with him and work, especially on the life of Jefferson that he was preparing. And he went down to see my parents to tell them that he would like me to come as his secretary and research assistant.

AH: That's amazing! So, you spent most of those years working for him over in England?

LA: I was thrilled with the idea. Frankly, I was tired of being at college.

AH: Did you graduate from Stanford?

LA: No.

AH: So, you left after how many years?

EA: How long did you stay at Stanford before you went to England?

LA: I went to Stanford when I was a junior. I would say it was a year-and-a-half. I was at Stanford for nearly two years before I went to England.

AH: So, you were close to graduating?

LA: No.

AH: You weren't?

LA: Well, if I had taken another year.

AH: Now you went to England, and how long did you stay in England that time?

LA: I stayed there till I was ready to get married. We got married in 1926, and I went over to England in 1922.

AH: The person you married was William Ford Adams, who was a Stanford graduate, and then was a Rhodes Scholar.

LA: That's right.

AH: Did you know him at Stanford before he went over to England?

LA: That's right.

AH: Things were really working out for you, weren't they? (laughs)

LA: I'd gone out with him a few times but not seriously.

AH: And he was a history student, too?

LA: That's right. His father was the head of the history department at Stanford, and I had been a corrector for his father.

AH: Oh, you worked as a grader for his father?

LA: That's right.

AH: Now, what was his father's name?

LA: Ephraim Douglass Adams and he was head of the history department at Stanford.

AH: And what was his field of specialization in history?

LA: American history.

AH: In early American history or—

LA: No, I would later American history, international relations with emphasis on relations between United States and Great Britain.

AH: (laughs) You sure were getting a critical mass here! And then, your husband was a history major, his father was the chair of the history department, and he became a Rhodes Scholar. Now most Rhodes Scholars usually have some kind of college athletics that they are involved in.

LA: Yeah, his was rugby.

EA: It was soccer!

AH: What they call in England football. So, you didn't know him too well at Stanford?

LA: I went out with him a couple of times.

AH: And how did you get reacquainted over in London?

LA: Let me see. Mr. Hearst invited him down—

AH: He was a matchmaker, that Hearst, wasn't he?

LA: Because Mr. Hearst had become kind of friendly with his father who was head of the history department when Mr. Hearst was at Stanford. Anyway, Bill was invited down, and we started presently going together.

AH: So, the courtship was in England?

LA: No, the courtship—yes. I would say, yes.

AH: And then, you came back to the United States? When and why?

LA: After we got married.

AH: And you got married in England?

LA: No, we got married in Southern California, and we went to New Haven where Bill was studying to get his PhD in history.

AH: So, he was at Yale?

LA: He was at Yale.

AH: And what was his field in emphasis in history? Same as his father?

LA: His field was European American history, and his special field that he studied was Irish immigration into North America with emphasis in the United States.

AH: And when you were back at Yale, was he still in the PhD program when your first son was born? Or had he gotten his PhD and gone somewhere else? Because you listed that you have two sons that were born. Were they born when your husband was going to school at Yale?

LA: That's right.

AH: So, you had a pretty full-time there, too. He was going to school as a graduate school.

LA: That's right.

AH: He probably wasn't taking too much money then was he?

LA: Oh, no!

AH: And were you working in New Haven for a while?

LA: I was until my children were born. I also took a job at Yale.

AH: And what were you doing at Yale?

LA: Well, I was working with one of the professors there in the divinity school, Jerome Davis.

AH: And were you working as a research assistant or as a secretary?

LA: I would say as a secretary.

AH: And then, you had two sons that were born in pretty rapid succession. What were the years of your son's birth?

LA: A year apart.

AH: Oh, boy!

EA: Six days less.

AH: And Ernest was first and then William?

LA: He was born a year after we were married.

AH: And then, William was born a year—

LA: He was born in Los Angeles.

[00:40:00]

AH: So, you were married in 1926?

LA: We came out to Los Angeles, and we stayed with my father and mother.

AH: Uh-huh. I missed the year of your marriage, 1926 or '25?

LA: Nineteen twenty-six. I must say I have a poor memory for dates.

AH: And then '26 and '27 for the birth of the boys. Okay, then in 1930 you moved to Los Angeles?

LA: That's right.

AH: And, by that time, had your husband finished his dissertation?

- LA: No, he had already gotten his PhD. He was now professor at the new university in California at—
- AH: Los Angeles, UCLA, which is a world class university. Tell us a little bit about UCLA in the history department. For example, where he came to work, how many other historians were there?
- LA: When we moved there, UCLA had just been built outside Beverly Hills. Of course, it was a young, outgoing, rather brash.
- AH: They used to call it the southern branch, right?
- LA: It did not consider itself a branch.
- AH: How many people were in your husband's department of history?
- LA: I don't remember how many. Our associates there, the ones we knew best were young professors, like himself, just getting started.
- AH: Do you remember any of the other ones?
- EA: Bob Binkley? Wasn't Bob Binkley there?
- LA: Bob Binkley? No, he was an associate at Stanford. Presently, I'll remember the names of our strongest associates there.
- AH: Okay, so one of the things that you have listed here, in 1930 it said you were a director of adult education.
- AL: That's right.
- AH: For whom?
- AL: State of California.
- AH: You were appointed the director right away?
- LA: Oh, no, I'd been—it was one of the wartime WPA things that they paid for.
- AH: Let me see if I can get this straight. We are not talking about the war yet. This is back during the early part of the Depression. You got a job with the WPA, and it was in adult education?
- LA: Yes, I was employed in the state department then. [recording paused] Because the state department of education had an active program in adult education, and I was employed first as one of the lectures. I would say one of the lecturers.

AH: In Los Angeles?

LA: Well, they said it was in Los Angeles, but we were all over, mostly Southern California. In fact, entirely I think Southern California.

AH: Did you travel around and teach at different places in Southern California?

LA: I organized classes. I did a little teaching but not much, mostly organizing classes. And then I organized two training centers, one after another.

AH: In Los Angeles?

LA: No, the first met in Los Angeles, and the second one met up in Berkley.

AH: How were you getting up to Berkley with your husband teaching—let's see, your husband died in 1930?

LA: One summer when I was teaching up in Berkley. He was also teaching.

AH: During summer school?

LA: First, he was teaching there in the summer school—no, he wasn't teaching. He was carrying out some research there.

AH: You indicate in here that your husband died sometime in 1930s.

LA: Yes.

AH: When was that?

LA: He died after an operation.

EA: When was that Mom? Do you remember the year? Was it 1935? Yes.

AH: So, he was a very, very young man.

LA: That's right.

AH: And what type of operation was this?

EA: He had a stomach ulcer.

LA: That's right.

AH: Where was the operation? In Los Angeles?

LA: Yes.

AH: So, you were probably about thirty-seven years old when your husband died.

LA: Yes, uh-huh.

AH: And you were pretty much left on your own, but you were already working with adult education. And the next thing that I know you did was you worked as a superintendent of education for the Navajo Indian Reservation for four years.

LA: That's right.

AH: How did you get that job with the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

LA: Well, I wanted to get away, and through the president of Occidental College who was a friend of the family, my husband and myself, he heard of a program in Indian service in which I might be interested, and he asked me to meet the commissioner for the Indian service. I did meet him, and he had an opportunity with a job coming up that he thought I might be interested, and I was. I went out and took it.

AH: Where was the job located? In Gallup, New Mexico, or where was it that you went?

LA: It was down in Arizona, and it was with the—what was it?

EA: You were working with the Soil Conservation Service.

LA: That's right, the Soil Conservation Service. We worked on a survey on Southern Arizona on the Pima Reservation.

AH: Okay, so this is before you worked for the Navajo?

LA: Yes.

AH: How long did you work with this job with the soil conservation?

LA: A year, perhaps a little over a year.

AH: And I know a number of people that work for the Soil Conservation group, later worked for the War Relocation Authority. Were there any people that you later met in WRA that had worked with you for the Soil Conservation group?

[00:50:08]

LA: No.

AH: There were none? None of the people that worked at the Gila camp?

LA: No, there weren't.

AH: Okay. Then you went to work for the Navajo Indian Reservation, and, at that time, I think Sy Fryer was the superintendent of the Navajo Indian Reservation. And I know later he is going to hire you to work him again for UNRRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration]. At this particular time, how did you make the contact the Navajo Indian Reservation?

LA: Because I was offered a job as superintendent of education on the Navajo.

AH: And who offered you that job?

LA: Well, I was interested in it because they were just starting the operation of day schools there. It was a big job, and I was really excited about it.

AH: And this was all taking place when Collier head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

LA: It was Collier who offered me the job.

AH: Oh, it was? Tell me a little bit about John Collier, give me a little portrait of him. What was has he like? How did he impress you as a human being?

LA: John Collier was a very odd man. (chuckles) He was a poet and a visionary. An odd administrative, but a real visionary, forward planner, who also made a great many enemies among the Indians because he was identified with conservation programs which the Indians deeply resented.

AH: So, he made a lot of enemies and a lot friends throughout the United States.

LA: Yes, his particular enemies were, I would say, among the Navajos because he pushed the stock—

AH: Reduction.

LA: Reduction Program, so John Collier is still an unpleasant name to Navajos.

AH: So, he hit right at what they had in the way of sheep and stuff, and so they didn't forget that, did they?

LA: I beg your pardon?

EA: He was instrumental in reducing the number of sheep, but I think especially the number of horses.

LA: That's right.

AH: What was his vision for schools that attracted you, mainly? Talk to me a little bit more about that.

LA: The operation of the forty-seven new day schools, which had just been started at the reservation. So, instead of the Indian children going off to boarding schools, these day schools had been started for them to come regularly. But, they also came at the time when the soil conservation and stock reduction program was going in, so these schools were not popular.

AH: So, you were just honored last week over in Arizona by the Navajo, weren't you?

LA: I beg your pardon?

AH: Didn't last week you go to Arizona and you had an honored conferred upon you?

EA: This is the plaque she was awarded. It was a nice ceremony.

AH: It says, *In recognition to excellence to Navajo education presented to Lucy Wilcox Adams Navajo Community College, October 7, 1993*, which isn't that many days ago. But, we are talking about something that is over fifty years ago. (laughs) But, it was those four years for what you did—what did you do? Don't worry about being modest! What type of program did you implement in terms of making these day schools more successful?

LA: Well, we had forty-seven newly opened day schools and five boarding schools on the reservation. I did the same things that any superintendent of education did because it was a U.S. government service job.

AH: When you were working for the Navajo Reservation, before the war, you also came back and worked for them later on after the war, is that right?

LA: That's right.

AH: Is the award that you got here, was it more for the work you did before the war or after the war?

LA: I would say it's more before the war.

AH: The education rather than the relocation?

LA: I'm sure it was.

AH: When you were there, a couple of other individuals that were associated with WRA, Sy Fryer—did you get to meet Sy Fryer immediately when you started to work—

LA: Sy Fryer was the superintendent of the reservation when I was superintendent, so he was my boss there.

AH: And did you have a close relationship with him at that time?

LA: Yes.

AH: Can you provide a portrait of him like you did of John Collier? Would you say that Sy Fryer was a very odd man, too or not?

LA: Oh, no, he wasn't an odd man. I would say he was a strong westerner. He was very much a westerner. He'd grown up in the west. His family was Mormon, and he was a big personality. You know, he just died last year?

AH: Oh, he did? I didn't know that. He was a tall man, wasn't he?

LA: Oh, yes, a big fellow.

AH: And how did the Navajo respond to him as opposed to Collier?

LA: Well, I would say that he was probably too vigorous in the unpopular programs, but he was an excellent administrator.

AH: Philosophically, was he pretty much in tuned with Collier? Did they see eye-to-eye?

LA: No, he was anything like—he was an absolute opposite to John Collier.

AH: Can you ever think of a time when the two of them disagreed?

LA: I missed that.

EA: How did John Collier and Sy Fryer agree about the programs? Did they have the same views?

LA: Some of the same views, yes.

AH: I was asking this actually. Was she ever in the presence of the two of them where she saw their disagreement come to a head?

EA: Were you ever together with both John Collier and Sy Fryer at the same time when they appeared to disagree?

LA: No, never.

AH: Who were you closer to?

LA: I would say probably John Collier. On the other hand, I had great admiration for Fryer. But then, after all, John Collier was my boss, and Fryer was my associate and close co-worker. It was an entirely different relationship.

AH: You would see whom more often? You would see Fryer on a daily basis, wouldn't you?

EA: You saw a lot more of Sy Fryer than John Collier, didn't you?

LA: Oh, much more, until I moved to Washington.

AH: Sue, do you have some questions back on things that we have covered or would you like to take the interview now and talk to her about how she got to—oh, one last question! Did you work with Ned Campbell, too, when you were on the Navajo Reservation?

LA: No. Campbell, actually, he was on my staff. But only because I happened to have a vacancy, and Fryer appointed him. As I said, it was only because I had a vacancy on my staff.

[01:00:00]

AH: But, you didn't see much of Ned Campbell before Manzanar?

LA: I saw enough of him not to like him.

AH: What did you not like about him?

LA: I don't know. I can't say now.

AH: You just remember not liking him?

LA: Without any strong feelings about him, I just remembered I didn't like him having come into my staff.

AH: Have you ever seen him in the years after the war?

LA: Well, of course, I met him in Manzanar.

AH: No, after the war.

LA: Oh, no, never.

AH: Because he also worked for UNRRA, too.

LA: What?

AH: He worked for UNNRA, too.

EA: Ned Campbell, did he also work for UNNRA?

LA: No, not that I know of.

AH: I interviewed him, too, as you know, but I interviewed him when he was running a motel in Carmel. And so, I don't know what has happen to him since.

LA: Well, I have no idea, as I say. And, of course, I saw one the sort of temporary administrator that he wasn't Manzanar, I would have never had him appointed there in the first place. And when I came back after being sent down there to make a report, I gave a strong recommendation against him.

AH: Well, Sy Fryer wanted him, originally. It was Sy Fryer who hired him for the WRA, right?

LA: But, when Fryer heard about what he was doing, he changed his opinion entirely.

AH: I know he went to Poston first, and then to Manzanar. And then, he ended up back in San Francisco at the regional office, and then he was gone.

LA: That's right.

AH: You really did not overlap with him at Manzanar either because you came—

LA: We didn't overlap at all. I went down there with a lawyer. I was sent down there to make a report, I came back, and I made a report critical of Ned Campbell.

AH: And then, he was gone after that. Then he was not really fired, but he was removed from Manzanar.

LA: That's right.

[recording paused]

AH: Sue Embrey is now going to be asking a few questions.

SE: Okay, I wanted to ask her about her coming to Manzanar. I wanted to find out, after all these adventures you've had, how you managed to be hired at Manzanar?

LA: Well, I would say, first of all, I knew the area very well. I started off on my honeymoon from Independence, back in 1936, and I knew that area very well. I knew the whole Owens Valley well, but as I said, I started off in my honeymoon from Independence and that whole area.

SE: How did you hear about the job?

LA: When I moved out to California—and I moved to California because, during the beginning of the war, the entire Indian office in Washington D.C., in which I was employed, was to be moved to Chicago. I did not want to move to Chicago with my two young sons, so I resigned my job and decided to move to California and find another job. And my opportunities with Fryer, who would also move to California, got in touch with me and suggested I come and work with the War Relocation Office in San Francisco. My particular job there was to interview and recruit candidates for education positions at the ten relocation center. To find teachers, administrators, and also to make suggestions on the kinds of educational programs that was to be developed in the relocation centers. So, that was a job I took in San Francisco at the center there.

AH: Sue, can I ask a question? [Thinking about] the type of teaching approach in the relocation centers and what they eventually adopted was a program that came out of Stanford, did you have something to do with that?

LA: I had a great deal to do with that. I got in touch—I'm sorry, I've forgotten his name—with one of the professors of education there, and I asked him to give us suggestions. And he had a group, a Sunday school seminar group. He assigned the job to them to make reservations, and then he passed that on. And it was reflected in what was later carried out.

AH: It was a community base education.

LA: That's right.

SE: Can you remember what time period this was? What year or month?

LA: It was right at the beginning of the operation of the San Francisco office, which at that time was the operating office. We worked with Milton Eisenhower, especially, and with several others. I met more than once with Milton Eisenhower and a couple of other experts who came out from Washington and worked with the regional office. Of course, then it was the only office that was operating.

AH: Where was that regional office?

LA: In San Francisco.

AH: Yeah, where in San Francisco?

LA: I can picture it strongly, but I can't tell you the name of it.

AH: Do you remember some of the people who were in the early years of WRA in San Francisco, aside from Milton Eisenhower?

LA: Well, I—

AH: Well, I know that Sy Fryer was there, and later Roberts Cousins came there. Was he there in the beginning?

[01:10:04]

LA: Who?

SE: Robert Cousins?

LA: No, he came a little later. And the other one who worked fairly closely there in the beginning was, Bob Throckmorton, the lawyer.

AH: The project attorney for Manzanar later on.

LA: That's right.

AH: How long did you stay at the regional office before they sent you to Manzanar? And why did they send you there?

LA: I stayed at the San Francisco office until after the riots in Manzanar. I had been down there and made a report. And then, it was suggested to me, presently, when Manzanar was to be—well, Manzanar was to work under the newly appointed director, Ralph Merritt, and it was suggested that instead of going to Washington and working with the WRA in Washington, that I should go to Manzanar. And I was delighted. (laughs)

SE: What was your first impression as you got to Manzanar?

LA: My first impression was I was profoundly depressed at the enclosure within Manzanar. That was so depressing to me that I went out, and I had a house outside Independence up in the mountains where I could go on weekends and get away from that enclosed atmosphere. And also the kind of—the feeling of the people in Independence and Lone Pine, whenever you went in there, they were so curious and so hostile. So, by having this house way up in the mountains that I could get to over weekends, I could get away from it.

AH: Where about did you have that house? Is it still there?

LA: At the foot of Kearsarge Pass, an area where Mary Austin had once lived.

AH: She also lived over by Bakersfield.

LA: That's right. (chuckles) So, I rented a house there, so that I could go there on weekends to get away.

AH: It's not too far from where the museum is.

SE: There's a museum there in Independence.

LA: I never visited the museum in Independence.

AH: It has a lot of stuff on Manzanar in the museum.

LA: My niece in the park service, Rebecca Mills, told me about it. I meant to go down to it, but I haven't been there. In fact, I meant to go there later this summer when I was living up in the mountains, but I didn't get to it.

SE: So, you had an apartment in Manzanar during the week?

LA: Oh, yes, like all the others, all the other Anglo ones. We each had an apartment.

SE: Were there others that were employed there do the same thing you did, they lived in during the week, but they moved away in the weekend?

LA: As far as I know, I am the only one. I was the only one who hired a place outside.

SE: Do you remember the people you worked with, people in the administration beside Mr. Merritt?

LA: Oh, yes, I remember very well the director of education—I'll remember his name in a few minutes.

AH: Genevieve Carter.

LA: That's right. And the director of welfare who spoke Japanese and who had worked in Japan.

SE: Is that Mrs. D'Ille?

LA: I was very fond of her. I remember some of the other people.

SE: Can you tell us a little about each of them, Mrs. D'Ille and—

LA: Margaret D'Ille, she had worked for the YWCA. She lived in Japan. She spoke Japanese, and she had strong affection for Japan and the Japanese. She was a very good person to be in charge of welfare.

AH: Was she a widow, like yourself?

LA: Yes, she was a widow.

AH: Were you close to her? Or was she much older than you?

LA: She was a little older.

AH: I saw something that she said she was sixty-three, and you were about—

LA: She was a quite bit older. (chuckles)

SE: Quite a bit older because you were in your thirties, weren't you?

LA: But, I would say she was one of those that I was most friendly with.

AH: Tell us a little bit about some of the other people. Like, why don't you tell us about Ralph Merritt?

LA: Well, of course, I had never know Ralph Merritt before. My very close association there, I developed a very close admiration for him. I would say among the administrators with whom I worked, I put Ralph very high for his fairness and his ability to manage tense situations to resolve differences.

SE: Can you tell us a little bit about Robert Brown?

LA: Oh, yes, I know Bob Brown. I liked him because he was a Californian, and he knew so much about the valley there. He was a pleasant person to work with.

AH: What about Genevieve Carter?

LA: I wouldn't say I was very close to her, but I certainly think she did a swell job.

SE: She was superintendent of education there of the school?

LA: That's right.

SE: Did you do all the hiring of the teachers?

LA: Up at San Francisco one of the jobs I had there was interviewing people who were applying for jobs in educations at these centers, and I interviewed a number of them. A few of them I recommended for hiring. A couple of them, later on, I knew. I don't remember their names. But, one of them, at least—oh, no, two of them I knew long afterwards and became friendly with them. There was one woman up in Berkley who had been a librarian there, whom I knew.

[01:20:37]

AH: Is that Lillian Matsumoto?<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lillian Matsumoto and Taeko Nagayama, O.H. 2492, Center for Oral and Public History.

LA: No, no, she was an Anglo.

SE: Oh, I see.

LA: She was in the library there. Presently, I may remember her name.

AH: When you went to Independence on the weekends—I'm trying to understand who would be your close friends in camp—did you ever take somebody up to the cabin with you on the weekends?

LA: Oh, yes.

AH: Japanese as well as—

LA: Oh, no Japanese. I was, of course, not allowed to. Some of them wished very much I could, and, of course, I did because here was my college friend, Kazue Togasaki, there. As much as it seemed wise to \_\_\_\_\_ (inaudible) all of us, we used to meet, and I got to know, through Kazue, some of the tensions that Japanese families were having among themselves, especially, who was to go to Japan to meet—it happened in their own family—at the time, those who were not willing to join the Army when the family would decide, apparently, with getting together, which of the families should decide to go to Japan. I remember very well when it was decided that Kazue's brother, who was in relocation down in Poston, he was the one who was to decide he didn't want to stay in the United States, and he would go to Japan. I knew something of some of the family's tensions, and why some of them decided they were the ones to decide that they were not loyal to the United States, so it helped me to understand some things.

SE: So, you got to go around and talk to people after the riot or before the riot happened?

LA: I never talked to anybody except up in San Francisco before the riot, and I never talked to any Japanese because, of course, they were all rounded up by then. I didn't talk to Japanese, of course, again until [Manzanar] because I knew Kazue and sister in Manzanar. And after the war, I had a Japanese friend. Her present name is Amy Watela. She's married to an American. We both had cabins up in the high Sierras. She's a long-time friend of mine, and she and her—especially her old mother—they had both been in relocations centers. One down in Poston, and the other one in Utah. And I always saw them afterwards, and we sometimes talked about our memories there. And I especially remember the old lady because she spoke Japanese, but her daughter would interpret how the old lady enjoyed it there because she had nothing to do. She could do her tea ceremony. She could embroider. Of course, always before she worked out in the fields, and, to her, life in the relocation center was just heaven.

SE: So much easier for her instead of working twelve, ten hours a day, right?

LA: Uh-huh.

SE: So, were you involved in interviewing the people that had signed no to the loyalty oath and were going to be separated?

LA: Yes, I interviewed a number of people that wanted to go, and this was up in San Francisco. I interviewed a number of people that wanted to go as teachers to one of these relocation centers.

SE: No, the question I was asking, were you involved in interviewing the families, the internees who signed the loyalty oath who were going to Tule Lake, who were going to be separated?

AH: I'll tell her. In February of 1943, when they had the big registration, and they had question 27, and they had question 28, the people who answered, no—she's asking, weren't you involved in those hearings of those people?

LA: Yes, I was. That was one of the painful experiences while I was there. It was painful because, at that time, some of them of the interviewees expressed the most hated feeling toward the United States, and my patriotism flared-up. At some of the hearings, my dander really rose up. (chuckles)

AH: You were on the hearing board, weren't you?

LA: Um-hm.

AH: Right.

LA: I remember discussing with the anthropologist who was working there—

AH: Morris Opler.

LA: Morris Opler. I expressed some of my feelings, and Morris, with whom I had worked with in the Indian service, he explained to me and sort of calmed down my feelings.

AH: What did you think about Morris Opler?

LA: I thought he was an able man.

[recording paused]

AH: Was he an able anthropologist? And then, you were saying something else.

LA: He had a sufficiently detached view of the situation.

AH: One of the things that I read about in the correspondence was that Opler and Ralph Merritt didn't get along very much.

SE: Doctor Opler and Merritt didn't get along?

LA: No.

AH: Can you talk about that a little bit?

[01:30:00]

LA: It was just something I knew about but not because Morris Opler told me. Ralph Merritt—anyway, it never became important to either one of us. I think Merritt may have resented Morris Opler because Morris Opler never—he tried to detach himself from the rest of us. He rather liked setting himself apart.

AH: He really lived inside of the camp, too, with the interned people, didn't he?

LA: What?

SE: He lived inside the camp with the people, the internees?

AH: Instead of with the administration, he lived with the people.

LA: That's right. We all lived inside the camp. To me, it was the hardest thing.

AH: But, Morris Opler told he that he did not live with the administration in the camp. He lived with the people in the camp. Is that right?

LA: Well, that's what he would tell you because that was his view of it, but I would say that the rest of us, no matter what he said—of course, he was part of the administration. He was paid by it. (chuckles)

AH: Morris Opler wrote a lot of reports, and a lot of those reports were quite sympathetic to the very people that got you a little angry, got your dander up. But, you were also Morris Opler's boss, in that he was with the community analyst section. The community analysis was under community management. So, was he a person that you had to talk to a lot and sometime ever to defend what he was doing to Mr. Merritt?

LA: Well, I wouldn't say—we talked regularly but not a lot. I had previously known him in the Indian service, and I recognized the value of an anthropologist without knowing very much about anthropologists.

AH: So, you appreciated knowing a community analyst program at Manzanar?

LA: I thought it was valuable, yes, but I wouldn't say I was highly sympathetic.

AH: Highly sympathetic to what? Community analysis as a program?

LA: I can't say I thought a great deal about it.

AH: Well, some project directors liked having a community analyst.

SE: Mr. Merritt, you said he didn't get along with Mr. Opler?

LA: Well, I wouldn't say he didn't get along with him; he just didn't particularly appreciate him. Ralph Merritt could get along with people whether he liked their views. Whether they were associated there, he could use their gifts, even if he didn't like them, but he would be interested in finding what their views were. Deciding, himself, whether to apply other people's recommendations because, of course, some of the people in the Anglo staff there, was strongly anti-Japanese. Some of them came to really dislike Japanese, so Ralph had a very diverse staff to work with on the reservation. And there were some people on the staff there whom I very much disliked because of their attitudes, but that fact didn't mean you didn't have to work with them.

AH: Were any of the high-ranking officials in the anti-Japanese? Like Ed Hooper, people like Brown—

LA: No, I would say they were very much not on the top. They were on the next level. There weren't many of them, but they're a few. And how they got there, why they shouldn't be appointed there, I never knew.

AH: Two quick questions. Number one—this is the last thing I'm going to ask you about the Morris Opler and Ralph Merritt thing—from the time Morris Opler was assigned to Manzanar, from reading the correspondents that I read, Merritt did not want to have any community analyst at Manzanar. He was always anxious to get Opler out of there, and finally he did. Is it largely because he felt that he didn't have much use for anthropologists or that he wanted to run the camp without someone looking over his shoulder. What was is?

LA: I was say that it was both of those. I knew that feeling of his existed, but it didn't enter into our relationship at all.

AH: And the second thing is, when you first came to Manzanar, it was before the riot because we have something that you wrote. You were there at the time of the riot.

LA: Uh-huh.

AH: You were taking Genevieve Carter's place while she was on a vacation. I take it you were still employed by the regional office. You came down there and wrote a report, and the report talked about what was happening before the riot and then the riot itself. In fact, you have on a little note that the night that Fred Tayama got beaten up, that you were having, after dinner, a meeting with the Neilsons and with Mr. and Mrs. Merritt. And then Ned Campbell came by and says some masked man has done this sort of thing. And then you tell a little bit about what happened that night and then what happened the next night when they had the riot. And then you talk about the

next two or three days after the riot. At that point, you were not hired by Manzanar, then, you were still working for the regional office.

LA: I had no idea, at that time, of coming down there. No idea at all. In fact, I had already been spoken to about going down to Washington, in the office there. I very much did not want to go back, again.

AH: Well, this makes sense because in Bob Brown's diary, he says, *Lucy Adams was hired on the seventeenth of January 1943*, and we were thinking you were hired in November of 1942. But, you were there in November of 1942, but you weren't hired. And when you got hired, were you hired to head-up the division of community management?

LA: That's right.

AH: Okay. Go ahead, Sue. I just wanted to get that straight.

SE: So, what areas did your department cover inside the camp, inside Manzanar?

[01:40:00]

LA: What area did I cover? I had general supervision over health welfare and education. And so I worked with Genevieve Carter on education, a very able administrator she was, and I worked with Margaret D'Ille over the welfare. I worked with—I've forgotten the name of the doctor—

AH: Doctor Little.

LA: That's right, over health problems.

SE: Do you remember very much about Dr. Little? Can you tell us something about Dr. Little?

LA: I can't remember anything about it. Sorry.

AH: Well, he had to replace the head of the hospital who before was Dr. Goto. And Mr. Merritt transferred Dr. Goto out, and Dr. Little came in has the head of the hospital. Did you work closely with the hospital?

LA: Not closely, no.

AH: Where would be your main effort? Not with the community annalist section, was it?

LA: No, I would say my main area of working was directing with Ralph Merritt. I went with him every week to his regular meetings with the block managers, and I was

called in on any number of consultations or meetings that Ralph had with members of the Japanese community, with the block managers, and others.

AH: Who else was involved in those meetings, aside from you and Ralph Merritt?

SE: Who else came to those meetings?

AH: Did Bob Brown come to those meetings?

LA: Bob Brown came to practically all of them, and Margaret D'Ille came to a fair number.

AH: Did Edwin Hooper come to meetings?

LA: He came to some of them, not very many.

SE: How about Robert Throckmorton, the lawyer?

LA: Oh, yes, Bob Throckmorton came to, I would say, a very large number of the meetings. They were my closest associates there among the American staff.

AH: Mr. Throckmorton was replaced by Benson Saks. Do you remember him? He replaced Throckmorton.

LA: Yes, I do.

SE: You do remember Mr. Saks?

LA: Yes, not clearly.

AH: But, you remember Throckmorton better?

LA: Yes. Later I became godmother to their daughter that was born there, and I still keep in touch with the Throckmortons.

AH: Is it fair to say then that when you were there, the main people who were in charge of the camp, were Mr. Merritt himself, and then assisted by you and Bob Brown and then Mr. Throckmorton?

LA: Yeah.

AH: Would those have been the main people?

LA: No, there were several others whose names I can't remember.

AH: I'll help you out. Tell me what area they were doing?

LA: Of course, there was Genevieve Carter, and there was a man and his wife. They were in charge of some employment there.

SE: Mr. Miller?

LA: Yes. I knew them very well, and I enjoyed them.

AH: We read that Mr. Hooper's wife was the secretary to Mr. Merritt.

LA: I don't remember at all.

AH: You don't? Ed Hooper's wife.

LA: I remember now that you mention it, but I had forgotten it.

AH: Did you have a secretary?

LA: No.

SE: Were you very close to the Neilsons, Axel Neilson and his wife? Did you know them very well?

LA: I liked them, I didn't know them very—I'd never known them before. I liked them. I used to invite them up to my cabin up in the mountains on the weekends sometimes.

SE: They had some children, didn't they?

LA: If they did, I don't know.

AH: Yeah, they went to the schools at Manzanar.

SE: I think the children went to school there at Manzanar.

AH: Who was your closest friend?

LA: Now that you mention it, I remember it. (chuckles)

AH: Who was your closest friend at Manzanar, among the staff?

LA: Of course, Margaret D'Ille and the Throckmortons, they were my closest friends. It wasn't a place where you made close friendships. At least I don't think so.

AH: Did you stay in contact with Margaret D'Ille after the war?

LA: Yes, I did.

AH: What happened to her after the war?

LA: She worked up in San Francisco and Oakland for a while. After that she either went east or abroad, and then I lost track on her.

AH: Did you stay in touch with Bob Brown?

LA: Yes, every now and then. I'd get in touch with him when he returned to Bishop.

AH: And did you stay in touch with Mr. Merritt?

LA: Oh, yes, I did. And I was very fond of Mrs. Merritt. But, of course, I went overseas, and when I was overseas for so long, I lost touch with practically everybody whom I had known there.

SE: So, how long were you at Manzanar? Were you there till the very end?

LA: No, I left quite a long time before the end. Frankly, I did not like living in Manzanar. That kind of constricted life I couldn't stand. So, the first opportunity for a rewarding job I looked for.

AH: Bob Brown writes in his diary on May 17, 1944, he writes this, *Lucy Adams returned from a month tour of Chicago, New York, Washington, and Denver. She said she had seen Sy Fryer in Washington, and he is now in UNRRA and recruiting for overseas jobs. Said he had offered her a job and asked about me. I have decided to write him for the following reasons.* And then, he gives his reasons. Now, what were you doing on this month tour, and tell us a little bit about what Sy Fryer told you about UNRRA.

[01:50:11]

LA: When the office of Indian Affairs—because of the war—was moved to Chicago, we would all have had to move to Chicago. Well, with my children in high school, one of the places I did not want to go to live and work in was Chicago. So, that's when I retired from the Indian service.

AH: But, this is later. This is when you're leaving Manzanar. You went on a tour around the United States, and when you were back east, you met Sy Fryer in 1944. Sy Fryer said, he was hiring people for UNRRA. Can you remember him talking to you about working for UNRRA and leaving Manzanar?

LA: Yes, I did. I remember it now. I think without that, I would not have applied to go overseas. Actually, what he suggested I might be interested in was a director of welfare in the Far East, but I wasn't particularly interested in that. But, I did let him know that I would be interested in considering some employment overseas. I remember that quite well now.

- SE: What were you doing when you travelled to Chicago and New York and Washington for the WRA?
- LA: Well, I usually travelled by car.
- AH: And what were you doing when you went out there? Were you looking at were they were resettling people?
- LA: No, I wasn't working with resettling people. I was working about where to settle people, but not actually moving where people were settling at. I was working about where they would be settled and what kind of people would be settled.
- AH: Did you get to know Dillon Myer?
- LA: Yes, I know Dillon Myer. I wouldn't say well, but I'd know him because he was commissioner of Indian Affairs, and I'd known him there.
- AH: But that was after Manzanar.
- LA: I'd know him before, slightly, when he was—actually, I think he was with the Department of Agriculture. I'd met him without knowing him. Then later, of course, when he became Commissioner of Indian Affairs, I knew him fairly well.
- AH: Going back to Manzanar, and Sue had asked you about your different responsibilities. One of your responsibilities was the Manzanar orphanage, the Children's Village. Do you remember the Children's Village?
- LA: Oh, very well.
- AH: Tell us a little bit about that, would you?
- LA: Of course, Margaret D'Ille had a lot to do with that. She worked with Japanese children in Japan, and also with with Genevieve Carter, but that was mainly Margaret D'Ille's initiative.
- SE: Do you remember Mrs. Matsumoto? She was one of the house parents.
- LA: I remember but very vaguely. The only thing I remember was when Ansel Adams came to Manzanar and took the pictures there, and we were very much interested in some of his observations. Also some of the amusing evenings that we had with him.
- AH: How were they amusing?
- LA: Well, he had so many funny stories. He had had so many skills. He would play the piano. Anyway, he would come down with us after he spent the day in the camp. He'd tell us some of the things that he noted and so on, and he would make

- recommendations or suggestions or rather, I would say to Ralph Merritt about some things that he thought should have attention.
- AH: This book, this is the copy that Ralph Merritt gave to Bob Brown. Did you have something to do with helping to set up these photos?
- LA: No, I didn't.
- AH: No?
- LA: I looked through them, but I had nothing to do with setting them up.
- AH: So, did he pretty much work with Mr. Merritt?
- LA: Yes, um-hm. Then, of course, Ansel Adams became a long-time friend of mine.
- AH: Oh, really?
- LA: And up in my cabin, in the Sierras, I have some pictures Ansel Adams gave me. I didn't know how famous he was, so I never had them signed.
- SE: They're quite valuable now!
- AH: Did you say your cabin in the Sierras?
- LA: That's right.
- AH: I thought you had a cabin in the Santa Cruz mountains.
- LA: No, no, high Sierras, at the summit.
- AH: Oh, really?
- LA: That's where I spend every summer. I've got a house up there.
- AH: Have you been back to Manzanar since you left?
- LA: Yes, twice. I motored up from Los Angeles, once, and another time from San Francisco, and went over the old place trying to remember where things were. Yes, I would say I perhaps visited there about three times.
- AH: When would that have been?
- LA: Well, the last one is about ten years ago. I had planned to go this last summer down to a meeting in Manzanar, but, at the time, I wasn't too well so I didn't go. My niece told me all about it.

AH: That's how come we are here today. Your niece called—

SE: Your niece is the one that told us about you, and that's why we came to interview you.

LA: Oh, uh-huh.

AH: Sue was at that meeting.

LA: Yeah. That's right, she was.

[02:00:00]

SE: Manzanar is now a national historic site.

LA: I know. Of course, she came and told me all about it when she got back.

AH: You should get her to come to the pilgrimage next year.

LA: And she comes to my cabin every summer. She's my favorite niece. (chuckles)

SE: Can we go back and talk a little bit more about what you remember about the orphanage, the Children's Village?

LA: All I remember about the orphanage for which Margaret D'Ile had a lot general responsibility, I never visited, except with Margaret. She would tell me about it, and it was through her that I got to know what was going on. Margaret was a good person to work with. She had lots of ideas, and she would communicate, she would make suggestions, sometimes you took them, sometimes you didn't.

AH: As a person who was going to go into administration, even more in their life, what lessons did you learn from your years at Manzanar?

LA: I learned one thing: that war is a bad time to make decisions while the war is going on. That one's emotions could get so strongly involved, that you were just incapable of, let's say, reasonable judgment. I certainly learned that.

SE: There were three woman administrators at Manzanar. Did you find that unusual in that period of time?

LA: No, not particularly, though sometimes people would tell me it was unusual. But, I think that I was a little \_\_\_\_\_ (inaudible)—it was a little unusual for woman for then to be in fairly high administrative positions. People would tell me so sometimes, but I don't think I ever paid much attention to it.

AH: Did you ever feel a bit squeamish about working at Manzanar? That here was a camp in which a lot of people's—

LA: No, never.

AH: You never did?

LA: No.

AH: Did you feel squeamish about working with the Navajos?

LA: No.

AH: So, both of those situations were ones in which you didn't feel any kind of moral uncomfortableness or anything?

LA: No, my moral uncomfortableness at the Japanese one came long after when I could detach my judgment and experience from wartime emotions. I would say that, at the time, I accepted the Japanese relocation as a wartime necessity, unpleasant but a wartime necessity. It wasn't until long afterwards that I came to consider the legality of it and what an un-American act it was. That was long after the actual experience.

AH: Have you continued to have contact with some of the people who were Japanese Americans during the war there in Manzanar? Aside from your friend from Stanford, were there people who were of Japanese American ancestry that you continue to see in different walks of life in the years afterwards?

LA: Well, practically all my life, after that, I spent overseas in different countries.

AH: That's right.

LA: So, I had no—I kept in touch with Kazue Togasaki, my friend from Stanford who was also in Manzanar, but without that, I had no other contact with Japanese people.

SE: Can you tell me when you decided to leave Manzanar?

LA: Well, I decided very early that I wanted to get away from there. I found the total experience constricting, in that, I think I felt very much like the Japanese. I felt so constricted there that I wanted to get away from there.

SE: The overseas job, it was the first job you took after that? The first job after you left Manzanar was the one overseas with UNRRA?

LA: Yes, I went overseas—well, I went in training to go overseas, and then I was employed with the War Relocation Authority in Europe.

AH: You didn't mean the War Relocation Authority? Don't you mean UNRRA?

LA: Yes.

AH: Okay, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Authority.

LA: That's right, UNRRA.

AH: What did you do there? What country did you go to?

LA: Well, I was assigned first to Western Germany and later to Hungary.

AH: What capacity?

LA: Right after the war, I was assigned in Germany on the staff of the U.N. administrator, and I was in charge of welfare.

AH: And how long did you stay with UNRRA?

LA: I first went and served in West Germany and then in Hungary. After that I went overseas to Iran with the Point Four Program.

AH: Didn't you first work for the Navajo Reservation again?

LA: I came for a short time back at the Navajo Reservation, and I was in charge of welfare and job relocation for the Navajos.

AH: And this was about 1946 or '47, right after the war?

LA: That's right.

AH: And, when you were with UNRRA, Bob Brown was working with UNRRA, too. Did you see Bob Brown in Europe?

LA: No, never did.

AH: Okay.

LA: I knew he was overseas, but I didn't run across him.

AH: Did you see Sy Fryer?

[02:10:00]

LA: No, I saw his wife. She, in fact, visited with me, and I just missed Sy over in Beirut. He was living in Beirut then. I saw his wife, but I did not see him because he was off—I can remember quite well—he was off on a conference. Or I was.

AH: Were there a lot of WRA people that went into UNRRA?

LA: No, not many. In fact, very few that I knew of.

AH: So, the ones that we talked about already were pretty much it?

LA: That's right.

AH: And how did you get back into the Navajo job? Who got you that job?

LA: Because after I got back from Europe, I thought I would maybe like to settle down and write for a while, and then John Province called me up from Washington and he said, "Aren't you about ready to work with Indians again?" And I decided, well, why not? So I said, "Okay, what kind of a job?" He told me, and I said, "Okay."

AH: Now, John Province was at the Washington office of the WRA, and he was your boss in Washington, right?

LA: No.

AH: Wasn't he in charge of community analysis? He was an anthropologist who was working for WRA in Washington, and he was in charge of that whole community analysis program, wasn't he?

LA: I knew about it, but I didn't have any contact with him.

AH: Uh-huh.

SE: So, after your employment at the Navajo Reservation, where did you go from there?

LA: I went to work in Iran with the Point Four Program.

AH: What did you do for the Point Four Program?

LA: First of all, I was director of American aid / American assistance in one of the provinces of Iran, Isfahan, up on a wall there. Then I went up to Tehran, and I became a program officer of the AID, Agency for International Development there.

SE: So, you were there quite a while?

LA: Altogether, in Iran I was there about four years. Every two years in Foreign Service, you went back to Washington for a short spell to be reoriented.

SE: And after that, you went to Korea?

LA: And then after two spells in Iran, I went to Korea, and I was program officer there.

AH: What were you a program officer for? What did you do?

LA: I was supposed to work with officials of their administration working out the use of American funds—how it was to be applied with their development. And I found that it was really a stimulating thing, working with high officials in these foreign governments. Some of them much higher officials than I ever worked for in the United States. I mean, to work with Prime Ministers and so on—

AH: What years would that have been about, Lucy? In the late fifties? Was it quite a bit after the Korean War was over?

LA: Oh, yes. After all, it was all part of the General Marshall Plan for the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe. We were part of that, and it was the most rewarding part of it. We were spending American money for what we thought was American interests and the interest of the country we working in.

AH: So, it sounds that you were more comfortable in that job than you were in Manzanar?

LA: Oh, much more comfortable. And then in Korea, I worked out of the office in Washington. I worked in the Philippines and South East Asia on assignments. I worked there until I decided I wanted to come back to California and be with what was left of my family. I was just looking at a bird outside. It has just flown off.

SE: So then, you came back to Los Angeles?

LA: No, I never went back to Los Angeles. I came and settled in Berkley, and then I was attached to the extension division of the University of California. I was in charge of program of changing, training foreign students who were assigned for study in America. My particular field was community development, and I worked on that until it came time to retire.

AH: When did you retire?

LA: When I was seventy. See, I was—

AH: So, in 1968?

SE: No, I have 1970, here.

LA: Nineteen Seventy. You had to retire at seventy there. See, I was employed by the University of California.

AH: Now, you were there at the time when the University of California was going through all of their riots and everything weren't you?

LA: I did. That was really something. I went to some classes there. I took one of my son's classes. Took the examination and everything.

AH: You had two sons. Can you tell us a little bit about your sons and their lives?

LA: The one you met here—

AH: His name was? We'll put it on the tape.

LA: Ernest, he's my eldest son. He's a graduate of Stanford, and his field is philosophy and logic. He's been professor there, and he just retired just last year.

[02:20:20]

AH: Here at the University of California, Santa Cruz?

LA: That's right.

AH: So, he's retired, now?

LA: That's right.

AH: That's why you moved to Santa Cruz, then, because of your son.

LA: That's right. I moved down here because he's been, of course, teaching up in Berkley, but they lived down here. He commuted up to Berkley. (chuckles)

AH: Oh, he actually taught at Berkley, not at Santa Cruz?

LA: No, he taught at Berkley.

AH: And then, what about your other son?

LA: My other son is professor of anthropology at the University of Kentucky.

AH: And he's still working there?

LA: He just retired this last year.

AH: What field of anthropology is he in?

LA: Well, he worked in the Sudan for many years, worked in Egypt as an anthropologist, and then a professor of anthropology at University of Kentucky.

- AH: When your son was here, he said he used to visit Manzanar once in a while. Where were your sons living when you were at Manzanar?
- LA: They were both in college, and on vacations, they'd come down and visited me. And as I mentioned, some of the fellows there would come and ask me if my sons would come and play baseball with them, which they were happy to do.
- AH: Did your sons, either one of them, go with you when you went overseas to Europe or to Korea?
- LA: Well, of course, both boys were in the Navy, so obviously, we were not together. I was busy, and so were they.
- AH: So, was the last time your sons lived with you when you went to Manzanar? Did they grow up in the Navajo reservation with you?
- LA: Oh, yes, they did.
- AH: Oh, so that's why one of them became very interested in anthropology.
- LA: That's right. They both love the Navajo. They grew up there as small boys.
- SE: You've been to a number of country and places overseas. What did you like the best? What country?
- LA: I guess, I very much enjoyed—I wouldn't say enjoy so much—my times in Iran, I found about educational as any. I was there during the downfall of Mosaddegh and our whole intervention in that area. It was my first opportunity to get, more or less, a view of the workings of Arab foreign policy, and I must say, as a student of history, I found it enormously interesting.
- AH: And then you remember, very well, the events that occurred in Iran after you left.
- SE: Do you remember the events that occurred after you left Iran?
- LA: I followed them very closely.
- AH: Have you ever been back to Iran?
- LA: No, I have not. I had a chance one time, but after the Ayatollah overthrew everything, of course, no American would have been tolerated. And, of course, I hated what had happened.
- AH: You never re-married, again.
- LA: No.

AH: So, your work has been your life, really, in the last thirty years.

LA: Yes, uh-huh. It's been a good life.

AH: You haven't lived in one place too long have you? What do you think of as home?

LA: I would say I was a floating U.S. employee.

AH: If somebody asked you, where is your home, what do you think of as home?

LA: Well, I would say California.

AH: And the Sierras?

LA: My particular place in California is the high Sierras.

AH: Have you read Mary Austin?

LA: Indeed, I have. By the way, one of the pleasant associations when I was living in Manzanar—because I rented this house way up in the mountains—and the house I rented up there was next to the one they told me Mary Austin had occupied. I was quite thrilled by it.

AH: Oh, wow. So, you feel a kinship?

LA: Oh, indeed, I did.

AH: When you used to get away from Manzanar, you used to go up there on the weekends. Tell us what you would do on a weekend.

LA: Yes, I went up there on weekends.

AH: And what would you do when you were up there?

LA: Go on hikes, cook, and clean house.

AH: But, you went on hikes?

LA: Oh, yes, I did a lot of hiking.

AH: What did the people in Independence think of you?

LA: Well, they were always curious. I would say they were mainly curious, they wanted to know what we did, what the Japanese—what the feeling was. They always wanted to know whether we were scared of living there. It never seemed very pleasant

because as soon as they knew you were employed there, they'd begin asking you questions.

AH: Bob Brown used to give a lot of talks at the Rotary Club and at the Lyons Club. Did you ever give any talks about Manzanar in Independence or at Lone Pine at different clubs, woman clubs as well as service clubs?

LA: No.

SE: Do you feel that the people in the valley were hostile to the camp itself, other than the Japanese?

LA: I would say they had a very ambivalent feeling—they were hostile because they were Japanese. They were, I won't say friendly, but they were tolerant because it added to the economy of the valley. It made a real contribution. But their feelings against the Japanese was fairly strong. I would say that they were, more or less, typical Californians, a little bit more exaggerated than some.

AH: After all of these years—I woke up this morning, and I thought to myself, fifty years ago, Lucy Adams woke up and she was in Manzanar. And fifty years ago, I thought, Sue was in Manzanar, but she had left a couple of weeks before.

[02:30:12]

LA: Oh, really?

AH: She went back to Wisconsin.

LA: I was going to ask you where you came from.

SE: I lived in Los Angeles.

LA: Oh, did you?

SE: And we were all sent to Manzanar. I went to Madison, Wisconsin, sponsored by the WYCA, and I left in October of '43.

AH: And tell her about your sister, who she worked for.

SE: My sister was the secretary to Mr. Walter Heath. Do you remember him?

LA: Oh, yes. Which camp where you in?

SE: I was in Manzanar.

LA: Why don't I remember you?

SE: I don't know! I worked for the *Free Press*. I worked for Mr. Brown. I remember Mrs. I'll.

AH: So, after all of these years, fifty years, half a century, when you think about Manzanar and you hear about it, what comes to mind? What are the things that are left after all these years to sum it up for you?

LA: Well, it's a very divided feeling. It was the most beautiful place to live, the location there. I started my honeymoon in that valley. And the return to it, just a place to live, it was among the most beautiful places I'd ever lived, and I still feel that. And so, the experiences at Manzanar, it's a very different feeling. It's colored by the feeling I began to have after it was all over that what an un-American, what a terrible thing that we had done. And, of course, during the time—well, when I was there, I never had that feeling. While I was there, I accepted it as a wartime necessity, unpleasant as any other wartime necessity. But, I never had any feeling of moral condemnation, which I began to have much later, and, of course, I still do. But, on the other hand, I understand my feelings at the time that it was a wartime measure. None of us like General Dewitt. (chuckles) We thought his wartime measures which, of course, were much wider than the Japanese, we accepted them as a wartime necessity, and though General Dewitt carried it much too far.

AH: Did you have any contact with military battalion that was stationed next to the camp?

LA: Did I what?

SE: Did you have any contact with military police encampment?

LA: No, never. I saw them up in the guard towers, and when I first went down there, I saw them guarding the—at the time of the riot, I saw them guarding the perimeter of the camp.

AH: Let me ask you a question that is very important. Right now—and your niece is involved in this, too—the national park service is going to restore a portion of Manzanar, and there is a question up in that area as to whether part of the restoration should include a guard tower. If you were in charge of restoring a portion of Manzanar, would you also restore a guard tower? Is that an important part of Manzanar?

LA: As a student of history, I would restore the guard tower. As an ordinary citizen, I would not. (chuckles)

AH: Do you want to explain that a little further? No? (laughs)

AH: Okay. Sue, any further questions?

SE: No, I don't have any other questions.

- AH: I have no other further questions. Do you have anything that you want to talk about that we haven't asked you?
- LA: No, but I am much interested in your whole oral history project or whatever you call it. The whole idea of making oral history a valid and valuable part of history, I like that very much.
- AH: Did you ever visit the oral history office at Berkley?
- LA: Never did.
- AH: Because they did a *big* oral history project with Ansel Adams, too and Dorothea Lange.
- LA: Of course, I knew Dorothea very well.
- AH: Oh, you did?
- LA: She came, at my request. Her husband—
- AH: This is Paul Taylor.
- LA: Yes. I asked him to come to Korea and take part in a seminar that we were organizing, so of course, I've known him for a long time. When he came, he brought Dorothea Lange with him, and I got a lot of pleasure watching Dorothea Lange take pictures there. I never saw anybody do it the way she did.
- AH: She worked differently from Ansel Adams.
- LA: Yes!
- AH: Well, you know the two most famous photographers that were associated with the evacuation.
- LA: No, except for Ansel Adams, but, of course, he had nothing to do with the evacuation.
- AH: Yeah, but I mean, he took pictures during the war. I don't mean the actual evacuation. I mean, the five year period when they had the camps. He took photos at Manzanar.
- LA: I know. As I said, we enjoyed his one week visit there very much.
- AH: Last year, at UCLA, they had an exhibit of Ansel Adams photos of Manzanar, and the Dorothea Lange photos of the time when the people were put in the assembly centers. And she came to Manzanar for a little while before you came, before you were there,

and took some pictures, and they had the two of them do exhibits at the same time. It was called *Two Views of Manzanar*. It was a very nice exhibit.

LA: In fact, I didn't know until recently that she had been in Manzanar.

AH: Well, okay. I thank you very, very much for allowing us to come up here and to interview you. And we appreciate it extremely a lot. I've read a lot of things by you over the years in the records, but this is the first time—and to tell you the truth, I didn't know where you were, and I didn't know you were still alive, really.

LA: At ninety-five, you can't be sure. (chuckles)

AH: I was delighted when your niece called and left a message and said, "My aunt is a high ranking official at Manzanar and can be interviewed." And then, I knew right away, it must be Lucy Adams. Either Lucy Adams or Margaret D'Ille or Genevieve Carter, and it turned out to be you. So, we were very happy that it was, so thank you very much

SE: Thank you.

LA: My pleasure.

END OF INTERVIEW