

J 5/1/45 Tuesday

1. Visit to Minidoka

Before I left Minidoka I have been saying that I would return occasionally for a visit. Dorothy believes that I should return once before school begins in July. Since George Sabagh wants me to go along with him on a field trip to the Sacramento area and I want to go along, I have to leave here around the end of the month. Father Joe has written to ask me to hurry up with my visit because Tom Ogawa will be leaving soon and he is thinking of going back to Seattle for another visit soon. I discussed the matter with Dorothy and Dick, and we decided finally that I should leave on May 28 and return on June 17. Dick thought that I should stay at least two weeks in the center to give me time to become accustomed to the atmosphere of the camp again.

2. Frank's Report on Tule Lake

When I came in March, Dorothy said that I should wait until Frank's report on Tule Lake came in on April 1, the deadline set for him. Consequently, I started to write the material on center liquidation to pass the time away. Now that I have finished that, I'm ready to tackle something else, except that I still have to wait for Frank to put on the finishing touches to his report. Word has come through that he hopes to have it done by May 1, but there was nothing in the mail today. There are a lot of things that I could be doing, but I'd certainly be glad to get on with the main report because I can see that it's going to take a long time to complete.

3. My Career

I discussed my future career with Dick, and asked him whether it was wise to go ahead for a teaching career in Japanese culture and language and not bother about getting a degree, and he said that it would be a very wise thing to do. Dorothy said that she was glad that Dick confirmed what she thought was best for me. I've been thinking, too, that this would be the best thing to do. Dorothy said that she would call up Howie to see what he could do for me. The other person that she thought that I should see was Lessing of the Oriental Language Department.



J 5/4/45 Friday

1. Lowie

Kept my appointment with Lowie that Dorothy made for me. I had some difficulty finding the anthropology building. I came very close to it and decided that it couldn't be the warehouse-like structure that I saw. I later ran into a man with a beard and a briefcase, who showed me where the building was. He went into the building himself, and seems to have been Kroeber himself.

Lowie was very polite, but he suggested that I see Kroeber because Oriental culture was more in his line. He suggested that I might take the course on Eastern culture and a general course on anthropology. I asked him about the research work in Japanese history that he had suggested in an article that he wrote, and he said that he was afraid that the appropriate literature for such a study would not be available in this country.

I asked Lowie the difference between the anthropological approach--he said that there was such a thing--and the sociological. He replied that anthropology viewed matters from the viewpoint of mankind as a whole and took into consideration all human phenomena, while the sociological point of view was largely limited to western culture.

2. Rent

On the first I went in to pay my rent. The lady at the desk pleasantly asked how I liked the room. I said I liked it very much. She told me that the rent had been reduced five dollars, so that we have to pay only \$35 for the apartment.

3. Rumor about War End



J 5/5/45 Saturday

## 1. Methodology

Dorothy and Dick had a conversation last night on methodology. It was pointed out that studies of various centers may not be comparable. At Tule Lake the Nisei point of view was emphasized. In Poston the Issei point of view only is gathered. It may be feasible to assume, Dorothy said, that all of the centers are comparable in a general way, although this will have to be checked. If this is so, we can write reports without particular reference to the center under study, again quoting Dorothy. But individual reports must be written first. I was thinking of making some short-cuts by making out a comprehensive outline based on the summaries that I am writing.

Dorothy also suggest that I start my report with registration and carry it through segregation because I had some good material on the comparison of attitudes of individuals in the two events.

## 2. Rumor of War End

Several days ago the AP carried the story that the war was over, and President Truman had to issue a denial. Eisenhower has announced that no V-E announcement would be made unless the last enemy pocket of resistance is cleared. Hattie had one false alarm when some teacher announced the surrender of forces in Italy as a general surrender.

Yesterday Dick heard from someone that the war was over. I went upstairs and asked Mrs. Wilson whether she knew anything about it. She didn't. Dorothy was consulted, and she said that she was disgusted about all the excitement over V-E Day because it wouldn't be the end of the war. Not by a long shot. But she advised Mrs. Wilson to call up the telephone operator. Mrs. Wilson had what seemed to be a lengthy conversation with the operator, and then announced that Eisenhower was going to make an announcement tomorrow morning at 8 a.m. We decided that he was going to announce the end of the war in Europe, and I began to think that Hattie and I wouldn't be able to do our shopping as we had planned.

This morning no such news came over the radio. I took a look at the morning Chronicle and spotted the error. Yesterday Eisenhower had announced the surrender of German troops in Holland and Northern Germany, and this surrender was to take effect 8 a.m. this morning.



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### 3. Kido on JACL Chapter Organization

I received a card from the JACL inviting me, my family and friends to a meeting to hear from Kido, the national president of the JACL. Dorothy advised me to cover the meeting, for which I was allowed to use the university car. Hattie and I did not mind the trip over to the City (Dorothy says that I mustn't say "Frisco") because we <sup>were</sup> able to eat a very good Chinese dinner in Chinatown for less than \$3 including tips.

The meeting was not announced as one to discuss the possibility of organizing a chapter, but Kido in his talk laid the groundwork for this possibility. The meeting was attended by 35 or so people, half of whom were Caucasians. Since the meeting was held in the International Institute Building, where the JACL evidently has its office, I presume that many of the Caucasians were connected with the Institute. Of the Nisei present the majority were Nisei girls, apparently working, in their twenties. There were a few Nisei in uniform in the group. Kenji Ito and Kay Hamatani drove out from Sacramento for the occasion.

Anna Clo Watson of the Institute introduced Kido, praising him as a very valuable man. Kido spoke from about 9.30 to past 11 in a somewhat drowsy manner. He reviewed the position of the JACL from the time of evacuation, and stated its present position. The National Office was considering the possibility of liquidating if it could not get more support from the Japanese. It did not feel that it could represent the Nisei without their support. If this were so, they were willing to go back to the old basis of being only a series of fraternal organizations. He asked for an organization of a chapter in San Francisco to help returning evacuees. All through his speech he defended the actions of the JACL, and kept harping on the unpopularity of the organization, especially among the people in the center. He assumed that when they relocated their attitude toward the JACL would change. At the end of the meeting Caucasians asked why JACL was so unpopular, and Kido's explanation was that the organization was being blamed for evacuation itself and even for internment of aliens. He did not give a full account of the nature of the antagonism against the JACL. (He gave indications of really not knowing the nature and extent of opposition to the JACL.)

The following are longhand (and in parts shorthand) notes of the important points that Kido made during his talk. Toward the end the notes are sketchy.



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"...On January, 1941, we had a meeting with the International Institute to discuss what they could do for Japanese Americans in the event of a war...On February, 1941 we had another meeting, and the same question was brought up....The Institute has been working for our interest. We are grateful for their hospitality. We always have a place to come back to. For that matter, I still have my stuff in the basement (laughter).

"I'd like to make a report, assuming you are all members. When we left S. F., we didn't expect to meet again during the war. I remember that we had a farewell meeting at the Golden Gate Institute and had a bawling party. We didn't know what was going to happen. Being ~~xxxx~~ able to meet again makes us feel glad. I am hoping that the experience we went through will be of help to us.

"I have been called a perennial optimist. I call myself a fatalist. I take things as they come.

meaning?  
"After the meeting at the Golden Gate Institute we had a meeting arranged by ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Eisenhower to discuss relocation center problems. Nine people were brought together for the national office. We made our recommendations. We decided that a national secretary should move out of S. F. and carry on the message of the injustice of evacuation. It was not easy. It required courage to go eastward. We ran the risk of being arrested at any point. Mike Masaoka and George Inagaki went to Cleveland, New Orleans, Washington, and New York City. They found that the pulse of the nation generated from New York City and Washington. If we had known that we might have been able to accomplish more. We were naive in those days. We laughed at the possibility of evacuation. We were told that our expenses would be paid to Washington because evacuation of citizens was coming. We were wrong.

"It was hard to make contacts with people in Washington. ~~xx~~ Mike had some contacts--Thomas and Murdock. They gave him backing for entree to Washington. Eisenhower was friendly. There were reports from JACL members in Manzanar that conditions there were bad. Col. \_\_\_\_\_ made a special trip in a airplane to look into the matter. JACL tried to help. (Shorthand notes from here) Myer says that if it had not been for the JACL, the WRA would have made many more mistakes than it did. We may have made errors in recommendation. Today I think anyone cannot doubt the sincerity of the JACL of the ~~JACL~~ in representing the cause of the Japanese. Many of the decisions we've had to make were unpopular. There are things we have ~~xx~~ had to decide on the merits of the principle--not the immediate popularity. I say frankly to you people, if ~~xxxx~~ your JACL leaders had intended to be popular organization, we knew what we had to do. We knew what the people in the relocation center wanted. On the other hand, we had to think of the welfare of the 130,000



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people. What would be the best for years to come. All those decisions had to be based on that principle. Consequently, although we didn't favor the segregation ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~, we supported the War Department in the volunteering. We supported the draft also because we felt that as long as that stigma remained with us, if it were not removed during the war, we would be ~~XXXXXX~~ forever branded. It was not an easy decision to make because you and I knew that if the draft came ~~in~~ many of our immediate members of the family would die on the battlefield. Many knew that it would wreck many homes. But if we looked into the future of the Japanese Americans, we knew that the only recommendation we could make was that the 4-C classification be removed and Nisei be accepted in the Armed Forces and fight in an hour of need. It was an unpopular decision, and we knew it.

"As far as resettlement is concerned, that is another unpopular issue in the relocation center. You and I knew that is no place for our own brothers and sisters. Our parents were enjoying a good vacation. But we all knew that eventually the morale of our people was going down. If old folks don't start working, they're going to be wards of the Government. People in the centers are having a good time. On the outside we have Japanese people working on the railroad--even 77 years old. They falsify their age and say they're 65 and continue working. They don't want to be ~~a~~ on federal relief. That spirit won't prevail if people remain in the center for any length of time. We know they are enjoying the life in the center. They get used to the discomfort. So if we supported the resettlement program, we knew that we were going to be unpopular. The majority of the people are in the centers.

(Longhand notes again) "I'm sorry we have to put you under pressure. I'm glad that you got out before the heat became too hot. Some of us didn't get out in time, you know.

"JACL has the respect of government agencies to help them. However, we have lost the main thing we should have--the support of our people. Before Pearl Harbor JACL had a membership of 6,000. After the war broke out we had about 10,000. Prior to evacuation we had close to 20,000 members. We had 66 chapters, 53 of which were evacuated. Today there are only about 3,000 members. This does not include our Caucasian friends--we have about 800 financial contributors. ~~XXXXXX~~

"We have been blamed for not doing this and that. We had only \$3000 at the time of evacuation, and only one Executive Secretary. A budget of \$26,000 was drawn up. Nine people promised to work for \$75 a month. They accepted this gladly to sacrifice for people in the centers. Living costs rose. I suggested that the remunerations be raised to \$100. ~~in~~ March, 1943, it was again raised to \$125. Today



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our highest pay is \$150. It is not enough. That is the reason we appeal to you as members, to give stronger support than before. We have plenty to do. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
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"Our main work was with American public. But we cannot work without support from our own people. 50 per cent of our time must now be devoted to educating our own people. JACL is the only national Japanese organization. Unless we have membership we cannot speak for them. Some one ~~sent~~ from Minidoka asked the JACL to ask for fairer treatment from the WRA in the closing of the centers. I pointed out that we have only 500 members in the centers. We are not in a position to speak for the people.

"We were fortunate to have several chapters in the Inter-Mountain area. They were excused from contributing to the \$26,000 budget, but they pledged to raise \$10,000 the first year, \$5000 the second year, and another \$5000 in 1945. Without their help I doubt that we could have continued. We almost went out of business once. I was teaching Japanese. We had only \$1000 in our treasury in the form of a war bond. Our staff members had not been paid for a month. It's a credit to the members that they stuck on their jobs. Delegates from various chapters decided that they would support the national office with \$5000. ~~XXXXX~~  
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"Today we have offices in New York City, Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City. We are receiving special dispensation from several organizations. Carnegie Institute, \$5000; Columbia Foundation \$1000; Bailey \$500; Field \$500. We sent out 2200 letters to Caucasian friends, and received 5000 contributions. In all last year we received close to \$12,000.

"The San Francisco Chapter gave us \$4000 at the time of evacuation, and we feel justified in opening a chapter here ahead of other places on the Coast. S. F. has been our strongest backer. The next place is Seattle. They gave us \$3000. Our weak spot has been Southern California. It is a key point, and we are sending Joe Masaoka to open another office.

"Frankly we are operating on a shoe-string. We feel we should do something to help our people. We cannot continue all of our offices on our present budget. Colorado has pledged \$5000 with the understanding that the office in Denver will be kept opened. The Chicago office would have had to be closed, too, but the Chicago people felt that the office was giving good service. They have pledged to raise a fund.

"We have branched out into new fields. Yotabe and Yoshino toured the East Coast to show what Nisei were like. In getting speaking engagement, they had difficulty. When they appeared, people tried to keep them there. We had difficulty



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in getting sponsorship. We spent \$1300, and now have many offers now. Dr. Yatabe is now touring the Middle West, but we cannot ask Miss Yoshino to accompany him/ because of lack of fund.

"We also sponsored Pfc. Higa to allay the worries of Issei parents. We knew that rumors that Nisei went first, then Negroes followed, and the white soldiers came last were false. The boys volunteered to show their willingness to die for their country. The 100th Battalion often covered the attacks of Caucasian soldiers. Issei wanted to conceal the fact that Nisei were fighting. We felt they should be given moral encouragement. Also ~~xxxxxx~~ help to Nisei who were being reassured from all sides on the draft issue. We exploited the fact of the 1000 ~~xxx~~ Purple Hearts. Some of soldiers of the 100th Battalion didn't like it, but I think they realize that their sacrifice has greater significance now--not for the Japanese in Hawaii alone. We are going to sponsor an officer of the 100th Battalion. He had an experience with a major on a ship who told him that no Jap was loyal. He realized that merely fighting was not sufficient.

"We have also participated in test cases. Our cooperation with the Army was the best step possible. Opposition to evacuation at the time would have meant bloodshed. We wouldn't be here now if that had happened. We spent \$4000 on a brief for the Yasui-Hirabayashi Case. On the Korematsu Case we spent \$1500, and Wirin gave us his time. Test cases are expensive. I'm going to Portland to study the new law in Oregon. We sponsored the Oohikubo Case. We forced the hand of the government on "military necessity." According to a letter by the Solicitor-General the Army decided to have an orderly return to the Coast rather than disorder when the court decision was made. You members had an important hand in the revocation of the ban.

"When I visited Chicago, it was considered wrong for more than 6 Nisei to gather...if JACL is to have any role, it must have chapters. There are many people who are willing to ~~help~~ help if we can make the contacts. People now are willing to pay dues, since the lifting of the ban. Appeal by mail is not sufficient....

"The only way to find out is to make a drive for membership. The JACL is not a lost cause as far as organization is concerned. We can place responsibility on the officers of the chapters. We would not have to repeat the same thing as we had in the Middle West. So far as we are concerned, we feel that this year is the big work of the JACL, since people are being forced out of the relocation centers.... It is time to decide whether JACL is going to continue as a national organization ~~xx~~ or as local fraternal organizations. If we cannot have sufficient support, then we must curtail our activities. Maybe some of us will feel that our

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contribution is not enough. Maybe this will be a good thing, but we all know that once an organization ceases ~~its~~ its activities, it is difficult to once again open its door. ~~xxxxxx~~...

"We have been blamed for not trying to contact the relocation center people, that we were wrong for not asking for their financial aid. I wrote to all of the Community Councils asking for their support. One center replied that we were the ~~xxxx~~ ones who put Issei in internment camps....

"The charter has been amended to make it possible for ten, instead of 25, persons to start a chapter....We are opening the JACL to our non-Japanese friends. We feel that there should be no barrier if they wish to help us. Caucasians ~~xxx~~ have objected to our not having Issei as members. I think they realize the difficult role of the JACL, and the advantage of having a citizen's organization. We were investigated and were able to withstand all that pressure because of it. Today we feel that we may be able to take a chance. It would have been difficult for us before the ban was lifted. That is the general picture of the JACL."

The rest of the evening was spent in answering questions from the floor. Caucasians did all of the ~~xxxxxx~~ asking of questions and commenting on what Kido had said. The most persistent question asked was why JACL was unpopular and what the nature of the antagonism was. Kido's answer was that people blamed the JACL for such things as having caused evacuation and having been responsible for turning Issei in to the FBI. A man, for instance, told him this to his face. Kido asked for more evidence. The man gave a list of three names, all of whom turned out to be Issei, and therefore could not be JACL members. If there were any subversive activity going on, he said, he would have turned them in, but JACL was accused falsely of having done this. (Hattie and I agreed that this charge was ~~xx~~ made, but not made a big issue among Issei. They accused other Issei more of turning people in to the F.B.I. E.g. the Four H's of Seattle.)

Kido explained that people were willing to subscribe to the Pacific Citizen, but were not willing to become members. They did not give the JACL credit for the paper, which they considered a good one.

Instead of clarifying the antagonism against the JACL, he stated that a general membership drive was going to be carried on to see if the people really wanted the JACL to represent them. He was inclined to believe that since the lifting of the ban, the attitude of people had changed toward the JACL. Also, when they came out of the centers, they offered to pay their back dues. \$150 a month, he said, was not enough. The workers could receive more elsewhere, and even a janitor received more than they did. And so did the O.W.I. people.



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The manner in which Kido kept apologizing for the actions of the JACL was pathetic. He made the statement that he viewed the matter in this way: Somebody had to be the scapegoat, and it might as well have been the JACL. Watson defended the JACL, by saying that there was no sense in crying over spilled milk. Bygones <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ bygones. It was the fault of the Caucasian groups for not being better organized to fight evacuation. The important thing was, what were they going to do from now.

Dave McIntyre of the Inter-Racial Committee stated that he agreed with Kido that an organization of the Japanese people was valuable as a rallying point for their Caucasian friends. The opposition was organizing, and it was necessary to organize to fight the opposition.

Another Caucasian kept repeating that an organization like the JACL was valuable in fighting for the people, but could not seem to understand why the JACL was not more popular than it was. He could not satisfy, also, his curiosity as to the nature of the antagonism engendered by the JACL.

After the meeting tea was served. Nicky Sawada came up and introduced herself. She's from Boston, and is now working for the WRA. She made a wry face when I referred to Kido's speech, and said that Dick hadn't missed a thing.

I went up to Mrs. Watson and introduced myself and Hattie, and said that I was working for Dr. Thomas. Her comment was that we had an interesting work going on "over there." I said that the JACL couldn't help itself because everybody was so much on the defensive. She agreed. I said the same thing to Kido. He didn't remember me until I told him who I was. He said that he wanted to have the members know just ~~where~~ how matters stood before they started reorganization.



4. Kay Hamatani on Resettlement

I came to know Kay through Tulean gatherings in Minidoka. I was going to hop a ride from him coming out to the Coast, but he was delayed in the hospital with an ear ache. He and Kenji Ito came out to Sacramento together the middle of April. Both of them were staying in a motel, and do not have permanent housing, yet. Kay has a farm in Courtland, and intends to return to it when the present crops are harvested in July. I asked him how things were in that area. He said that about 104 evacuees were back in the area. It's wasn't too bright now, especially since the case--referring to the Doi Case. Caucasians were now wary, he said, of dealing with evacuees.

5. Kenji Ito on Return

Kenji Ito evidently finds himself more at home with among Californians. He said that he intended to take the bar examination soon, which is going to cost him \$300. He said that he expected Dr. Ichihashi back in Stanford, but thought that he didn't come back because he didn't receive a reply to a wire that he had sent. Evidently he's keeping his contact with the professor (See segregation program in Tule Lake). According to Hattie, Ito looks more calm and friendly than he was in Tule Lake as a block manager.

6. Kenji Ito on Minidoka

I asked Kenji Ito what he thought was the difference between Tule Lake and Minidoka if there were any. He thought a while and said: "The people from the Northwest are more docile."

That seems to put the situation in a nutshell.

7. Nicky and Kay on Housing

Both Nicky Sawada and Kay Tsuchiya (?) are working for the WRA in San Francisco. Nicky said that she was working for her room and board, and Kay had only found a satisfactory ~~xxxxxx~~ boarding house, after having been turned down at one place. It was interesting that the WRA wasn't able to find housing for even its own workers. I drove them down to the CIO canteen. What's going on, anyway?

8. Whitmore on Housing

I spoke to a Mr. Whitmore, who handled temporary housing in San Francisco. He said that he had handled about a dozen people, putting them up in houses of friends for a while. I asked him whether it was advisable for a family to come out without making previous arrangements for housing. He said that he definitely advised against it. A family had difficulty



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buying a house because of the prejudice of the real estate agent. One deal ~~went~~<sup>fell</sup> through, and he was able to get another one by using the name of a Caucasian, he thought.



J 5/7/45 Monday

1. Brownscombe on JACL

Brownscombe is taking up farm management and working for the Northern California Council of Churches at the same time. I met him at the JACL meeting on Saturday, and ran into him in the hall of Giannini ~~Bank~~ today. I remarked that Kido was on the defensive that evening. That set us off in the same direction. He said:

"I went to the meeting prepared to become a JACL member. I wasn't sure whether a Caucasian could become a member or not. I wanted to join not only to give financial support, but also to give membership support because I thought that it was a good cause. But after I heard Kido that evening, I wondered whether it wasn't a good idea to wait. I think he gave the best presentation that he could for the organization dissolving itself. Is it really as bad as he made it out to be? If it is, I'd pull out if I were in his shoe. They ought to have a democratic election, and let the right person take over."

We discussed the shortcomings of the JACL, and I pointed out that it had upheld Myer's program of liquidation of the centers. He agreed that almost everyone else was opposed to it. He remarked that Kido comes from a conservative lawyer's tradition, and conflicted with the more liberal point of view.

2. Brownscombe on Myer

I brought in Myer into the conversation and remarked that he convinced people that his program was sound. Brownscombe said that he ~~was~~ was in a meeting with Myer, and he got the same impression. He had to get hold of himself, he said, and ask what Myer was actually saying. He concluded that Myer's talk was like the talk of a coach of a losing team just before a big game with the strongest opponent. It was a lost cause, but he was trying to convince the players that it wasn't.



J 5/10/45 Wednesday

1. Discussion of Course with Kroeber

Yesterday I kept my appointment with Kroeber to discuss my studies with him. Dorothy advised me to be a little persistent, if necessary, to get him to sponsor my studies in the culture field. He was dictating a letter to his secretary, pacing the floor back and forth in an important manner. He asked me in, and asked about my background. I gave him a background of my studies in Japan, in the University, and my connection with the Study. He wanted to know whether I was doing the same sort of thing as Hamkey. Then he wanted to know whether my real interest was in psychology, and if so in what phase of it. I told him that my interest in psychology was in social psychology. He commented that he believed that the sociological or social phase of the study would be of more general value to me in any study of Oriental culture. However, he said that he could not take me on as a student because all of his material on Japan was secondary, and he would not be able to guide me in the reading of documents in Japanese. He suggested that I go over to the Oriental Language Department and see what they thought of my taking up studies in culture as well as in language. He called up the Oriental Language office, and said that he was sending me over there. I asked him about the possibility of taking courses of special study under him without reference to a degree. He said that he would be willing to do so, but emphatically stated that if I was going into an academic career I should get a degree.

2. Discussion of Course with Boodberg

This morning I went to see Boodberg and had a profitable (I thought) discussion with him. I gave him an account of my background, and in my interest in going into the study of Oriental language and culture because of the lack of competition in the field for me. He started out by giving me the philosophy of the University with regards to departmentalization. At Stanford and Washington, he said, they were offering courses in Oriental studies. Here at U.C. they believed in departmentalization. Any one person who made a study of Oriental culture would have to have his work evaluated by existing disciplines--history, anthropology, sociology, etc. Competence on a higher level, therefore, could not be expected of an individual who tried to study all aspects of a culture. It was impossible, although a person could attempt to show superficial brilliance in a number of fields. Therefore, they preferred to have the separate departments send their experts to study the particular culture in question. On the other hand, there was the tendency to coordinate a number of subjects in a field on the junior college level. If I were interested in teaching in this lower level, then becoming a jack-of-all-trade would be justified. However, this did not mean that I would have little competition because interest in this field had been recently aroused. On the other hand, it was just as possible for me to utilize my Japanese language in



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a field of my choice. This interest would fall within sociology, he thought, than anthropology. He said that anthropology was at a crossroad, after having exhausted the study of primitive people. They were now beginning to encroach upon the study of the modern or higher civilizations. He defended the historical point of view, saying that the material was more cold, but at the same time less likely to be biased. While an event was taking he did not think that it could be studied without bias. History did not begin, in his opinion, until 70 years have passed, meaning when most of the participants have died. History had to its advantage the perspective gained with the passage of time. He thought that I would only be sidetracked by going into the Oriental Language Department. However, he was willing to help me with the selection of documents in the Japanese language and supervision in the handling of the language.

That about leaves me just about where I started from. The crucial question now is whether I am going to work for a degree or not, since neither the anthropology department nor the Oriental Language Department is willing to sponsor my program. I'll have to see Dorothy once more or perhaps look into other schools.



J 5/10/45 Thursday

1. Dorothy on My Course

I told Dorothy what Boodberg had said, and asked her what the possibility of going into sociology was. She said that there were none at the present time because I couldn't get any instruction here. The only student that she has taken was George Sabagh, because he had some background work elsewhere. She thought that Boodberg was wrong, and that I was on the right track. She thought that it wasn't a bad thing for me to aim for a junior college level position. She called up Mah of the <sup>Political Sci.</sup> ~~History~~ Department, but learned that he was in Los Angeles now. She is now thinking of contacting the history department.

I "stewed" over the matter yesterday and didn't get any work done. Boodberg seems to be right in certain respects--a person can't be expected to become an expert in history, economics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, language, literature, etc., even of a limited sphere. Even language alone would require a great deal of specialized study. On the other hand, I am not asking to become a historian, a economist, etc. I want to study the behavior of a group of people from somewhat in the way that sociologists and anthropologists study them as a group. The historian does about the same thing, it seems to me, except that he lays emphasis on the chronological organization of the material, tracing the sequence of events and various developments. The economic phase of the people can certainly be studied without being an economist. I have some background in the language, and at the moment I need not consider it more than as a tool which I and others would need to understand the culture under study. Specifically what I want to do is to bring available knowledge about the Japanese people and organize it in an intelligible manner. This would include at least the following:

1. History of the Japanese people.
2. Cultural aspects (customs, mores, religion, etc.)
3. Social aspects (Social structure, etc.)
4. Economic aspects
5. Political aspects

Of special interest would be the impact of western civilization on the Japanese people. The war has also presented the problem of impact of the postwar period on the people of Japan. These developments is of considerable importance to the maintenance of future peace

2. Naval Officer on the Japanese

M. is in his early thirties (?), married, and intelligent. He was an instructor here at the University before the war. He, D.S., Dick and myself discussed the Japanese people with him. The conversation was lively, and raised many questions which could not be answered. Above all, it



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raised the questions: what are the Japanese really like?  
How can the future peace in Asia be assured?

M.'s concept of the Japanese can be summed up in the following manner:

1. They are cruel. They kill women and children. The story of the rape of Nanking is true. That was the first time ~~that~~ in 1000 years that an organized army was turned loose on civilians. They waste their energies on such atrocities, which is poor military tactics. They lost the Philippines because of that. The people resisted Japanese occupation throughout, and had an organized army ready when we stepped ashore.

2. They are religiously fanatical. They'll fight on even if they know it is hopeless. They make futile charges in order to erase the stigma of defeat. They keep diaries (giving away regiment secrets), stating that they are sorry they inconveniencing the emperor by dying. The officer and the soldier all write the same tripe. They're paranoid. They believe that when they die they are going to join their ancestors in heaven.

3. Their values are greatly different from ours. They don't value the life of an individual, for instance. Everyone subordinates himself to something greater than himself. If he is ordered to crash into a ship, he does so. An American soldier won't do it. He'll just laugh at the officer. But if he's asked to undertake a dangerous mission, he'll probably undertake it. He'll crash into a ship only when he knows that the situation is absolutely hopeless. We don't like war. Most naval reserve officers don't want to become regular officers, even though it means security for life. We don't like to have someone tell us what to do all of the time. They seem to enjoy war. It is true of the officers as well as the soldiers. If we love our values, then we must defend them.

4. The war should be prosecuted to the very end. That's the only language they'll understand. If they learn that starting a war means sticking a bayonet into his belly and not into someone's else's, then they won't try it. They should be defeated utterly.

5. They should be disarmed and broken as a military power. It can be done. It means doing away with their heavy industries. It may also mean keeping them weak as an economic power.

He also added that he thought that the war in the Pacific was going to last longer than most civilians thought. He did not agree with Dick that it would end in September. They have fought to the last man until



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now, and are still fighting even on Saipan.

*Japanese (?)* Dorothy said that she was depressed after she heard M. talk. Here, an intelligent university man talking in this manner. She wondered whether most of the fighting men were going to come back and talk like that. She tried to counteract some of M's statements by pointing out that the Germans were just as cruel. M's reply was that the ~~Germans~~ were different from the Anglo-Saxons. She also questioned whether wartime behavior and peacetime behavior were the same, but admitted that she had little knowledge of the Japanese people before the war. She doubted the wisdom of proclaiming nationalism for America alone, and made the statement that it was only a matter of might makes right. One question that both Dorothy and I raised was how a strong resentment on the part of the beaten nations was going to be avoided. There was no answer to this question.

Dick proposed that the young people of Japan be re-educated to hold similar values as other people (especially with regards to nationalism). He said that a long-range program could accomplish this aim. This would enable Japan discuss matters with other nations more sensibly.

I doubted the wisdom of attempting to change a group of people. M. thought that talking of changing people was foolish. Dorothy thought that by and large the culture should be let alone, but agreed with Dick that a weakening of family control over the individualx was desirable.



J 5/18/45 Friday

1. Nicky's Housing Problem

Nicky, 22, from Poston is working as a secretary for a WRA office in San Francisco, but is having difficulty finding housing. According to Dick, she belonged to Jimmy Yamada's group, and is very extroverted. She has tried to get decent housing for herself, but has ended up by doing housework for room and board. She has had one offer to live in a place where eleven persons shared the kitchen, but she turned it down. Dick and Dorothy have suggested that she stay with Mrs. Macfarlane, who let Hattie and myself stay temporarily. It was discovered that Mrs. Macfarlane had made other arrangements for the room, but consented to let Nicky stay there for a month. She'll have to commute to San Francisco, but that is a better arrangement, it seems, than doing domestic work. During that one month period Nicky will have to find a more permanent place to stay. Whether she is going to succeed or not is open to question.

2. Mrs. Stansilowski on Housing

Mrs. Stansilowski, Chairman of the Resettlement Committee of the Inter-racial Committee of Berkeley, wrote a letter to Ickes, along with others who protested against the unrealistic nature of the closure program (e.g. Mrs. Kingman of the Fair Play Committee), pointing out the housing difficulty in the Bay Area and the need for housing. She cited two cases in her letter. Recently she received a letter from Myer, telling her that her two cases were probably exceptions and that anyone with some effort should be able to find housing. At any rate, the WRA was not in a position to offer housing to evacuees. Mrs. Stansilowski is now anxious to write a more convincing letter to Washington, showing how desperate the housing situation is. She already knew of my troubles with the real estate agent and also of Nicky's difficulties, and called up Dorothy about including them in her letter. Dorothy called up Nicky, and she asked that it not be mentioned that she was working for the WRA. Dorothy asked that the Study not be mentioned either. According to Mrs. Stansilowski, Yamashita, who runs the hostel in Oakland, has a list of people who had to return to camp because of lack of housing. Also, those who are staying at the hostel ~~know~~ are having difficulty getting a place to move into.

3. Rosalie Banished from Tule Lake

Last Saturday Province, head of the Community Management Section of the WRA in Washington, dropped in to inform Dorothy that Myer was insistent that Rosalie leave Tule Lake immediately. Her letters to Y. in Santa Fe were intercepted, Province said, and she was accused of inciting him to agitate. She was accused also of being an "anarchist"



and potentially subversive. (The bases for these charges are not known.) She was accused of having participated in some of the services of the super-duper-patriots in Tule Lake, (Rosalie claims that she was merely observing what went on. After all, that was her task.) Provinse also revealed that Rosalie's correspondence with Burling was known and disapproved. The implication was that Rosalie was inciting the Justice Department against the WRA. Dorothy thought that Rosalie's private life was of no concern to the WRA, but didn't argue about the matter because they WRA had good reasons for asking her to leave Tule Lake. She suspected, however, that the latter incident had as much to do with Myer's insistence as the former. K

Rosalie returned on Tuesday, and has accepted her expulsion gracefully enough. She has all the data that she needs, we agreed. She was warned that she must not raise her voice and shout while she is in the building, and she has agreed to this. She is concentrating her energy into whipping her report into shape. She is writing her second draft, and is getting profuse criticism from both Dick and Dorothy. The main criticism is that the method of organization does not emphasize the important threads and connection between various threads. We all agree that Rosalie's task is very difficult because of the intricate nature of the political situation in post-segregation Tule Lake.

#### 4. Provinse on Return

Dorothy and I discussed with Provinse the possibility of closing out the centers. Provinse said that it could be done, and that no one would be left in the centers by the end of the year. Dorothy insisted that it would not be possible, and was willing to lay down a bet. Dorothy and I pointed out first of all the housing difficulty. I cited Tuttle's case, Nicky's case, my own case, and others. Provinse merely said that thousands of people were coming to California and others were leaving, and there were no reasons why evacuees could not come back, too. I asked about the welfare grants being handled by state and county agencies. Provinse said that California was not cooperating yet, but the other states were. I asked what would happen if a person had to return to his hometown to qualify for a welfare grant, but no housing was available. Provinse said that the matter could be worked out, even if the WRA has to handle the grants by itself. After all, it was furnishing the money for these grants.

#### 5. Frank's Tule Lake Report

I have just read through Frank's Tule Lake Report, except the registration section, and realize part of the difficulty that Frank was having. Frank, in his report, tried to explain almost exactly what went on in the minds of the participants which brought about the various events.



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Unfortunately, in the very early days in Tule Lake we failed to get an abundance of this type of material. The gaps are large and obvious. In spite of this handicap Frank has gone ahead and built up elaborate explanations. While most of them are apparently sound, some of them do not have sufficient supporting data, and in a few instances he seems to miss the mark.

This brings up the question of theorist v.s. empiricist, which Dorothy illustrates by pointing out the difference between Charlie, on the one hand, and Frank and Tom on the other. Charlie feels that he is not capable of doing any analyzing, and is frightened by Frank and Tom's ability in this direction. Charlie would be happiest if he were allowed to go on collecting case histories forever. Both Frank and Tom, on the other hand, are apt to conceptualize material according to the theories they have learned. Dorothy believes that a happy medium is desirable.

Just offhand, the lesson seems to be that conceptualization and explanation should be based on supporting data. Since there are many gaps in the data, it follows that complete explanation of many of the events is not possible. Without supporting data an explanation can only be hypothetical.

I discussed the matter of reliability of data with Kuznets, statistician. He wondered how we could be sure that our data was reliable. Since an observer was biased in some way, especially if he were a participant, how could his data be taken as reliable. My answer was that we I recorded events without reference to any particular theory. I was organizing my material according to fairly objective criteria. I would attempt to include most of the data that I had gathered and avoid selection of data at this point. He was not convinced, however. I pointed to the possibility of checks, such as with the material gathered by the Community Analyst. He thought that a number of workers working independently of each other would provide a good check. Later he suggested to Dorothy that the observers take each other's journal to write up accounts from them to secure objectivity. Dorothy claimed that it was difficult to use other people's field notes, and did not feel that this would achieve much, anyway. The final answer was that the method that we used--participant observation--was the best under the circumstances--and that was that, as Dorothy would say.



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6. Far Eastern Studies

Doro thy had an interview with Dean Hicks of the Graduate Division and presented my desire for a program on Far Eastern Studies. Dean Hicks was in favor of such a program. It would have to await clarification on the matter of setting up an institute here, he said. He agreed to write to the Provost, to find out if the graduate council could take up the matter of forming a committee on Far Eastern Studies. In the meantime he approved the plan to have me enroll in sociology and to transfer to Far Eastern Studies when it was formed. So everything seems to be working out fine. At least, I can carry on my studies here for the time being.



J 5/25/45 Friday

1. Evening at Sabagh's

Last Saturday evening George and Renee invited the Study staff to their apartment. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Hattie and I ran into Rosalie in front of the apartment and went in together. Rosalie knocked on the door fiercely, and set the pace for the rest of the evening. She brought her own bottle of whiskey along, and took several glasses of it straight during the evening. Dorothy and W.I., Dick and Nikki were already there. We spent the earlier part of the evening sipping liquor, and discussing almost everything under the sun. Among the popular topics were comic strips and mystery stories. Dorothy is a fan of both. Dorothy and W.I. left before we got into the singing stage of the evening. Nikki wanted to sing songs together with others. Rosalie insisted on going through her repertoire of songs, ranging from the very sad to the more riotous ones. It was evident that before the evening was over Rosalie had lost some control over herself, and insisted more strongly on singing her songs, and even danced the ~~xxx~~ rhumba. When we left, someone suggested that we have a picnic soon, showing that the idea of getting together was approved. Once on the pavement, Rosalie discovered that she could not walk straight. Dick helped her along, and walked for some distance before putting her on a streetcar. Dick was afraid, he said, that Rosalie was not in a condition to board a streetcar full of people. According to a report from Rosalie the following morning, she was able to get home by following the streetcar track. Her friends put her to bed.

2. Nikki Moves to Macfarlane's

Last week Dick asked Dorothy if it were all right to use a university car to help Nikki move to Macfarlane's and gained her approval. Dick and I went to get his driver's license renewed, but he asked me to drive him out to San Francisco. George Sabagh came along with us to shop for some pastry and wine. Nikki had been staying in an apartment house in a good part of the town which overlooked the bay. She complained that she had not been allowed to let in a man to see her, and wondered whether Mrs. Macfarlane would care if she had male visitors. I said that Mrs. Macfarlane would probably allow it. After having some trouble getting pastry and wine in San Francisco, we returned to Berkeley and had George do his shopping there where we could park our car. We deposited Nikki and her belongings at Macfarlane's. That evening she was late because she was invited to George's party. On Tuesday night she had stayed over in San Francisco with a Caucasian friend that she had met, and did not come home at all. Hattie and I wondered whether she might not give a poor impression to Mrs. Macfarlane by not coming home early or at all. When we met Nikki the next time at Rosalie's place, she was very nonchalant about the matter.



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When Dick threatened to tell her folks about her, she said: "You'd better not." They explained that she was an only child, and that both of their parents were fairly strict. Her mother, especially, was very strict about her behavior. She explained that her behavior could be attributed to the fact that she had been too closely watched during her youth. Hattie and I would like it better if she watched her step, although we know that it is none of our damn business. Hattie takes a couple of cigarettes every evening after dinner, a habit which she took up since coming to Berkeley. She wouldn't want to shock her parents by letting them know that she is doing this. They were shocked enough when her brother, George, came home from college and began to puff away at a cigarette.

### 3. Party at Rosalie's

Rosalie invited Dick, Nikki, Hattie and myself to dinner on Tuesday evening, and promised us an Italian dinner which would not be accessible elsewhere for the duration. We met Rosalie's two housemates--Lillian Hoyle and Connie. Lillian had taken up history, was interested in the Far East, and was now working at CBS (?) as librarian for the station. She has a relatively big build, and plain in appearance. Her behavior was slightly unconventional, as when she insisted on eating spaghetti with chop sticks. On the other hand, she struck me as being very broadminded in her thinking. She criticized Professor Mah, from whom she took a course, as being very prejudiced and narrow minded. All during the course he kept harping on the treachery of the Japs, especially at Pearl Harbor. She told Mah, she said, that Dewey pulled the same trick at Manila, whereupon Mah could not give a good reply. She thought that there was a good possibility that he would not let me get a degree if he were on my committee. She said that some Army students who were taking a course from him disliked him thoroughly, and complained to the head of the department that his lectures were not good. After that there was a slight improvement. He was not a good scholar, she said. She also stated that she thought that it was nonsense to believe that all of the people in Japan were as treacherous as the militarists and that there was no necessity in attempting to wipe out the Japanese people as a whole.

Connie was a petite girl, attended the same high school with Hattie (Stadium in Tacoma), and attended U. of Washington. She had come down to Berkeley to take courses in anthropology because the courses here were better than at Washington. She was doing graduate work, and at the same time working for the Fair Play Committee (brief title) under Mrs. Kingman. She was conservative, took little liquor, and was somewhat reserved in her behavior.



3

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A naval officer from South Carolina, who had been introduced to her by a friend and who was on a furlough, dropped in to see her and spent the evening with us. He devoted most of the evening to her. He asked me what we were doing, and that was about all the attention that he paid to the rest of us. However, we got along without any friction for the evening. Rosalie later reported to Dick that when he left he asked whether we were really loyal. I presume that we were well-defended by Rosalie and the others.

I gathered that the girls kept a somewhat cool relationship with the Spencers next door. Their go-between was a cat, Misi (whiskers in Malay), who shuffled between the two households.

Rosalie's Italian dinner was superb, and was up to par with her own praise of her wonderful cooking. We started off with Burgundy and relish. Lillian said that she never ate much radish, but that she liked the ones that George and I grow in our victory plot. Then we had spaghetti ~~henked~~ with chicken liver sauce and salad, which were delicious. Rosalie took some time making her desert, which was declared to be a rare treat. The Madera wine in egg-nog, however, was too strong to suit my taste. Rosalie, Lillian and the naval officer had the most.

Rosalie was in a very good mood, in contrast to Saturday night. She gave some very amusing performances of scenes from the opera, and Lillian said that she enjoyed being able to listen to opera music and laugh at it. Evidently she did not appreciate the serious mood in which some people listen to it. I told Rosalie that her comics were more fun than her moody songs, and I hope she got the hint. The evening was very enjoyable, and Hattie felt that it would be safe to invite Rosalie if we had a party in our apartment.

#### 4. Evening at Spencers

Bob dropped in at the office last week and asked me if I had much spare time. He said that he wanted to collaborate with me to write up an article on the Japanese family system. He wanted to write up a description of the family system and the names used for various branches of the family. He said that he could have it published. I couldn't see the significance of such an article, except from a narrow anthropological point of view, since I could see other aspects of the Japanese family which could be studied which would be more ~~xx~~ significant. I said that I would have to lay out my course for the coming term before undertaking any extra work. He then invited Hattie and myself to dinner



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on Wednesday evening. Hattie and I did not want to go out more than once during the week because of our busy daily schedule, but could not very well refuse Rosalie's invitation, and we had already agreed to accept Bob's. We were prepared for a strained evening after having heard various stories of the middle class ideas maintained by the Spencers. I met Bob when I visited Gila in 1943, and both Bob and Elizabeth when they came to Tule Lake just before segregation. They had a spacious apartment in the Brunswick household, which was simply decorated. There were many books, mostly in the field of anthropology, and spears, swords, skulls, and the like, mostly from the South Pacific area. We started out the evening with meat paste on matzos, salted herring, and sherry. We then sat down to a delicious dinner of stew and dumpling. We noticed that both Bob and Elizabeth both cleaned up their plates, while we were barely able to eat most of it. Elizabeth laughed at social workers for being so idealistic, and seemed relieved to learn that I did not intend to become a social worker. Charlie then came up for discussion, and I heard their view of his visit with them. Charlie asked Bob, he said, whether he would hire Charlie if such an occasion presented itself. Bob said that he would. Charlie then asked, Bob continued, whether he would hire Charlie if there were opposition. Bob then said that he wouldn't if it meant jeopardizing his own position. Thereupon ensued a series of arguments on prejudice, which went on the rest of the evening. We all laughed, and dropped the subject. The possibility of Hattie's finding a job through Miss Christie came up, and Hattie mentioned that she had heard that Miss Christie used to be prejudiced against Nisei. Elizabeth defended the latter by saying that she was also nasty to many Caucasians and she was not prejudiced against Nisei. She herself, she said, for some reason was given good treatment by the head of the placement service. This topic, too, we did not pursue any further. The Spencers entertained us with an account of the eccentric driving of Mrs. Brunswick, which I could believe because I had driven once with her when I attended a meeting of the inter-racial committee. Nisei was in the house most of the evening, and Elizabeth said that she thought both Connie and Rosalie did not like cats and that Lillian was the only one that did. This was the only reference to the neighbors that was made during the evening. The most interesting part of the evening was Elizabeth's attempt to give us things that she could spare. She brought out aprons, <sup>and</sup> dish cloths, which she said that she was not going to use anyway, and insisted that Hattie take them home. Then she went out and cut flowers and ivy plants for her. Just when we were about ready to leave, she insisted on our taking a set of coasters (?) and a wine bottle to make a candle stand. I made a weak protest, but it didn't do any good.



Afterwards we wondered why she had been so insistent on embarrassing us with so many gifts. We decided that it was because they wanted me to collaborate with Bob on an article.

Bob entertained us on his Ludwig whistle. Then Hattie said that she would be glad to hear some records they had, and choose Debussy as her first choice. They had a collection made up of an album from different composers, a method of collection of which Hattie did not entirely approve. Bob also gave me a couple of ASTP syllabi on the Far East.

Bob warned me against Mah as being a poor scholar and a very prejudiced individual. He had worked with him, and felt confident about what he said. His knowledge of the Far East was highly limited to certain portions of Chinese ~~his~~ history, and taught only what he knew. He refused to allow his students to do their own thinking, and in their exams expected them to quote his lectures word for word, practically. Bob said that he respected Booberg, which was usually far ahead of the students.

#### 5. Dorothy's Neighbor on Japanese Gardener

The detail of this incident, as told to Dick and myself, by Dorothy is lost, but the general outline goes something like this. Her neighbors, husband, wife, and daughter, are real estate people and twice as well-off in terms of income as Dorothy. They have always tried to be friendly with Dorothy and W.I., but the latter have preferred to keep to themselves. They invited Dorothy and W.I. once to a drinking party, ~~and~~ which they did not enjoy at all. They never returned the invitation, and have maintained only intermittent relationship. Dorothy has gotten all of her maids, for instance, through her neighbor. Her present Negro girl, for instance, is a sister of a maid who ~~works~~ works for the neighbor. Recently the ~~neighbor~~ neighbor approached Dorothy and asked her whether it would be possible to get a Japanese gardener. She stipulated, however, that he would have to keep out of sight of another neighbor, who had sons in Okinawa and who would be greatly disturbed at the sight of a Jap. To this both Dorothy and W.I. ~~and~~ laughed, and said that it was ridiculous. She brought up the fact that Mrs. Kawamoto's son, who worked for both of them, was in Okinawa and was in as great a danger as anybody else. She came back with the remark to W.I. that Dorothy had actually said that she would just as soon live next to a Negro. W.I. replied that if the Negroes were well-behaved, he would, too. The implication that the couple did not appreciate their present neighbors was probably not lost. The lady was furious and said that they couldn't mean it. They said that they did mean it. She said that they smelled. W.I. asked whether her present maid smelled, and the lady



said that she didn't. How did she know then that they smelled. She said that she sat next to them in the streetcar. The answer was that she didn't have to assume that she was going to live next to Negroes that she smelled on the streetcar. W.I. then mentioned that Japanese objected to the smell of Caucasian and that they were, after all, between Japanese and Negroes in this regard. The relationship between the Thomases and their neighbor is now somewhat strained. They like the father and the daughter, but can't seem to get along with the mother.

#### 6. Methodological Note on Minidoka Report

Since I have come to Berkeley, specifically for the purpose of beginning to write a report on Minidoka, I have accomplished several things in a somewhat haphazard manner. At the December, 1944 conference in Salt Lake City it was made clear to me that I was to write a "social history" of Minidoka. Dorothy sometimes called it a "political history." She wanted me to begin writing up the various incidents as they occurred, after which I would be able to refine my data. At the time of the last conference Frank had finished more than half of his "social history" of Tule Lake, which served as a guide to write my report. My first step was to begin organizing my files. I had been cutting up my journal and filing it away with other miscellaneous material topically, often according to specific incidents. I began to write a summary of each incident or topic to get an idea of the sort of material that I had gathered. After arriving in Berkeley these summaries were completed. Cards were then made out for each incident. These cards were arranged and <sup>in</sup> rearranged/a number of different ways, and numerous outlines and charts were made in the process of "mulling over" the



material. Tami's subject headings were used as a basis for rearranging the folders according to subjects, and in the process some of the material were shifted from one folder to another. On Dorothy's advice this process was held up, pending arrival of the rest of Frank's report. In the meantime a report on the liquidation (center closure) program was roughly completed. Most of Frank's report on the "social history" of Tule Lake arrived, and it was examined carefully for hints as to pattern of organization. Frank's general division of the history of Tule Lake into periods of rising protest, rebellion, stabilization, and the registration crisis seemed to work out well as a framework for his report, and this ~~was~~ general scheme was accepted as a basis for the Minidoka report.

When the general outline was beginning to become clear, the cards were arranged on the floor according to two variables: chronology and fields in which events took place. The latter included:

Administrative policy

Politics

Labor Relations

Community Welfare

Law and Order

Loyalty Issue

Leave Program

A step which was in the back of the mind for some time was then taken. A master chart of events in Tule Lake was made. This chart was analyzed for groupings of



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similar events and relationship between events. After analyzing the chart the chronology was broken up into five ~~different~~ periods. Outlines made out previously <sup>seven</sup> had resulted in at least/periods:

1. First Year at Minidoka (To September, 1943)
2. The Rise of Protest (To December, 1943)
3. The Outbreak of Protest (To March, 1944)
4. Subsiding of the Protest (To May, 1944)
5. Administrative Conflicts (May to August, 1944)
6. Administrative-Council Deadlock (Sept. to Dec., 1944)
7. Center Liquidation Program

The periods finally chosen were:

1. Period of Accommodation (August, 1942 to June, 1943)
2. Period of Tension (July to December, 1943)
3. Period of Reaction (January to August, 1944)
4. Period of Deadlock (September, 1944 on)
5. Period of Liquidation (December, 1944 on)

The next step was to make an outline, showing the order in which the various sections of the report would be discussed. This did not present very great difficulties.

~~It was the introductory section which caused some difficulty~~

Two variables, then, had been isolated: specific incidents in certain fields, such as politics, loyalty issue, etc., and chronological sequence and the changes which this revealed. A third factor had already been isolated and used in previous reports: the concept of participants. They included both individuals and groups



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of individuals. In the reporting of specific incidents, the relationships among participants, their overt ~~and covert~~ behavior, as well as their attitudes, would all be treated.

One problem which remained was the inclusion of the more static phase of life in the center. The majority of the residents were often not too concerned with the swift-moving events, such as a strike, and were more engrossed in such matters as courtship, recreation, and the like. Could such phases of project life be ignored? Might not they turn out to be more important in the long run than the more dynamic incidents in determining the course of even the dynamic events? This same problem evidently worried Frank, too, and he decided to write a "structural report," which would cover these more static features of camp life. Assuming, then, that these more static features <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ of some importance, the question of where in the report they could be included arose. They could be included in the introductory section along with the background history and the physical setting and considered the general background in which the more dynamic incidents take place.

The problem of organizing the material as objectively as possible was solved in writing the previous reports and is also suggested ~~xxx~~ by the above discussion. Describe the background and the participants, then relate the incidents in a somewhat chronological sequence. Any conclusions to be drawn should be drawn after the report is organized. In ~~this~~ this way it will be possible to avoid bias in the



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selection of material. Writing summaries of the events and making an outline from them was also meant to reduce the amount of bias entering into the report.

arose

The question then ~~arose~~ <sup>would</sup> to whether this method of organizing a mass of data ~~xxxx~~ lead to significant conclusions. The organization of data ~~xxxx~~ was around very broad categories:

1. Relatively static features
2. Dynamic situations
3. Participants
4. Chronological sequence

The correlation among these various factors should provide material to throw light on many basic questions in the study of human behavior. What influence does a group have on the individuals in the group. How important is the social situation in determining the behavior of an individual. Are individuals consistent in their behavior in different social situations? How important is the background of an individual in determining ~~xxx~~ his behavior. What factors seem important in causing change of attitude.



J 5/27/45 Sunday

1. Minidoka Trip Preparation

Sometime ago I made plans to return to Minidoka to check on conditions there since I left it in March. The trip was first planned even before I left the center when I felt reluctant to leave it. After several months on the outside, however, my reason for wanting to return is now no longer charged with nostalgic longing that seized me at the time. I would like to see some of the people that I know, and more curious to know how life in the center is coming along. Both Father Joe and Tom Ogawa, however, have left the project. Tom relocated, and Father Joe left on a trip to New York and probably won't be back before I leave. I'll miss them both as close friends and as source of valuable information. My interest in making the trip is now phrased in my mind more in terms of definite objectives. First of all, I must find out the residents' attitude towards the closure program. I have discussed this matter with Dorothy, and she has made it plain that this is to be the main objective of this trip. This scrutiny is especially necessary in view of the fact that Minidoka is far ahead of the other centers in the rate of relocation since the beginning of this year. I must also catch up on gaps in my report. More important than that, perhaps, is the necessity of finding out if the outline that I have worked out finds agreement among those who have kept up with developments in the center from the very beginning. Whether this change in point of view--if it's a change--is going to produce data different from that which I have been gathering until now will be interesting to watch.

In preparing for the trip, certain precautions necessary in the center have come to mind. Hattie, for instance, has warned me <sup>not to</sup> in taking my brief-case for fear of increasing the chances of being accused of being an inu. I did not think that this precaution was necessary, but I have let her have her way. She also wants me to tell Mr. Hata that I have a scholarship, since this is the story that I have been telling until now in connection with my work. I'll also have to be careful about not talking about conditions on the outside in glorious terms. I can't go to the other extreme either without getting into trouble with the administration. I must see what happened to our statistical cards which Miss Covington was supposed to send to the University. I suspect that Nichols or somebody might prevent their being sent, but this may turn out to be unwarranted suspicion. At any rate I am prepared to get the cards before I return to Berkeley.

I was going to get a life history from Fujii, but I won't be able to do that because he has relocated. There will be others, however, whom I can contact. I know most of the Council men, who represent the more moderate point of view. Dick Kanaya can also give me this side of the story very well. People in the block can give me the other side. I know a sufficient number of Tuleans who will tell me what they are thinking about relocation. The people working in the Co-op will give me the point of view which is closer to the residents.



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I'm afraid that I'll have to ignore the administration to some extent because I can't afford to be seen too often in the administration area.



J 5/30/45 Wednesday

1. Joe, the Bus Driver on Draft and Closure.

When the bus pulled into Twin Falls, I felt a little relief. I had read mystery stories most of the way, ignoring the simple-looking country fellow besides me. He seemed friendly enough and once started a conversation, but I did not want to go on with it. I never knew what to expect if I told a stranger that I was a Japanese, and I preferred not to mention it at all. This was a further obstacle to carry on conversation added to my present reticence.

When I got into Twin Falls I began to blossom out. I saw to it that my suitcase was taken off the bus. Then I tried to use a tax-exempt certificate to buy a ticket to Hunt. The clerk said that they were honoring only Red Cross tickets. I did not want to raise a fuss about it, and I did not want to be seen by an evacuee using the certificate, although it stood to reason that they did not know what it meant. The next bus would leave at 4:30, unless they followed Sunday schedule, and the clerk at the desk did not know which it would be. I lit a cigarette. I walked down to the main street. Except for three well-dressed nisei girls window shopping, the street was practically bare. Most of the stores was closed, and it reminded me, that it was Memorial Day. It was a poor day to pick for travelling.

I came back to the station and ran into Joe, the bus driver for the bus line, who lived in our block. I greeted him with a "hello". He replied in the same manner. I went up closer to him and began my drilling. He asked me whether I had come alone. I explained that Hattie had to stay behind because she was attending Business College. He did not seem surprised to see me back. He said of his own accord: "I just got back from Fort Douglas." I asked him what he was doing there. "I was placed in reserve." I looked at him, and noticed that his face was somewhat flushed and that he looked nervous. "That's too bad," I said. "What's your wife going to do." "Oh, I guess go out to Salt Lake City or Denver or someplace and live." "It's tough, isn't it?" I said. "Well, you can't help it," he said, and seemed to be making an effort to be casual. He was not the Joe who was care-free, confident, and a little arrogant. He was not in a mood to joke and to flirt with girls. He picked up a newspaper and began to read the funny section.

I asked him about the closure program. "How are the people--are they going out or staying?" "Oh, they're going out, alright," he said. "Do they think that the centers are going to be closed," I asked in a low voice so that the Caucasians working close by did not hear it. "Oh, they're going to close the center alright," he said with an air of finality. He did not seem confident and hopeful.

That was all I could get out of Joe. I could remember before when he used to say confidently that he was deferred, that his manager had promised him a job on the line even after the war and the camp closed down. On the way back Joe raced



his bus back at top speed. The bus was a better one than the ones which usually were sent to the project, and I thought that the owner of the line was able to buy a better bus than he could afford before with the profit he made from the evacuation.

## 2. Gate Procedure

Two evacuees were at the gate, including Mr. Sakai. He figured my meal until June 15 at \$8.80. He asked me the reason for my visit--whether it was relocation. I asked him whether it would be troublesome if I put relocation. They did check up, he said, to see what plans were made. Also, if I relocated anyone I did not have to pay for room and board. I decided to pay and not have Mom bothered by people from the relocation office. Mr. S. explained that the old booth was being moved into a new building that had been put up.

I went through ~~the~~ <sup>one</sup> turnstiles which had been set up, where formerly there had been only one. A Caucasian lady whom I had never seen before watched me as I went out. She asked me if I wanted convoy service, and I asked whether it was available. She said it was if there was necessity for it, especially if there were heavy baggage. I said that I wanted the convoy service for myself and the others who came back on the bus. I was somewhat surprised to find the lady so helpful. I looked at a notice on her door which stated that no visitors were to be allowed in the office during working hours. It was signed by Nichols. "That guy," I thought, "he's still at it."

## 3. Mrs. Pepper

Mrs. Pepper came by in her car. I was glad to see her, and she seemed to be glad to see me. She offered to take me home, and I let her. She mentioned that Father Joe and Tom Ogawa had gone off. She did not know what was going on since they left, she said. Elmer seemed lonesome with them gone, she said. She mentioned that Yoshi was at the office in the morning and she went in the afternoon. It seemed that there was not much to do after Father Joe left. "It's a convenient way of keeping out of each other's way," I thought. Life went on as usual on the project, I thought, even the petty ~~needs~~.

## 4. Block People

When I got off the car by barrack 12, I noticed that the block looked different. It seemed more spacious and therefore more empty than I thought it was. There was grass about a foot high along the path, which made the place less bleak than when I left it. Still I thought that the block was somewhat empty. Several block residents saw me and greeted me. George H. and his wife were the first ones I saw. George had not changed at all. His baby boy, however, had grown tremendously, I thought, since I left three months ago. Everyone asked me about my wife. I guess she was closer to them than I was, since she knew many of the block residents



from back home. Also they had become used to seeing us together so often in the block they might have asked the same question about me if Hattie had come alone. Mrs. Otomaru saw me. Later I met Mrs. Shibata and Mrs. Miyake in the laundry room. My line worked itself out somehow in the following manner. I was back between semesters from college. Hattie could not come because she still had to attend school. I even said ~~it~~ at once that Hattie was going to start working soon.

"Well, how is it?" was the first question that was usually asked me. I would say, "Oh, so, so. It's not too bad, although you do have to work and watch your pennies. People do not pay much attention to you in a large city. In small sections of the country the feeling against Japanese is not too good." I stressed one point sometimes and another with another individual. But I kept to the framework indicated here.

5. Mrs. Shibata:

I met Mrs. Shibata in the laundry room when I went to wash my hands. She greeted me pleasantly. I asked her whether people were going out. She said: "Yes, they're going out, alright." She asked me whether I had come alone. In fact everybody asked me that.

6. Mrs. Miyake

Mrs. Miyake seemed anxious to learn something about California, where she originally came from. I told her that I would be staying for about two weeks and that I would be seeing her. This seemed to satisfy her, and she did not press me with questions right away.

7. Boiler room

I ran into Mr. Yamamoto. We went into the boiler room and talked. S., the boilerman, Tsukamoto, argumentative cook and Terada, another cook, were there. I could not help feeling that the boilerman crowd had been thinned out. S. just sat with a scowl in his face, ~~in~~ saying anything. He seemed to have lost the easy going manner and smile that he used to have. In answer to questions I said that Japanese were not treated badly in the large cities and that there was no trouble shopping or going to a restaurant. Both Terada and Tsukamoto agreed with me. S. snapped back at Tsukamoto once or twice while the latter was trying to explain the situation in the messhall. There had been a lot of vandalism on the part of some of the cooks, but he had put a stop to this. The quality of food became a topic of conversation. Terada said: "We've got to do something about the smelt that they are sending us. Doi promised that after the last batch of smelt was eaten up, he would not order any more, but they're bringing more in now."

S. said: "There's no way of eating them except by frying, and you get tired of it when they're served too often." I asked whether the food had become worse. "Of course," was



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the reply. Tsukamoto said that the roast now had to be cut so thin that it was not funny. Terada cited Yamamoto as saying that meat was cut thinner on the outside than it was in here. This served to show how bad the condition was on the outside, but it also helped to throw a wet blanket on the protest that was being made. I was going to talk about the difficulty of getting meat, but I think it was just as well that I did not. Terada and Tsukamoto did not seem to have lost their composure. No talk of the war came up, except that one mentioned that people on the outside thought that just because Germany was beaten, they would beat Japan right away. According to Mom, however, talk of the war is still going on.

8. Mrs. Okawa

Mrs. Okawa came over to find out whether I was here or not. She said that Father Joe had left word that I could sleep in his bed and use his room. I thanked her and said that I would sleep here, but would like to use the room. She lamented the fact that Father Joe refused to get married, and that he worked himself too hard. She wanted to relocate and join her husband when Father Joe left, but he told her that she would have to wait. She became somewhat maternal and said that Father Joe really needed someone to look after him. She managed to keep some of the people away when they came to see him in the morning, she said. I asked about her son, and she said that he had recently written that he was sent back to Italy, and got drunk when the troup found out the fighting was over. She did not show any signs of being greatly relieved, although I imagined that she would be. She wanted me to stay with her, no doubt, but I could not very well afford to ignore Mom.

9. Yamamoto on Relocation

Y. said that he had been travelling all over this area looking for house, but he has not been able to find anything at all. He was in and around Caldwell, Ontario, Nampa, and also in Salt Lake City and Ogden. He had a brother farming in Caldwell, and a sister operating a restaurant in Ogden. There was no house <sup>to</sup> had any place. He even considered buying a house, but they asked about twice as much as the house was worth and asked for <sup>1/2</sup> down. Since he had a house in Tacoma, he did not want to buy a house. The same thing was true in Salt Lake City and Ogden. He stayed for about two weeks in Ogden and Salt Lake City looking for a ~~place~~ place, but could not find a place. There was one place far from Ogden but he did not take it because it was too inconvenient. The demand for workers was great, he said. He went buy a fruit packing company, and they asked him whether he had come for a job. He said that he could not work without a house. They told him to come back if he found a house. He decided to



remain in this area a little longer. He would go to Caldwell and work there. "You can't take your family," he said, "because there is no place to stay." "I hope to go back to Tacoma later. I'll go back once again to see if it's all right. If it isn't, I'll have to fix that house in Caldwell that we have and move my family there."

10. Yamasaki and Suyama

Mr. Yamasaki and Mr. Suyama went back to the coast, and brought back a car. They planned to relocate to a nearby farm. They brought their car into the project for fear of having parts stolen if it were left outside of the gate. The night before they left, someone punctured all four of the tires in the middle of the night. Whether this was done because they were relocating or because of personal grudge was not known. Some people in the block suspect that it was done by Tsukamoto who had a drunken brawl earlier in the year with Yamasaki.

11. Otomaru, Sumotori, and K. (Sewanin) went out to work on the railroad. All of them have left their families here.

12. Honda's

The Honda's are from Florin, according to Mom. She seems to know what is said about Florin, but did not say it.

She related that Toki's girl married someone from Florin (soldier) by saying that she was going to have a baby, which she did not have. This was possible because the parents and the child were not in the same place. (Notes by Hattie: the girl was living with her folks--still attending high school when she married this fellow.)

13. Nishimura

The Nishimura family, according to Mom, is not doing so well in their greenhouse in Seattle. I'll have to get more detail on them.

14. Shibata:

According to S., the boilerman, the condition in Seattle was not so good. "Feeling against the Japanese during war time could not be expected to be good. Japanese can't get a job there," he said. "I hear that ~~Mrxxx~~ people who have gone out have suffered."

15. Hara on Closure

I ran into George Hara again in the bath. We discussed the closure program rather calmly. He said that the problem was which center would be closed and which ones would remain open. He said that an announcement was going to be made in



September. I said that he had missed a step. The first question was: were all the centers going to be closed. George said: "I thought that the WRA camps were going to change in name only, for instance be transferred to the Department of Justice. I said that the Department of Justice could not very well take over people who were not disloyal. George had not thought of this before. He seemed to be fairly confident that the centers could not be closed and that some arrangements had been made for those who remained.

I asked him whether he was going to stay if he were able to. "It all depends," he said. "How much would you need to live on the outside. (He has a baby). "At least 200 dollars, he said.

16. Sumi-san

Sumi-san and his wife returned to Seattle. They formerly ran a restaurant, according to Mom, who did not seem to be too sure. They wrote back to the Tsujimoto's not to come back in a hurry because they were not able to find jobs.

17. Mom

Mom has been telling me a number of interesting gossips. I asked her whether people thought that the center was actually going to close or not. She said: "Some do and some do not. But more of them seem to be expecting it."

18. Pop

According to Mom's story, when Pop went out the Caucasian at the gate asked him whether he was taking his wife out. He said he was not. The Caucasian replied that unless he took his wife out they ~~would not~~ would not be able to close the center on schedule.

Pop sent back the report that the WRA was not sure whether the centers could be closed or not.

Japanese working at the relocation office is said to have told Pop: "There's no sense in taking out your family in a hurry. As long as you have some member of the family here, you'll be able to come back for visits, even if they do set up regulations against it."

19. Garbage Crew Story

Mom did not know that the garbage crew had gone on a strike until she had occasion to go to the messhall for something. Evidently it has not been talked about too much in the block. The garbage is now piled up high. According to the story that I heard in the boiler room, the administration was trying to make the garbage men do other work, like working for the property control. When men left their jobs, replacements were not made and the remaining crew is expected to carry on the work. The administration asked too much of the garbage crew and they refused to work.



According to George, the garbage crew did not want to work 8 hours as requested by the administration. S. snarled back: "How can you expect them to work so hard. It's better not to work." George said that the hog farm crew was going to take over the job of the garbage crew because they would have no job pretty soon when the hogs were all killed off.

I suspect ~~that I suspect~~ that Plank is "mixing" things up.

20. Abe

Mr. Abe is opposed to leave the center. He is opposed to Memorial services, and did not think that Ed Fukui, who volunteered and died on Okinawa, deserved any pity. His wife is very gentle woman, and wants to relocate for the sake of the children. ~~It's~~ There's one girl who have been doing housework in Boise and going to school there. There's another son 16 years of age who has not finished high school. The father says that it does not matter if the children get behind in school work. Mrs. A. thinks that it matters, but does not dare oppose her husband. The girl offered to work and send the boy through school. Later, she said, she could go to school herself. She warned her mother not to oppose her father because she did not want to see split in the family. Mr. A. likes to talk about the war, according to Mom.

21. Mano

Mrs. Mano lives next door with her feeble-minded boy and a girl who has T.B. She came over to talk with me. I said that the weather was good, but that housing was next to impossible to get unless one did housework or bought a house. She asked me whether housing could be bought. I assured her that it could be. "It's foolish to buy a house now," she said. The only thing hopeful, I said, was house work. She said that she did not want to go out east where the weather was bad. She seemed to be worried.



J 5/31/45

1. Mori

As I washed myself a number of people asked me very point-blank how it was. I changed my tactics a little and said that the weather was good, but that it was not so very good. Mori, the janitor, said: "It's dangerous, isn't it?" I then had to tell him that it really was not dangerous in the Bay Area. Housing was difficult to get, I said. About the only thing that people could do is, I said, was house-work.

2. Honda

Mr. Honda asked me how things were. I said: "The weather's good, but not particularly good." "It's dangerous, isn't it?" he said. "No," I said, "it's not dangerous in the Bay Area, although it is in some parts of the coast." He did not probe any further.

3. Mizumoto:

I ran into Mrs. M. as she came out of the messhall, where she worked. Her smallest child had just finished high school. She had a son in the Army. "How is it?" she asked. I gave a vague answer. "You don't think an old woman like myself should venture out, do you?" I avoided answering the question. "What do you expect to do?" I said. "That's the point," she said, "They say that they're going to close the centers and I can't sit still." "They're closing the schools down, too," I added. "Oh, well, my youngest girl just finished high school so I don't care so much about that." "About the only thing that one can do on the coast is house-work," I said. "Even if you did get any other sort of job, housing is difficult to get."

4. Cards

Went to the Ad Area and dropped in at the Statistical Office first. Miss Covington wasn't there, and Sadako wasn't there either. I asked one of the girls what had happened to the cards. She did not happen to be in the particular section handling cards, and said that she did not know. Mrs. Mann, who started to work in the office soon after I left popped up and introduced herself. She showed me the cards, saying that Miss Covington was just getting them ready to send. She was told that Miss Covington had a copy of the roster for me. I felt very much relieved because I thought something might have happened to the cards. I guess the administration is not as treacherous as I imagined it to be.

5. Mrs. Mann

Mrs. Mann talked in a somewhat shrill voice, but she seemed friendly enough. She was curious to know what we were going to do with the cards. I explained to her the type of data that we would get from the cards. She kept saying that she thought that there ought to be a quicker way of making quarterly census for the period



preceding 1944 than the ones the girls were using. We discussed the matter. It turned out that the method of using mass cards did not provide the marital status, which is required for the census.

She then started to talk about how interesting it would have been to study the project objectively, and so I began to pump her about her view of the project as a whole. She said that she and her husband were ~~xxx~~ in Minidoka from the very beginning. Before that her husband was in Manzanar. She was sorry now that she had not kept any sort of record about center life. It was difficult, she said, to do so while one lived on the project. She thought that it would be possible later when she left. I asked her whether it was true that the project had undergone a change. She said that when they first came the girls that used to work in the office were wonderful, but all of them soon relocated. It was natural that those who were left behind should become bored and assert themselves more than the first group. She also mentioned that the administration had quite a trouble in the beginning, and I did not want to probe into that at the moment. I wonder what period she was referring to. I mentioned that the trouble seemed to have begun when the Tuleans came in, and she did not think that they had anything more to do with the troubles than to increase them. I could not get very much from her. She said that she thought that the attitude of the people had improved within the last six months. This, however, coincided with the period when she began to work more closely with the girls in the office. It was natural, she said, that the younger people should be more optimistic than the older ones. I did not seem to be getting any place with Mrs. Mann and so I left.

#### 6. Kids

There was a group of young kids in the relocation office. Some of them could not have been more than 13 or 14 years of age. They were dressed very casually. Their hair was hardly combed at all. All of them were dark. What surprised me more was the desperate look in their eyes. They were sitting in the front room of the relocation office, and it seemed that some of them, at least, were interested in relocating. Perhaps, all of them wanted to relocate. I passed around what was left of a package of Cools. They all took one and put it away in their pockets, except one who did not take any. Evidently they did not want to smoke in public. One of the boys reported that there was a blond girl working in the back of the office. The boys all perked up and looked interested and looked in that direction. One of the boys actually went to the back and started a conversation with the girl, who was evidently a worker there. The boys smiled and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ laughed a little bit, but they did not seem to have much pep. I would have liked to know more about them, but did not want to seem too nosy.

#### 7. Newell

He ~~xxxx~~ <sup>me</sup>asked him how I liked it in Berkeley. I said simply that it was fine. I remarked that they seemed to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ be moving quite a few people out. He acknowledged the fact. I asked him what accounted for the good showing. He said:



"Maybe it's the steady program that we have had. We haven't had too much turnover in personnel and trouble in the office." This obviously was not a good reply, and I did not get anything else out of him.

8. Youkey

Youkey was still working as receptionist. I asked him how business was. He replied gruffly that he was not in business--he was just working. The kids laughed at him, as if they considered him to be a "sap." "He's a screwball, isn't he?" I said when he was not around, and the kids laughed.

9. Elmer Nishimoto

I ran into Elmer Nishimoto, working in the Legal Aid section. He has a wife and a child and could be called a young issei. He suggested that we walk home together for lunch. He asked me about the condition of the outside, and I told him about the housing condition. I made the statement that quite a few people seemed to be leaving. Elmer said: "Yes, they're leaving all right. But at the present rate they've relocated only about 2000 in six months. At that rate they can't get everybody out. A man working in the relocation office estimated in January that 4000 would be left in the center. He now thinks that there will be 3500 left. Those going out now are people who would have gone out anyway. It's going to become harder to relocate people." "I wonder if they're going to close the center?" I said. "I don't think they can," he said. There are going to be a few left behind anyway, and I don't think that few is going to be such a small number. Then they won't be able to close the center. I don't think they intend to in the first place. I got a little excited at first, but I don't intend to make the same mistake that I made at the time of evacuation. I thought that the war was going to last a long time and sold all my furniture--car, icebox and all. All I have now is a house in Portland. I'm going to stay as long as possible. Why go out now when you can't save anything on the outside. Here I can make 30 dollars a month, including clothing allowance, and I think I can even save money here. ~~xxxxxxx~~ I've never figured it up closely, though. If they do close the center--they might yet at that, you know--I'll go back to Portland. I understand that they'll give you as much as \$500 aid in getting started."

in  
When I mentioned that the only thing available ~~in~~ the Bay Area was housework, he said:

"Issei don't want to do housework now after being independent. I used to say 'Yes mam' and tie the shoe string of a white woman ~~ku~~ in my student days, but I don't want to do it now."

10. Children

Yesterday evening I saw Elsie Yotsuuye, Keiko Horikawa, Elsie Hamada, Jane Hidaka, and Lillian Nishimatsu. Two of them said that they were learning Japanese. I saw the text book that one of them was carrying, and it was a fairly good copy of the standard Japanese textbook--tokuhon. Today, Elsie Hamada, Patsy and Tommy Honda and Sachi Takehara came to look for me. I asked the girls whether they knew why the school had closed. Sachi said that it



was vacation. Patsy said that this was not so, but she could give no good explanation of why the schools had closed. The other girls did not seem to know the reason, either. I asked them whether they liked to have the schools closed, and they said that it was more fun playing. I asked them whether they liked to play all the time. Some said that they did. Jane looked a little confused and said: "Not all the time." Some of the girls were waiting for me after lunch again and I chased them home after playing with them for a little while. Jane objected saying that I did not chase Sachi and the others home in the same way. Jealousy and factional dispute are already evident in them.

#### 11. Takehara

The Takehara's had a farm in Fife. I asked Sachi whether she would like to return to Fife. She said that she did not because there were ghosts. "How do you know," I asked. "Because they took some of our junks," she replied. Mom verified this. Mr. Takehara had gone back ~~for~~ and found many of the belongings missing. He returned again a second time to sell off what they had left.

#### 12. Hata

Sat next to Mr. Hata at lunch time. I asked him whether Jackie had asked him to come out. He misunderstood my statement and he thought I had asked about his hearings. He said that he had two hearings. He asked why he was not cleared to return to the coast. His record did not show anything bad, he said. "There was no reason why I would not cooperate with the government. I think my business as photographer and the Hin8-maru kai are against me. He did not say whether he was going to relocate or not.

#### 13. Irrigator Office

Went to the Irrigator office. Everything seemed about the same, except that one of the girls had left. Kimi and Sachi were still there and two other workers that I knew were Shingo and Yoshi. I talked with Kimi most of the time. She seemed very glad to see me when I came in, and addressed me as a returning agitator. After discussing some of the problems that occurred on the project since I left, I brought up the matter of finding out how the first year at Minidoka was like. She said that she might be able to get back some letters that she had written to a friend, and offered to try to get them back for me. Kitayama came in too, and greeted me warmly. He asked me how things were coming along. I told him of the possibility of Myer's resigning if the closure program did not work out. This seemed to be a new idea to him. I did not get to talk with him very long because he was popping in and out.

#### 14. Kimi and Graham

Kimi had another brawl with Graham about a week ago. She did not know at the time that Graham was in hot-waters with Stafford. (I'll have to see Calvin about that.) She ended up by ~~xxxx~~ offering to resign, stating in her resignation that she



could not get along with the Reports Officer. Graham wanted to write the resignation himself, but Kimi told him that he had his nerve. Graham was embarrassed by the resignation because it might have meant his termination, since he was in trouble already. The up-shot of the matter was that Tom Ogawa stepped into the picture and patched up the quarrel. Kimi said: "I don't mind having a fight with Graham, but I don't think that he should be attacked from all sides at once. I felt sorry for the guy."

In other words, their quarrels are still going on. It really does not seem to matter very much because the Irrigator keeps coming out.

According to Kimi, Calvin asked Graham whether he had patched up his troubles. The latter replied that he had. Kimi also mentioned that Graham had bought a 1941 Buick, which ~~he~~ seemed to be a partial solution to his trouble with the transportation section.

#### 15. Garbage Trouble

Kimi did not know very much about the garbage trouble. All she knows is that the garbage has not been picked up since about the 18th. She also has an official statement from Rawlings, giving their stand in the matter.

#### 16. C.A. Trouble

I asked her about the C.A. trouble. She seems to have heard her version from Frank, who used to work as assistant supervisor. Frank complained that Johnson did not let them have very much free time. Everything had to be supervised by Johnson. He did all the signing and took care of all the money. One day they got into a fight with Johnson. Frank told Johnson to take off his glasses and he would hit him one. Johnson terminated the whole crew, giving as the reason, incompetence. (I've forgotten the particular issue over which they quarrelled.) The boys were angry about that, too. The boys also did not like the fact that whenever they asked for something, Johnson would promise it, but did not come through with it. <sup>represent</sup> The other side of the story is that the boys did not ~~xxxxx~~ the whole camp. Most of them came from Block 7 and made up a clique. They began to get too much power. Johnson did not feel that they were doing enough work. The boys felt that they were doing their best.

#### 17. Yoshi

S poke to Father Joe's secretary, who was in the office all by herself. She said that there wasn't very much to do because Father Joe was not around. She asked me: "Do you think that all the people are leaving?" I said: "Why ask me?" I told her, however, that there would be some people left when the center closed.

#### 18. John Matsushima

John was back from college in St. Louis. He said that



he was thinking of relocating his parents, but was not quite sure where they were going to go. He wanted to consult Father Joe about the matter.

19. Mickey

Went to Smith's office and talked with this secretary. She said that she was leaving the office. Mrs. Watanabe had left on indefinite and Dick Kanaya had gone out to Jamestown on a shortterm leave basis. She said that everything was dead, but Elmer still ran around a lot. She did not seem to know what she was going to do. I asked her about ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> history of Minidoka, but she did not have many ideas about it. I guess it's asking too much from a girl who was still in high school when she first arrived on the project.

20. Smith

Smith came in and I talked with him. He was just the same as ever, perhaps worse than ever. He swore up and down about the fools who were roaming the project. He said that at times he thought it might be a good idea if the whole project burned down and it was taken away from the control of people who ran it.

21. Niver

He denounced Niver of having double-crossed Graham, Tom and Father Joe, and of having made an attempt to knife him. He did not say exactly in what manner this was attempted.

22. Garbage Crew

He has been roaming around recently trying to settle the garbage crew trouble. The main trouble, he said, was the fact that nobody knew what was supposed to be done. He has been trying to find out the difference between wet garbage and dry garbage. The wet garbage was supposed to be picked up by contractors from the outside. He said that the matter would probably be settled tomorrow. I asked what the Council had done about the matter. He said that it had done nothing. It was useless and might as well <sup>was</sup> not exist, he said. Unless Tom were around, he said, nothing ever accomplished. The Council no longer held Council meetings or block commissioners' meetings, he said.

23. Residents

Smith made some general statements about the residents. They did not seem to care at all about any matters on the project. They just shrugged their shoulders and let matters ride. They cared about the garbage smelling but they did not care to do anything about it. They preferred to let the Administration bring in somebody from the outside to do it. "It's the fault of the Administration," he said. "Who started the idea of replacing evacuees with A.p.'s? I don't blame the evacuees. I'd do the same thing myself."



24. Recent Trends

Things have been so quiet the past three weeks, ~~xxxxxx~~ except have the garbage trouble, he said, that it was not much fun. *when* They they had the juvenile delinquency trouble, he said, it was touch and go for a while. He seemed to get a great deal of satisfaction out of the troubles.

25. Social History.

I asked him about the kind of report that he had to write for Province. He said that he was supposed to write an analytical social history of Minidoka, starting as far back as Puyallup. He had about 10 persons writing "I remember" accounts. He wanted to know what events they remembered. There was some good material among the compositions that students had written, he said. He was to do this between June and February of next year. He wanted to know where I had heard the rumor that he had handed in his resignation. He said that he had gotten into a quarrel with Stafford and had threatened to resign, but that was about all. Province had told him that he could stay until February of next year. I told him that he should not stick his neck out because some people would probably try to shove him out if they could.

26. Stafford on agitators.

According to Elmer, Stafford considered Tom Ogawa, Father Joe and myself as being politicians and even thought that we were pro-Japan and agitators. Tom Ogawa was in a hot spot for a while, he said. Stafford did not seem to understand that he misunderstood Tom when he said that he had to take an anti-administration stand.

27. Townsend v.s. Johnson

According to Smith and Kimi, Townsend and Johnson are not getting along very well. Townsend believes that Johnson is not doing enough, and is "on his tail." When school closed he ~~xxxxxx~~ ordered the Youth Canteen turned over to the U.S.O. because there wasn't any more use for it. When Townsend heard about this, he thought it was wrong, and declared that it should continue for the sake of children on the project. He wondered if it would be alright if the canteen were kept open until ten o'clock at night. At any rate, he is in favor of more activities on the project.

28. Uncle on closure and war.

Went to Uncle's place tonight. I was expecting to hear the boilerroom crowd side of the story from him. Although he works as a cook, he follows the war news very closely. His wife, who is considered a very greedy woman by her relatives, seemed to follow the news quite closely, too.

They asked me how condition on the outside was. I told them that it was very good. They asked me ~~th~~ whether I was called a "Jap." I said that I was not called any such names.



The wife seemed surprised. "Uncle" said that it was natural. The wife said that from the fact that my wife staying behind alone, what I said could be true. Evidently she found it rather hard to believe.

I asked them what they were going to do when the center closed. The wife said that they had no plane to go. If they were going to be forced out, she was going to tell the WRA that she intended to return to Japan. "I'm not going to go out and help the war effort," she said, "When Japan is having so much difficulty." "Uncle" said that he planned to stay in the center. He did not think that the center could be closed. It was only a matter of which center was going to be emptied.

They were also planning to return to Japan after the war. They did not think that there was much future in Japan. (They had returned once with sufficient money to retire.) They asked me whether I intended to return to Japan. I said that I had not made up my mind. It would depend on how the war ended, I said. They said: "There's no use staying in this country. There's going to be a big depression, and it's not going to be easy living in this country." It seemed almost funny to me that they did not think that the same thing or something vastly worse might happen to Japan. Part of this was due to the fact that they did not expect Japan to lose the war, it seemed to me.

I was wondering how I was going to introduce the later subject, but it was not necessary because the wife brought it up of her own accord. She said that Japan was fighting a hard battle at Okinawa. No matter how many ships the Japanese sank, America sent more ship and more men. Recently they had landed more men again. Japan was doing a lot of crash bombing(jibaku), she said, but it did not seem to be quite enough. In Japan they had asked the women volunteers for crash diving, and 1000 jogakusei (girls in high school) had volunteered, she related. I marveled at the extent of her knowledge. One by one I introduced topics that I wanted aired. I mentioned that Tokyo seemed to be bombed. She said that a large part of Tokyo was in ruin. Even the imperial palace had been bombed to pieces, she said. Her husband corrected her by saying that only a part of it had been bombed. He also said: "They probably bombed some part of Saitama-ken and claimed that they bombed Tokyo. Anyway, there aren't many houses left in Tokyo. I mentioned that houses must have been burned down. They both said that 500,000 houses had been burned down. I asked what had become of the Navy. The wife said that since the navy met with some difficulty off of Formosa, it had not appeared at all. "All they do is crash-bomb," the wife said. "Uncle" confirmed this statement. But he put forth his stand clearly.

"Japan is not going to lose. The war may last for about another year yet. It won't end unless Japan comes over here and starts to do some bombing. She can't do that until she gets rid of the American fleet near Japan. It means that Japan has to regain Saipan, Iwojima and the rest of the islands. Japan is not going to lose."



This was said, not only for my benefit, but also for that of "uncles's" wife, who said that Japan was having difficulties. "Uncle" tried to minimize the damages that had been done and did so all out of proportion to what was even admitted by Japan herself. I was surprised at the amount of oversight that was involved in "uncles's" thinking.

In order to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ help him counteract his own thinking, I said: "The important test will be Okinawa. If Japan does not turn America back there, It's going to be pretty bad. From there on it won't be difficult to land on Japan."

I noticed that "Uncle" did not have any pep at all. His wife admitted that Japan was in a precarious position. She said that it would be terrible if Japan lost. But she did not seem half as concerned as "Uncle." He was grave all the time that I was there, and did not show his characteristic good nature. Of the two he was far more liked than his wife by other people. I had noticed the same sort of change in attitude on the part of S., the boilerman, who was also interested in news of the war in the Pacific.

### 30. Egusas

I dropped in at Egusa's. George, Janet's husband was back from farm work in Nampa and was sleeping on the bed. He woke up, and we sat around and talked. Jimmy, his brother, was in O maha, and was going to be married soon. Janet had gone out to Nampa to see the only room that George could find for themselves. It consisted of one room, a smaller bedroom, and kitchen for \$15. Janet said that the room was too small for 4 persons.

George's ideas were different. He said that if the rest of the family moved out to Nampa he and Janet could work and their mother could take care of the baby. In this way they could earn twice as much as one person. Since Janet <sup>didn't</sup> speak any word of approval and seemed a little upset, I gathered that she did not approve of this plan.

In addition George said that he was tired of doing farm work, and was thinking of going into something else. He had run his own farm before the war, and did not see much future in it for himself. He said that it was too hard for him. He wanted to go in to Ohio (where his sister lives) and see what he could find out there to do, besides farm work. It occurred to me that George was no longer worried about his draft status because he was over thirty and therefore had no more reason for staying on the farm. I told him that he probably needed a rest, and that he was making a mistake by ruling out the possibility of going into farming, since this was one of the few roads to independence that Niseis had. For some time he talked with enthusiasm the discomforts of working on somebody else's farm. He was disgusted, for instance, because the farmer did not know how to run his business well. The particular farmer that he worked for at first opposed the coming of Japanese to Nampa, but was now



using a large number of Japanese because they did steadier work than Caucasians.

George also thought that it was a better idea to stay out on the coast than to go out east, because business was likely to be rising on the coast, whereas it would be falling in the east. I differed with him on the ground that there was less prejudice against Japanese in the east.

Concerning the closure program, Janet was not quite sure whether the center would be closed or not. I said that when the closing date came there would be quite a number of people left behind. George said that most of the people who were on the outside figured the same way. The centers could not be closed.

31. Children and Japanese Book.

The children came again in the evening to play. Patsy and Jane brought along their Japanese books. Mom asked Patsy where she got her book, and she said that it came from ~~Clear~~ Lake. On one page it has a picture of a Japanese flag and has banzai banzai on it. Mrs. Kuwada has classes three nights a week for the beginning class. I don't know how many classes she is conducting.