

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
January 2, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

You can see by my typing that I can't get used to the new year yet. Hattie and I spent a very quiet New Year's Eve because she was in bed with a cold. Almost everybody here on the project has had it at least once. Those who haven't succumbed thus far seem to be getting it now. Hattie is well now. I hope you and W.I. are well, too.

Hattie and I are beginning to settle down. We still have to get the apartment fixed up. I keep putting it off because I want to get some work done, but I'll have to do a little bit now and then in order to ward off the reputation of being like the WRA--full of empty promises. We're trying to get Dad to do some of the carpentry work, but just now he's down with the flu and a toothache besides. Mom was working till the end of the year, but she quit because the woman who asked her to take over temporarily accused her of taking away her job, even though she wasn't well enough to go to work yet. In order to settle down we're going to work on a budget, as if such a thing would be necessary around here. Dr. Gundlach is sending us Consumer's Union, so that we ought to do quite well, in spite of the war. I'm subscribing to Newsweek and the S.F. Chronicle--somehow I'm prejudiced against the northwest papers, although I did learn in a journalism class that the Oregonian was a decent paper. To get the maximum amount of dirt against the yellow horde I should be taking the Los Angeles Times, I suppose. The Japanese used to love that paper so. I'm thinking of subscribing to a social psychological journal and buying a few books. You see, we're going in for life in a big way.

We'll need a little help from the main office, though, as we usually do. First, I'd like to find out just where my account stands. I never did know how much I was being credited with, how much was being deducted for retirement fee, how much more for income tax and for bonds. Could you have the Accounting Department look up these items for me as they stand at present? When you're married you can't be as carefree as you used to be, something which I am discovering.

Next, I would like to subscribe to some sort of journal in our field, or should I say in my field. I would like to have something devoted to social psychology, if there is anything decent in that field. I know there is a Journal of Social Psychology. If you do not think that is suitable for me, you might make other suggestions. You can send in the subscription from the office or I can send it in myself, whichever is convenient. If any deduction in rates can be achieved, it'll be swell.

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One more silly business. I forgot to get Hattie's short-term leave signed, and I should have sent that in to the office as soon as I returned. Although it doesn't seem to have missed it as yet, I think it's better to follow proper procedure, even though it's a little late. Could you sign the enclosed leave paper, dating it December 2, 1943, and have it sent back as soon as possible.

I have the receipt for the train tickets which you sent me with the tickets. I can send ~~them~~ to you if you ask for for it.

I am on good terms with deYoung. He's trying to get one of his staff members to take the same course that I'm enrolled in. I think that we'll be able to work things out. I've borrowed his Segregation Manual, and I think I'll be able to borrow other things from his files, too. I'll have to be nice to him, you understand. I bungled things with Opler, and I hope that I don't make the same mistake again.

This project is dead and when things do happen, it takes its sweet time about it. Consequently, it's not so difficult to cover an event, if you are half awake. Of course, you're likely to miss it, too, because it doesn't create much of a stir. Recently the community council charter was passed by an overwhelming majority. Last time it was presented it was turned down by an equally overwhelming majority. There was very little discussion on it, and now that it's passed, no one talks about it. I'm sure the presence of Tuleans on the project is having its effect, although it's difficult to trace it directly. Recently the janitors, after negotiating for four times with the administration for more workers during the winter months, have decided to hand in their resignation. The strike has been extended for four days as a result of negotiations. Among the young people who have come back from seasonal work gambling in the laundry room is a common past-time. A jitterbugging craze, however, has hit the group, and it is going on in all sorts of places. This, of course, is Tulean influence. The WRA has made another about-face in one of its important policies, it seems. Words have come from Washington that relocation should not be pushed too strenuously (so I hear), and Stafford is reported to be telling people bluntly that if they don't want to relocate he doesn't give a damn. Maybe the WRA will get a few more people out of here yet.

So much for today. I feel as though I've turned over a new leaf. Maybe I can get something done now.

'Bye,

James Sabody

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
January 7, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

For the first time Minidoka is being rocked by a strike of some proportion. It got into the news broadcast from Twin Falls, so that the event was big enough to come to the attention of the people outside. I suppose it has hit the Coast papers already, and you are curious to know what has been going on here. People here are trying to insist that it's not a strike, but if you had to describe the event in one word it is a strike. The main issue is the hiring of extra workers in the block to keep the stoves going all day and night, but just now the matter of "face" is just as important. ~~This~~ <sup>fact</sup> and the fact ~~the~~ <sup>that</sup> the strike has spread to most outside workers makes this a strike of some importance.

An analysis of the cause of the strike takes us back to events for several months back. In fact, the stiff attitude that the administration has taken toward the people here--even though it might have been 'benevolent,' too--is pointed out as an important contributing factor to the present conflict. More recently, the cause of the strike can be traced directly to the cut in employment made in July of last year, when the administration made all of their cuts all at once. At the time the cut was made, there were eight men working as sanitation men (cleaning latrine) and boilermen (firing the central boiler) on the summer schedule. This crew was cut down to four--two boilermen, one janitor, and one janitress. Demands were made on the administration for increase of one boilerman and one janitor during the winter months, when work would increase greatly. The administration, through an arrogant supervisor named Greene, ordered that the six stoves in the latrines and laundry rooms be kept going 24 hours a day, banking the fire at night. This increased load, the workers refused to take on. In some blocks the stoves were going, and in others they were not. Several negotiation meetings were held, but each time the boilermen's request for more workers was put off. Stafford then went off for a vacation. During his absence, and presumably with his understanding, an order was issued by Greene for a new schedule for janitors and boilermen, beginning January 1. According to the new schedule, there would be three shifts, instead of two, to avoid fire hazards caused by banked fire in the stoves. The three male workers would each take a shift, be called janitors, and do sanitation work as well as fire the boiler and the six stoves. Greene wanted the names of those who were willing to work according to the new schedule immediately. The supervisor of the boilermen called the workers together, and all but three were found to be unwilling to work according

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to the new schedule. This fact was transmitted to Greene, who was surprised to find so many wanting to quit. He took the matter to one of the Assistant Project Directors, who asked the boilermen to work till January 4, which they did.

On January 4th a meeting of administration representatives and boilermen and sanitation workers ~~was~~ held. The workers went to the meeting expecting some concession on the part of the administration. Davidson, who handled the meeting, because he was Acting Director, maintained that he could not hire extra workers, because he received orders from Washington. He suggested, instead, that a committee meet in order to iron out the problem, assuming that the workers would keep on with their work on their present schedule. When the workers asked if they could be assured of some concession if they ~~waited~~ worked until a committee could meet with Stafford, Davidson replied that no promises could be made. At this point he tried to adjourn the meeting, but the workers, after some amount of hesitation, took a roll call ~~vote~~, and decided that they would not go back to work.

No one seems to have anticipated, however, that the strike would spread to other divisions. When the workers quit their work, there was no understanding that any of the other boilermen were bound by the decision of those who ~~were~~ present at the meeting and answered the roll call. But the following morning there was pressure from various sources to keep anyone from firing not only the boiler--that was out of the question--but even the stoves in the latrines and the laundry-room. This pressure was largely exerted by a group of "tough" young kids, who went around the blocks seeing to it that the fires were out or that they put them out themselves. The boilermen for the Ad section was forced to close up the boilerroom there. Outside workers--motor-pool, garage, garbage crew, coal crew, warehouse crew--began to say that they could not work if hot water was not available in the block. Enough work was carried on, however, to keep the messhalls and the hospital going, and to repair the electric lines, etc.

The lack of hot water did not hold serious consequences in and of itself. The ones who were most inconvenienced were probably the young mothers with babies and with diapers to wash. The first day they were getting hot water from the messhall, but this was forbidden by the young pressure group on the ground that it would weaken their stand. A few pipes burst because of the sub-zero temperature (about five below), but in general block people kept their own pipes from freezing by keeping windows closed in the latrines and laundry rooms and by keeping the pipes running. Some blocks ventured to keep a little fire in their stoves, too. One block with a notorious inu for a block manager had its stoves going, and when they received their meat supply, they found bones dumped by the garbage can.

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On the afternoon of the fifth the block managers were called together by the administration to attempt to reach some sort of solution. In spite of the common claim that there are many inu among them, the block managers carried the banner for the people quite courageously. They demanded two extra workers for each block. This was flatly turned down. They then asked for the loan of workers from other departments, and the administration replied that this seemed impossible. The boilermen were then rounded up (some refused to appear because they had already quit their work) and were asked whether they would be willing to work on the summer schedule, assuming that the stoves did not exist. The boilermen broke down somewhat and said that this could be considered. The administration insisted on this proposal being considered seriously. This discussion took till three in the morning.

The following afternoon another meeting was held to consider the administration proposal. It was interesting that the two considered to be the greatest inu were chairmen for the meeting--these two were Hosokawa, Block Manager of Block 8 and Taura Nakamura, an announcer from Seattle. At this meeting it was decided that the administration was not sincere when ~~they~~ it claimed that they could not increase the number of workers. In some departments ~~they~~ were using twice the number of workers they were actually allotted. The whole matter was turned over to block delegates (who were selected to make the charter, I believe), and they were given the task of carrying on the negotiations from there. A meeting with Stafford is expected this morning, if he does come back from his vacation.

The issue of extra men and that of maintaining "face," in my opinion and in the opinion of others, have become one. The whole issue has become now the maintenance of the demand for extra worker. No compromise solution is satisfactory, not because it won't work, but because a legitimate demand of the people is not being recognized. The administration has offered to ~~fix~~ remove Greene as supervisor of the boilermen and sanitation workers, but this alone is not sufficient. The people now demand concrete proof that the administration recognizes the "character" of the Japanese people. This is a rather sophisticated way of looking at the issue, but which is the way some sophisticated people have looked at the incident and which is indicated by the behavior of the people.

I find myself getting a fairly good picture of the whole trouble. The details of the proceedings I can get only secondhand, but I think I can get enough of it to write a sensible analytical report. My acquaintance with the block people is scant, but I am getting their general reaction. I shall watch out for the influence of Tuleans and their attitude on the trouble. So far, it seems as though very few Tuleans are involved directly, although they probably gave moral support to the people by boasting about how they were in the habit of making demands on the Tule Lake ad-

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ministration and always succeeded in getting what they wanted. What I can't get straight yet is how the young pressure group is operating and whether they are putting any pressure on the negotiation committee. The ones that are likely to get into trouble are the ringleaders of the pressure group and Hatade, the supervisor of the boiler-men. The latter, fortunately, is sick with a cold. Will the people back up any individual who is made a victim by the administration? I have my doubts. We'll probably have investigations, and it's a good thing that I don't <sup>know</sup> anybody around here. Being a Tulean is advantageous because Tuleans are always on the side of the people.

Although this throws my study schedule off, I feel now as though I'm not wasting my time. I was getting along smoothly with the segregation report, but it'll have to wait now. I'm spending more time on my journal than when I first came here so that I won't be able to put all of my time into the segregation report.

I've taken to heart your suggestion to make ~~CDSS~~ references. I shall file away my extra copy of the journal and see what I can do by doing that. I'll try to keep an up-to-date filing system. For this purpose I am asking for a box of one-third cut manila folders. I also want a dozen shorthand notebooks. I am still getting mail sent to my old address--13-3-B. Could you have that changed to 12-12-C?

I am sending journal pages from December 24 to 31.

So much for today.

'Bye,

James Sabody

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
January 8, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I wish sometimes that I could stay at home all of the time and work on the organization of my material. When you're so close to actual happenings in the center, however, you get the urge to go out and discuss problems with people, and before you know it, you're getting involved again. Some time ago I made an effort to get into the inner circle of events. Now I'm making the opposite effort to keep away just far enough not to become too involved, and that's a difficult position to maintain.

At the last joint meeting, for instance, I was the official secretary because Fujii came up and asked me. In a way that was convenient because I can use that one minutes to keep tabs on what is going on within the council. This is not an apology for the work I don't get done, but more of a report of what is happening to me here.

The recent event which you would be interested in is the construction of a grave for Fujii and ten others who were branded as being "national traitors." I've been trying to figure the thing out, but coming when it did, it might be interpreted as a result of the rising tension on the problem of the closing of the center. It should be remembered that Fujii was rumored to have applied for a civil service job with the relocation office. Most of the others on the list can be connected with pro-American, pro-administration, or pro-relocation acts or thoughts. By the extreme group which does not want to leave the center even for seasonal leave, advocating of leaving the center (and thus the necessity for closing the center before the war is over) is a very serious matter. Add to this the feeling of economic<sup>n</sup> security felt by the majority of the people, and I think you can get something of the trend of thought that is developing here in camp. Some men in requesting for more aid for those relocating have stepped on the toes of those who want to stay. You have to be very careful of what you say in public. You see, painful experience has taught me something.

Another matter that is developing is the predicament of the Council in handling the issue of the closing of the center. Fujii has already shown himself to be in favor of some sort of protest. But his unpopularity with the residents in general makes it very difficult for him, since he has only one typist working for him, and she is talking of quitting, too. There is talk now of forming a separate

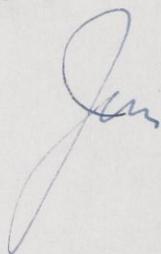
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committee to take care of the closing issue. This would give the council time to hold its election and get reorganized. Part of the closing issue is the sending of delegates to an all-center conference. How the interests of both those who wish to leave and to stay will be taken care of will be an interesting issue. Those who veer too far to one side or other probably will be resented in some quarters. If we get a stable leadership which takes into consideration both groups, then things may proceed fairly smoothly. But if the extremes get in, they can certainly rock the center.

I'm hoping that Fujii knows what's good for him, and keeps out of this new issue as much as possible. But he believes that now is the time when the people need him most.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be "Jim", written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping tail.

January 12, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I must apologize for not having answered your letters, or acknowledged receipt of your Journal. I have still been suffering from the after-effects of the flu, but am all right now.

First, your letter of December 29: I approve of the topics that you have selected to emphasize in your collection of basic data. In regard to the point that you raise about when it is legitimate to generalize, I would say go ahead and organize your data and make some tentative generalizations, then we can submit this for criticism to other people and get some reactions to them. I see no harm in generalizations on this tentative basis. In fact, I think it really clarifies the problems.

I am sending you a copy of your Segregation notes in case you want to cut the set up and use it in various parts of your report. This is not complete as it doesn't contain the parts that you have typed up since you arrived in Minidoka.

In regard to the Block Analysis, I think you can get a great deal out of it. "X" made a recent observation which I am going to ask him to elucidate, namely, that in Poston the community organization was largely on a block-wise basis in the beginning, but that is no longer true.

I am not absolutely clear about what sort of tabulation you want us to make in the office here. We can do anything with the cards that you wish, as they are really in pretty good order. So, if you will sit down and make a detailed plan I will be glad to fill it out.

Regarding deYoung and the course with Warner. I think it would be well for you to write Warner immediately and tell him that you are beginning on your work. You remember that he promised to give you a reading list, and since it may take some time for me to assemble the books for you, you'd better let me know as soon as possible. Incidentally, have you got my copy of Charles Johnson's book on the Negro? If so, I would appreciate having that back at your convenience.

We have sent a check for \$25.00 to Minnie Nakano. We are enclosing several citizenship blanks. Will you please have her, and anyone else who is going to work for you, fill them out, as it is easier for us to pay them on what we call the General Assistance payroll than in a lump sum. We are also enclosing blanks which they must fill in in connection with the income tax deductions.

Turning now to your letter of January 2: In regard to the amount of your check.- Mrs. Wilson has got the following informa-

tion. Your total salary per month, including the emergency increase, is \$112.50. Up to the present, your deductions have been as follows: Income Tax \$11.60; Retirement \$4.38; Bonds \$6.25, total \$22.23, but in the future, due to the fact that you are married, your tax is greatly reduced and your deductions will amount to \$12.33, made up as follows: Income Tax \$1.70; Retirement \$4.38; Bonds \$6.25. You understand, I believe, that the amount you are putting in for retirement is not a loss. When you leave the University you will, after a long period in which the accounting office will get the thing straight, receive all the money that you have contributed toward retirement.

I am checking up on the Journals that you are interested in and will let you know about them later. I have been informed that the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, edited by Allport, is better than the Journal of Social Psychology edited by Murchison.

In regard to deYoung once more. I agree that you must be on good terms with him, but you must remember that you have to protect your status as an observer, and you cannot get too closely tied up with the administration. If you are too closely identified with de Young, I am afraid that some of your sources of information will be dried up.

Now in regard to your very interesting letter of January 7. Nothing at all has appeared in the papers here about the strike in Minidoka. The California press doesn't seem to be interested in any of the Relocation Projects except Tule Lake, Manzanar, Gila and Poston, so that we get very little, if any, information or notice about the others. This strike situation interests me greatly, and also your observations about the inu. It seems to demonstrate pretty clearly that there is a common pattern of behavior in all the Relocation Projects and that Minidoka is at last showing overt manifestations of this pattern. I shall certainly look forward to getting more detail, and I am sure that you are making every effort to pick up all the information you can.

We have put in the order for the supplies that you want. I don't understand what mail is still being sent to you at 13-3-B, since we changed your address in the accounting office and for the supplies, and certainly all of our letters go to 12-12-C. Let us know if you are still having trouble.

Your Journal is very interesting indeed, and I can see that you are getting around and getting the reactions of many types of people. It is particularly important to follow through on the Tuleans in their relations with the Minidokans and that you seem to be doing excellently.

In regard to the points that you raise about methodology. I don't think it is necessary for you to send a copy of your Journal to the Chicago office. I agree that the extra copy should be cut up and filed in the way you suggest. Your classification system

sounds good but, of course, you may have to modify it as you go along.

One further note of interest, that is the apparent change in policy regarding resettlement and the reactions of the people. Rosalie Hankey reports that there is more enthusiasm for relocation now at Gila than there has ever been before. This seems to be quite the opposite of the situation that you are observing at Minidoka. Rosalie is coming here in about a week and I will see what sort of information she has organized there. Also, shortly I hope to have some of her reports in order and will send you copies of them.

Let me hear how things are going on, for I am much interested in keeping track of current developments. Give my best to Hattie, and W.I. sends cordial regards to both of you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

P.S. We are also sending a copy of the material we had copied from the Community Analysis Section.

P.P.S. by Morton:

<sup>a</sup> In the stuff that Frank and I collected in Washington, there is a considerable amount of material that pertains directly or indirectly to Minidoka. For example, there are scattered through the minutes of staff meetings references to Minidoka and, especially, comments on the reasons for smooth administration at your Project in data compiled by Solon Kimball on community governments. There are likewise several comments on the absence of self-government at Minidoka by Project officials there, in addition to Kimball's own evaluation. In materials on the cooperatives, community activities, health, fire protection, etc., there are also more or less passing references to Minidoka.

At the moment I am attempting an analysis of national policy and am using practically all of these data. When I am through with them, however, you certainly should see them. The difficulty is that Frank, Rosalie and Tamie should also see them and there are not sufficient copies for each of you to have them at the same time. However, I presume it will be possible to circulate these documents and to let you have them for a period of at least several months. If you are interested in any particular aspect of camp administration, I will be glad to send you what I have, if anything, at your request. Otherwise, the best method probably will be to wait for several months until I am through with the stuff and then we can ship it all to you.

P.P.P.S. by Dorothy:

I am sending you also all of Billigmeier's reports, except the

Population report which I am, of course, going to work over, also the Registration report ( which is, incidentally, the best one he did) which Morton needs now. I have decided to have the Registration report copied since it is so good and will send you a copy.

Since this material is needed by Frank almost immediately, will you please run over all of the reports very quickly and ship them out to him immediately. The one exception is the Segregation report, which you may keep. Remember that we have not had these copied, so please exercise more than usual care with them, as they are the only available copies.

By-the-way, will you let us know whether or not express packages are opened at your end. I was first planning to send this material by express since it was so heavy, then I decided I didn't dare take a chance, so I am sending it by first class mail, even though it is terribly costly. If packages are not opened, I would like to know, so that I can send later things by the cheap method. However, when you send the stuff to Frank, I think you can arrange to send it by express all right.

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
January 14, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for your letter. I was beginning to think that you had forgotten me. I certainly received a lot through the mail all at once. I received the whole bundle of five (?) tied up with a cord. I'm keeping the Community Analysis reports and Bob Billigmeir's segregation report. The rest of Bob's things I shall send to Frank within a couple of days. Now to take up the items one by one.

First, concerning the tabulation from the individual cards. I am faced with the problem of having to make some generalizations concerning people who have reacted in a given way. I have met this problem in writing up my segregation report, but the same holds true in any other issue, such as registration. In the segregation program some people stayed in Tule Lake and others left. Among those who stayed, some were repatriates, having chosen to return to Japan; others were non-repatriates. From my observation I should say that those who left Tule Lake were generally more intelligent, and less likely to be disturbed by rumors than those who stayed in the segregation center. Now, I can make this generalization by making comparisons of individuals and families within my own block. My hand would be strengthened, however, if I could get a tabulation of education and occupation on those who left Tule Lake in comparison to those who stayed. I have observed that Ward VII was fairly well "cleaned out" in the segregation process, whereas Ward VI, which came from Pinedale, too, was not. Very definitely this seems to point to Ward V and the Block 42 Incident as an important factor in holding people in Tule Lake. This is brought home more strongly when you hear such expressions as: "You can't leave after having seen what those soldiers did." But I don't have a tabulation of segregees and non-segregees according to blocks, which I want. Those who were old and with family responsibilities were more reluctant to leave Tule Lake than those who were young and without family responsibilities. We can't tabulate for the latter, but we can for the former. This is the sort of tabulation that I am interested in.

Just offhand I should say that at least three categories should be set up--Repatriates, Other Segregees, Non-segregess. We have a list of repatriates, and from the train lists we can get those who left Tule Lake. The balance would be people who stayed in Tule Lake. This would not be accurate because the train lists have been revised, but even then it would be accurate enough. The items for which the tabulation might be made might include the following:

Education (highest grade completed)  
Occupation (primary)  
Block residence

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Former residence (By state, at least. By town, if possible.)

Age  
Sex

Some of these, like Sex, may not be so important. You may be able to think of other factors for which the tabulation can be made. Any tabulation of the total population will be useful, however, in checking up on the representativeness of the facts that we have been gathering. For this reason, I think a lot of the individual cards, and will be thankful, for any tabulation that can be done. *A separate tabulation of males and females would be of value.*

Next about the course, I shall write to Warner to tell him that I have started my work, as you advise. He wanted me to outline the work I was doing--what would you suggest. I can ask for a reading list in the meantime. Let me see, I could study the social structure of the Minidoka Project, with special consideration of the political structure. I could make my topic a comparative analysis of Minidoka and Tule Lake. Whatever it is, it should be a long-range program stretched over about a year.

I'm sorry about Johnson's book. I sent all of your books back by Bob Spencer, but I also had books that Gundlach had lent me. Gundlach wrote to say that he'll do nothing about your books until you yelled for them. I thought that you might get your book by this time, but since you haven't, could you drop a line to the Psych Department? Let me know if the book has disappeared because I'd like to replace it for you if it has.

Thanks for the information on my financial status. It's good to know where one stands.

[ Concerning my status here on the project, I shall be very careful. We have a curious situation here because of the fact that Tuleans are looked upon as being troublemakers. The ones I have been able to approach most easily have been the dissatisfied elements who constantly talk of the poor leadership here. They come to us Tuleans as if to ask for support against these bootlicking leaders. I have taken advantage of this situation and the fact that I can pass as a Kibei and on top of that I have a leave clearance hearing coming up. During the recent janitor conflict I found it more difficult to approach the leaders who were cooperative to the administration than I did in contacting quite spontaneously those who were dissatisfied. I want to keep just enough contact with the Community Analysis Section so that I can get the administration point of view and get documentation for my own analyses--minutes of meetings, etc. Even without these and without the background on the project, I have thought through part of the social structure and attitudes found acceptable here and dissatisfactions that have been expressed within the last couple of months ] and feel that I can make as good an analysis as can be done by the Reports Officer or the Community Analysis Division.

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What I probably miss more than anything else is a person with whom I can discuss my problems frankly. DeYoung, I'm sorry to say, is leaving this project at the end of the month. He's expecting to go to Washington to take up the job of Assistant to Spicer, or perhaps take up another job.

At this end there is no inspection of express or postal packages. They don't even inspect the baggages the seasonal workers bring in. So that it's perfectly safe to send things by express.

I had some encouraging words from Obayashi, and I still may be able to get something from him. He's still afraid to send anything through. We'll just keep our fingers crossed. A report on the place was written by Opler, Spicer and Bigelow (Minidoka), but I suppose you can get that later.

[ Now about that strike that we had here. I never got so many surprises in all my life. I was all for the event because I thought that the people would get together and upset the authoritarian setup here even slightly. Well, nothing doing--by the time it was all over I was more disgusted than I have ever been. More than anything else I was impressed with the fact that the thinking of the people from Tule Lake is quite different from that of the Minidokans. It was for that reason that I was left with my mouth gaping wide open. Here's what happened.

I mentioned the last time that on January 5, when the strike began, the block managers were called in. I said that they had carried on courageously. Well, I was mistaken. Even at that time they were willing to settle on the administration request--the boilermen go back to work on the old schedule, leaving the six stoves to be kept going by the block people or somebody. However, the block delegates, who were called in at the same time, thought that a better solution could be reached. They gave the impression that they would bargain for more than did the block managers. Well, they wouldn't call themselves a negotiation committee, and insisted that they were a arbitration committee. A very poorly worded demand was sent to Myer. Stafford at the same time told Myer that his stand was that there could be no increase of workers because of budget limitations. After that, it was easy for Stafford. Myers reply came back, refusing an increase, although room was left for further negotiation with the project director. Would they make a demand for extra worker? No. In one part of the project there was a water shortage because taps were kept running all night to prevent the pipes from freezing--very considerate of the colonists, you see. People had gone without hot water for six days. The committee, according to one member, was afraid that there would be conflicts among the people if hot water were not furnished immediately. Did they consider asking what the ~~the~~ people thought about the matter? No, it never occurred to them (This was a common pattern in Tule Lake.) Without making any more demands, they accepted the

January 14, 1944

administration offer, and asked the boilermen to go back to work/ on the old schedule. This left the problem of the stove on the lap of the block people, unless the janitors took care of them for them.

The people "lost," of course, even though the boilermen got what they wanted. According to DeYoung, the people were sold down the river by the arbitration committee. Tuleans feel this and also think that the boilermen stabbed them in the back. They shouldn't have gone back to work without first having seen to it that the demand of the people for extra personnel to take care of the stoves was met or satisfied in some way. If the demand were not satisfied, they should have kept away from their work. But the Minidoka people don't seem to be particularly concerned about the way in which the settlement was reached--they're glad to have hot water again. They don't mind having to take care of the stoves so very much--Tuleans feel that the stab-in-the-back boilermen should take care of the stoves now. Some Minidokan feels that it was a fifty-fifty affair, with neither the people nor the administration having lost. Well, I was never so disgusted in all my life, and that accounts for the language. I couldn't say a word for awhile when the settlement was reached, and then all I could do was cuss.

Calming down a little now, I've started <sup>to</sup> analyze the project here, and I've started with something like this:

## I. Social Structure

### A. Administration

#### 1. Authoritarian

- a. Administrative policies considered more important than evacuee needs
- b. Impersonal relationship with evacuees.
- c. Lack of evacuee power.

#### 2. Benevolent (This seems to be largely a fallacy.)

- a. Signs of:
- b. Signs of lack of:
  1. Lack of understanding of evacuee psychology.
  2. Lack of consideration of their demands.

### B. Evacuee Leadership

1. Chosen by administration
2. Cooperates with administration
3. Is authoritarian towards people, indicated by:
  - a. Does not consult people often.
  - b. Maintains an air of authority.
  - c. Often considers administrative policy more important than evacuee needs.
4. Opposite sign: Move to create self-govt.

### C. People (Greatly divided)

1. Some cooperative, believes in status quo.
2. Indifferent, "can't-be-helped attitude."
3. Others dissatisfied. (Was a minority until Tuleans came in. Still is.)

Dorothy--5

January 14, 1944

- II. Lack of organization (*Maladjustment*)
- A. Lack of Leader-People coordination
    - 1. Accusation of inu toward leaders.
    - 2. Lack of consultation of people by leaders.
    - 3. Needs of people not championed by leaders.
    - 4. Accusation of leaders being "show-offs".
  - B. Lack of solidarity among the people
    - 1. Lack of common attitude toward leaders and administration.
    - 2. Indifference toward community affairs.
    - 3. Individualism. Each-one-for-himself attitude.
  - C. People dominated by fears:
    - 1. Of being an inu.
    - 2. Of being placed on the "blacklist."
    - 3. Of increased voluntary work/ and employment cuts.
    - 4. Forced relocation.
  - D. Signs of degeneration
    - 1. Increased vice
      - Gambling, gossiping, prostitution, juvenile delinquency.
    - 2. Lack of constructive activity
      - e.g.--recreation, adult ed.
    - 3. Lack of vigor among people
    - 4. Lack of pride in own culture.

This is only a tentative working outline for Minidoka prior to Tulean influx. I have taken the concept roughly of organization and disorganization in ~~describing~~ portraying the cross-section picture of Minidoka. As a prelude to the boilermen conflict I would have to point out the increasing pressure put on the people by the administration, especially in the matter of employment cuts. Another factor that will have to be indicated is the influence of Tule Lake people on the thinking of the people here. With this background I want to ~~point~~ introduce the boilermen conflict as the flare-up resulting from past maladjustment, during which period an attempt is made at readjustment of old patterns. As I have stated before, that attempt--in my mind--has been a total failure, largely because of the strength of past habits of acting, thinking, feeling. I think that I have fairly good documentation for this analysis, although most of it is still in shorthand.

Sunday, January 16, 1944

Yesterday the block people volunteered for hauling coal for the block, since the coal crew is practically nonexistent. All day long I was lifting baskets of coal, carrying them, or heaving them into a dump truck. I was all fagged out yesterday, and today I'm still a bit stiff. It slowed down my work, but it put me in good with a great many people in the block. It's just another effort on the part of the observer to become more of a participant.

Dorothy--6

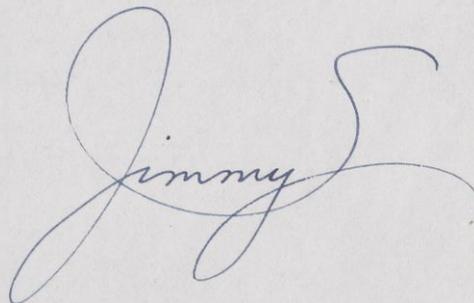
January 16, 1944

One of the most interesting thing about Minidoka is the set of attitudes the people here have developed, which is so different from the attitudes found acceptable generally in Tule Lake. This difference is brought about rather clearly by the difference in the attitudes of Tuleans here in contrast with the Minidokans, both of whom came from the same general region. Undoubtedly we shall have to delve deep into the background of the Minidokans for the basic sources of their "cooperative" adjustment. One other factor which seems very important to me is the attitude taken by the administration. Morton has mentioned it in the last letter. While I do not want any specific material at present, it will be helpful to me if I could have the attitude of the Washington office toward the Minidoka administration later on. I shall get what I can from this end, and we can check on each other's data. In order not to emphasize the difference between Tuleans and Minidokans, I shall keep in mind looking for similarities, too. I shall have to remember that Tuleans are an outgroup, and differences are likely to be exaggerated.

Hattie is having difficulty shaking off her cold entirely, but she is not too sick. Hattie is going to cook a chicken tonight, and we are invit~~ing~~ing mom and dad over. We get along well with them, too, because they take care not to disturb us too much. Hattie had to hint around about this being her house when mom started to tell her how to do things. We're over the worst part, I believe. Dad likes to read, and I have a set of about 60 volumes of good Japanese literature which keeps him quite happy. Mom doesn't know what to do with herself a lot of times, and goes visiting a lot. ~~About~~ For about a week after we came back from Chicago we didn't get up to eat breakfast in the messhall, but now we got up at seven regularly. Hattie, I'm afraid, is ~~getting~~ gaining weight.

I guess that's about enough for this time. My best regards to W.I. Hattie agrees with him that Freud is "nuts." My best regards to Mrs. Wilson and Morton.

As ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy S.", written in dark ink.

January 21, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I was glad to get your long letter of January 14. I think your plan for the tabulation that we should make is very good indeed. Of course, eventually we will have detailed tabulations from WRA, but I do not believe it would be a waste of time to get the points that you want now. WRA has agreed to send to Tule Lake for a complete set of the revised train lists, so I believe we can get the thing with a fair degree of accuracy. I'll experiment a little with some tabulations and see how they come out. Your suggestions are really very good.

I am sorry to hear that deYoung is leaving, because that means you'll have to make a new contact, which is always difficult. I think you have sized up the questions regarding your status very well, and I am sure you'll have no trouble.

Regarding Obayashi. We are trying to arrange to send Rosalie Hankey, who is in Berkeley at present, to Tule Lake for two days on February 2 and 3. She has some excellent contacts there through some of the people who were segregated from Gila. I wonder whether she could get in touch with Obayashi, or whether he would feel that contact with a Caucasian was endangering his status? Will you please give me advice on this matter. I am hoping that once Hankey has established some contacts she can go up there from time to time and give us some sort of follow-up on what is going on. She gets along extraordinarily well with the Japanese people, and has made very remarkable contacts at Gila. She knows how to keep their confidence and is quite aware of the dangers of the inu stigma.

I was certainly surprised at your report on the outcome of the strike. I am afraid that I felt like an ex-Tulean myself, because I had the same reactions that you had about the behavior of the Minidokans. It is certainly turning out that this Minidoka situation is going to be one of the most interesting that our study has yet developed, and I am sure that you are not now regretting you went there.

I took the liberty of sending parts of your Journal bearing on the original struggles between the Tuleans and the Minidokans, and also your report of the Spanish Consul conference, to "X". I am enclosing his comments, and wish you would please return them to me. As you know, "X" is a very harsh critic, so I think you should feel very good about his complimentary remarks, because he certainly doesn't give them without

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
January 23, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

This last week I have been working quite hard trying to finish typing my journal. I am~~x~~ sending you a little over a hundred ~~pages~~ of it, which represent my observation from January 3 to January 22. In spite of my handicap of not knowing many people here and of having moved from one block to another, I think I have gotten some interesting documentation, especially on the comparison of Minidokans and Tuleans/ on the boilermen walkout. You'll notice that I've slipped in a few material that I have gathered. I shall try to get more of the minutes of the various meetings, and I shall indicate where they are to be slipped in. In ~~xxxx~~ general, I shall insert such material into my journal by date, giving it a ~~item~~ number, too.

Just as I catch up with one thing another comes along on its heel. This time, of course, it's the draft, which may wash everything up for good. Everybody is talking about it, and for the next week I shall record practically nothing but ways and means of evading the draft or going to the front, or getting killed. I shall have to do a little thinking on the matter myself, but I am reserving that till a little later. Sometimes I think that it might be best to let things drift, and end up where I happen to end up. I still have the alternative of trying to get a draft deferrable job, but at the present time I am not thinking seriously about it. It wouldn't be so bad if I had only myself to think of, but now I have to think of Hattie, too. I was aware of this problem when I was married. I'd like to have your opinion on this matter.

Could you send a check for \$5 to Kazuko Tanabe. This is money I owe her <sup>for</sup> ~~xxxx~~ work in Tule Lake, and work which she did since then. I asked her to type my journal for May for me, but she wasn't able to complete it. I'm going to have Minnie do it. Kazuko's address is:

20 S. 13th ~~xx~~ East Street, Apt. 1  
Salt Lake City  
Utah

1/27  
It seems that I can't complete any report. I'm becoming more and more impressed with the fact that elaborate reports are just out of the question, unless everything else is ignored,~~x~~ which I don't think you'll wish at this time. I think sketchy analyses written into my journal will have to take place of some of the reports that I ought to be writing up.

Both Hattie and I are coming along fine. I hope to hear from you soon.

'Bye,

*Laura Sakadz*  
4

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
January 27, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I'm always <sup>glad</sup> to hear from you. First about Obayashi. I think that Rosalie can contact him if he is working at the Social Welfare Department and the contact is made at the office rather casually. Otherwise, I think that it would be better if she looked up her friends from Gila. I'm not sure whether our friend is going to come through, but if he is, I think that it's best not to complicate matters. I've heard from one of Hattie's Kibei friends that people <sup>at Tule Lake</sup> have voted to go back to work, but that those who were for holding out are calling those who are going back to work unpleasant names. He himself is disgusted with the whole situation and feels that if the people in Japan heard about the way the Japanese have been acting within the center, they would consider it shameful.

[ Reading X's comments on my journal was certainly an eye-opener. Many of the points that he picked out for comments were included rather casually, and he was able to <sup>see</sup> meaning or significance into them. His analysis of the attitude of the Minidoka people was certainly enlightening, since I had not given the matter such serious scrutiny. We didn't seem to agree quite as well on the attitude of the people toward the Spanish Consul, and it might be possible to account for some of this by the fact that Minidoka is a relative "loyal" center, where the people have been reluctant to <sup>or show pro-Japan sentiments</sup> make complaints. Some Tuleans were on the committee which worked up the grievances to be presented to both the Spanish Consul and to Myers. That section on "forced relocation" which was highly emotionalized with half-truths, I figured, could be the work of only a Nisei who had a tremendous dislike of the administration. When I read that section I immediately thought of Kenji Ito, and I have learned subsequently that it was he who was given the task of writing up all of the suggestions. I shall, of course, get ~~you~~ you a copy of that document in time. Comparative analyses, I am finding, is a very powerful instrument in getting reliability and validity, and I hope we can work out a system whereby we can keep comparing the various centers. I shall, of course, use Tule Lake for my base for comparison. Much of the work, along this line, I hope, can be left up to you. Thanks to X for his illuminating comments. ]

The memo on the thoughts of the Washington office was very interesting. It's interesting to know that Tuleans are not in special favor up there. When I read that the project officials too were being blamed for anything that went wrong, I had a feeling that Myer was irritated by

Dorothy--2

January 27, 1944

the fact that Stafford ruled with an iron hand, but still avoided conflicts within the camp. I wonder how much consolation he'll get to learn that there is an underlying dissatisfaction here among the people which is now cropping up, although I may be entirely wrong on this point. We, Tuleans, of course, try to correct any wrong ideas that Minidokans have about the real project situation, and maybe that's why Tuleans are blamed for some of the incidents that have occurred. If the people learn that the Washington office is out to start closing down projects, I'm afraid that they are going to be seized with the sort of fear that makes relaxation difficult. It's going to mean that people are going to feel so uncertain about making plans, fixing up their ~~rooms~~ apartments, organizing things, beautifying the block, etc. Everytime a project is emptied it's going to mean moving families out of apartments to make room for incoming people, friction between newcomers and old timers. It is going to mean that dissatisfaction is going to increase and <sup>that</sup> the situation is ~~going to be~~ <sup>may</sup> "fluid" enough to make possible incidents, which no one likes. Oh, well, that's not for me to say.

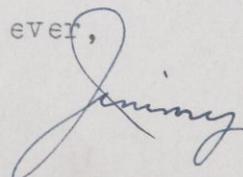
The draft situation has been eclipsed by the political developments here. There was a nominating convention ~~of~~ for candidates for the commissioners of the community council --seven persons who can strut around feeling that they are the top seven in the whole project. Interest is not extremely high, but there is enough interest in it. There seems to be more than a normal interest in getting individuals as candidates who are not afraid of the administration. At least half of the candidates are what I would term middle-of-the-roaders, and presumably the administration "stooge" is out of the picture entirely. Because the council of seven is elected at large, it is going to be fairly independent of the people, and I'm afraid that the old pattern of not consulting the people very much is going to reassert itself.

It is rather interesting, but the status of a social scientist here on the project is not as difficult as one might suppose. ~~as Dick Kanaya~~, who is deYoung's right hand man and who directed the ~~self-government~~ <sup>organization of</sup> from the Community Analysis office, came in third in the nominating convention. I myself, ~~xxxxxx~~ although hardly known at all was elected as one of the two delegates <sup>from the block</sup> to the convention with the highest vote. Job is scarce enough around here to make the rank of the unemployed not uncommon, and free from suspicion.

I am having Hattie copy documents on the boilermen walkout. Right now I am trying to analyze the data carefully.

My best regards to everyone.

As ever,



January 31, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I was glad to get your letter this morning. The first thing that I want to take up is this matter of draft status. Will you please send me, by return mail, the following information: the name and address of your local draft board; your local order number; the name of your local board chairman, if you have it; the date of your original classification and the date of your subsequent reclassification, if any; the personal circumstances that have changed since the original classification (that is to say, the date of your marriage). We had our first blow this morning when Morton got his 1-A classification and we are immediately starting the process of appeals. I have a feeling that my administrative troubles are going to be terrific from now on.

I received your hundred odd pages on the strike and am reading them and making some notes. After I have finished, I will send them along to "X". You are really getting wonderful material. To my mind, you have got into your stride much better in Minidoka than you did in Tule Lake, at least up until the time of segregation. You are certainly going to make a first-rate study for us, and I am very proud of the work you are doing. I enclose "X's" notes on your Journal of October and November. This business of criticism and comment back and forth is very important. You have expressed very well the value of the comparative method in your last letter, and even though it takes time I think it is decidedly worth going over the manuscripts of other people. I will shortly send you some of Rosalie's reports, and I wonder whether you would like to have me send "X's" Journal in a routine way so that you can run through it and make quick notes of developments? I am not having these things copied, since it doesn't seem necessary, but I could easily send you the things for your perusal. Please return "X's" comments. If you want, you can have someone there copy them for you.

Rosalie goes up to Tule Lake this evening, and I will send you a copy of whatever notes she is able to make in her two days' visit there.

One more news item: Shirrell has resigned from WRA

Jimmy

- 2 -

and is coming through Berkeley within a few days, so I will try to get the low-down on what has happened.

Give my best to Hattie.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

P.S.

We sent a check to Kazuko Tanabe.

PPS.

"X" has a comment to make about certain Japanese patterns which seem to appear in connection with the strike. I quote them, as follows:

"I cite three patterns which are common among the Japanese. Do you think they would apply to J.S's descriptions?

1. Many Japanese once in favor of Caucasians have a tendency to fight against the interest of other Japanese to please the Caucasians or to maintain their status in relation with them.

2. Japanese once settled down and "more or less satisfied" have a tendency to hush up troubles with makeshift compromises, even for temporarily (e.g. Hayano vs. Takahashi trouble in my Journal). This tendency should be strong now, because they are "loyal" and because of what had happened at Tule. I can see many Minidokans said, "We can't afford to have trouble now."

3. Japanese do not tolerate other Japanese on a strike if they are inconvenienced, however righteous the cause may be. They will accuse the strikers as "jeopardizing the welfare of the fellow Japanese." They will ~~not~~ sympathize with a strike of farmers, or of garage mechanics, or of warehouse (other than Food Warehouse) workers. But they will not tolerate a strike of mess workers or of hospital workers.

The newly arrived Tuleans probably will try to drag down the Minidokans in the key positions unless they gain prominent positions for themselves without struggles. With the Tuleans the ambition for recognition and power should be strong.

With the Minidokans "it was a 50-50 affair" with neither side losing. A protective explanation. A defense justification that it could have been worse."

Jimmy:

In my letter to "X" I commented as follows on these points:

"In regard to your first point that Japanese once in favor of Caucasians tend to fight against the interest of other Japanese to please the Caucasians: this seems to me to be an essential part of the semi-caste situation that exists in regard to the Japanese minority, and in fact in regard to any minority living under caste-like conditions. Re the second point, that is, the tendency to hush up troubles, I agree that the strength of this tendency at present is probably directly attributable to the changed definition of loyalty. Regarding the third point, that is, the low tolerance threshold for strikes which cause inconvenience: I do not think that this is peculiar to the Japanese situation or even to the concentration camp attitudes. It happens in regard to labor relations all the time and, except under unusual circumstances, in all countries."

I would like to have your further comments, if any.

February 4, 1944

We should be very careful of our generalizations and interpretations, but I'm glad that through mutual comments we shall be able to make them. I'm in favor of comparing material, and shall be willing to do my share of commenting, although I cannot promise too much of my time on this.

Now, to attempt a few comments on both you and X's comments on the walkout.

1. I agree with both you and X that many Japanese once in favor of Caucasians have a tendency to fight against the interest of other Japanese to please Caucasians and that this is a common pattern (you said essential) in a semi-caste situation. I would not say essential because this would imply knowledge of all semi-caste situations. In this regard, I have noted that this pattern is much more common here in Minidoka than at Tule Lake, and I am interested in trying to find out some of the possible reasons for this. It seems paradoxical that we have a unsympathetic, "strong" administration here and many of the leaders here are characterized as strongly pro-administration. Perhaps, it is not so paradoxical, however, because the leaders in turn rule over the people in a rather dictatorial manner, using the authority of their position as a club. This gives them "status" which can only be maintained by their gaining favors from the administration. The setup here is definitely top-down, and favors are handed down from the top. In Tule Lake the setup was definitely more down-up, and evacuee leaders could not maintain their positions without catering to the wish of the masses. The interesting question here to me is: <sup>is</sup> it very important to individuals on which side ~~of~~ <sup>their</sup> bread is buttered? I am inclined to say "yes." There are undoubtedly other factors involved here. In my analysis I shall touch on this question.

2. Those who are satisfied have a tendency to hush up trouble, but I am not convinced that this is a direct result of the feeling that this is a loyal center. This is possibly true in Poston. Here in Minidoka there was hardly any shift in population due to segregation, and those who left were not active, anyway. Consequently, the consciousness of the center being a "loyal" one has so far not been observed. On the contrary, the trend has been all the other way: increasing boldness on the part of the dissatisfied and an increase in "disloyal" acts--such as discussing the war, protesting against the administration, and recently talk of possible resistance to the drafting of Niseis to special combat units. I would not be surprised if Minidoka "reacted" and became one of the more troublesome centers.

3. Inconvenience undoubtedly caused ~~the~~ much of the opposition to the walkout here. The interesting point to me is that the Minidokans set up the walkout in such a

Dorothy--3

February 4, 1944

way as to make the people suffer. This might have been due to the lack of experience of the people with strikes, but I am inclined to favor the idea that they felt that this was an effective way of achieving results from past experience. The question arises, how did the people try to improve their condition here in the past? We know that they didn't put up more than weak protests. Was their method of-gaining ends inclined to be submissive? I shall touch on all of these points in my analysis.

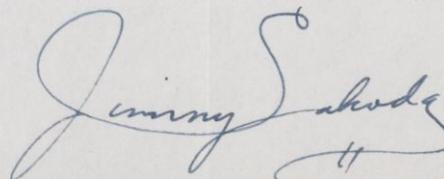
I must say a word about the draft situation before I close. After the flurry of excitement on the first one or two days interest died down, until reclassifications, orders to report for physicals, questionnaires (304-A) began to arrive in considerable number. Many have received 1-A classifications, even those with five children. Resentment is great over the announcement that Niseis are to be used exclusively in the two combat teams. The teams are interpreted by most Isseis as being the means of discriminating against Niseis in the Army and of conveniently using them in the most dangerous places, and perhaps of doing away with them with a torpedo or machine-gun when there is no further use for them. Most Isseis feel that the Nisei has good reason to complain that they do not want to be in a special combat. Others add that their rights should be restored to them before they are required to take up arms for their country. I'm afraid that Myer is going to be in a tough spot if these outbreaks of indignation becomes widespread. The situation could be allayed somewhat if loopholes could be found for the most acute cases, but so far farm work seems to be the only way out, and the people have their farms back on the Coast. Draft boards in the North are taking advantage of the situation it seems and drafting Nisei pre-war fathers, while deferring Hakuji pre-war fathers who were already destined to be reclassified. The atrocities stories are not doing any good, either. I shall keep a close tab on this situation because it is very important. The ambivalent attitude of the Nisei is clearly brought out in many individuals, and some of them are on the verge where they feel that they have nothing to lose by refusing to be drafted into a special combat team.

I may have to let the segregation report go for some time, with so many things coming up. I think you'll agree with me that it's more important to get basic data first. Much of the segregation material is "cold" now, anyway.

Hattie is a great help now since she types for me whenever I ask her. She's a little worried about me, but we get along better and better.

My best regards to W.I., Morton, Mrs. Wilson and Rosalie.

As ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Sakoda". The signature is written in dark ink and includes a small flourish at the end.

February 9, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I was indeed glad to get your letter of February 4. Enclosed is a statement of the latest information I have received about the draft. As far as you are concerned, I think the situation is favorable, so don't get too much disturbed if, after you have your leave clearance, you get what amounts to an induction order. It would be a great tragedy for me if you had to leave the study too soon. But it looks to me really as if you are going to be in a better position than almost anybody else, since I don't believe they will come to your name in time to take you in as a replacement, and that means that you'll unquestionably get a reserve status. Frank has already had his pre-induction physical examination notice. He was the first one of the Nisei to get any notification. As soon as he gets his 1-A, I shall institute an appeal. However, he doesn't want to be deferred beyond July 1, as he feels his post-war status will be better if he actually gets into the army. Since he got his orders so soon, it may well be that he will be taken as one of the replacements. I have very little hope of keeping Morton, unless he has some physical defect which certainly is not apparent at present. He is working about 70 hours a week, and is really getting his stuff in order, but you realize how much I shall hate to have him go.

Your comments on the draft situation are very interesting. By-the-way, I think it would be better if you do not spread the news I have given you about the reserve status that most of the Nisei will be put in. Continue to get as many reactions as you possibly can.

On the first page of your letter you say you are writing a running comment on the material and keeping the reactions of Tuleans separate from Minidokans, and that, if I want you to, you can send the material as you have sorted it. I think that is a very good idea. In that case, I assume that you want me to examine it and perhaps get some comparative reactions, then return it to you. Is this correct?

Give my best to Hattie and tell her not to worry too much. I am awfully glad that she is helping you so much. Everyone here sends regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

considerable thought. In regard to one point, he misunderstood me. That is, I had indicated that the Minidokans had emphasized the point of enforced relocation at the Spanish Consul meeting, whereas the Postonians had not. He thought I meant that the Postonians had not worried about relocation, whereas it is a matter of great concern to the people on the project. I think we will get considerable value from these comparative studies if we can rather frequently exchange some of the documents and if each person who reads them will send in frank comments and criticisms. I believe that "X" and Hankey will both have material of interest to you and I will, from time to time, send things along.

In regard to your outline of analysis of the project, my only criticism at present is that you should get somewhat more of the structuralization of the whole evacuee population. Their political organization, and so on. Otherwise, the various points that you mention seem to me satisfactory.

I am enclosing, also, a confidential memorandum on a conversation I had yesterday with some of the big boys from WRA. Please return this also.

I don't know whether or not you are much disturbed about the recent change in Nisei draft status. I have been informed that they will start the actual process of drafting very soon. You'll not be in any immediate danger, since you are on the stop list and I will, of course, make every possible effort to get you deferred, provided you are reclassified. I'll give you instructions later about what to do in case you receive your classification. I'll keep you informed about what is going on.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosures

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
February 14, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

The resistance to the draft has quieted down somewhat. Some of those who felt that they might get somewhere by praying for a mass resistance, are finding that it is not developing. If there is anything of the sort, it will probably be on a very small scale and unorganized, except perhaps for some Kibeis. Niseis just can't get together on a thing like this, which in itself is an interesting fact. Some kids who talked of refusing to go for their physical are now saying that they might go out to a farm. The young kids, as soon as they find out that there isn't much that can be done, probably will quiet down, and take their fate in stride. The older folks are still wailing and grumbling. Quite a number of the old women have signed a petition asking for ~~xxxx~~ fair<sup>er</sup> treatment for the Japanese, and that will help to let off some steam. The resentment which the people now feel toward the way in which they have been treated can only grow, especially when the boys leave home.~~xxx~~ Some cultural factors, such as their concept of loyalty, are greatly overshadowed by other circumstances, such as resentment toward unequal treatment. The split between the Caucasians and the Japanese is so great now that I'm afraid it's going to show up in all sorts of places. Notice Fistere's answer to a question asked by a Nisei about ~~x~~ draft deferrable jobs at a relocation meeting. The reactionaries on the Coast are going to like this. Incidentally, all this shows the weakness of a democracy which does not fully carry out its ideal.

I am~~x~~ sending some journal pages, including those for last weekend, as soon as I can get to the postoffice. We woke up this morning to find six inches of snow on the ground. I am also returning X's comments, and some back pages to be inserted into the journal.

I am still working on the analysis of the boilermen conflict. It's more or less an experiment in interpretation, and will be open to criticism.

I am running out of staples again and would like to have you get some for me, if possible. I tried to get them in Twin Falls, but learned that at the only place where they sold them they came with the stapler. The brand is Commander, No. 411. They come in square green boxes, and are sold at some dime store. Could you get me two boxes, of them? I shall pay you for them if you will let me know how much they cost.

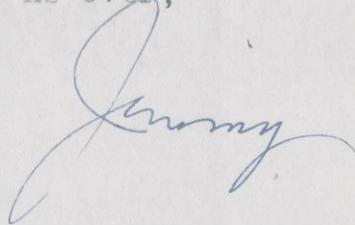
Dorothy--2

February 14, 1944

For the last week or so no notices from the draft board have been coming in. Perhaps, this was done in order not to get all of the people aroused at once, or perhaps some of the draft boards are just slower than others. I haven't received ~~xx~~ a thing, as yet.

Best regards to everyone.

As ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed phrase "As ever,".

February 17, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

Was glad to get your letter of February 14. Since you didn't refer to it, I imagine you haven't yet received mine. This is just a hasty note to tell you that in case you get your 1-A classification you must telegraph me immediately, collect. In the telegram give the date appearing on your notice, showing when your reclassification occurred. I don't really anticipate fast action, but some of the California boards, notably Alameda, have, I notice, already sent out their reclassifications.

Will see whether we can get the staples for you and send them along, if possible.

Hastily yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
February 21, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I imagine that there's a letter from you in the mail, but the mailmen on the project have gone on a strike and we ~~xxxxx~~ haven't received a mail for several days now.

The news that Niseis are due for a reserve classification is certainly an astounding one, because so much fuss is being made about the draft. The parents are most concerned about sacrificing their sons for a worthless cause, and some of the boys are prepared to go to jail in order to protest the unfair treatment that Japanese are receiving. If it is true that the vast majority of Niseis will be shelved for some time, they are going to be played for suckers. It's difficult to imagine the amount of upheaval that the prospective draft has ~~xxxxx~~ caused, unless you're right here on the spot. Even those who came from Tule Lake are saying that it's better to go back there than to join an Army and be discriminated against. While in some centers they seem to have organized a mass resistance, so far in this center no organizing influence has appeared on the scene. On the other hand, the number leaving the project in search of farm jobs is increasing. Tomorrow the first batch of kids are expected to get up around four in the morning to be in Boise in time for their physical. What will happen to those who do not appear for their physicals is difficult to judge. Stafford has been observed to be quite worried over the development of the resistance, but has stated that he has matters well in hand. I'm wondering to what extreme Stafford is prepared to go.

A few days ago the mailmen struck when their force was reduced in half and each mailman was expected to deliver mail to four blocks instead of two. This was attempted once before, and this time they are actually trying to enforce this change. The block managers have refused to touch the mail bags which come to their offices. The people are too worried about the draft to give this matter too much thought.

The dentists have gone on a strike, too, because of an attempt to cut down their number. Cuts are also being made in messhalls, and the crew in our block is beginning to become sullen.

Stafford, I'm afraid, is surprised at recent developments within the project, and probably is blaming a great deal of it on Tuleans. He's only finding, I think, that his

Dorothy--2

February 21, 1944

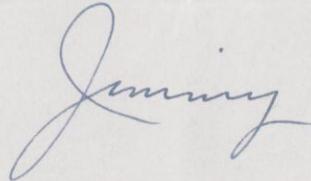
dictatorial methods do not always work.

I'm trying to finish up the preliminary analysis of the boilermen walkout, so that I can get on to something else. I may attempt a running comment on the draft situation, since I have some material to work on now. Future developments may change the situation, but it will not change the reactions which have already taken place, and which I consider to be very significant. On this matter, X and I can compare notes later. The sort of thing going on ~~ix~~ among Niseis in Chicago will also make an interesting contrast to what is happening in camp. In the meantime I am getting Hattie to copy some of the material that I should have gotten before. There's more material on the boilermen thing that I have to get yet.

I am sending some journal pages for this month up till yesterday. I am also sending journal pages for May last year which I had Minnie type for me. There is also some extra material, too.

Just received your letter. I can't tell you ~~xxxx~~ when the airmail came because the delivery of the mail was delayed several days.

As ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy".

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
February 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Your latest note, dated February 18, and postmarked February 20, p.m., I received on February 24, a.m. We are having mail delivery only once a day now, and that's on a "voluntary" basis--someone from each barrack has to go to the block manager's office to get the mail for the whole barrack.

I think I have sent the missing journal item, # 1 for 2/7/44. If I have not, please let me know.

I am returning the tabulation form with very little comment, since I believe that there is nothing that I could add to it at the moment. I wish there were some way of getting the family composition in terms of number of children, their age and their sex. The train list gives a fairly good idea of the family composition of those leaving, but does not give the composition for those staying. Whoever can get hold of the interview sheets used during the segregation program can really make a good study along ~~with~~ this line, especially if he has witnessed some of the families in action. For the present we can see what we'll get with what you have set up.

I do not think that it is wise to combine blocks in the beginning. Just offhand I would not want to suggest any combination of blocks because the basic unit within the project has been the block. I am sending you an analysis of each block on the basis of locality from which the people came. It doesn't seem very accurate to me because, my block, which is pictured as being California city, is almost wholly California rural of the extreme sort (delta region). From this one guesses that combination of blocks into ward units is about as good as any. But there are certain blocks which one would like to keep track of--such as, 42 and blocks surrounding it; 4, which was considered the headquarters for the Kibei group; 25 and 38, largely composed of delta region people; 71 the "garbage can" block; 73, Dr. Ichihashi's block; 7, 8, 9, medical blocks; etc. For a real understanding of the situation it would seem that an intense study of individuals, families, blocks is necessary. But a tabulation of the entire population will serve as sturdy guideposts in making generalizations.

I wonder if Bob Spencer ever gave you my registration folder to be copied. I find myself wanting to refer to it now and then in reference to this draft situation which we are facing now. If I am to write an analysis some time in the near future, I would like to have my registration folder on hand, if possible. However, I am not in any rush for it.

Dorothy--2

February 26, 1944

The mass resistance here on the project never developed. If anyone entertained any thought or hope of one, it was dashed to pieces when the first and second batch of boys totally 120 reported for their physical, with the possible exception of 2. Of the first groups 97 were accepted, and the project residents are rather glum about the whole affair. There has been some exodus from the project to farms in the hopes of securing draft-deferrable jobs. The people are expecting the worst.

Stafford evidently never quite understood what was going on within the project because he released a statement to the press recently that since the segregation of the loyal from the disloyal has begun "pro-Japanese" elements have become active within the center, meaning that any trouble that has started since segregation is to be blamed on the Tuleans. For the present I'm steering clear of the administration office.

The newly elected council and block commissioners are slowly getting into action. The power of the block managers probably has fallen considerably. Some of the pro-administration "personal advisors" ~~xx~~ will probably lose much of their former influence. I predict, however, that the Council, elected at large, will be fairly highhanded and independent of the block residents and block commissioners. If it is true that Stafford means to control the Council, then it is going to have a tough fight on its hands.

One other situation worth watching is the effect of employment cuts. There has been a few feeble strikes within the project, but none of them very serious.

There has been rumors floating around that those listed by the WRA as questionable in loyalty will not be drafted. This includes presumably all those who were required to have leave clearance hearings before they could get indefinite leave. Another rumor in line with that is that all persons listed as Kibeis by the WRA will not be drafted. If you have any information on this subject, will you let me know? I haven't had my hearing yet, although I have gone to the ad building and have asked about it.

I am still working on the analysis of the boilermen walkout. I have taken steps to get hold of one or two more important documentations of meetings. Dr. Armbruster seems to be all right, although I haven't seen much of him yet.

I forgot to tell you that I have received a reply from Dr. Warner to a letter I wrote to him about the course I am taking from him. I am expected to read the following books:

Lynd's Middletown  
Zorbaugh's The Gold Coast and the Slum

Dorothy--3

February 26, 1944

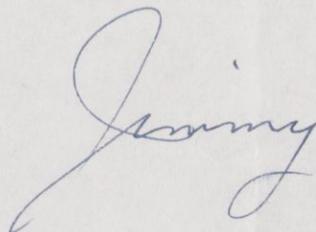
Wirth's The Ghetto  
Embree's Suye Mura  
Redfield's Folk Cultures of Yucatan  
Whyte's Street Corner Society  
Davis and Gardner's Deep South  
Warner and Lunt's Yankee City Series

I am presumably to read these books and send in a report to him. I am now reading Suye Mura and can get hold of Deep South. I have Middletown. As soon as I finish ~~xxx~~ Suye Mura, I'll start on Deep South. I'd appreciate it if you'll get me one other book for about April, perhaps Yankee City. I'm afraid that's about my speed at present. From reading Suye Mura I know what my criticism of many of these works is going to be. The formal structure does not give too much incite into human behavior. For instance, soldiers from the ~~xxxxxx~~ country are supposed to give the Japanese Army their reputed strength, but so far I do not feel that Suye Mura reveals this., I know I am going to be prejudiced toward demanding more dynamics and less formal structure, which at the same time means a definite emphasis on individuals, so you might as well watch out for it.

I have just received you letter dated February 23 and post-marked 8.30 p.m. It is 10 a.m. right now, so that regular mail takes about two and a half days or three days. Don't you think that airmail will be just about the same?

I'd better close now and get back to work. Best regards to W.I.

'Bye,



12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
March 9, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I thought that I'd wait until I heard from you before I wrote a letter again, but since I have a little time left this morning after writing up my journal, I am taking this opportunity to make my comments on the Harpers article by John Morris. I quite agree with X that the article seems to be without bias. You get the feeling that for once you get a picture of people and not of monsters. With this picture of Japan and of Japanese one is able to gap the wide difference between the Issei concept of Japan and what one reads nowadays in the newspapers. The truth probably lays somewhere in between, and this article seems to be just that.

To go on with the comments: "For the first few days there was an air of bewilderment about the people; nobody seemed quite to believe that Japan had actually entered the war." When I was in Japan until 1939, there was talk of a possible war with America. A professor, for instance, advised me not to return to America because I would be caught in a war soon, and I may not have the chance to hop a ship back to Japan. If the people in Japan were surprised at the outbreak of hostilities, one can imagine why the Japanese on the Coast were so upset, since very few among them even imagined that a war between Japan and America could be possible.

"As for the pound of sugar and two bottles of beer which everyone was allowed to purchase in order to mark the surrender of Singapore, I must confess that I gratefully accepted them." (A Japanese would probably say that this was typical of Americans. They don't have firm principles. They don't care so much about pride.

"The virtue of dying for one's betters, that is to say for one's country, was instilled to the exclusion of any other theme." The degree to which these accepted virtues are driven home to the people is surprising. The family, the school, the community all exert their influence to see to it that the people learn the fundamental virtues which must be observed. Of these virtues loyalty to one's country is held to be the highest of all virtues. Ranking very close to this is obedience to one's parents. Another is obedience to one's teacher or superior. Still another is the obedience of a wife to her husband (although they refer to this virtue as "love"). Another that is not mentioned so often as the others is the loyalty to a friend. In time of war, especially with the Army having so much power, it is not surprising that the sacrifice theme is emphasized so much. I heard recently that the Japanese prisoners of war do not consider themselves as alive, and feel that they cannot return to their country

Dorothy--2

March 9, 1944

because they have allowed themselves to be captured.

"There were of course plenty of Japanese films, but the urban audiences, having been brought up on foreign films, did not take to them very kindly." I found this to be true when I was in Japan. I do not think that the emphasis on Japanese culture since the Manchurian Incident has dampened all interest in things imported--movies, literature, music, sports.

"...warned particularly that on no pretext whatever should they listen to foreign-language broadcasts radiated from Japan to the outside world!" Wonder why? This is the news that Isseis believe in.

"Loyalty to one's country is something that every Japanese understands, and had I accepted their offer I think they would have despised me." This is quite true, I think. When I was asked which side I would stick up for if a war broke out between Japan and America, I used to tell them that if I were of some other race and hadn't studied in Japan at all I would probably stick up for Japan. But since I learned about the true principles of what is right and what is wrong, I would stick up for America. They didn't have any comeback to that, even though some of the people felt that I was wrong. Some Isseis still tell their children that they should be loyal to their country, but this has been overshadowed in most cases by what they consider to be flagrant violation of democratic principles.

"My cameras and field glasses, which had been confiscated on the outbreak of war, were handed back to me, and I was allowed to pack them in one of the trunks." Sounds like propaganda after the atrocity stories recently released.

"And the people will be ready to support it to the end." It's believable.

"They know so little of what is happening in the world today." I wonder to what extent this applies to this country?

"This myth has been built up gradually by the army for its own end." I'm not quite sure of this. The status of the Emperor is of long standing, and to say that it is a "myth" of "comparatively recent invention" does not seem to give it sufficient weight. The writer says that the position of the Emperor is important to the people when he says: "Any attempt to discredit the Emperor would, in my opinion, be disastrous."

So much for my comments. The excitement over the injustice of the ~~xxx~~ reinstatement of the draft for Niseis (for that is the way in which it was interpreted) is over. There could never have been unified action on this in this center because the position taken by a Niseis can differ so widely.

Dorothy--3

March 10, 1944

Young boys are now going out to work in the farms in the hopes of being able to get deferment. Some of them have received deferments already, and this in turn seems to depend largely on the individual draft board.

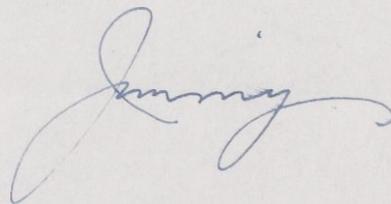
The relocation picture has somewhat been altered by the changed regulations concerning seasonal work. It seems that more and more policies of the WRA are set in Washington and the viewpoint of the evacuees receive less and less consideration. The only way the evacuees will interpret restrictions on them is as means of forcing people out of the centers. People are not upset over the changed regulations, and it is difficult to say what effect they will have.

I have come across a rather illuminating labor trouble, which involves the administrative staff member who dislikes evacuees (Rawlings), his supervisor who has the support of his workers, the foreman who is accused of being the inu and who aligns himself with the Caucasian against the supervisor, and the workers who get together with the supervisor to kick out the foreman. The matter has dragged on for about two weeks now, and I'll have a fairly complete account of it from my neighbor (the supervisor).

I'm having my comments on the boilermen walkout typed, and will send it in as soon as possible. I'm getting more documentation, too. Maybe I ought to write an analysis of the draft situation.

So much for today. I'll be waiting to hear from you.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Jimmy". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "J" and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

March 16, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I dropped you a note last weekend explaining why I had been so negligent in writing to you. I will now take up the points that you have raised in your last letters: Thanks for the comments on the Tokyo article. They are very illuminating. I agree that you ought to write an analysis of the draft situation for which you have, by all odds, the most complete coverage of any of our workers. I look forward with interest to your comments on the boiler-men's walkout.

In regard to Stafford, I heard confidentially that he was reprimanded very severely in Washington for the methods he is using in handling the evacuees. You, therefore, may find some changes in administrative techniques.

I am having extraordinarily bad luck in getting those tabulations of the Tule Lake situation made. Some of the lists that I want are in the hands of the Western Defense Command. Some of them are in Tule Lake, and some are in the statistical laboratory at Topaz. I have managed to get clearance on all of them, but days are passing without receiving them. As soon as they come I am pretty sure that we can have the tabulations made very quickly. It is awfully provoking that it takes us such a long time just to get the basic data that we need, but once we have these they will be far more accurate than anything else available.

In regard to the question you raised about whether Bob Spencer gave us your registration folder to be copied: I regret to say that Bob slipped up very badly. He did not transmit the instructions about having anything copied at all, and although there was a great deal of material brought from you, as I recall, most of it, practically everything that bears on registration, was sent to Frank in Chicago, so I think the best thing to do is to contact him. He is writing up the Tule Lake report at present and may still need the material. However, if I were you, I would suggest that he send you all the raw data that he has on registration as soon as he finished with it, explaining that a good deal that was sent came from your folder and that you would like to look it over before writing on the draft situation.

I have sent you two Warner books, that is, the Yankee

City series, and you may keep them as long as you need them. These belong to our library. I have personal copies of Deep South and Street Corner Society and will be glad to lend them to you when you get to the point where you want them.

Rosalie Hankey is to be at Tule Lake again, and may spend a considerable amount of time there as she has certainly made excellent contacts. I am enclosing copies of her notes prepared since November, as I think they will interest you and you may wish to make some comments on them. Please return them when you are through.

Your Journal continues to be at the same high level, and I am delighted at both the coverage and the insight that you show in handling the data.

I have no information at all that confirms the rumor you speak of, namely that Kibel will not be drafted. The draft seems to be moving very slowly. None of our people, except Frank, has gotten his 1-A yet, and we have had no news about appeals that we have made in regard to both Frank and Morton. I did hear, however, that Naj was recently classified 1-A and he will have his pre-induction physical in Washington.

Has anything happened in regard to your hearing for leave clearance? Everything is so uncertain now that I am not making more than tentative plans, but I do hope that by June we will know pretty well where we stand. If things have calmed down, I should like to have a limited conference in Salt Lake City, either in June or July, at which you and "X" and perhaps just one of the Chicago boys, and Rosalie Hankey, are present, so that we can go ahead with our planning. Before this time, I also want to have some of the reports definitely in hand so that they can be circularized and criticized in our seminar meetings.

I promise you I will write more frequently in the future. Give my best to Hattie.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

P.S. I told you that we were unable to get the staples that you want. We tried to get a new stapler, but without any luck.

March 22, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

Just a short note to tell you two things:

1. The Western Defense Command finally sent me the list of the present population of Tule Lake, classified by the Relocation Center from which they came and with a few identifying data, such as year of birth. This has made it possible for me to separate the "disloyal" from the cards that you prepared. I am doing this in the evenings at home, and it is going very rapidly, since I am already in the m's. Then on Friday, Rosalie will bring me the complete train lists of the "loyal", so I will be able to reconcile the cards for the other group. Then I shall turn the thing over to the statistical laboratory here and have the tables made. I am very enthusiastic about this little study and think we are sure to get some very significant findings.

2. I believe I told you that Rosalie Hankey is now in Tule Lake again, and she is planning to return there for a month or two in May or June. She is really getting wonderful material. In this connection, I wonder whether you have any background information on Byron Akitsuki who is the head of the present committee that is in control of the community and who is regarded by about fifty percent of the people as being something of an inu. In fact, the whole conception of inu has become very complicated, and it looks as though the camp is split wide open into two groups.

Finally, I am quoting a paragraph from X's Journal, indicating what Spicer thinks about the Minidoka situation. Have you any comments?

"Spicer said it is significant to note that the leaders of the Tule Lake riot was those who had been segregated from other centers and not those who remained. In contrast, he stated, the leaders of the Minidoka trouble and the negotiation committee were Minidokans and not those who had transferred from Tule Lake. I told him I did not agree on this. I told him to conjecture whether Minidoka would have had the trouble if the Tuleans

did not move in. He said the trouble was ready to come off irrespective of the loyal people coming in from Tule Lake. I told him I could not agree with him; the Minidokans would not have resorted to the overt act unless they had had influence of the Tule Lake people. Spicer backed up his argument with the fact that Tule Lake people did not hold key positions until recently when they held the election for the Community Council, when a few Tuleans were chosen. I asked him if he thought that the Tule Lake people could gain enough influence to be elected in the Council overnight without gaining support and prestige well in advance before the election. It was impossible to muscle in into the already static political set up without some remarkable accomplishments or sub rosa campaigning by these newly elected Tuleans previous to the election. Spicer thought that was true, but he did not know enough about what had taken place behind the scene.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
March 24, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Time certainly flies. We're actually on our third year of the Study. For the first year and a half, at least, we (or should I say just I) were so confused that we really didn't know what we were doing. At the last conference we were still grumbling over a "problem." Since then I've been so busy that I haven't had time to think too much about methodology. But I've definitely changed my viewpoint on what I should be after. First we were asked to cover social organization in general, and I didn't think too much of that. I had my own idea of what I wanted for myself--a comparison of different types of individuals, which resulted in my personal adjustment section. Now I'm more interested in getting complete accounts of a particular event and attempting to interpret them in some way. Whether it is true of a large number of people is not my concern at the present time. I want to find out why individuals acted in the way they did in a particular event, and how it all came about. After glancing through Yankee City I can see why you are so concerned about objectivity. I shall be very selective in the events that I cover. But when I do cover an event I shall attempt to be as complete in the coverage as possible and leave the interpretation until after most of the data is in.

I have received my supplies at last. I have gotten hold of some staples here and shall not bother you for those now. I have received Yankee City and shall enjoy reading and criticizing it.

I have had my hearing at last, and zipped through it in about five minutes. All they had against me was an article I had written for the Bassei Life (church stuff), education and parents in Japan. They were satisfied to know that I was willing to be drafted, that I did not intend to return to Japan, and that I had more education in this country than in Japan. I'm looking forward to the conference in Salt Lake City and feel sure that I can attend it whenever you arrange for it. Hattie says that she is not going out with me this time. I agree with you that some of the reports to be criticized at the conference should be circulated beforehand.

I found Rosalie's reports exceedingly interesting, and took the greater part of yesterday reading and writing comments on them. I shall return them as soon as possible. I haven't made efforts to contact Obayashi since then, but if she runs into him in the Social Welfare Department I think it's quite all right for her to say that she knows

Dorothy--2

March 24, 1944

me through the Study.

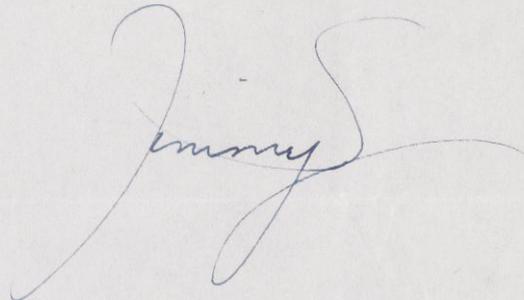
I'm still interested in subscribing to a journal, although I had forgotten about it for a while. Could you send me the address of the Journal of ~~xxxxxxx~~ Abnormal and Social Psychology, which you once recommended to me. If you could arrange a student rate for me that would be excellent. In any case, I think I should be reading one journal regularly,

I shall get started on my comments of the draft situation as soon as possible. I don't think I'll necessarily need the material on registration for that.

Quite a bit of my time this month was occupied by the Pickling Plant Conflict, which I was able to cover fairly completely without stepping out of my apartment very much.

So much for today. I shall try to get this into the morning mail.

'Bye,

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

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
March 28, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have sent a batch of material including my journal, back journal pages, Rosalie's reports on Tule Lake, and a few pages of comments on the latter.

I have received your letter and am happy to learn that the material is now rolling in. I guess our struggle for the first two years is now being rewarded. We got along on a hit-or-miss basis and were left largely to our own vices, but I believe that in the long run it's going to show dividends. I'll certainly be interested in the stuff that the Chicago office is turning out, and Frank and Tom will probably find the material I am gathering here of interest.

I'm certainly glad to hear that you have gotten the lists you want for the Tule Lake tabulation on the "loyal" and "disloyal." We should have a very good set of figures on which to check some of our hunches gained from the study of individual cases.

Hattie is very glad about that raise you mentioned, and so am I. We're maintaining a budget, and so far we've done all right, except that we've started with a lot of extra stuff on hand. Now that my hearing is over we plan to go to Twin Falls one of these days, and we'll have to set up a new budget for that!

I'm certainly glad to hear that you are thinking of the June (I hope) conference seriously. I'll certainly be looking forward to it.

I don't want to bother you at this moment, but when you have time I wish you would let me know what material I can and cannot use for my report for Warner's course. I am supposed to see Solon Kimball when he visits this center to determine my problem for research. I myself haven't decided upon a problem, yet. Just for the sake of record I would like, if possible, ~~if~~ to write up something short but "solid."

For copy work done by Minnie Nakano, 2-10-B, I would like to request \$16.00. She did the copy work on the boilermen report and back pages of the journal and diary. I'm getting Hattie to do more and more of the copy work, but I shall continue to have Minnie do some work for me because she is also Stafford's secretary.

Some postscripts will follow.

Yours,

*Jimmy*

*Secret Mrs 3/31*

Dorothy--4

March 28, 1944

PPS: Tuleans and the Boilermen Walkout

Both X and Spicer have their fundamental information correctly, but there are gaps. What we don't know for sure is how Tuleans influenced the Minidokans and how Minidokans were headed for trouble. When the boilermen issue itself is examined it is difficult to indicate the role the Tuleans played in it because most of it was behind the scene. No Tulean played a major or even a minor role in the whole boilermen issue. When I get the time I mean to fill in some of the gaps in ~~our~~ knowledge. Just at the moment I would say that Tuleans did influence the course of the walkout, but that they did not cause it.

In analyzing the situation I think that we shall find that the change here in Minidoka has been gradual. I hope to trace this change in the following:

- Report to Myer
- Report to the Spanish Consul
- Housing Conflict
- Boilermen Walkout
- Other more recent incidents (Pickle Plant Conflict)

Another fact that I learned recently was that there has been some change in the administration, too, <sup>with</sup> ~~ix~~ Shaffer, possibly the most intelligent member of the staff, gone.

I don't think that it's a matter of whether the Tuleans caused the conflict, but how they influenced the entire change in the set up. Even now very few Tuleans ~~xxxx~~ are in leadership positions, and some of them are playing the role of administration stooges (e.g. Taniguchi and Kano). The new leaders are still taking pot-shots at the old leaders. Probably the latter will never be ousted entirely.

April 5, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

Just a brief note to clear up two points that you raised recently in your letters:

1. As far as I can find out, the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology makes no provision for student rates. The subscription price is \$5.00 per year. Send your subscription to the American Psychological Association, 374 Broadway, Albany, New York. When you send in the subscription you might inquire about whether they offer student rates. If so, I can write an official letter to them.

2. In regard to the work that you are doing for Warner: I agree that it should be a very sound sort of study. Perhaps you could develop a report on the labor difficulties, with special reference to the social cleavages in the project. (Tuleans versus old Minidokans; foremen approved by the administration versus supervisors who have the evacuee respect, and so on). Avoid all reference to the pro-Japan versus pro-America aspects. In fact, do not touch on the "loyalty" issue at all. In other words, remember that the paper you write will certainly be read by other people, and that rumors might get around that would class you as an "inu" if you are not careful. That, I think, is the only safeguard that you have to make. Otherwise, feel free to use your material. We are still sticking to our general policy of not publishing or making speeches, but the need for absolute secrecy which we felt in the early stages of the study doesn't seem to me to be valid any longer.

We will know next Monday whether or not Morton will have to leave on May 1. I am now reading part of his very long manuscript.

The meeting in June is quite definite, and will include you, "X" and Rosalie and, possibly, one or two people from Chicago, although at present I find them curiously resistant to the idea of coming. Since the really important part of the conference will be devoted to work that is being done by you and Rosalie and "X", I am not going to put any pressure on the others to come unless they want to.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
April 11, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Yesterday I received your letter which you sent out on the evening of the 5th--that's five days. Thanks a lot for the information on the journal. I shall get in touch with the Association directly.

Concerning my work with Warner, I think you have made everything necessary clear. I could write up the Pickling Plant Conflict, changing identifications wherever necessary. Since not many know about it in detail, this may serve as an added safeguard. However, I should do a little more reading before I begin on any paper.

I'm glad to hear that the meeting in June is definite. I don't think that I'll have any difficulty in getting out of here on a short-term pass. I'm still on the Stop ~~xxxx~~ Order List, pending final clearance from Washington, and couldn't get a day pass to go to Twin Falls tomorrow, but managed to get a short term leave for the same purpose. I hope someone comes from Chicago because we should exchange information.

For over a week now I have been working almost full time on a report on the draft situation. What I have done was what I failed to do for the boilermen ~~report~~ issue. I took what material I had, shuffled it about, and began putting it together in the form of a report. I've tried to be inclusive and objective, and still organize it in a manner that will be convenient for others as well as myself in making an analysis of the situation. I'm practically through with the report, but I don't know whether I'll write an analysis or not. I suppose I should write at least a short one. I feel as though I have, just this once, surmounted the difficulty that I felt when I began on the segregation report. The difficulty was how to organize reactions by various individuals and groups into a report. I've centered my report on reactions and types of reactions, rather than events. I may send the report on to be copied at the office.

In the meantime I have neglected my journal, feeling that it was better to concentrate on the report and get it out of the way as quickly as possible. I've started an ambitious garden in front of the apartment in which I'm going to plant almost everything.

How did Morton come out? Regards to W.I. "Hello" from Hattie.

'Bye,

*Jimmy*

April 13, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I have just got your letter of April 11. It is perfectly all right to send your report along to be copied at the office. In order to make it comprehensible, I feel that you should not deal solely with reactions and types of reactions. You must have at least an introductory chapter outlining events and sequences in order to give a framework against which your reactions can be placed. But send along what you have and we'll have it typed and look it over.

I am sure I wrote you the relatively good news about Morton. That means that he will be able to go to Salt Lake City, I hope, and we will spend at least a day on his report, copy of which will be sent you well in advance.

The statistical lab. is making wonderful progress on the cards and I expect to have something preliminary to send you very shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

P.S.

Find out pretty soon whether I have to do anything special in order to get your short-term leave, for I certainly don't want anything to go wrong about the conference.

## 請願書

當漬物工場はスーバイザー佐藤氏の元に全員  
 協力して日々愉快に仕事をして居たのであります  
 が佐藤氏は豆腐工場の方へも廻らねばならぬ  
 関係上谷口氏を して當工場のホーマンとして  
 任命したのが為めに谷口氏は毎日行政ビルディングへ  
 行き行く度に白人職員殊にローリング氏と面談  
 する機会會も多く従つて多少少く信用を受けたる  
 は理の當然と思はれます氏は此の機会會を利用  
 して工場の発展を計り吾々の従来希望せし  
 味噌も最早や試験的時代は過ぎて今や全く  
 完成の境に達し此分なれば材料の供給と 解  
 さへあれば大量生産も容易ならんと思はれる殊に  
 味噌は我々<sup>吾</sup>住民は身体<sup>身</sup>の保健上必須みくべか  
 らざる食料品として又 經濟上安價なる<sup>事</sup>は  
 今更喋々の要なり而も住民一同一日も早く各  
 食堂へ配給せられん事を待望せしむる抱らざる  
 突然吾々の意に反して断然味噌工場の閉鎖  
 を命じられたのは全く遺憾の極ひある又今回  
 の人員トイダに當つても佐藤氏は少しも計らざる  
 (淘汰)

只己れの独断を以て自己本意に任せる等  
 不公平にして佐藤氏は勿論先輩の意は少くも  
 用ひざるの行意は遂に工場員大部分の不服と  
 なり去る二月二十九日連署の請願書を作つて  
 ローリング氏並に佐藤氏の元へ谷口氏のホーミンとして  
 資格なきこと其他不信の事情を討へたのであり  
 ます是れを以て谷口氏は必ずや自身、身の退く  
 ものと期待せしむも抱らざる今に於て毎日工場に  
 来つて吾々に立寄り居るは勿論請願書を無効  
 にせんか為め一人一人を呼び付け此請願書を無  
 効せせんかジユク讀し其意味を知委したる  
 後署名せしめぬなるか又は伊藤辯護士に  
 依頼して訴訟を起す手續きを取りつゝあり等  
 無智の執<sup>言</sup>々を恐迫的言辞を弄せし故多くの  
 婦人は非常に恐れを懐き成すべき仕事も手に  
 付かず昆乱状態に陥入つて居る在様であります  
 斯くも大部分の者の反對も抱らざる谷口氏は  
 未だ其職を退かざる理由はローリング氏よりある  
 ならんと察せられます勿論谷口氏は白人の命  
 ならば何事に抱<sup>係</sup>らざる嗜んで易々として命

是れに従ふに反して佐藤氏は氏のバーが柵内に  
 收容され無聊に苦しみつ、吾々同胞にせめて  
 味好き漬物や味噌を供給して亦ぐさめんが  
 為め時折リローリング氏に反對せし為めローリング  
 氏對佐藤氏の仲は面白からざるに反し谷氏は  
 は前述の如く多少の信用ある事は理の當然  
 なるにも佐藤は最初よりスパーバイサーなるもの  
 抱らず之を退けて己れが此地位を奪はんと  
 する其心事のローレッツなるを見るに忍びず其間  
 少くとも私慾の無い<sup>事</sup>を御推察願ひ度い  
 と思ひます。而して幸にして當所の重職にある  
 デビソン氏は佐藤氏とは桑港以来の知友にして  
 佐藤氏が加州へ移動せんとするを態々キヤナリ  
 や漬物工場に就職させん目的にて電報よて  
 呼び寄せたる位は亦れば佐藤氏を信ずる事は  
 昔日に變らず其故デビソン氏が佐藤氏を現職  
 に止め今後益々所内同胞幸福の為め又工場  
 發展の為めに尽くせんことを存望するの余り  
 文書を以て請ひしる次第且敷傳裁断

4

の程御願ひ致しませう

千五百四十四年三月七日

佐藤氏後援者同

市参事會

御中

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
April 28, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have sent my report and analysis on the selective service situation day before yesterday, and hope you have received them in good condition. I would like to have a copy and the original, if possible. I hope you will make sure that the material do<sup>es</sup> not fall into the hands of those not in the Study.

One exception is the analysis of the expatriates. I wrote that section up as if the Community Analysis Section here might have done it, in order to impress the Washington office that expatriates can not be considered to be draft dodgers, unless they say so themselves. The problem is one of interpretation, and the write-up obviously written from a particular point of view.

You'll notice that the analysis is on social structure and social forces. The former, I believe, is becoming fairly clear now, and we ought to be able to discuss it intelligently at the conference in connection with Morton's work. Even without simplifying the actual condition here in Minidoka too much, the political structure and the change it is undergoing is becoming fairly clear to me. The general change in the structure can be followed through a series of incidents--Tulean~~x~~ adjustment, housing conflict, meeting with the Spanish consul, meeting with Myers, creation of the Council, boilermen walkout, pickling plant conflict, employment troubles, Kimball's visit, and the warehouse conflict. Social forces, however, are much more difficult to discuss, and likely to be more controversial. But we ought to be able to agree on our general interpretation of the situation. This will mean, of course, an active exchange of ideas.

I'm starting my write-up of the pickling plant conflict, and at the same time gathering material for the warehouse conflict. Of the two, the latter is much more significant. It seems to be the crucial test of the position of the council on the project. At first it seemed as though Stafford was going to ignore it and side with his staff, but more recent developments have shown that he is now willing to play ball with the Council against certain staff members who insist on "insubordination" against Stafford's orders. The warehouse workers are now working under Fujii and Stafford directly, under the supervision of Takeda and Takahashi. Wilder and Powers' jobs have been temporarily suspended.

Dorothy--2

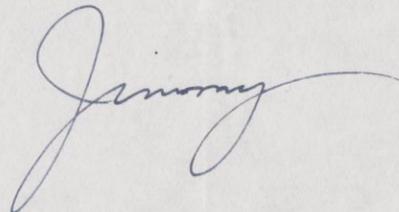
April 28, 1944

Thinking over some of the happenings in Tule Lake in the light of recent developments here, some interesting comparisons can be made. The situation here is approaching the situation in Tule Lake, where the residents and the administration conflict in their respective stands. If Stafford had sided with his staff even if they were in the wrong, I think we would have gotten something here comparable to what we had in Tule Lake. It would have resulted in opposition of two forces, without intermediaries to iron out the situation. I remember Shirrell's stand at the time of the messhall strike, when Pilcher was being ousted. Shirrell upheld Pilcher, and therefore had the people on his own neck. It is said that the more hotheaded ones in the Fact Finding Committee are willing to blast Stafford as well as the other staff members involved. But a compromise has been worked out, whereby Stafford is going to be spared this time. This is Fujii's stand, and it is said that he is influenced by Takahashi, which I wouldn't doubt at all. Things move slowly enough to keep track of what is going on.

I'm sure I can get a short-term leave without trouble. But you might write me a letter stating that my presence at a conference is desired.

Best regards to everyone. Regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed text.

April 28, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I am now ready to make definite plans for the Salt Lake City conference and, therefore, want to know several things from you.

I am planning to have the conference begin on the morning of Thursday, June 8, and to run four days of actual conference sessions. On Monday, the 13th, I am planning to go to Topaz, returning to Salt Lake City on the 14th. I would like you to be there on the morning of the 8th, which might mean that you would have to arrive on the evening of the 7th. You may feel free to stay a couple of days after the actual conference has finished, or you might want to go to Topaz with me. Please let me know immediately if these plans are satisfactory. You said in a recent letter that Hattie was not planning to come with you. Please confirm this also. I'll make the hotel reservations which will be at the Hotel Utah and I must know very soon just what rooms I will reserve, and at what time you will arrive, so please answer by return mail.

Within about a week I will be able to send out some of Morton's reports. I would like to have a manuscript from you just as soon as possible, so that I can get it typed up as a starter. There will be several things that you should discuss: (1) the labor relation situation in Minidoka, and for this we can have your manuscript that you are preparing for Lloyd Warner; (2) Nisei attitudes towards the draft, and for that I would suggest merely an outline, since I don't believe you could get a complete manuscript in hand, and (3) the struggle between the Tuleans and Minidokans generally, on which you have a lot of data but which, again, could be handled in outline form, pointing out the various problems and the types of data that you have available.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

May 1, 1944

Mr. James Sakoda  
12-12-C  
Minidoka Relocation Project  
Hunt, Idaho

Dear Mr. Sakoda:

I am calling a conference of the staff members of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study in Salt Lake City at the Hotel Utah, beginning June 7 and extending for perhaps ten days. Will you kindly inform me, as soon as possible, whether you can get a short-term leave for this purpose without any further action on my part. If the Project requires any further authorization, either from Washington or from me, please inform me immediately.

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
Director

May 1, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I received your letter and also your documents. I am greatly impressed with your report and am immediately having it copied. The analysis I agree has some controversial points, but that is all right for it gives us something that we can discuss, and perhaps reach some conclusions about later. I shall also have that typed and will send you copies, as well as send a copy to Chicago, one to "X" and one to Hankey. You may rest assured that the material will not fall into the hands of those who are not connected with the Study.

I am enclosing the first chart on the Tule Lake situation. Other analysis will follow very shortly. We are going to be able to check through those unknown cards so that we can get the data more accurate, as Mr. Stauber is very cooperative. He was, incidentally, most anxious for us to carry through a similar analysis on another Project and he suggested Minidoka. I feel, however, that unless we are to get a great deal of free help from WRA, the project is too big for us to undertake at this time. That is another matter that we will discuss at Salt Lake City.

I am enclosing a formal letter to you which you can submit in connection with your short-term leave.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosures

12-12-C  
HHunt, Idaho  
May 15, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have received your letters and the chart on Tule Lake. The chart is certainly a beauty in more than one sense. I'm still wondering how the chart was inked so beautifully, but I shall have an opportunity to discuss that ~~xxx~~ at the conference. The chart, I believe, shows that it is wise to keep the analysis on the level of the block, rather than ward or project, because the fundamental unit of organization, it appears, is the block. It seems that the influence of leaders in certain blocks account for their deviation from surrounding blocks, although this will have to be checked more closely later. For the purpose of comparison, I hope that as many charts as possible will be kept on a block level. One factor that I am highly interested in is locality of origin or former residence. The rural-urban difference is important, but such a dichotomy is likely to be misleading or difficult to determine. Also, there is a necessity for taking into consideration other factors of importance such as: the dominant religion, the size and cohesiveness of the Japanese community, the existence of segregated schools (Walnut Grove, Courtland, Isleton, Florin), dominant occupation, etc. The best thing to do, it seems to me, is to take block residents and separate them into types G, S, M, etc., both of which I believe is already done, and then tabulate the former residence. This tabulation could be done in terms of code already employed or in terms of major cities and towns, and rural districts, such as Delta Region near Sacramento, Placer County, Puyallup Valley, Hood River Valley, etc. The WRA once turned out a chart breaking up the blocks into the following:

Calif. City  
Calif. Rural  
WashinCity  
WashinRural  
Oregon City  
Oregon Rural  
New Born

but it was rather inaccurate. Blocks 25 and 37, for instance, which were populated with many people from Walnut Grove and Isleton ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> marked the same as a block filled with people from Sacramento. I think a preliminary tabulation into cities and towns will give us a good idea as to what towns and regions should be grouped together.

I have received my clearance and will have no trouble in being in Salt Lake City in time for the conference. I have written up a report on the Pickling Plant Conflict and am working on a rough analysis, both of which I shall send in

Dorothy--2

May 15, 1944

soon. The rest I think I shall take with me in outline form.

Ben Kuroki was given a poor reception here, and Acre, the Reports Officer, just about broke his neck trying to make it seem as though ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Ben received a "roaring" welcome. Ben made a hit with the younger kids, but was being called all sorts of names by the Isseis. I'm afraid the visit here confused him quite a bit, and hope that he doesn't become another Lindbergh.

The warehouse conflict has taken an interesting turn. Stafford has called the Council in for a series of conferences to dig up dope to protect his own position and to weaken those of Miller, Ford, Powers, and a couple of others. Incidentally, the name is Dean Miller, from Idaho someplace. It would be darn interesting to get his background and his connections in Idaho, and especially in Twin Falls. I'm beginning to feel an acute need of a Hakuji worker here who can watch the picture from the administration point of view. So far Twin Falls has been very friendly toward Japanese in general and I believe toward Stafford and his staff. Now that a split has been caused in the staff, which was probably there all the time, which has brought the pro-evacuee elements into favor with Stafford, we can expect trouble on the public relations front. What I would like to follow is how the change is brought about, if it is. One of the men in hot water can be expected to go to a beer tavern and accuse Stafford of being a "Jap-flower," etc., I understand that Miller invited the Lion Club from Twin Falls to a reception given Ben Kuroki by the staff without Stafford's permission, and the members nearly caused a riot when they objected to remarks that Stafford made about Ben Kuroki. I'll pump Smith, of course.

This place is becoming more and more like pre-segregation Tule Lake, and it's interesting to watch that change take place. The Pickling Plant Conflict report indicates some of the ways in which that change was brought about by the manipulation of a few individuals. With pressure from Washington Stafford has accepted the Council, especially when he found it useful against insubordination within his own staff. Ben Kuroki said that he got a poorer reception here than he did in Heart Mountain. And this was considered the most "loyal" center of all.

Hattie was sick for a week with a bad cold, but she's all right now. That and my garden has kept me from wandering too far from home. We still haven't fixed up the apartment the way we want it. It's very warm now, and difficult to do much work in the afternoon. If it gets too hot I'll have to move down into the basement.

My best regards to everyone.

'Bye,

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
May 2, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I was certainly very glad to receive definite news of the conference in Salt Lake City. There is nothing in your plans that will interfere, or rather I don't see anything here that would interfere ~~for~~ in my fitting into your plans. I shall plan to be in Salt Lake City some time on the 7th. Conference--8, 9, 10, 11. After the conference I would like to visit Topaz. I was considering this anyway, and may stay there a couple of days. I shall make arrangements at this end for my train ticket to Salt Lake City and for my short-term leave, which I think I can get without any trouble.

Concerning the reports that I am to make, I have already sent in my report on the draft situation. As far as I can see, the observations that I made on the spot still holds, although I am getting some material that could be added later. As ~~xx~~ for the labor relation situation I have no manuscript thus far, except for the write-up of the boilermen walkout. I have just started on the Pickling Plant Conflict, and think that I can finish that, at least. I shall be in a position too of giving a sketch of the present warehouse conflict. Throughout these reports on conflicts within the center, I would like to point out characteristics peculiar to Minidoka compared with Tule Lake. There has been a gradual change here from the most "loyal" center to one close to pre-segregation Tule Lake. There has been a definite change, not only in the general social structure of the project, but also in the attitudes now dominant in the community. In a way this change can be considered the triumph of Tule Lake ways over Minidoka ways, although most people do not realize the close connection between the change and the attitude of the people from Tule Lake. In regards to the Tulean adjustment here, I can point out some of the things that I have observed here. This again I can best do in terms of the major conflicts that have developed on the project and the position taken by Tuleans in them. I would like to pattern my report somewhat after the method I am employing now of concentrating on the description of major incidents, rather than attempting to follow a particular item, such as Tulean adjustment. Then I can point out some of the analyses that I have made of these incidents in terms of social structure, Tulean adjustment, etc. For your benefit I am listing the major incidents within the project (mostly of a political nature) from which I can draw material:

Tulean Arrival  
Housing Conflict  
Meeting with Myer  
Meeting with Spanish Consul

Dorothy--2

May 2, 1944

Boilermen Walkout  
Creation of the Community Council  
Draft  
Pickling Plant Conflict  
Kimball's Visit  
Warehouse Conflict  
Kuroki's Visit

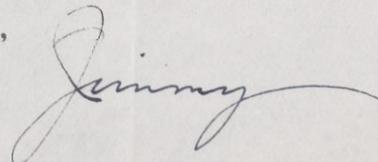
The warehouse conflict has taken an interesting turn, with Stafford/cooperating <sup>with the Council</sup> to keep the warehouses going, suspending the power of several recalcitrant Caucasian workers. It is said that Miller is behind it all, but the evidence is not strong enough to hurt him much, I think. Washington is informed of what has been going on, and it is expected that a few changes in the Caucasian staff will be made direct from Washington. Stafford is headed for trouble from the public if those who are shifted around can't take it. The whole situation may break any day now. The social structure of the Caucasian staff is now beginning to take on meaning. Here we have three assistant project directors who line up something like this: Miller highly unsympathetic and dictatorial in his ways. Pomeroy steering a middle course. Davidson supposedly sympathetic to evacuees, not too bold, Miller and Davidson are always tearing each other apart. The last time Stafford left the project he left Davidson in charge. Result: boilermen trouble. This time when he went to Washington he left Miller in charge: result pickle plant trouble which Miller managed to solve by closing the plant down. In the warehouse conflict Stafford discovered that Miller was endangering his own position, and he begins to cooperate with the Council against Miller and his men who were causing the trouble. One cannot help but notice certain parties collaborating to maintain their own status or to attack that of a rival. The Washington office and the Council, Stafford and the staff or Stafford and the Council, Stafford and Davidson against Miller or Stafford and ~~Davidson~~ against Davidson, the public and unsympathetic staff members, sympathetic staff members and the residents. I am going to try to get as much material as possible on the attitude of staff members on this warehouse conflict.

One other item that is current is Ben Kuroki's visit. Thus far it has been highly pathetic because of the lack of response on the part of the people. The Isseis are highly incensed by his statement that he is going to bomb Tokyo, while the Niseis don't dare show too much enthusiasm. I was very much depressed the first day to notice the lack of appreciation of Ben's stand, even though I felt that there were things that he had yet to understand which the people felt deeply.

I shall do what I can before the conference. I hope I have covered everything that I was supposed to.

'Bye,

P.S. Hattie is not going with me.



May 20, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

Enclosed the agenda for the conference. Enclosed also a memorandum indicating our latest headache. I really felt pretty sick about this. Will you show the memorandum to Elmer Smith, and ask him whether he knows the background of these discriminatory policies? Also ask him what sort of hotel the New Grand is. Obviously their attitudes are ok, and I just hope they have decent accomodat~~ions~~ns for us.

Under separate cover, I am returning the "draft analysis". Since we are a little pressed now, I decided not to have it typed, in view of its very tentative nature. The report seemed to me to be excellent as it stands. You have organized your data well, drawn reasonable and careful conclusions, and actually included a good deal of analysis. Contrasted to this, the so-called "Analysis chapter" is not so good. I get the impression that you have dragged in all sorts of concepts that are not applicable, and that the analysis itself is far removed from the data. It tends also to be repetitious and vague. The section on "social forces" suffers particularly from these defects. The Issei-Nisei contrast is drawn too sharply--and the main point, re the vacillating attitudes of the Nisei, which is so clear in your "report" is scarcely touched at all in your "analysis."

This is what I get out of the report, which should be made the basis of a "conclusion", which seems to be all the further "analysis" that is called for.

"Among the more important factors influancing attitudes towards the draft was the identification of the individuals concerned with Japan or America, with special reference to the future that they define for themselves. The strength of this identification tended to vary with the strength of the individual's conviction as to the outcome of the war. The bulk of the Issei tended to identify themselves with Japan, to expect Japan to win the war, and, as a ~~xxxxxxx~~corollary, to conceive of their future--and that of their children--as more dependent on Japan than on America. Most Nisei, however, had at least a partial identification with America.

Resistance towards selective service started with the Issei and, for the most part, with those who were parents of draft-age Nisei boys. This resistance took several forms, ranging from plans for a mere passive protest to those that called for overt refusal to accept induction. While the resistance was running its course, a marked cleave between many parents and sons developed"

After an introduction of this sort, you should develop, very concisely, the course of the protest. The important point, as I see it, is the vacillation of the Nisei. This is quite evident in your "report" but does not appear at all in your "analysis", as I have noted aboe. Develop then--also concisely--the various forms of acceptac

forms of acceptance and of passive and active protest, eg.

1. Volunteering--active acceptance
2. Indicating (publicly) willingness to be drafted; no questions raised
3. Indicating (publicly or privately) willingness to be drafted, but protesting against discriminations and wrongs and asking for restitution of rights before being drafted.
4. Same as three, except that instead of "asking" merely, there is something in the nature of a "demand" to have rights restored.
5. Taking steps to get a draft-deferrable job, thus avoiding any personal commitment as to future course of action.
6. Expatriation or declaration of "disloyalty", thus making a definite commitment as to future action.
7. Active resistance; refusing to appear for physical exam or for induction.

In the same envelope as the one in which I am enclosing the draft analysis, I am also sending a few new charts. Will you please bring all these charts, including the one I sent you last, to the conference, as I have no extra copies.

First, there are correlation charts. You will note the high positive correlation, with the block as a unit, between the behavior of Issei and Nisei.

Second there is a grouping of blocks from "bad" to "good", with differentials shown between Issei bachelors and other Issei males, and male and female Nisei. Interesting point: Issei bachelors show lesser tendency to conform to the "loyalty" pattern of the "better" blocks than any other group. Also shown is the differential between persons in agricultural and in nonagricultural occupations. This differential seems to be significant throughout.

I am having a listing made of the exact origins of people over 17 by blocks by g-type, s-type, etc. I shall bring this along, and we will discuss grouping.

I do not want any more work done until we can clear up the errors in the basic data. I have about 1600 cards to be checked. This represents a 10% error, which is too large. I really think I can reduce the error to well under 5%, maybe as low as 1 or 2%, which will be satisfactory. I have written to the statistician at Tule Lake about this matter, and may have to go up myself to see what we can get. If that fails, the check will have to be made at Topaz.

As you will see from the agenda, Charlie, Frank and Togo are all coming from Chicago, so we will get considerable interchange of information. Charlie passed his physical and is 24 but since he is over 26, he probably won't be drafted until late fall. Frank is getting to be an "old man" and may not be drafted at all. Tom hasn't had his physical and is deferred from taking it until June 15.

That's all for now.

Sincerely yours,

Best to Hattie. Hope she is OK now.

May 26, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

In several respects, the Pickling Plant Conflict--both report and analysis--is the best thing you have yet done. It is clear and coherent. You have shown remarkably good and sound judgment in the data you have selected. The organization is excellent. And the subject-matter itself is very significant. In the analysis, you have used concepts that bear on the data, and you have clarified the relation of data to concepts very well indeed.

I am glad you sent two copies. I rushed one off to X. I will have extra copies made for the others, although they will probably be a little late in getting out.

By the way, who was your typist? It certainly looks like a fine, professional job.

The tabulations of the Tule Lake material that you wanted (towns of origin) is completed. I shall bring it along to Salt Lake City.

Morton's opus goes out to you on Monday.

Charlie got an occupational deferrment until November. That seems to be a good omen, since we did not even have to appeal. However, every local draft board determines this thing in its own way, so we can never guarantee anything. No news about Morton's appeal yet. Tom has his physical and his comprehensive exam for the Master's degree both today. We can't appeal for him, as he is under 26. Naj is on his way to Camp Savage, being now at Fort Douglas.

You have doubtless seen newspaper accounts of the latest Tule Lake "incident". Fortunately for us, Hankey is there.

We will get an auto ride to Topaz, since the University will give me gasoline coupons and Larry Tajiri will provide a car.

Sincerely yours,

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
May 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

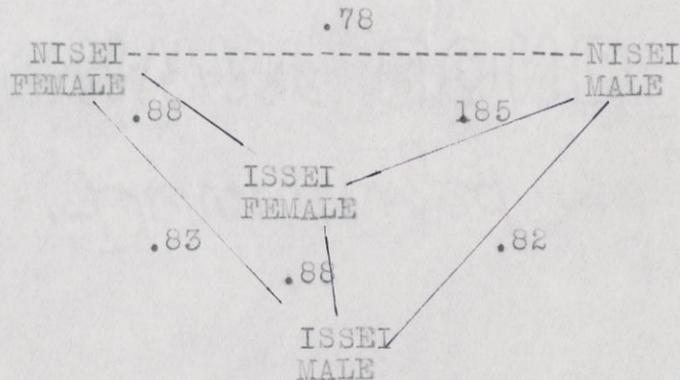
Everything's coming <sup>along</sup> fine here. I have received a set of charts on Tule Lake, along with my original of the analysis on the draft situation, and my supplies.

First, I would like to make a running comment on the charts. They are beginning to prove, I think, that the factors involved in the choice of loyalty or disloyalty are so numerous that no simple explanation will ever be satisfactory. Any attempt at an explanation will have to take into consideration all of the factors that are being unearthed. First of all the percentage of disloyals decreases in the following order:

Bachelor  
Issei  
Nisei

However, the increase in the number of disloyals in a particular type of block (A, B, etc.) is not due to a large number of bachelors or Isseis. Also, persons with agricultural backgrounds were more disloyal than those who were in other occupations. This, however, is not a great factor and in the E-F blocks made no difference at all.

The correlation charts are more difficult to interpret. From a quick comparison of the charts one can draw the following diagram showing the relationship between Issei and Nisei males and females:



From this diagram one gets the impression that the factors affecting Nisei female, Nisei male, and Issei male are different. It can be recalled that the registration was not an important issue to Nisei females,

Dorothy--2

May 26, 1944

as it was to Nisei males and Issei males. Also, the issues facing Nisei males and Issei males were different. Issei concern over the possibility of being forced to leave the center did not affect Niseis so much. On the question of Nisei loyalty Isseis were much more negative in attitude than Niseis. The registration issue, however, was a family problem in which Issei-Nisei difference of opinion was evident. It was noticeable that the mother was always more willing to compromise with her children than was the father. At the same time many of them followed their husbands' orders. This compromising attitude of the Issei female with all other members of the family seems to be brought out very clearly by the diagram.

I will have no trouble in getting my short-term leave to Salt Lake City, since I have received an approval from the Relocation Officer in that area to attend a conference and have also gotten Pomeroy's o.k. on the matter. Red tape, that's all.

Brooks, the personnel officer, came to investigate the trouble in the administrative staff (warehouse conflict). After a long talk with Miller, Assistant Project Director, he convinced the latter that this was no place for him. Miller consequently handed in his resignation. The Fact Finding Committee of the Council is still meeting with Stafford to cook up dope on Ford, Cox, Wilders, and Powers, but I think Ford is the only one who is open to serious charges. Light, high school principal, in spite of his support from the residents and high school students, seems to have put himself in an adverse position. Because of difference in educational policy, he has been asked to resign. Because he refused he is now open to charges of "insubordination." It seems that Stafford is unwilling to do anything for him. Acree, Reports Officer, (worked for a Hearst paper in Alabama) had a tussle with the Irrigator staff, and with the help of Miller refused to send supplies to the Irrigator on the grounds that agreement between the Co-op, which owns the Irrigator, and the WRA does not stipulate that supplies would be furnished by the WRA. So much for staff intrigue.

The American Friends' back to the Coast movement has reached into this center, and it will be interesting to watch who will be willing to apply to return. This will be one of those reactions which can be treated statistically later, and I will follow it up closely.

I shall start to copy documentary material for the warehouse conflict soon, most of which I shall get from the Council. I used to pick up some material from DeYoung, but Smith says that according to administrative instructions I cannot have any material without an o.k. from the project director and Washington. It does not make a great deal of difference to me whether we get the material here or in Washington, although there is an advantage in my being able to get hold of

Dorothy--3

May 26, 1944

relevant material to document an incident. But assuming that material will be available in Washington I can omit documentation from the following two sources:

Reports Division  
Community Analysis Section

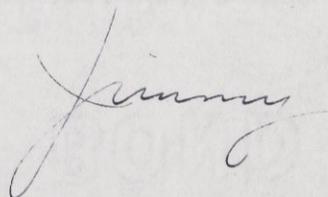
Hattie has just brought in the mail, including a letter from you. You mention an enclosure for the conference, which I do not find. Perhaps you decided to send it under separate cover. I'm glad to hear that Charlie, Frank and Togo are coming from Chicago. Evidently the hotel where we are to have our conference in the New Grand, and not the Hotel Utah.

My "experiment" with the analysis section of the draft report didn't go over so well. The formulation and use of suitable concepts will be highly controversial, I suppose. The important thing now, it seems, is to turn out a series of reports which can be interpreted by any number of people. Organization of material into a report requires analysis, as you say, and the only way to avoid bias seems to be to be inclusive as possible. It's going to be very difficult to say what factors accounted for a particular type of behavior. For the present, I suppose, the best we can do is to establish correlations between attitudes, behavior, membership in a group, etc. In future analyses I shall to stick more closely to the data.

So much for today. I'm really looking forward to the conference.

Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy".

May 31, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I received your letter of May 26. I must be the typical absent-minded professor for, evidently, I completely forgot the enclosures. Here they are.

I won't bother to comment on any of the other points now, as we will meet very soon. Don't forget to bring along all the charts that I sent you.

Regards to Hattie.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosures

12+12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
June 19, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Just a little note to let you know that I came in safe and sound yesterday morning, and am glad to be with Hattie again.

I spent four days in Topaz which I believe were very profitable from a comparative standpoint. I shall write up a short account of my impression of the place. I was not able to meet Evelyn Rose, and I may be able to catch her here yet.

I am sending in an expense account. If the calculations are correct I should send you \$14.81. If you'll let me know the exact amount I should send you after looking over the account (and fixing it up in places, perhaps) I shall be glad to send you a check for the correct amount. I am glad that I have most of the receipts this time.

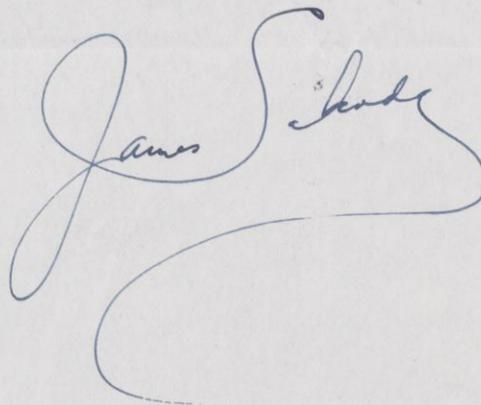
My position in the project at present is satisfactory, but I shall make efforts to get myself into a suitable job.

Will you please make arrangements to have my bonds sent to your office before being forwarded here?

Will write more soon.

My best regards to W.I. who was very encouraging to all of us. Also to Morton and Mrs. Wilson.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "James S. Shady". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed text.

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
June 22, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

There's nothing much to report, but I thought I'd drop you a line anyway. I met Evelyn Rose, and talked over some of the material that she is working with. Besides what we saw in Topaz, she is contemplating a birth and death card for each person evacuated. I think you'll be interested in that. Also, she says that tabulations from the 26 forms are rolling out from Washington, and may give you some data that you want. I talked to her about the project rosters. I'm not quite sure what date the one for Poston I had. If it's for March 31, 1944, she says that there ought to be a copy of it on the project level which might be mimeographed. Dick might look into this. I've managed to get a copy of the 3/31/44 roster for Minidoka without going to the trouble of asking any Caucasian superior. That's one advantage in having Tuleans in key positions. The Minidoka roster contains the following information:

Name, Family number, Address, Birth date, Age, Marital status, Alien registration number, Sex, and Initial entry to center (Assembly center, Direct evacuation, Parolee, Release from institution, Voluntary evacuation, Birth, Transfer from other center, Transfer due to segregation.)

The names are listed alphabetically and families are grouped according to apartment residence, bachelors separately. To give you an example:

ABE, Paul C. 16037 19-12-G 6/1/84 59 M A 5584680 M TS  
Toshi 6/1/93 50 M A 5587061 F TS

ABE, Sadako  
Arthur Kinya  
Lila Haruko

If we could get something like this for an earlier period, it would be wonderful. Evelyn is staying here through the weekend. I'll see her again and ask her about any old roster that she may have.

I may be able to get a job as an assistant to the Community Clerk or the Executive Secretary (same thing) of the Council. Tom Ogawa is being overworked, and Father Joe believes that Tom should have more help before we go ahead with our ambitious projects. We include Father Joe, Tom Ogawa, myself, K. Takeda, Elmer Smith, Diak Kanaya, Ken Yamada. We have at least two ambitious projects: handling applications for return to the Coast, and organizing the blocks with the block commissioner in control. It seems to be an ideal

Dorothy--2

June 22, 1944

setup in which I can be very happy. I have hinted to Father Joe that I am willing to work as Tom's assistant. Father Joe is leaving for a three-week tour of the Middle West, K. Takeda and Ken Yamada are out on seasonal work, but I think things will work out all right. There is going to be an election for councilmen and block commissioners, and any reorganization must be done before then. So many of the active men have left the project for seasonal ~~leave~~ work that things are very quiet in the project.

I am now trying to catch up with my conference notes. If I get that job the next six months will be spent largely in gathering raw data. Then maybe I can withdraw into seclusion to write up a series of reports.

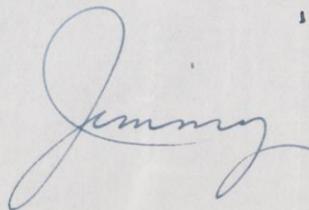
I have told Hattie that sooner or later I will have to make plans to go back to school again, perhaps about a year from now. I think we understand better now where we're headed for. Any plan we make now, of course, must of necessity be temporary. After all, one year or so one way or the other doesn't make too much difference. The work of the Study, I believe, should be reasonably completed before I think about my own future.

One thing that still worries me, and you've already said a number of times that we can't do anything about<sup>it</sup>, is that we are not covering the ~~area~~ resettlement in the rural areas of the intermountain ~~area~~ region. I think we're going to have our major problems in this region. When the Coast opens up, we shall also have the West Coast to consider. Oh, well, we'll probably leave ~~that~~ to the next generation. When Japanese are allowed to return to the University of California, I am sure there will be students who will be able to carry on this part of the work.

The administration here is in a mess. The turnover is rapid and highly disorganizing. Brooks is here to take Miller's place until someone else is sent here. Davidson, who seems to have a difficult time maintaining his position, has gone to California for personal business, although I wouldn't be surprised if he didn't come back. Pomeroy, who is somewhat of a bottleneck, is leaving for a job in Seattle.

So much for today. I'm in top shape and eager to do some work. Hattie sends her best regard. My regards to W.I., Mrs. Wilson, and Morton.

'Bye,



12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
July 13, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have received your letter on the individual cards for Minidoka, and I want to clarify the whole thing in this letter so that we understand what we are up against. There seems to be some confusion as to which roster should be used as the basis for checking up on the ones missing ~~xxxx~~ <sup>on</sup> the other one. I would also like to explain that the second roster is thrown into family groups, which I like very much.

First, for the material we have to work with. We have two sets of rosters. Roster I is of February 1, 1943. It includes everyone on the project on that particular date, meaning that those out on indefinite, seasonal, or short term would not be included. The information available are as follows:

Name, Age, Sex, Marital Status, Citizenship, Family No., Alien Registration No., Previous Address according to exact assembly center and town of origin.

It should be noted that the center address is missing (very unfortunately). Also, the names are in alphabetical order. From this roster you cannot get household groupings ~~xxxxxx~~ unless the address is available, and even that will be misleading because it will not be of a particular date, no matter where you check up.

Second, we have Roster II as of March 31, 1944. This is more complete than the first, and all indications are that future rosters (put out once or twice a year) will come in this form. This includes everyone on the project on the above date. Those out on indefinite, seasonal, or short-term leave will again be missing. Some on the first list, but not on the second one will be indefinite leaves. As for the information it includes:

Name, Family No., Center address, Birth Date, Age, Marital Status, Citizenship (A or C), Alien Registration Number, and Initial Entry to Center according to:

AC Assembly Center; DE Direct Evacuation; P Parolee, I Release from Institution, VE Voluntary Evacuation; B Birth;;T Transfer from other center; TS Transfer due to segregation.

Now about which roster to use as a working basis. I have had both rosters checked against each other, and can locate

July 13, 1944

missing names using either roster as a basis. Now it seems to me that Roster II offers a better basis for working because:

1. It contains more information than Roster I. It has center address, date of birth, and breakdown on entry to center. It also has family or household groupings.
2. I have complete possession of a mimeographed copy of Roster II. Roster I is merely borrowed.
3. It would be less troublesome to pick up missing names and information from Roster I (the only missing information is exact assembly center and town of origin.)

The main argument for using Roster II as a basis for work, however, is the family grouping which can be preserved. Strictly speaking the family or household group is defined as persons with the same surname, with the same family number, living in the same apartment. Occasionally you find persons with a different surname or family number, but never living at difference addresses, except for large families living in adjoining apartments. It would seem to me that in the study of relocation, especially, the changing family composition is important. To know which members of the family relocated, and which are remaining within the center ought to give a good picture of the actual problem faced by those remaining within the center. Whether a family has someone in the Army or outside should have some bearing on their outlook on the future. This family grouping can be preserved in so far as names on Roster II is concerned. It will also be possible to pick up some names from Roster I and include in families in Roster II on the basis of family number. But if a real attempt is to be made to cast those in Roster I into family groups, incorporating many into families in Roster II, the center address for those in Roster I should be gotten. We then have two problems: getting the center address for persons in Roster I, and placing the same persons into family groups. I want to clarify with you first whether you would like to have me work toward these two goals.

I have calculated the type of work that would have to be done to achieve the above two aims. First, I have assumed that Roster II would be used as a working basis. I have already had Roster II checked against Roster I, and missing names on both lists have been marked on the rosters. I have calculated that the number of names on Roster I which are missing from Roster II run into from 2000 to 2500. To get the center address I thought it best to have these missing names typed up alphabetically, including the family number, thus securing a work sheet. I didn't want to be running

Dorothy--3

July 13, 1944

around with a clumsy roster (Roster I), which I did not own. The addresses can be checked at one of two places: 1. the Statistical Laboratory in Topaz, or 2. the Statistics office here. The former, I believe, is going to be much easier to arrange because the office is shorthanded here, and the head man that I knew here in the Stat Office left the project, I understand. I am now having Hattie type up this work sheet.

I have also been thinking of ways and means of preserving the family grouping on the individual cards. I have been wondering whether it would be feasible to number all surnames--e.g. Abe<sup>1</sup>, Abe<sup>2</sup>, Abe<sup>3</sup>, etc. This would be done by grouping individual cards by family groups, which in turn will be alphabetized by the name of the family head. Then each duplicate surname would be number<sup>ed</sup> consecutively. On the individual cards we'd have something like this:

Abe<sup>1</sup>, Gisaburo

Abe<sup>1</sup>, Tazu

Abe<sup>1</sup>, Miyoko

Abe<sup>2</sup>, Hisa~~x~~

Abe<sup>3</sup>, Kisiuro

A<sup>A</sup>  
Abe<sup>3</sup>, Fusi

In this way it will be no trouble to put the cards, even though completely alphabetized, into family groupings when desired.

Another question which can be discussed after the cards are completed is the advisability of making up a roster or set of cards by family groups. If this is to be done, it would have to be done ~~xx~~ after all of the cards are in family groups and before they are alphabetized for other purposes.

To carry out this whole work I have set up a work procedure for Hattie, a copy of which I am enclosing. This is tentative, and awaits approval and changes from you.

I can use the cards that you are having made for the Poston study. As soon as Hattie finishes typing the worksheet for Roster I, (Instruction #1) I can have her begin making out cards for all persons in Roster II, meaning that she can start using cards after about a week. Roster II contains 8339 names, while additions from Roster I should be close to 2500 names. That means a total of from 10,500 to less than 11,000. (The number of persons who have been on the project, by the way, exceed 12,000). Eventually I should have 11,000 blank cards on hand for individual cards, but I'll let you know the exact total after Hattie's worksheet is typed up.

Dorothy--4

July 13, 1944

Hattie is willing to do the work under the stated terms. She spends so much time washing and ironing and things, that she'll have to get down to business to get much done in a day. The heat is terrific in the afternoon, and work is possible only part of the day now. I asked her to do four hours work a day, but she may not be able to do more than about three. I'm having her do all of my typing now, since she insists upon it.

The situation here in the administration is becoming very interesting. Stafford in effect has kicked out both extremes--Davidson and Light, on the one hand, and Miller/ and Powers on the other. On both sides are others who are in danger--Connor and Olson on one side, and Ford on the other. They and their friends are now ganging up on Stafford, and I think he's beginning to feel a little uncomfortable ever since his little purge. Ford, for instance, was asked to resign on the grounds that he couldn't get along with the evacuees. His retort to Stafford was that he was only following orders. Stafford's stand is that ~~he~~ Ford went too far in trying to "crack down" on the evacuees. Ford means to fight Stafford till the end, just as Light did. Davidson was asked to transfer, and is now in Washington, and undoubtedly will have much to say about Stafford's tactics on the project level. I hope Morton can get the stuff accumulating in Washington on personnel problems in Minidoka.

With recent developments and the heat, I am plodding along on my warehouse conflict report. Everything is tying in together.

So much for today. I'll be waiting for a complete clarification on the individual card business.

I should like to borrow the two books on Yankee City a little longer, <sup>unless you need them.</sup> I made a book report on No. 1, but I don't want to on No. 2. I've read and criticized Deep South, saying that it attempts to explain too many things by class, systems, and principles, without reference to human behavior and individual differences. Could you send me any two of the following:

Zorbaugh's The Gold Coast and the Slum  
Wirth's The Ghetto  
Redfield's Folk Cultures of Yucatan  
Whyte's Street Corner Society

Eventually I think I shall write up the Pickling Plant Conflict for Dr. Warner.

Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

Jimmy,

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
July 6, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I am sending my check for \$14.41 for my trip account as you have requested.

Things have been very quiet here for the last two weeks. I did not get a job, and find that I am doing all right without it for the present. My status in the block is ok. If anything breaks I shall devise ways and means of covering it. The labor situation in the project is very quiet now. Stafford is very fond of the farm, and I shall watch developments in that section because I expect that with increasing labor supply Stafford is going to have difficulty maintaining the acreage he desires. As far as evacuees are concerned any work done on the farm is really not essential, since even the savings in terms of low-cost food furnished to the Mess Management Section is somewhat doubtful.

Hattie is still checking the two rosters against each other. Pretty soon she'll begin to type the missing names from the old roster. The items will include:

Name	Age	Sex	MS	C	Fam. No.	A.R.N.	Address	Pre. ADD. (Puyallup)
Abe, Jiro George	30	M	S	C	33020			Pu. AC
Abe, Kiyoto	21	M	S	C	11201			Pu. AC (Portland)
Abe, Ukichi	64	M	M	A	15104	3223827		Po. AC
Abe, Tohimi	55	F	M	A	11370	3204693		Pu. AC

The major missing item is the address on the project and the grouping according to family. If we can get hold of the address, it will be possible to group persons according to household (apartments). I could do the following if you want me to:

a. Get the ~~xxx~~ addresses from the statistics office files here, which are in alphabetical order. The old roster is in alphabetical order, too.

b. Make two copies of the missing names (missing from the new roster). Cut one up to regroup according to household, using the project address and family number as a guide.

If Evelyn is willing to put her own crew to work on this job, she could be asked to check up on the addresses at Topaz. It

Dorothy--2

July 6, 1944

would be slightly more complicated, but it will save us the trouble of doing a lot of clerical work. I figure that there will be close to 2500 missing names which will have to be typed up and for which the address has to be looked up. I shall have Hattie start in on the typing because I would rather have the old roster, which I borrowed, not leave the project unless it is necessary. None of the Hakujiins here is aware of this work that I am doing.

I have also started a study of leadership in Seattle. It's too bad that I don't know the first thing about people from Seattle. I have gotten a list of names and of the positions they occupied from a Northwestern directory. This list includes the so-called "bigshots" back home. I shall also try to get a list of leaders here on the project. Also I shall cull from the roster those who have returned from internment camp. At some future time I should be in a position to make some sort of comparison of leadership, and perhaps be able to make some statement as to the difference or similarity in leaders in different periods, the effect of the camp situation on change in leadership, the role of interness, etc.

The other project that I have on fire is a report of the Warehouse Conflict. It may take some time to finish it, but you'll find more factual information in it than in the Pickling Plant Conflict. I am enjoying writing it.

I feel as though I am leading a dull life, concerned only for the bare necessities of life. This, of course, is not exactly true, but that's the way I feel. With most of the active persons, both Issèi and Nisei, out of the project, this place is like a graveyard.

My best regard to W.I., Morton, and Mrs. Wilson.

Regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

*Jimmy*

P.S. Will you send a check for \$5 to Minnie Nakano, 2-10-B, for segregation notes that she typed for me. They include my notes from the social welfare interviews, which will be used in my segregation report.

July 17, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

I have read your letter of July 13th carefully. There are two points you make which I think are impractical, from the quantitative standpoint, and which will slow up the work so radically that you will defeat your own purpose.

One of these is the attempt to enter family groupings direct on the cards. Instead of coding at present, my solution would be to enter the family number on the face of the card. Then throw the cards into direct alphabetical order. At some later time, when you want to make a family-group analysis (which at the moment seems impractical) cards can again be sorted by family number.

The second slowing up process would be the attempt to correct the ages. I am pretty sure the age as given on the roster of February 1943 is age as of Dec. 31, 1942, i.e. that it was copied direct from Form 26. Therefore, date of birth can be obtained (later) for these merely by ~~adding~~ subtracting the age from 1942. It will be more accurate to work directly from date of birth, which means that we can then transmute this to age as of any period in which we are interested. In the Tule tabulations, I have worked entirely with age as of Dec. 31, 1942, since this corresponds to WRA procedure in regard to the basic tables which they are preparing.

So--don't try your family groupings at this stage. We have to think through pretty clearly how this could be handled statistically. Enter age in 20-A from Roster I. Enter year of birth in 20 from Roster II.

Morton tells me we can make minor changes on the card at little cost. I therefore enclose a Boston card with suggested changes. Please return immediately, and I will put in an order for the Minidoka cards.

For further checking either at Topaz or at your own lab, cards will have to be thrown into alphabetical order. I think I shall take this matter up directly with Mr. Stauber of WRA. Will write you about this in a few days.

According to official WRA statistics, there were less than 200 on indefinite leave by February 1, 1943. 178 to be exact. There were undoubtedly many more on seasonal, but are you sure they were not included on the roster? We must check up on this carefully. Please find out if there are any lists of indefinites by names and dates, seasonals, short terms, births, deaths, transfers. We must find these "lost" cases which, according to your calculations total close to 1000. As between February 1, 1943 and your new 1944 roster, we can check the discrepant cards for indefinites, etc. And of-course I have the Army list of segregants sent to Tule Lake.

Please look into all this and let me know soon. Am sending the books you asked for. Sincerely,

July 20, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I am enclosing work charts on the Tule Lake population, together with a copy of a letter to Mr. Stauber, both of which I think will interest you. It is going to be very important for us to build up the history of the Japanese settlement in a number of areas. It is unlikely, I suppose, that you would find any reliable informants from the Gridley-Clarksburg-Walnut Grove-Isleton area in Minidoka, but, if so, I wish you would try to utilize them. You could say that you were writing a thesis on the history of the Japanese in these areas and want some help on the matter. [What we want to know particularly is when the settlements occurred; what sorts of people came in; what their economic relations were with the ~~hakujin~~; what forms of segregation existed, and something about the losses and property settlements at the time of evacuation. Obviously, there are other important factors, such as Buddhism versus Christianity; a tendency to send their children back to Japan for education; extent of isolation from the ~~hakujin~~ in general, and so on.] I will write more later, but I thought you would be interested in getting these charts as soon as possible. They will obviously have a good deal of significance with your fundamental write-up of segregation.

I sent out about a hundred cards to you yesterday, and also two of the books you wanted.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosures

*points that should be covered*

*Answers*

*Answers*

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
July 24, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I hope to be able to clear up some of the questions that have arisen on the individual cards to be made from the rosters. First of all, both rosters, as far as I can make out--certainly the second one--are the result of census taken on a particular date. I remember that we took a similar census in Tule Lake, at which time the data which went into the roster was gathered direct from the residents, and not from Form 26. This included the age. From a comparison of the two rosters I find that the age for the first roster is as of February 1--as far as I can make out. I shall go ahead as you have directed: Take the age from Roster I, and the date of birth from Roster II, disregarding the age in the second.

For the same reason as above, I believe that the roster is a record of all the persons on the project at the time the census was taken. I gathered this from my conversation with a person working in the Stat Office, and who should know. From the two rosters I have a total of

Roster I supplement	3181
Roster II complete	8339
	<hr/>
	11520

I believe that there are about a thousand missing, which could be accounted for in the following manner:

1. Indefinites before Roster I.
2. Out on seasonal at the time of Roster I and Roster II.
3. Out on seasonal at the time of Roster I and out on indefinite since.

There might have been some out on short-term leave who were missed. With a list of those who left on indefinite, we should be able to catch those in items 1 and ~~xx~~ 3. Those in Item 2 might be caught in subsequent census or when they leave on indefinite. It is difficult to hope to catch all of the missing, without referring to the complete file of cards in the Stat office here.

I have one other list of persons on the project which might be useful to us in checking up missing persons and also the family composition. There is a list of residents in the Minidoka Interlude, an annual issued early this year, but actually planned for last year. Since the names of Tuleans do not appear on this list, it seems to be a list compiled prior to segregation. The large number of empty apartments also suggest that it ~~was~~ is a list compiled just before the Tuleans came in. This list, possibly compiled by the block managers, groups residents in terms of residence in blocks and by individual apartments. It gives names only. I

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
July 24, 1944

Dorothy--2

shall try to find out whether this list includes those out on seasonal leave or not and when the list was compiled.

About family composition, I shall do as you suggest and not try to get them on the individual cards. I would like to point out, however, that the family number alone is not a good basis for the study of the family, since the family number is often faulty in the record, and does not correspond all of the time with the immediate family, as we understand it. The Takasugis and the Sakodas, for instance, would have used the same family number if we had not thought that the use of three separate family numbers would allow us to carry more baggage. Other ~~xxxxxxx~~ people used the same family number in the hopes of being kept together after evacuation. Using Roster II as a basis I think it will later be possible to group the others into family groups on the basis of some of the available information. Our basic problem is to cast the list of names from Roster I (3181) into families. The surname and the family number will serve as guides. Also, the Interlude list will be helpful. We can do this when we are ready for it.

Now about the cards, I shall have Hattie start with Roster I (the missing 3181) as soon as the thousand arrive. If it is possible to have changes made on the cards, I would like to have the following changed:

Change Poston I to Minidoka  
Place I      II below Minidoka about half an inch apart.

If we refer to any other list of names we can place other symbols before I, between I and II, or after II.

I have had Hattie type the 3181 names and the family number from Roster I. I was thinking of using this to get the center address. I have lost my contact man in the Stat office here, and besides a tough looking Caucasian is now sitting in the office. Unless we can get clearance from Washington, I think it's best to get work done at Topaz. I shall hold this list until we're ready to use it. Since the center address has changed for many families, it may not be sensible to make a block study unless the address is for ~~xxx~~ a particular period for all residents.

So much for the cards. I shall keep my eyes open for lists of any sort. I shall be sending my warehouse report soon. Father Joe is back from his trip, and Takeda has come back from seasonal to work on the Pickling Plant. The Council election is coming up soon, and I believe it's a good time to work on evacuee leadership.

'Bye,

*Jimmy*

Sakoda

July 31, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

(1) In a week or so I am going to begin a revision of my WRA report. I would appreciate receiving any criticism you may have of the manuscript. I have already received criticisms from Dick and Rosalie which have pointed out errors in both fact and interpretation. These will be most helpful and I look forward to getting your slant on my errors. And don't pull any punches.

(2) You remember it was decided in Salt Lake City that I would try to pick up as many loose ends in Washington as possible for all the members of the Study. Since this trip will very likely be my last one, I would like to do as complete a job on this as I can. If there are specific documents that you know exist but do not have, I will try to get them for you. This is the easiest kind of gap to fill, though, of course, I will be glad to look into any general problem that interests you. Please let me have your ideas.

I send you and Hattie my very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins

August 4, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I am enclosing a letter to you from Rosalie. Please note the polite Japanese way in which she begins it. If you can help her out by suggesting any contacts, I would be deeply grateful and it would certainly mean a lot for the study. We know so little of how the Tuleans who were left have reacted to the newcomers that it represents a big gap in our Study. Hoping you will have some suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

August 14, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

This is to reply to your letter of August 2nd. Evelyn Rose was here and I asked her advice about putting you into connection with the Statistical Office. She advises us to wait until a permanent statistician is appointed, and she promises to let me know when the situation becomes clarified.

Re addresses, what I really should have said was that the address should be as of approximately February 1, 1943 for the "disloyalty" analysis. Later, I suppose you will want address after the Tuleans came in. That will come from your latest roster.

Are you getting the volunteers and the draftees allocated on the cards? This will give the reverse of the "disloyalty" analysis. I note that you say you are on p.2. That is good. I am sure you can find a list of indefinites, for we obtained one readily at Poston. Of-course, now that Dick is block managers' supervisor, we have a direct line to various sources without even revealing his connection with the Study.

On the whole, I should say it is best to keep your connection with the study pretty quiet. Curiously, our first difficulty was in regard to other evacuees knowing about it. Our present difficulty is with certain of the Caucasian personnel on the projects. I have run into now end of trouble in regard to Rosalie. For your information, Evelyn said that Beeson was quite suspicious of you, but that she reassured him.

Your comments on the Tulean charts were illuminating. We will soon have a complete listing of communities of origin as far as the Tuleans are concerned. Then I shall be better able to answer some of the questions you have raised.

Re Dr. Terami, can you give me his exact name, so that I can write to him?

I have read your warehouse report and think it is excellent. The greatest lack I found was for a clear-cut description of the nature and functions of the Central Services system very early in the report. P. 20 is especially clear and the following discussion moves along well.

What is the meaning of "relative assignments"?

P. 72. Isn't it a typographical error where Stafford refers to "subordinate". Shouldn't it be "supervisor"?

P.81 and elsewhere. The past tense of lead is "led"

I note in the Minidoka Irrigator of August 5 that Connor has made certain "charges". You have him listed as sympathetic to the evacuees. What is the nature of the charges?

Did he resign or was he fired? I assume that there will be a follow-up of this report.

In regard to the "attitudinal" chart, which I take to be merely suggestive and schematic, I don't get the point of having Stafford both "red" and "green". Do you mean (I gather you do from later discussion) that he shifted his attitude during the course of the conflict---or did you intend to imply a "split personality". It is not at all clear.

What is needed now is a brief history of evacuee participation in government in Minidoka---I hesitate to call it "self-government" until recent months. This must go back to the period prior to the arrival of the Tuleans, in fact to the beginning of settlement in the project. It should include analysis of the block managers; their functions, their method of appointment, etc.; the growth in power of the block commissioners; the informal advisory group that Stafford used; and finally the Council. You have given a great deal of this, in a scattered way, in your earlier reports and in your journal, but it needs to be systematized.

What I want from you in the course of the year is a rather complete "social history of Minidoka", into which the reports you have already prepared can fit. I want this to be comparable with reports on other projects, and I will be in a better position to say exactly what form this should take when I get in Franks report, which he promises to let us have by November 1st, and which will serve as the basis for our early winter conference. In this connection, I regret to say that Tamie has left the Study, without completing her report. She had got into such a state about the whole thing that it was apparently impossible for her to produce anything, so, after trying to get things going more smoothly I finally came to the decision that acceptance of her resignation was the only way out. She is, I believe, joining the WAC's! Her departure leaves a heavy burden on Dick, but he is, as you know, very productive and highly intelligent, so I think we shall come out all right in the long run. By the middle of November, we shall have our plans better crystallized. In the meantime, keep on with your reports, and try to build up as much on the general political side as you possibly can.

Sincerely yours,

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
August 19, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have received your letter of the 14th, and find it filled with news. I am sorry that Tom was placed on the list of inductees. It's really too bad about Tamie.

Hattie is coming along smoothly with the individual cards, and has the cards for the old roster (3,000-odd) almost finished. She puts in on the average only two hours a day, but does fairly rapid work. She is now teaching piano to some 15 students on the request of the Recreation Department, and is kept quite busy. I have finally had Hattie fill out the forms necessary to put her on regularly. Thus far I have no other lists besides the two rosters. I shall try to get the list of volunteers and draftees, if possible. The list of indefinites and former addresses can be gotten, I think, when we get clearance through Washington to contact the local Stat. Office directly. I understand that Mr. Newell wants his present job permanently. To him it is a raise in pay, and also climbing from an insignificant position under two individuals in the Social Welfare office (one of them a woman) to one of head of a separate section.

Hattie's work on the cards thus far has added up to 28 hours. To this I am adding 13 hours she has put in for checking the two rosters and making a list of names which do not appear in Roster II. Since she insists that her typing for me be considered "practice," I shall leave it at that. She doesn't like to have me take my typing to some other girl, either! So for this month will you credit her with 41 hours of work?

I shall try my best to keep my connection with the study as obscure as possible. Evelyn told me about Beeson. I would imagine that Beeson would be suspicious of me because I am an evacuee for one thing, and an ex-Tulcan for another.

In regards to Dr. Terami, I really do not know where he lives in Granada. I only heard about him from a neighbor, who does not have his exact address either. A letter addressed to him in care of the project should reach him.

Concerning the function of the Central Service system in the warehouse conflict report, the whole thing is still not very clear to me. As soon as I clarify the matter in my own mind I shall try to write a revision, explaining its function. When Stafford says "relative assignments," he means similar work outside of routine tasks. "A warehouseman is a warehouseman," and should do any warehouse work ordered by his superior. On p 72 I think "subordinate" should be replaced by "superior," although the minutes of the meeting has it as "subordinate."

Dorothy--2

August 19, 1944

The warehouse report should be followed up by a report on Conflicts within the Administration and perhaps still another one which I can now foresee: Changes in the Administration. Much of the data for the former is now on record in my journal. I recorded some of it in the latter part of my warehouse conflict report to show how they tie <sup>in together</sup>. I am in a position to discuss how Mr. Light is forced out of the project, how he appeals to Washington, and is finally reinstated in Poston. Davidson is still appealing his case, and we have not heard as yet what has become of him. Connor's Expose, as I call it, will constitute an important section. Criticisms of the Civil Service System by some staff members and appeals of their lowered ratings will be reviewed. Acree's relationship with evacuees and his position in the administration will be indicated. In fact, the study of this period of disorganization within the administration can throw considerable light into the nature of the administration, and can be expanded into a general history of the administration. Dr. Huberman has been sent to this project in the capacity of Assistant Project Director (Community Management head). During the first month of ~~ix~~ his stay he is supposed to work on a handbook for supervisors, and is already putting into effect drastic revisions in methods of handling evacuees. Stafford's "pick-handle psychology" is in the process of being discarded. I hope to be able to observe this minor revolution in administrative attitudes and its effect on evacuees in the following several months.

In regards to the "attitudinal" chart, it is best, I believe, to consider it tentative and only suggestive. The idea of an A.P. member being pro-evacuee and liberal or anti-evacuee and conservative is accepted by both Caucasians and evacuees. Some individuals, however, present different attitudes on different occasions. In the warehouse incident Stafford displayed sympathetic attitudes toward evacuees sufficiently to merit both colors. It is possible that this dual attitude is merely a "front" presented by the individual for the sake of convenience. The chart only attempts to show the attitude exhibited at that time. No conclusion as to the source of the dual attitudes is intended in the chart. Just offhand, however, I would say that Stafford's thinking is essentially such that he should be definitely colored red. His attitude of sympathy for evacuees is ~~definitely~~ superficial, as far as I can see. Wilder, on the other hand, was considered by evacuees to have been essentially good to evacuees, but in the warehouse conflict was in "bad company."

I have committed myself to accept the job of Executive Secretary of the Fair Employment Practice Committee. I can still refuse to take it, but I still believe that there are advantages in accepting it. In the first place, the fact that I have a job will make my standing in the community more secure, although I really don't have to worry about this.

Dorothy--3

August 19, 1944

In the second place, the job will give me direct contacts with both the Council and the administration. I can discuss problems with such persons as Huberman, with whom I don't want to be seen at present. I can attend meetings of the Council and the Employment Committee of the Council, since the executive secretary of the Fair Employment Practice Committee will also be the executive secretary of the Employment Committee. I also calculate that the major activities of the project for the next three months will center around the labor situation. A survey of all workers and their assignment has already been planned by the administration and the Council. A Man Power Commission has been ordered by Washington to make a survey of all labor conditions and to give priority ratings to jobs. In such a position I can discuss the past labor relation on the project, and thus get some badly needed information on the earlier history of the project. The only trouble is, of course, that I will only have time for delving into problems and keeping a hasty record. All plans for reports will have to be shelved temporarily. There is also the possibility of incurring the resentment of the residents or the administration or both. Judging from Ogawa's performance as Community Clerk of the Council, however, this does not necessarily have to take place. If too much work piles up, I shall have to abandon the job after several months or so. I wish you would let me know what you think of this plan.

I am in complete accord with you on the necessity of a "social history of Minidoka." As I have outlined in the last conference, my plan is to continue my observations largely on major incidents. At certain points, however, it becomes feasible to "systematize" certain sections of the reports. The adjustment of the Tuleans, and the changes in the administration would come under this category. I agree with you that a brief (?) history of evacuee participation in project government is highly desirable. Dick Kanaya has written a report on the same subject for the Community Analysis Section, and I should have a copy of that before I begin my own report. There are a great many gaps in the earlier history which will take some time to fill. However, I can start in from the arrival of the Tuleans first, and write the earlier section later. I have already written an analysis of the two council elections, which is based largely on statistics, the results of which of course will go into a larger study. I have a list of some of the former leaders in Seattle, ~~which will be in the file~~ and also the list of directors in the Puyallup Center, which will also offer basic information necessary for a report. I have also compiled a list of leaders in each block, which I hope to make use of in some way. I should also make a survey of the evacuees in key occupational positions on the project, and perhaps I can get this information if I get my job on the F.E.P.C.

Dorothy--4

August 19, 1944

It is disturbing to have you toss off this statement--  
"What I want from you in the course of the year is a rather  
(!) complete (!) 'social history of Minidoka.'" On the pro-  
ject level, where the weather and other factors are not  
quite as favorable as they are in Berkeley, we do not do  
or think things on such a scale. Of course, considering  
the enormous outline we started with in Tule Lake a social  
history is a small matter. I shall keep it in mind, but  
I don't intend to let it scare me.

My supplies finally arrived, and I am well-stocked for the  
present. I received white paper instead of yellow, but I  
that's all right. I am ordering the following now so that  
I won't be out of supplies:

8/23  
1 ream white bond  
3 reams yellow second sheets  
1 doz shorthand notebooks  
1 typewriter ribbon  
1 box carbon papers, light weight black  
100 three-cent stamps  
30 ten-cent stamps

Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

*Jimmy*

August 18, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

First, let me thank you for the excellent letter you wrote Morton. That is exactly the sort of criticism that is helpful. You will be interested to know that the Registration Chapter was the one that I had also criticized, and, similarly, Dick had a number of comments to make.

I have written Spicer, asking for the various reports Smith has sent in, and I hope he comes through with them. Morton will try to get the other things you asked for when he gets to Washington. The date of his trip is quite uncertain, but we will keep you informed.

To-day I read over your journal carefully for the past six weeks, and was interested particularly in the follow-up on the warehouse difficulty, the political developments, particularly with respect to the Council, and your proposed study of leadership. Your idea, as outlined on 7-24-44 is a good one to get the purely formal aspects of leadership, but I hope you will make an effort to go deeper into the subject, and find out who are the informal leaders, who are often persons who hold no elective offices. The ~~re~~ criteria in these cases cannot be rigid: in general, the best criterion is who is asked for advice when crises occur, who settles disputes, etc.

As my last letter indicated, you have a big job ahead to pull all the notes you have on general political developments together.

Sincerely yours,

P.S. Tamie has enlisted in the WACs and will probably be assigned to Intelligence Service!

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
August 2, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for your letter. Hattie and I also enjoyed the notice of the raise. I have received the first set of cards, and am waiting for the second.

Concerning Mr. Newell, who is Acting Statistician here, I do not mind his knowing my connection with the University or the Study. I think it would be very convenient for us if we could have an official o.k. to rummage around, rather than if we picked up information haphazardly.

In connection with the source of information, I'm sure that there is a list of indefinites someplace. I know that the stat office keeps a card file of indefinites divided into alien, general, citizen general, citizen educational, citizen Army. We can locate the sources while the basic cards are being made out by Hattie.

The address has been bothering us, and I'm afraid that I've taken a wrong approach on the matter. Now that you have asked for the addresses as close to the end of 1942 as possible, it occurs to me that we should have all of the addresses as of a particular date. In other words, the addresses from Roster II should not be confused with addresses from an earlier period. Any source that we tap preferably should include even those out on seasonal work. Such a list would also give us groupings according to apartments. In other words, there is a possibility of taking care of the matter of family grouping and bachelor status at the same time the addresses are recorded. Unless we get hold of such an ideal roster with the rest of the vital statistics, we should proceed with the two rosters we have at present, and try to clean up the matter of address after the cards are completed.

You are right in saying that at present we have no definition of the family. What we do have are groupings of individuals according to apartments. As far as my own block is concerned this corresponds to what might be called the immediate family. This includes parents and unmarried children. Sometimes one or two parents live with their married children. Occasionally one finds orphans living with a family or cases of common-law marriages. In Roster II common-law marriages evidently are not recorded together. However, a list by blocks and apartments, as the one in the Annual (prior to segregation) would show men and women with different surnames living together. Occasionally groups with the same surname and family number occupy adjoining or nearby apartments. ~~the~~ Roster II lists them together as one group. Bachelor quarters are identifiable by the mixture of surnames. During periods when the housing situation is tight, the tendency is for close relatives to double up into an apartment.

Dorothy--2

August 2, 1944

Prior to segregation when the Annual roster by blocks was made up and this year when Roster II was made I do not believe that the housing situation was tight enough to force groups together which desired to live separately. Housing was tight, I believe, when the project was first opened, and also when the Tuleans arrived in the fall last year.

In studying the reaction to the casualty lists now coming in from the War Department I am finding it very useful to compare the reactions of individuals with the number of sons in the Army from that particular family and especially the presence or absence of volunteers in the family. Some residents believe that those families which provided volunteers deserve no sympathy if their sons die on the battlefield. In other words, we should get a list of volunteers and draftees to add to our cards.

Any addition to the information now being posted on the cards, I believe, should be done after the completion of this preliminary step. It should be remembered that when the cards are completed that 3181 from Roster I will be in alphabetical order, and 8339 from Roster II will be alphabetized, but grouped according to "households" ~~xxxxxx~~ (I shall avoid the use of the word, family.). If the source of the center address<sup>es</sup> is according to blocks and apartments, it is much more convenient to record them before the cards are reshuffled into alphabetical order.

Tox sum up our task on the cards:

1. Complete the basic cards employing Roster I and II.  
address
2. Add the center ~~list~~ from a complete list of residents as close to the end of 1942 as possible (if we can get it.).
3. Add other information from
  - a. Master file in Topaz.
  - b. Individual lists of volunteers, draftees, indefinites, place of relocation, deaths, segregees~~or~~

I have been studying the charts that you sent on the Tulean segregees, and find them highly enlightening. They bear out some of the things that we have always "felt" all along, but could not very well prove. We have a good start on the study of types of communities in which Japanese lived prior to evacuation. I would like to make some running comments as they come to mind.

First of all, I would like to touch on some of the things that the charts seem to reveal. First of all, there is a definite difference between all communities in California and communities in Washington and Oregon. There seems to be some difference even between communities in Washington and those in Oregon. The first factor that comes to mind

August 2, 1944

which might explain this difference is the concentration of Japanese in the three states. In California, of course, we find the largest concentration, followed by Washington with noticeable concentrations in Seattle, Tacoma, and Pu-yallup Valley, whereas in Oregon the concentration is not quite as great as in the other two states. Charlie and I will have to concede to Frank that the difference between the states seems to be significant.

Another marked difference is between urban centers and rural communities. The comparison of Sacramento and the outlying farming districts brings this out very clearly. The same sort of comparison holds for Seattle ~~and~~ Longview (logging camp), Auburn (farming community), Olympia (oyster diggers), Tacoma (known to be a conservative and "Japanesey" community). San Francisco-Oakland and Los Angeles can also be considered urban centers. In Oregon Portland is probably the urban center. (By the way, did you know that Minidoka was dominated by people from Seattle and Portland and that people from rural communities are in the minority here?)

Now leaving the large urban centers in a class by themselves, among the rural communities we are struck by certain communities with a high concentration of Japanese. In the Sacramento area they include the five rural centers in Placer County--Loomis, Penryn, Newcastle, Auburn, Lincoln. Although Loomis is considered Christian and Americanized, and Penryn is known to be Buddhist and "Japanesey", these rural centers appear on the charts in close proximity to each other. South of Sacramento the rural centers of high concentration of Japanese would include Florin, Clarksburg, Walnut Grove, Thornton, Isleton. There are others probably which do not appear on the charts. To the north of Sacramento the towns are not as highly concentrated with Japanese as in the other two districts. In Washington the highly concentrated rural centers seem to include Longview, Auburn, Bellevue, Kent. The rural centers in Oregon are difficult to determine by the ~~xxxx~~ charts, although Hood River, Barkdale and Brooks would come under this category. (My northwest geography is very poor.)

Picking out urban and rural districts with a high concentration of Japanese implies that there are other urban and rural areas where the Japanese have sparsely settled. These towns are notable for their absence on the charts.

Certain towns like Tacoma and Stockton seem to be borderline cases. This, of course, will be unavoidable in attempting to classify communities.

On the charts one is struck by the high percentage of segregees in communities with 10-29 persons, and communities with less than 10 persons here. Do they include towns like Courtland and Elk Grove in the Delta Region or towns in

Dorothy--4

August 2, 1944

California?

I am very anxious to see a chart showing the following breakdown according to blocks.

Breakdown I: California, Washington, Oregon.

Breakdown II: Highly concentrated urban centers, highly concentrated rural centers, others.

Breakdown III: Proportion of segregees.

Later it may be possible to breakdown the "others" into ~~kixkix~~ very sparsely settled areas and others.

I'm sorry but I do not think that I shall be able to get much material on the pre-evacuation history of communities here, unless it is for the Northwest area. Charlie through his case histories, I think, will be in a position to get the best material since it will show the reaction of the family to the Japanese community in any particular area. The study of "marginal personalities" will show the adjustment of families and individuals who did not fit into the Japanese community pattern of behavior. Case histories of Isseis from communities in which we are interested would be wonderful, but just now I do not see any good prospect in mind. But I shall keep my eyes open for possibilities.

I've heard from a neighbor who comes from Walnut Grove (with whom I do not get along) that Dr. Terami studied sociological aspects of that community in an effort to abolish the segregated school. Dr. Terami, I understand, got his Ph.D. in the physical sciences, but nonetheless was interested in sociological problems. He is now in Granada and is respected by the people there, I understand, (unlike Dr. I.). It is possible that Dr. Terami has something already written on the social history of Walnut Grove and vicinity.

So much for the charts. My journal will show any "find" in our study of communities. I shall soon send you copies of my warehouse report, which Hattie criticized and typed. I shall also send my journal for the rest of July. I am thinking of getting a job doing the research work for the coming job survey to be done by a Manpower Commission made up of evacuees and A.P. members. Nothing definite is set on this yet, but this seems ~~like~~ to be the most important problem facing the next Council. I am very much impressed with the approach of Street Corner Society, especially when it states: "The group structure is a product of these interactions." Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

Jimmy,

August 23, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

I am sending you the cards of Minidoka segregants, which Bob Iseri sent me. Will you have Hattie enter the data on your own cards, and then send the originals back to Robert T. Iseri, Central Utah Statistical Laboratory, Topaz, Utah. Send them either parcel post, insured for \$50, or else registered mail, as they are the original cards from their files.

Thanks for your letter of August 19th. We don't think it is fair not to pay Hattie for the typing. Maybe she will be willing to consider her "practice" period finished by now. Anyway, we put through the 41 hours, as noted in your letter. Also the order for supplies.

I think it is a good idea for you to work with the Fair Employment Practice Committee for a few months, say until we have our next conference, as it will give you direct access to data you could not otherwise get. I have written to Spicer and asked for the community analysis manuscripts, and hope he will come through. Also, I will write Evelyn about getting you direct contact with the Minidoka statistician, or I may decide to write Mr. Stauber directly.

Your plans for the immediate future are so realistic and so much in line with my own desires that they require no criticism at this point. Also, I am glad to note that my larger requests do not "scare" you.

I have been doing some serious thinking about your longer term plans, and would like to get your reaction to the situation as I now size it up. We have, as you know, no guarantee of financing beyond the end of next summer. Even if we get refinancing, we must curtail our activities and work hard, on a much smaller scale to bring results together. If the restrictions on return to the Coast are removed, I should like to have you come here next spring. You have never lost your California residence, and it seems to me you should begin to think about your graduate work in the University, if you are still of the conviction that you want a graduate degree. If you came here for the semester beginning in March, you could still count on working for me at least half time (more, if you did not want to begin with a heavy schedule of courses) for that semester. You might want to return to Minidoka for a few weeks at the end of the semester to fill in gaps that you might, in fact certainly would, find in your data.

Although plans for removal of restrictions are moving very slowly, the plan that seems to be favored right now is to have the first ones who return be limited to those who are "sponsored" by Caucasians. I think they would accept me and the University as "sponsors" for you and Hattie.

This is not a "take it or leave it" proposition, but just

a very preliminary bit of thinking. The general plan could be modified in several ways. You could take four units of University work that first semester, even though you worked for me full time. I would certainly like to have you here in the office, if that is at all possible, so that we could really work together.

Let me know your thoughts on the matter.

Best regards to Hattie.

Sincerely yours,

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
August 28, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Both Hattie and I were tickled pink to hear of my possibility of going back to Cal. I had always had it in the back of my mind, but I did not think that I would be able to get away from here until the middle of next year or until Fall. Hattie was especially glad to know that she might be able to go back to Berkeley. She's a little afraid of California, but she thinks that a college town will be all right.

First, I am willing to go to Berkeley in March if we can clean up what we want to here in Minidoka. The opening of the West Coast, I believe, is going to be accompanied by an attempt to close a number of centers. When that happens we're going to get a situation in the center which might grow into something close to a riot. At any rate, people are going to have to make up their minds what they are going to do--whether to stay or to leave. Who stays and who leaves and why should be included in our agenda.

If I do leave Minidoka, I'll have a lot of writing to do, and it may be best if I did not go to school more than half time. I am, however, anxious to get my graduate work completed, or rather begun. The amount of work that I'll have to do will depend somewhat on my financial situation, of course. For the first semester, however, I shall not count on going to school more than half-time. Besides the organizing of material, we should keep one eye on the adjustment of the returning evacuees.

I shall have the cards of the Minidoka segregants taken care of as soon as they arrive. The births will be handled after Hattie finishes with the cards, and they are put into alphabetical order. She has some ways to go yet, and by that time we may be able to get clearance from Washington and be able to line up the other data that we want.

I have been doing some serious thinking on our write-ups, which are to result in a "social history." I think that the organizing of data on the "political side" is helpful at this point. As I explain in my journal, I am interpreting this to include the study of all types of evacuee leaders. A similar study of the administration also seems to be in order. Another study of the changing attitude of the residents, I believe, will help to make the general picture clear. When these reports are compared with Morton's study of the Washington Office, I think that we shall be in a fairly good position to begin a write-up of a "social history," bringing ~~of~~ all of these together. For all these the basic "reports" will serve as the foundation. Since the emphasis for the

August 28, 1944

present is going to be in data-gathering, I am thinking of working on an outline, which would reveal the gaps in my material. This will especially be true of the write-up of the period previous to my arrival here. These plans, of course, are tentative.

In writing up the leadership material, I have been thinking of making use of the following devices. First, we seem to agree on the division of leaders into formal and informal leaders. The former depends on some sort of political or occupational position, whereas the latter depends more on prestige. In the latter would be included the study of pressure groups. The division of the formal leadership into political and occupational position might be useful to find out the relationship between the two. Labor disputes involve supervisors and foremen, and sometimes political leaders. Occupational leaders, however, are not always involved in matters which affect the whole project. I am thinking of getting a list of evacuees who have occupied important positions here in the project.

The changing characteristics of leaders can be studied in terms of such factors as citizenship, age, and language ability. Another set of concepts that I was thinking of using was stable and unstable leadership. This refers to the quality of being able to stay in leadership positions for any length of time and of being able to carry out some of the functions expected of a leader. The leadership in the assembly center, for instance, was almost wholly Nisei, but this leadership generally did not carry over to any large extent in the relocation center, thus showing its instability. The leadership of the block managers here in Minidoka was unstable, and they are now practically useless in getting organization within the center here. Instability of leadership seems to be due to objection from either the administration or the residents or both. The protesting or agitating type of leader is objected to by the administration, and in some cases forcefully suppressed. The accommodating or inu type of leadership is resented by the residents, and they are sometimes threatened with bodily harm. That a somewhat stable leadership can be developed is illustrated by the situation in Peston (or is it) and the position of the present Council here in Minidoka. Although we enter into something like a typology here, these concepts may be useful in organizing the data that we have on hand. If we are careful to think of stable and unstable, protesting and accommodating, as qualities, and that there are degrees and perhaps mixtures of these qualities in any particular leader, we may be able to put these concepts to good use. Fujii, for instance, is much more willing to give in to the administration point of view, than is Ogawa, the Executive Secretary. Takeda believes in standing for the rights of the residents, but he is willing to go along with the administration if it does not harm the residents. Takahashi plays a dual role, playing up to Caucasians in front of them and

Dorothy--3

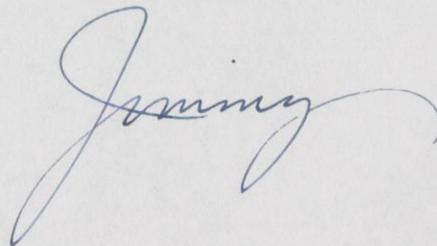
August 28, 1944

cussing them out in front of evacuees. Whether there is an inu type of personality or an agitator type of personality remain to be seen. The important point is to base observations on actual behavior and the behavior of individuals. The attitude of the Council, for instance, is the result of the attitude of its individual members.

The Council has approved of my accepting the position of Executive Secretary of the Fair Employment Practice Committee and the Employment Committee. Ogawa says that I can sit in Folsom's office any time now, but I have told him that I would rather have my office near the Council in Block 22 and not in the Ad Area. But I shall be going to work any-day now.

Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

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

August 30, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

This is a belated expression of my appreciation for your letter of August 12, in which you set forth some criticisms of my rough WRA manuscript and made some suggestions for collecting materials during my next Washington trip.

In your criticisms, you have of course touched upon the weakest points in my material, i.e., when I "reach down to the Project level." In almost every instance, I see the merit of your criticism and, when the revision is complete, I think you will see how greatly I have profited from it. If any more points occur to you, please be sure to send them along.

With respect to the Washington material you suggested, I am quite sure I can get the report by John Bigelow on the meeting of January 5, 1944. The documents on the personnel difficulties, however, will probably be very difficult to secure. When back-biting goes on it is usually via phone or by personal letter and not much of it gets into the files. However, you may be sure that I will do the very best I can.

Incidentally, my trip has again been postponed and is now tentatively scheduled for around October 1.

I send my best personal regards to you and to Hattie.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins

September 1, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks ever so much for your letter of the 11th. I'm very sorry that I didn't answer right away. I know that I should have sought your advice about the quantitative work, and if your letter had arrived a few days sooner, I'm sure that the computations would have been done in a different manner. We have proceeded as planned, and by August 29 had completed everything except the write-ups on three companies. There was nothing that could be done in these three cases. In one, Club Aluminum, the personnel man (who wrote you) took a vacation and left us high and dry until September 5. We were told that we were welcome to their material as soon as he returned. In the case of H.P. Smith Paper company there was nothing we could do either because they were doing all the work for us and we were hardly in a position to demand anything of them. They've been pretty swell about everything--except that they, like myself, never meet the deadlines. The personnel man there is new and since records had never been kept before he is now going through the auditor's files to compile everything. He is checking absenteeism as well as turnover, and he agreed to make a special check on the Nisei for us. The third--Stevens--depends upon a rather slow but nice Nisei personnel man. He has good intentions but is an extremely slow worker. Our files were so bad--185 people with no definite information--that we had to send this list to him for checking. He is working on it now. We can't get the stuff any other way because the management won't let us into their files.

With reference to the tallying, your letter unfortunately arrived too late. By the time it arrived we were more than half way through and we realized how much easier it would have been to put everything on cards. But it was too late. We only had a week and a half to complete everything and it would have taken us at least half that time to put everything on cards since we have well over 1,000 names--separated on different lists for different information. These lists--active and inactive or starting date and finishing date--were useful for our purposes for the time being, but I know that if we are going to do anything else other than the very simple analysis that we did we shall just have to put everything on cards for sorting. Since the work we had planned was rather simple we finished up under our original plan. I decided that I should send you what we have for your evaluation, and if you felt that further analyses were necessary or desirable we could put everything on the cards, ask different questions and then go through it again. I followed your advice and made the compartments as broad as possible. Since some companies only had slightly more than 30 people ~~while~~ while others had about 400 and since I wanted everything comparable, it was rather difficult at times to select the proper class intervals. We have used simple measures: Thurstone's correlation sheets and Yule's measure for the four-fold table.

I certainly wish that you were here when we were setting up this whole thing. We wasted days going through stat books to pick the proper measures, when we could have just consulted you about it. For a while we were using Pearson's measure for the four-fold table since the assumptions underlying it seemed to fit our data better, but I was told that the measure was in disrepute here (i.e., Ogburn doesn't approve of it). Furthermore, it was a bit too complicated.

I have made every effort to define my terms quite strictly and I have taken special care with the tabulations. We have checked and cross-checked but I suspect that some errors must have crept in because of the inefficient method we used in tallying. Footnotes have been placed under each table to indicate the number who had to be omitted from consideration because of insufficient data.

Our analysis of the quantitative data show that none of the factors that we tested for are particularly significant. Sex might conceivably be a factor in occupational mobility, but our data is far from conclusive. Age, marital status, and citizenship are of no significance whatsoever. If we made more detailed analyses and more cross-classifications, the data may show more than they have so far. The date of arrival and in Chicago and area of residence here brought out some rather interesting points. The people living in the areas around the loop are consistently higher in mobility than others, although now and then one or other of the other localities goes slightly higher. In a sense, this was to be expected. One interesting thing that we found was that in the case of the companies that have hired Nisei for a long time (over one year now)--i.e., T.M.C., Sherman, and McClurgs--the most mobile individuals arrived in Chicago during the summer of 1943. In all other companies--i.e., those who started hiring Nisei toward the end of 1943--these arriving in the winter and spring of 1944 were most mobile. The reason is not as simple as it seems at first sight, because not all persons hired in these firms latter firms had just arrived from camp. This poses a rather interesting problem which really ought to be analyzed further. I suspect that there is something here, but I have not succeeded in presenting the data in such a manner that it is obvious.

The first draft of the report has been ready--except for the three companies--for a couple of days, but Louise has not had any opportunity to type it over because Charlie has been catching up on his dictation. If you don't mind, we'd like to finish up these three before sending the copy on to you. If you decide to retabulate the material or if you wish to try some other organization of data with reference to other problems, we will copy the material on cards for you and send on the cards to Berkeley. I'm afraid that there won't be any sense in sending our original sheets because Louise is the only one who can read the symbols. By the way, I am asking Louise to share authorship in this report with me because she did much more than simple clerical work. She did much more of the actual dirty work than I did and she was responsible for untangling many of the knots we ran into. We had worked together quite closely on this and she did

some of the work on her own because there was some possibility that she would finish the report alone in my absence.

This is precisely what we did: For each company we worked out the occupational turnover by the standard technique. Then we asked whether the separations were a function of age, sex, marital status, citizenship, date of arrival in Chicago, or area of residence. The length of stay was computed for each individual by days (including Sundays, starting day and finishing day) and then <sup>we</sup> tried to correlate length of employment with these other factors. We used the Thurstone sheet for age and the four-fold table (on a more or less than average length of employment basis) for sex, marital status, and citizenship. The length of stay figures were placed in 60 day class intervals. Age was placed in ten-year class intervals. For date of arrival ~~and area~~ the year was split into 3 periods. For area we divided the city into three definite and two catchall regions--by census tracts. Then the figures for each 60-day class were expressed both as percentages of the total number arriving in a given period and percentages of the total number lasting a given number of days. Thus, we have set up at least 6 tables for each company. Some of the compartments are so thin that it isn't even funny. The correlation coefficients were sometimes so low that we felt frustrated. If we did the work correctly--and I shall withhold any comment until we've had your evaluation--then we can assume that these factors were not important. Knowing this is something, and I don't think the work was done in vain although it certainly was a headache and took a lot of time. If it is all right with you, we'd like to finish up before sending the final copy to you. I certainly hope you find it of some--even though very little--value.

There is one favor that I should like to ask of you. I feel that this occupational adjustment business is very important now that we've done some exploratory work in the field. We can't do very much ~~in the way of~~ as yet because the Nisei haven't been around long enough. I think that if we carried on this thing a couple of years from now we might get more satisfying results. This is especially true of turnover, because there seems to be a tendency toward a fairly stable turnover rate after the Nisei have been around in a company for a while. There seems to be a tendency for those who are restless or dissatisfied to quit ~~after~~ after a little while and for others to stay on. We really can't tell for a couple of years yet. We are planning here to give the companies some tips that might possibly help them in their relationships with Nisei workers (which at the same time won't hurt the Nisei) in order to keep their good will. Most of the companies that came through were so damn nice about it, and I think we should cultivate them even more to make it worth their while so that we might possibly touch them again in a couple of years. I have no intention of giving them any of our confidential data, but I do think they are entitled to the figures for their own firms and some general statements that might enable them to get a better picture of the whole situation. The favor I want to ask of you is the writing of letters to each of the executives that helped us, thanking them for their cooperation. ~~and~~ The names of each of the guys who came through ~~is~~

are listed in the acknowledgements section of the report. The addresses of each of the firms are listed in "Methods and Sources of Data" section.

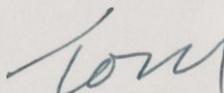
With reference to my draft status, everything is in the air again. I was finally inducted into the Army yesterday morning and am now a buck private in the Enlisted Reserves. I asked the captain at the induction station what the hell this meant and he told me that I might be called within a month for active service and then again they may never call me. I asked him what the termination of hostilities ~~would~~ in Europe would mean and he said he didn't know whether they would take Nisei for police duty or not. He advised me to go on doing whatever I had planned to do as if nothing had happened because there was no sense in sitting at pinex ~~xxx~~ points for the duration of the war. I suppose that this is all I can do under the circumstances.

My plans for the immediate future--subject to approval-- are as follows. Finish up the whole occupational business as soon as the companies come through. In the meantime, dictate all my notes on Chicago and Tule Lake. I think Frank wants some of my Tule Lake stuff soon. I won't start any systematic study of anything for a while. You may want me to do some other things on this occupational study, and then again you may want me to do something else. I shall keep up my contacts with the various groups--which I lost during the last three weeks--and keep track of what's cooking. If we are not to start the residential study immediately, some of the possibilities for next month are the study of religious groups, economic enterprises, or possibly the whole matter of the Nisei and the Army. I think that lately I've been quite sensitized to talk among the Nisei about the Army--undoubtedly because of my own status--and the whole subject is quite interesting. At any rate, I shall await your suggestions.

This study of occupational adjustments has actually just started. We have not yet interviewed the workers, nor have we made any analysis of turnover in detail. That is, if we know that turnover rates were high in a given period we might make an analysis of the characteristics of the people quitting during this period--quantitative and otherwise. I'm sure that a great deal more can be done if we decide to follow this up, but it will take a great deal more time.

Certainly hope that this will be satisfactory. I shall be waiting for ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ your comments.

Very sincerely,



12-12-C

Hunt, Idaho

September 6, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have received your letter of August 31 and the chart showing the rate of relocation in various relocation centers. On the chart, the comparison of the rate of relocation in 1943 seems to be highly significant. That Minidoka had the highest rate and Tule Lake had next to the lowest brings to mind other comparisons. Minidoka produced the largest number of volunteers and Tule Lake the lowest. Vice versa on the disloyal. The fact that the rate in 1944 is roughly reverse the rate in 1943 suggests that only a certain number of individuals are willing to relocate, and when those are cleaned out, there are very few others available for relocation. A series of age and sex distributions for different periods will show the selective factor in terms of age and sex. Even though families do relocate, relocation hits the 15-40 group the hardest. I have the figures for Minidoka for June this year, and I shall send it on to you as soon as possible.

My job is coming along wonderfully. I have a good man to work with in Dan Williams of the Placement Office. He and I have settled one labor trouble already, involving the termination of 6 evacuee gate clerks. The termination was caused by friction between the Statistician (Newell) and the evacuee workers. He attempted to institute changes in the working habits of the evacuee workers, who had been on their job for over a year. The changes included the following:

Have the A.P. at the gate check each Form 338/ filled out by the evacuee worker. Until now it was only stamped mechanically by the A.P.

Later Newell began to talk about refusing to take back two of the men he did not like,

To put in a favorite girl in their place,

To reduce the number of workers and ~~also~~ change the working schedule to conform to WRA regulations.

At first I thought I had lost the case because Newell was so stubborn. The workers said that they would not come back to work unless they all came back to the old working schedule, with minor changes only. Since Newell didn't give in the Assistant Project Director, Nichols, had to be brought into the picture. After a great deal of discussion I was finally able to persuade Newell to give up most of his proposed changes. The workers went back to work, and those that Newell did not want transferred of their own accord. I'm even taking credit for having accomplished this. This will make a cute little story.

Dorothy--2

September 6, 1944

I already have another case on my hand involving the possible termination of a sloppy cook. I've had several meetings with both evacuees and A.P. already, and I'll probably have more. I'm playing the role of a swave trouble-shooter, and so far I have not caused much hard feeling--I hope.

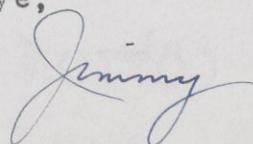
The Council is getting into action with its new line-up. Ogawa (Oyama of the bullsession), the Executive Secretary, and I agree on policies perfectly, and he feels confident that between the two of us we can pretty well sway the Council to our way of thinking. It shouldn't be too hard for us to win over Fujii, who sits in the office with us. All three of ~~us~~ will be sitting in the War Manpower Commission when it meets.

The most important problem now, as you probably know, is the munition worker proposition. The Army is calling for 500 workers from each center to relocate to munition depots in various parts of western U.S. They are asking for either Isseis or Niseis. While the offer is made as one of relocation opportunity and job offer, the implication is that if response is not good we may be considered disloyal. The story of Japanese being hired in war industry on a large scale is to be broken to the press on the outside. Already rumors are beginning to circulate that the Army wants "coolie" labor, or that Japanese are going to be forced to work for the Army ~~//~~ in any place they want to send them, and that the Council is aiding the Army to accomplish this. Tom and I are fully aware of the dangers of the Council becoming involved in such a program, and the administration, through the Community Analyst, has already been warned about making use of the Council for other than community government purposes. This is really a devilish sort of thing, and some of the people already look at the proposition in that way. All the factors that you can think of, except the availability of housing, is ~~ag~~ against persons accepting this work. In the first place, there aren't many people who are able to do the type of work ~~they~~ required, since most of the able-bodied men are no longer in the center. I shall be able to follow this program fairly closely, I think. Prediction: the response will be closer to fifty than five-hundred.

I find that I cannot type up my notes as I have been doing in the past. I have started to keep notes in outline form in longhand in a shorthand notebook, which I carry around with me in leather binder. I shall try to type as much of it out as possible as I go along.

So far so good. Best regards from Hattie, who is plodding along with the cards. Will write the Light Report hastily.

'Bye,



12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
September 17, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I'm coming along fine in my new job. I have handled several cases, and so far I have not gotten into trouble with anyone. I'm now an accepted part of the Community Council, and am expected to sit in at all its meetings. I want to give you a review of the more recent events here, since my journal is going to be delayed somewhat until Hattie finishes the cards.

Munition Handlers The administration was told to go easy on the publicity for this project, and for the first time perhaps it came out with a very weak relocation offer. Three evacuees, including C.T. Takahashi, were sent to the Sioux Depot near Sydney, Nebraska, to look the place over. Ogawa and I were conscious of recommending Takahashi because he was the only person who really seemed anxious to go and to sell the idea to the people. Very little response is expected to the program.

Manpower Commission The Washington Office has advised the setting up a joint participation committee to formulate policies on the labor shortage. I shall be on the commission and will be able to keep in touch with all of its actions. We've already had one interesting session in which Stafford asserted his right to the title of the head of the project and placed the commission on an advisory status.

Statistic Section As a Labor Relations Advisor I have been rummaging in the Stat office, pulling out dusty charts from dark corners. I was surprised to find that very few statistical figures were available in the office. I finally traced down a set of weekly and monthly summaries of the population change in terms of admissions and departures. This material is basic to the study of population and labor problems. I have also looked for a list of indefinites, and find that no up-to-date list is available. The best source is the card files of the office, which has a separate file of those out on indefinite. From this we can get volunteers, Army and education<sup>a</sup> leaves, confinement in institutions, etc. We can also get date ~~and~~ of departure and destination. Since the cards are in alphabetical order, the best thing to do would be to take our cards in there and copy desired items directly from their cards. For this purpose I would suggest a clearance from Washington. I am on speaking terms with the Acting Statistician, Newell, and feel that he'll understand the situation all right. I'm still on the look-out for a roster giving the center addresses of December, 1942 or thereabouts.

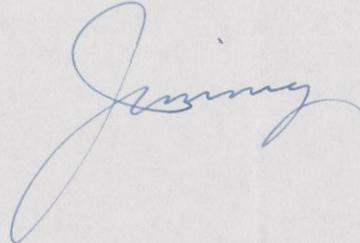
Dorothy--2

12-12-C September 17, 1944

Return to the West Coast Smith has returned from the conference of Community Analysts in Denver with the report that the Washington office wants to know how people will react to the lifting of bans on the return to the West Coast. For once the Washington office **is** going to sample the opinion of the residents before putting a major policy into effect. We have discussed this matter in our bull-sessions, and this will be something which will be on our minds for a long time now. Just offhand I would say that the program should not be "pushed," and that it should be a longrange one, giving the people time to make up their minds. I would advise that only a limited group be allowed to return to the Coast first, making this seem as a privilege, and not something being forced by the Government. The idea of dispersal should not be stressed--one difficult job to do at one time is sufficient. Alternatives should be made clear--what if the people do not leave the centers, what then? Who will be considered "unrelocatable" and how will they be treated? What will happen to the others? What about those who ask for repatriation? And the people in Tule Lake?

Hattie Hattie has caught a cold, and has not been able to put as much time on the cards as she would have liked. At the present time she is on the KU's in the new roster. Will you credit her this month with ~~xxx~~ 26 hours? She is always talking about the possibility of returning to Berkeley.

'Bye,



12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
September 24, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I was set upon going to Chicago, but now it seems that it might be Berkeley instead. I am, of course, greatly in favor of the latter, if only because I suggested it the last time we met. It will be a thrill to get back on the campus after having left it in such a hurry. Since our conference will be held after the election, it seems to me that everything is in our favor.

I still have a paper to write for Warner, which I have been putting off. If I am not going to Chicago, I might as well get started on that paper as soon as possible in my spare time.

Here on the project events follow one another. I'm not kept too busy in my capacity as Labor Relations Advisor, but there are enough things that I have to follow from day to day, and which I am able to do fairly well from the Council office.

First, I have received Stauber's encouraging letter. I know that Stafford has received a letter from Myer on the same subject, but I haven't had occasion to see him yet. Presumably we can get access to all material in the Stat Office whenever we are ready. I have been rummaging in the Office already as L.R.Ad. to pick up data on population. However, I find that there are very few valuable statistics available. I have an age and sex distribution as of December, 1942, which will offer a good comparison to the other distributions that are available for this year. I am also working on population trends in terms of both increase, decrease, and net population. The increase would include birth, transfer, and others, while the decrease would include indefinite leave, seasonal and shorter term leave, ~~and~~ deaths, and others. From such a study I hope to be able to be in a position to predict the population three and six months ahead. I am also making a check of the working population, and also the unemployed population. This will give some basis for figuring out the possible labor supply available in any period in the near future. Two unpredictables will always have to be kept in mind--opening of the West Coast and the end of the war in Europe. Of these two I am preparing mentally for the former at present. When we are ready, I think the best thing to do is to move our cards into the Stat Office and work directly with the alphabetized card files of deaths, indefinite leaves, etc. The longer we put this step off the more data we'll have transferred

Dorothy--2

September 24, 1944

directly on the cards. However, we should not put it off ~~longer than~~ too long because of the possibility of the Stat Office becoming disorganized because of lack of help and of the opening of the West Coast. In other words, we should go ahead with it as soon as possible. I still have to find a set of addresses as of January, 1943 someplace. The next place to look is housing, since I couldn't find anything of the sort in the Stat Office.

The munition worker deal is still in progress. So far only six have applied for the work, I hear. The administration has decided to go on a messhall campaign. C.T. is going all out for this thing, and has signed up for the work himself. However, there is a chance that he may not be cleared by the Provost Marshall because he was involved once before with the Government. I shall sit tight. My only hope is that the Council does not become involved in this matter, so that it will be free to carry on other essential activities. When the West Coast opens up, I hope to see the Council really get into action. Everytime something is done some leaders have to be sacrificed, it seems.

The labor situation is fairly quiet, but some major problems are arising. We are now faced with an acute labor shortage, owing to the exodus of seasonal workers. Also, the Manpower Commission is going to have to start its discussion of how to meet the growing manpower shortage. I am preparing the basic data in readiness for these discussions.

Dr. Huberman, who is here as the head of the Community Management <sup>Division</sup>, is providing interesting material for study. He is essentially a liberal-minded individual. However, he does not understand the situation here in the center, and is running into a number of difficulties. He is attempting to show the staff how things should be managed, and I don't think that he is going to succeed completely. He ~~has~~ tried to reorganize the C.A. Section, and he has all of the workers opposed to him. "Bishop" and I have decided that we must do something to rescue him. I am supposed to talk to him and tell him how things should be handled on the project. He is supposed to be the champion of the people and it wouldn't do to have him involved in the biggest labor trouble that has occurred since the warehouse incident.

I cannot help but feel that the sands of time are running out fast for the projects. I am aware of a feeling of gradual disintegration in the air. The Irrigator staff has been reduced to three, and by the middle of next month none will be left. The farm has not been able to harvest its crop in time to avoid losing crop to the recent frost which hit three days in succession. There is labor shortage in the hospital, in the butcher shop, in the coal crew. Some straw which should have been brought in from nearby farms had to be handled by outside labor. When return to the West Coast hits the project we can expect a wholesale disintegration of various sections.

Dorothy--3

September 24, 1944

At the latest "bullsession" I met Dr. Provinse. He impressed me as a very sensible sort of individual with good judgment. Dr. Huberman was present, too, but we couldn't "work" on him as much as we would have liked, since his wife was present, too. These bullsessions are wonderful mediums of exchange of information. We pride ourselves on being the most informed persons on the project.

Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

*Jimmy*

September 29, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I'm afraid I have neglected you rather badly in the past few weeks. For a time it looked as though George Sabagh would be able to make a trip to Minidoka and Topaz, and I was waiting to inform you about this. The immediate plan has, however, fallen through.

Regarding the November conference. It now looks as though Berkeley is out of the question. Dick feels that he could not come to California at this time without completely destroying his status on the project. I am now waiting to hear from him again and will inform you early next week as to what the plans will be. I am not in favor of Chicago, due to the fact that it would be very expensive to take all the people who must be at that conference there. I rather suspect we may decide on Salt Lake City again. If, however, Dick finds it impossible to leave Poston in November, I may revert to the Berkeley plan. All these uncertainties will soon be solved, I hope.

Regarding the statistical setup. I am glad to hear of the progress you are making. I wish that there was some way in which we could solve the problem of getting family groupings, which was what you had originally wanted, but in which I discouraged you because of statistical difficulties. I have run up against the problem in regard to the Tule Lake material where I would particularly like to have some classification of married women who have no occupations in terms of the occupation of the husband. This is impossible unless I can identify husbands and wives. At present I have no solution to the problem. What did you decide to do about including the family number on your cards? The Tule Lake analysis is proceeding well and is yielding some very exciting results, but I will wait until our conference to tell you about them in detail.

Frank is getting his manuscript in hand, although it is going slower than he had hoped. He promises, however, to meet the November deadline.

Your work as labor adjuster is certainly bringing you in touch with some important problems. I have read everything you have sent with great interest. I realize

Jimmy - 2.

there was an item in your Journal that I should have discussed with you, namely, your proposed analysis of leadership. Have you made any further progress on collecting data in the terms that you describe? I should like to have a brief progress report on that and then I will comment in more detail.

Everyone here sends best regards to Hattie.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
October 1, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

This last week I have been more of a participant than an observer, although there was plenty to observe. If this project is on the verge of disintegration, I was able to feel it last week. It's not just one big trouble, but a lot of little ones piling up together. I was actually in the dumps because I wasn't able to do all of the things that I wanted to do.

It was a bad week for a labor relations man because many persons are now leaving the project for harvest work. During this month we can expect to find our working population depleted. The high school students who are now having harvest vacation can help a little, but not very much. The hospital was short of nurses' aides. I saw two difficulties in the recruitment of nurses' aides. First, they were being required to work in Ward XVI, the T.B. ward. Second, the hours were eight hours, regardless of shift. The head nurse was reputed to be very strict and blunt, and even the Caucasian nurses were talking of quitting. The hospital administrator listened to what I had to say, and seemed to favor the changes that I suggested. I had already talked to Dr. Huberman, the new head of the Community Management Section, and knew that there was little chance of getting past him for the present. He had recently come from Washington on a mission to teach the A.P.'s to be supervisors rather than dictators. However, ironically he himself was earning the reputation of a dictator. He had some liberal ideas, but he could not understand the general disregard for law and order within the center. He told the rest of the assistant project directors and Stafford that he could make the evacuees work eight hours--at least in his own division. Although I like him, I am ready to help ship him back to where he came from, unless he changes his attitude.

Earlier in the week he went all out for the Build the Gym Week, and only had some response from the A.P.'s. In the process Plank, the Chief Engineer, stepped on the toes of the evacuee supervisor in charge of the Gym. Fujii and I had to go out and get the A.P.'s to admit that they should have consulted the supervisor and then to get the latter to go back to work. This attempt to build up community morale ended in failure.

Huberman had also attempted to put through some reforms in the C.A., and had all of the workers opposed to him. I talked to him at some length on this matter, hoping that he would see the light. I got him to agree to lay off of the

Dorothy--2

October 1, 1944

C.A. for a while and let them work out their own plans. It was funny for me to be telling an expert on human relationship how to get a problem child to behave. But Father Joe insisted that unless Huberman were put on the tight track he was going to become useless to us.

Thus far he hasn't changed. Central Service has been short of drivers and swampers. Doi, the dispatcher, asked for lunch-boxes or hot lunches in town for the boys going out to haul in baled straws from farms around Twin Falls. The lunch boxes could not be found. The hot lunches were refused on the grounds that the boys didn't deserve them. They could do the work in four hours and be back in time to each a hot lunch. Doi says that this can't be done. They see a show in Twin Falls and come home late. This doesn't make a bit of difference because it's after working hours. If they are given one hot lunch, they'll be asking for two. Why don't they quit if they don't want to work. Etc. etc. It's highly exasperating. There ought to be a way to get around him. Washington sends one of their most intelligent men, and this is what happens.

Thus far most of the reforms that he's attempted have failed. An attempt was made to place the domestic servants on a more legal basis by having the co-op institute a system of handling the domestics. The A.P. would pay the prevailing wages, and evacuee workers would receive \$16 or \$19. The balance would go into a student aid fund. No private employment is to be allowed on the project. Ogawa and I argued for gratuity on the side to encourage the domestic workers. No soap. That's the very sort of thing they're trying to wipe out. The Co-op has sidestepped the matter by referring it to their membership. Your guess is as good as mine what the membership will say. He got on the tail of the dentists for carrying on private practice. This was a matter that really required reform, and it seems to have been diplomatically handled by Weston, the hospital administrator. The Huberman regime, in contrast to the Miller regime, is going to make a very interesting section in the social history of Minidoka. Minnie has predicted that he won't last very long here. He has told me that he wants to see this thing through, though.

The munition depot worker recruitment is going forward at a snail's pace. The last time I heard the number of applicants was something like 13 or 16. The mass meetings in four different sections of the project have been attended by only about 25 persons. If Beeson hadn't been so bull-headed about going through with it...Thanks goodness he has left for another job.

The manpower commission is expected to get into action soon. It's an unwieldy committee of 18. I am trying to organize statistical data on the labor situation to make the picture convincing. I am not responsible for the chart that appeared in the recent Irrigator, although I did get the basic data for that and gave it to Smith. I wrote the editorial, but

Dorothy--3

October 1, 1944

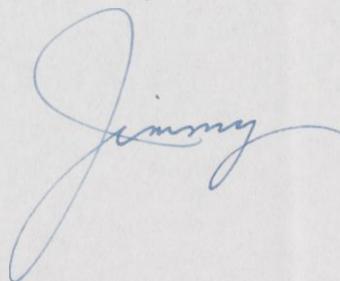
I insisted that my name be kept out. I must be coming up in the world because I have been asked to play on the old men's team (26 and up) of Section II. We play two games over the weekend. Thus far we've lost both of our first two games.

I'll be sending my study of council elections soon. I won't be able to write any formal report for sometime, although I must write one for Warner. I am keeping my notes in longhand, and shall eventually get around to getting them typed up.

Margaret Kohrer came through here, and I hope she wasn't discouraged by having some of her ideas on return to the Coast torn apart ~~by~~ at our bullsession.

Regards to everyone. Hattie is well and sends hers.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Jimmy". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "J" and a long, sweeping tail that extends to the right.

HUNT, IDAHO

OCTOBER 11, 1944

NIGHT LETTER

DOROTHY S. THOMAS

RUBY PASSED AWAY WITH HEART FAILURE. AM LEAVING HUNT  
IMMEDIATELY ON TEN DAY LEAVE. WIRE INSTRUCTIONS IF ANY  
TO 615 SIXTEENTH AVENUE S.E., MINNEAPOLIS

JAMES SAKODA

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
October 24, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I got back to Hunt on the 20th, and am back in the groove again. Much water has gone under the bridge while I was away, but, what the heck, there's a lot more coming. Ogawa, Smith and Father Joe have told me that they missed me, and that made me feel good.

First of all, I would like to thank you for your sympathetic telegram and letter in regards to Ruby. She has always had a weak heart and should not have been exerting herself to the extent that she has been. A baby was too much for her, but she did not want to give it up. A heart specialist and an OB specialist were with her for about a month, when complications set in and her blood pressure began to rise. A caesarian section was undertaken to save Ruby. The baby was saved instead, and Ruby's heart failed her after the operation was completed. She undertook too much, but if she hadn't, she probably wouldn't have been happy. The baby, Rudy, is being brought up in an incubator, and is quite healthy.

I did not look around much in Minneapolis because I wanted to be with Noby as much as possible. It is a friendly city, and if I am to go east I would rather be in a place like that than in a indifferent city like Chicago. Because of the smallness of the city and the presence of Fort Snelling nearby, Minneapolis presents some interesting aspects of Nisei adjustment.

The last time I wrote you was October 1. Since then there has been a number of developments on the project. Sooner or later I'm going to have to get my notes in sufficient order to have them typed up, which will not be too difficult. I'd let Hattie type them up currently if she weren't working on the cards. You may rest assured, that I am getting some very good first hand information of project affairs. Our little group prides itself on being the best informed of all the people on the project. I'll try to give you a gist of what is taking place.

First of all, we are slowly approaching the beginning of what should be--but probably won't be--the end of the project. Certain hints are now being released which can be interpreted as a warning that the project may be closed in the not too distant future. One of them is the announcement that no center will be closed unless all centers are closed. There is a restlessness in the air, both among the residents and the AP's about the duration of the project.

October 21 1944

Anticipating this development, I find it sickening to have to witness the administration proceed on a business-as-usual basis. A case in point is the fate of the Community Activities Section. Huberman has been pointing out the faults of this section. Stafford then came along and decided that the Section would be closed ~~xxx~~ up for ~~xxxxx~~ two weeks, and opened up under a reorganized plan. Housecleaning is a good means of stepping on the toes of a large number of people all at once. Huberman is getting the brunt of this move, because he has been associated with the C.A. trouble.

A more recent attempt at putting the residents in their place occurred in connection with the completion of the high school gym. The Build-the-Gym-Week planned by Huberman gloriously failed some time ago. About ten to twenty A.P.'s volunteered their services as carpenters, but practically no evacuee showed up. Stafford recently decided that the gym should be completed by the end of the year to be of any use. He ordered that the construction of the gym cease today and that it be boarded up unless the Council could guarantee that it would be completed by the end of the year. That's Stafford through and through--the stern father, blind as a bat. The Council today decided that it would support the construction of the gym, but that it wouldn't guarantee a thing. It seems as though Stafford has weakened his attitude on this matter since he agreed to let the workers continue on the job for the present. He made an easy thing difficult by trying to force the Council to show enthusiasm over the construction of the gym.

Stafford has been giving lectures to the manpower commission. Some of the Isseis were desirous of quitting because Stafford made it plain that he was the only cock on the walk. Yesterday the commission was called in and told that the decision to complete the gym by the end of the year under certain conditions was made and that they could now go ahead and discuss the matter. Dan Williams, the secretary, wanted to know if Wednesday was too late to discuss the matter. The only profitable thing about this commission may be the voluminous minutes ~~they~~ it produces.

Hattie has finally finished the cards. I went to the Housing Section and dug up the original housing assignment. This list was the only thing close to Dec. 1942 that I could find. I've decided that this list should be transferred to the cards for the following reasons:

- es
1. To get address as of Fall, 1942.
  2. To be able to use the address (coupled with the surname, family number) to identify families. Leaves ~~wxxxxxx~~ had not affected the family at this time, although there is a possibility of additions of parolees and of babies. For this

Dorothy--3

October 24, 1944

purpose the address has been placed on the back along with the name and family number. No further identification will be employed to indicate family groupings, since I consider the above three data sufficient for most family groups.

3. To locate individuals for whom a card has not been made out as yet. A card will be made out, of course.

After Hattie puts the addresses on, the next steps might be:

1. Arrange all cards in alphabetical order.
2. Check with Stat Office file of indefinite leaves, transfer, death, etc. Here we would be able to pick up school leave, volunteering, drafted, etc.

Since the bulk of our cards and the original housing assignments is in family groups, it is profitable to record the center addresses before alphabetizing the cards. I would like to have your comments on this phase of the work before we proceed too far with it.

I have some interesting population charts which I have worked out for the labor situation, but which will be equally as useful for our purposes. I have the age and sex breakdown for Dec., 1942, March, June, and September of this year. I also have a chart showing the trend in indefinite leave, seasonal leave, death, transfer, birth, and net population from the beginning of the project. I also have a age-sex breakdown of the working population. I am now trying to get the breakdown of those out on seasonal work and those out on indefinite. I try to get others to do work for me, but that is not always possible. My next task is to get someone to make copies of these charts for me. For all charts I shall be careful to preserve the data used.

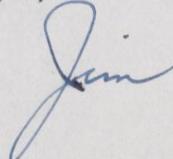
I shall try to look into the subscription matter soon. I am now on fairly good terms with the Japanese and English editors, and I am now wondering whether I can't snitch bound back copies of the Irrigator.

My position within the block is now very good, with Mr. Hata, the block commissioner, also the block clerk. We had a time getting the former b-m out of the way.

Hattie sends her very best regards.

Have received my war bond under separate cover, much to Hattie's relief.

'Bye,



October 25, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

I am enclosing a travel advance, and some exemption certificates. You should plan to arrive in Salt Lake City on November 28th, as the conference will begin on the 29th. Will send you an agenda within a few days. It will be an eight day affair. We will again stay at the New Grand Hotel. Shall I write Mr. Stafford, or can you arrange your short-term leave yourself? Let me know in plenty of time. I have not heard from you for a long time.

Regards to Hattie,

Sincerely

12-12-0  
Hunt, Idaho  
October 29, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I have finally put my study of two council elections into order, and am sending you two copies of it. In nature it is different from anything that I have done until now. But it may be just as well, since one characteristic of our Study is the multiple approach that we are taking to human behavior. I've been thinking that perhaps this <sup>multiple</sup> approach is going to be our contribution to the field of research. Someone asked me if we had come out with any finding, and I had to tell him that there was no finding that had not already been written up somewhere. However, we seem to be able to do something which other research workers have not done until now--to take the numerous factors which affect human behavior and show through concrete social situations how they fit in together.

Mr. Newell, acting statistician, has been replaced by an old maid from Montana. I don't know how difficult it is going to be to work around her, but so far I don't expect to have too much difficulty. I was on fairly good terms with Mr. Newell, and helped him make a success of his recent census. He came out with figures not more than 11 off from his daily population summary, which is pretty good. While chatting with him, I learned that the Washington office has ordered a roster which is going to include more than the items in the last roster (March, 1944), a copy of which I have. This new roster is to be completed by the end of the year. It is to include all the basic data on the present roster, plus the following:

1. The names of all persons who have ever been inducted into the project.
2. Their status when they came in.
3. Their status when they left (type of leave).
4. Where they went.

An original and a carbon is ordered by the Washington office. Whether more copies are contemplated is not known. But if we get hold of a copy of this roster, most of our worries over the basic data for our tabulations are going to be over. You may be able to place an order for a copy through the Washington office. I hope you can.

I'm enjoy my new role of a person doing things rather than just analyzing what others do. In a way the degree of success in getting things done and getting others to do things is a test of the correctness of my own analysis of the situation.

*Mr. Starker*

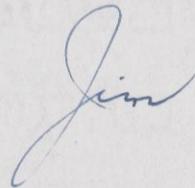
Dorothy--2

October 29, 1944

I have contacted the Irrigator and have found your letter in one of the desks. I believe that they are going to take care of it right away. If you are missing a particular issue, I hope you'll let me know. I may be able to pick up a copy elsewhere.

I still have to get out that report for Warner. Father Joe is having another one of his bull-sessions tonight, and Hattie and I won't get in until the wee hours of the morning. The bull-sessions have attained status among the A.P.'s, and anyone invited to them are very proud indeed. Huberman has been turned down because of the poor reputation that he created for himself among the residents. He has no race prejudice, but just the same he's awfully bullheaded. Aside from Smith, who tends to lean over backwards toward the evacuees, Niver, the new head of the Adult Education Program, is the fair-haired favorite of Father Joe. Graham, the new reports officer, is a possible candidate.

'Bye,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jim". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the text "'Bye,".

November 8, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I note that I have not answered some questions that you raised in your letter of October 24. Your plans for organizing the cards sound all right to me. Will you please bring along to the conference some samples of your cards, so that we can discuss the details more satisfactorily.

In regard to the Minidoka Irrigator, we lack the following copies: Nos. 26-33, inclusive.

Hastily yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
November 17, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I'm in a rather confused state of mind just now because of the complications that the Council has gotten into over the gym situation. My Fair Employment Practice Board has not been called upon to take part, and I have been working with the Council recently on a sort of Executive Secretary basis, since Ogawa dropped out a couple of weeks ago. But I don't like the way in which Fujii and the Council is handling the whole matter, and I have decided to pull out before I become too involved. Just at the moment it's much more pleasant to be on the sidelines, than to be in the middle of a tustle as a referee, with both sides beating you up or wanting to. With the coming conference as an excuse I have asked for a month's leave of absence, and now feel that I don't have to show up for work everyday. I hope I will be able to catch up on back work, write my report for Warner, and prepare for the conference.

I have received the agenda for the conference and can anticipate all-night sessions. Rosalie's manuscripts have arrived via two different channels, and are now safe in my care.

Hattie is going ahead with the recording of the 1942 addresses. It takes time, she says, and has decided to do the work free of charge. Assuming that we shall be able to borrow (at least) the roster that is now being undertaken, we can wait until it comes out before any more work is done on the cards.

Will you credit Hattie with 42 hours in finishing the recording of information from the rosters. Will you also send Minnie Nakano a check for \$5 for work she did on the leadership study. A Caucasian woman began to work for Stafford, and Minnie quit her work in protest. If she's still at home not working at all, I hope to have her do some of the typing that I must have done.

To give you some idea of the present situation on the project, it is best to describe the progress on the gym construction. After issuing the ultimatum to the Council that either it guarantees the completion of the structure by the end of the year or he would board it up, ~~he~~ Stafford accepted a memo from the Council assuring him that cooperation would be forthcoming from the Council and the residents. The reply was halfhearted and an allout cooperation on the construction of the gymnasium was not in evidence. Stafford probably did not realize that his attempt to "fortify" the Council with an ultimatum to wave in front of the residents would cause more resentment than enthusiasm. Thereafter, Stafford and Plank figured out two means whereby they would induce more cooperation from the workers. The first was to put in four

November 17, 1944

or five Caucasian supervisors and foremen over the evacuee foremen and workers. The second was to have them keep accurate time on these workers in terms of actual minutes of "applied effort" and to send such a report to Washington. Concerning the first step, Fujii and I had an opportunity to implore both Stafford and Plank to change it so that the evacuee foreman, Ishimitsu, would retain his former status of overall supervisor of the gymnasium. This suggestion was spurned on the ground that it was contrary to Civil Service regulations. Before formal complaints could be registered on the second step taken, ~~the~~ Ishimitsu had quit, and along with him the rest of the workers.

The Council met. Fujii wanted to approach Stafford personally in order to find out how much he was willing to concede. Ogawa and I opposed this step, and suggested that Stafford be called in and his remarks written into the records. Fujii was allowed to see Stafford "unofficially", and he was also asked to attend a meeting with the Council. Stafford's stand was that all the steps that he took were reasonable, and that if they were explained to the workers, they should not protest. It was pointed out to him that it was not the workers that disagreed with him, but the Council. Stafford wanted the Council to approach the workers with the suggestion that if they did not cooperate, they could be paid from the first of November on an hourly basis, since such a record was kept. Arguments ensued. Stafford had come with a plan to change the supervisory setup to satisfy Ishimitsu, but he would not give in on the matter of timekeeping. The Council thereupon decided to have Stafford present his point of view to the workers in writing.

The meeting with the workers was set for Tuesday. The memo ~~with~~ the workers was read. They presented their complaints. Before any decisions were reached, Fujii proposed to the workers to present Stafford with a counter-proposal. This proposal committed the workers to finish the stage, the hall, and the lavatories ~~only~~ by the end of the year, in return for which the administration was to be asked to withdraw their Caucasian supervisors and foremen and stop keeping time with a stopwatch. The workers, of course, agreed to this proposal which repudiated Stafford's proposed conditions under which they could go back to work. Wednesday Fujii was running back and forth, without a written memo to guide his actions. Word drifted out of the Ad Area that the evacuees were going to work overtime if necessary in order to finish the gym. Nobody, however, actually knew what Fujii had proposed to Stafford. He was seen talking to Graham, the new reports officer, who had taken up the task of liaison officer for Stafford. To me only one thing was certain. Fujii had already misrepresented the administration to the workers and the stand of the workers to the administration.

Dorothy--3

November 17, 1944

Yesterday the Council met again. Stafford had given in to a few minor demands, but did not intend to make further changes in the conditions, it seemed. Fujii reported that the only thing that now stood in the way of a settlement was Ishimitsu's insistence on the removal of Crowson. Instead of asking Stafford directly, Fujii suggested that Smith be asked to sound out Stafford's opinion on this point. What he actually told Smith, however, was that arrangements be made so that Crowson would not interfere with the activities of the workers. He gave the Council to understand that Stafford was being asked to remove Crowson. All this in order to keep matters patched up and to avoid a final showdown. The Council members seemed somewhat demoralized by their helplessness, and Fujii's secretaries were so disgusted with him that they were ready to walk out on him.

To appreciate this situation you have to remember that this matter was building up over a period of about a month. Other issues served to add tension to the participants. The struggle in the Manpower Commission is a story in itself. The closing of the C.A. and Huberman's efforts to reorganize the C.A. will make another chapter. Evelyn Rose was here to settle the trouble at the front gate, and an interesting evacuee--Washington intrigue took place. I am also mixed up with the effort of the Adult Education Section to put on forums for the benefit of the residents, and have been ~~the~~ instrumental in securing a rec hall for the use of block children.

All this sounds very silly, except for the fact that, in an attempt to come out on top in minor issues is making <sup>the</sup> solution of major problems highly difficult. The lifting of restrictions, the contemplated closing of the center, and adjustment to a dwindling population--all of these problems are not being approached yet in an intelligent manner. If seasonal leave is not going to be allowed next year, then we will not have a greatly-diminishing population, and hence no manpower problem. But the feeling of need for drastic change has already caused tension which seems entirely uncalled for.

Will you please place the following order for me:

- 1 ream white bond
- 2 reams yellow second sheets
- ~~1 ream medium weight carbon paper~~
- 2 typewriter ribbons

I am catching the train to Salt Lake City on November 28, and shall arrive around midnight. I'll be seeing you and W.I. there.

Best regards from Hattie.

'Bye,

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
November 18, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I'm sorry about my reply in regards to the conference. I thought that it was understood that I would be able to attend. I hope it won't happen again. The last couple of weeks have been hectic for me, too.

Yesterday I went to see Miss Covington, the new head of the Stat Section. We talked about the new super-roster, and our main discussion was in regards to the problem of collecting individual data and then putting them into family groups. There is a complete file of individual cards and folders for each person who has ever been in the center, but these are used daily and cannot be shuffled around. I pointed out that, or rather Miss Covington got my point that, it would be very convenient to have a set of working cards to gather data on individuals first, and then to shuffle them into family groupings.

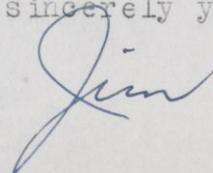
After we got that far I told her that I had a set of cards which I had made from two rosters that she might be able to use as working cards. This would give her cards which are already partially filled with desired data and over <sup>ten</sup> thousands cards with which to work. On my part, I said, if she used the cards, she could fill in additional data which were to go on the roster and also add missing cards. According to the data that I have (Daily population summary), the total number of cards possible (births, transfers in, new colonists and other admissions) is roughly ~~12,900 or 13,000~~ ~~12,900~~ 12,900 or, say, 13,000. From the cards Miss Covington would be able to type up her roster, and we would have the cards up to date and complete.

I am going ahead with this plan, subject to your approval. I'm trying to get a former Tulean, Hiroshi Nakayama, who worked in the Stat Section before, but who is now on the coal crew, to go back to the Stat Section to take up this special assignment of making the roster. Capable individuals are difficult to find these days.

Please let me know immediately if this plan meets with your approval. I do not think that I will become involved in any way even if the cards are loaned to the Stat Section.

I think you sent me 12,000 cards. At least 13,000 cards will be necessary to make the file complete. If you can send them, it will be just fine. If not, Miss Covington may be able to substitute with cards of her own.

Very sincerely yours,



November 20, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

I received your telegram; also, today, two letters. We put in the order for paper, and for checks for Hattie and Minnie Nakano. Hattie must not, of-course, work "free!"

I see no reason why you should not lend the cards to Miss Covington. We will be able to supply you with more cards, if you will send a sample card( we have none here, since they were sent to you directly from the Printing Office) immediately to Mrs. Wilson, telling her how many you want. Order somewhat more than your estimate, for it is cheaper to have them all done at once. I would guess 2000, or is that too many?

Please be sure to bring "samples" of all your records to the Conference, so that we can discuss details of procedure.

Hastily yours,

TELEGRAM

IDAHO  
Nov. 23, 1944

DR. D.S. THOMAS

WIRE APPROVAL HAVING STATISTICAL CARDS CHECKED AND  
COMPLETED BY STATISTICAL SECTION. EXPLANATORY LETTER  
PREVIOUSLY SENT.

JAMES SAKODA

9:30 a.m.

12-12-C Minidoka

11/23

Approve having statistical  
Cards checked.

D.S.T.

10 a.m.

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
December 7, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I arrived home as I scheduled just before noon. Hattie still can't believe that I am willing to leave this place in the springtime. It's good experience for me, but of course I must go on and learn other things, too.

Nothing much is happening here just at the moment. The precarious coal situation has been adjusted to the point today where some coal has been distributed to each block. It's a good thing because the supply in each block was depleted to the extent of having to cut down on the amount of hot water used in the block.

I am sending in my account of expenses. I hope that it is in good order.

I shall largely pull out of my role as participant, and take up that of observer and organizer of material. I shall also be a historian and delve into the past for material which I have missed.

The conference has served to established just what we want to do. I shall not forget this conference because of Rosalie and some of the excellent tales that various individuals--including W.I.--have spun.

'Bye,



December 11, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I was glad to get your letter today and to know that you got back without too much trouble. We have made out your expense account and you owe us \$38.17. Will you kindly get a money order or check, if you have a checking account, made out to the Regents of the University of California, and send it to me at your convenience.

I am having your record checked through the Western Defense Command to see if there will be any hindrance to your return. Will you, therefore, kindly send me by return mail the following information: your family number and your exact address prior to evacuation. As soon as I find out whether your record is clear, I will inform you how to proceed to apply for a permit to return.

I found the conference extraordinarily stimulating and enjoyed your contribution. Will you have Minnie type up your rough notes that you took and I will edit them along with George's, to circulate to the various people present.

Hastily yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
December 15, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I'm glad to hear that you are working on the return to the Coast. Today this movement has hit the Study here in Minidoka, for Minnie and her family returned to Port Townsend, Washington. I was going to have her type up the minutes of the conference and other notes for my journal, but she didn't have time to do so. She left suddenly because she did not want to be frozen over the holiday season. I'm afraid that I'm going to find difficulty replacing her.

In regards to the information that you requested, I can offer the following:

Family Number: 23191  
Address prior to evacuation: \_\_\_\_\_ Adams Street,  
(for several weeks) Sierra Madre, Calif.

Address before then: 2158½ Dwight Way  
Berkeley, California

Hattie is worried because you haven't asked about her clearance, but I have told her that if I am cleared we assume that there won't be any trouble clearing her.

I am gradually severing my political connections, especially with the Council. They've asked me several times to stay on, but I have refused. I have decided to stay in the Manpower Commission, if only to maintain some contacts on the project. I am keeping in close touch with Miss Covington of the Statistics Section. She was having difficulty with the girls working on the cards, and I made arrangements for them to have rest periods. Today I found them working cheerfully and busily. I'm trying to get Hiroshi Nakayama back into the office to insure smooth operation.

I am getting my documentation in order filing everything in its proper place. I am filing each separate incident separately, rather than under a general topic. I am taking care to preserve the chronological sequence as much as possible. I am thinking of writing a very short summary of each incident and identifying it with a title and date of occurrence. I hope to use these as a basis for working out an outline and summary for the political history of Minidoka. In this way I am hoping to avoid bias as much as possible.

Dorothy--2

December 15, 1944

I must be careful because I'm afraid that I am prejudiced against Minidoka in general--both the administration and the residents. I am especially opposed to Stafford and to men like Fujii. I'm afraid that my contact with Rosalie has only intensified my essential dislike toward them. It is not going to be easy to remember that Minidokans as a whole did not really welcome the establishment of a self-government, and that Tuleans generally were not welcomed here. Just as Dick's theme is increasing organization, my theme seems to be the opposite--increasing disorganization. To be more specific, in a general framework of lack of organization, I want to trace the rise and fall of the Community Council. At any rate, I shall stick very close to the data that I have.

Will you please send me the following supplies:

2 reams yellow second sheets, punched  
1 box thin black carbon papers  
1 box manila folders, one-third cut

Will you send Minnie Nakano a check for \$10 for the typing that she did on the journal pages that I sent in recently. Her address is:

Rt. 2, Port Townsend, Washington.

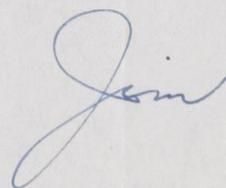
Both of Fujii's secretaries have quit on him, I believe, and have invited Tom Ogawa and myself (the other two who made up the office staff) for a farewell party. This is documentary evidence, anyway, of the way some of us feel.

It is cold enough here to skate either on the sewage pond or even on the canal. Several small girls who don't have skates have been dragging me out to "skate." I tried out my skates tonight and enjoyed having the little girls chase me around on the ice. It's too bad more of the children don't possess skates.

Hattie sends her regards and her reminder that she does not want to be left out when the time comes to pull up stakes.

So far I have not gotten anything for George. My best to all there.

'Bye,



Encl - check for \$38.17

1 |

December 20, 1944

Dear Jimmy,

I just received your letter of December 15th. You can imagine how impatiently I am waiting news of the reactions to "The Day". I must confess the announcement took me quite by surprise. I was getting resigned to the fact that it might be a long time.

I laughed at Hattie's worries. I am sorry, but I thought she would understand that this was merely a preliminary inquiry I was making to the Presidio. The actual request to return would have had to be made by you, but I wanted to find out whether they had a "record" on you. It never occurred to me that they could possibly have a record on Hattie, so I did not ask for her family number, etc. Since the situation has completely changed in the last few days, I shall not make the inquiry. You will know by January 2nd, in any case, whether you are on the new stop list. I don't anticipate that you will be, since you have had your leave clearance hearing. If you are, I shall immediately get advice about how the case can be appealed.

Re your shorthand notes, are they taken in Pittman? If so, Mrs. Wilson could transcribe them. In that case, just send along your notebooks. I think the best way would be to send them express, insured for quite a large amount (say \$200). They could be sent collect. If they are not too bulky and can be sent first class mail, send them registered.

Your plans for getting your documentation in order sound very good. I particularly approve of the short summary you are writing of every incident. Don't let Rosalie encourage you in your "bias". Under Dick's influence, she is becoming more of a moderate, and less of an "agitator".

We have sent Minnie a check, or rather put in an order for one, and have taken care of your supply order.

I expect Charlie to come here quite soon. I want to have three weeks or a month with him, without any distractions, just as soon as possible. Then I'll be expecting you and Dick.

Housing will be a very tough problem. I think the best thing for me to do is get you temporary accommodations in someone's house (probably a Christian: they are very useful at such times) and then let you look around. After all, the struggle to find housing, and the reactions you meet, will all be "data" for the study!

Best to Hattie. Did you catch cold again? I got an awful one as soon as I returned, just like the Chicago one, but am feeling better now.

I did not send out any Christmas cards, so here are all good wishes to both of you for the season.

Sincerely,

December 26, 1944

Dear Jimmy:

I just received your Diary on the crucial days of December 17 and 18. It is an excellent record of reactions. We have all read it very carefully and look forward to getting more. I was not at all surprised at the evidences of resistance that you show so clearly. The next few weeks will certainly be important and interesting. From the standpoint of the study, the timing of this whole matter is really pretty good. I figure that you can now plan to get here by the first of March at the latest, since by that time the situation will be pretty well determined. I am sure you must be on the list that can return to the Coast, but naturally I shall not feel completely easy in my mind until you let me know officially. So please write soon again.

Everyone here sends cordial regards, and I thank you and Hattie for your nice Christmas card. All good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

12-12-C  
Hunt, Idaho  
December 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I was glad to receive your letter of the 20th this morning. Reactions to the announcement of what I call the Return and the Closing are developing quietly. I expect opinions to crystallize more rapidly when the actual closing date is announced. In the meantime, people are not agreed on what should be done under the circumstance. Some plan to return, but very few are willing to rush back immediately. They would rather sit back and wait for others to feel out the reaction on the Coast. Still others are more worried about the closing to have time to do much thinking about the good news of the lifting of the restrictions. Some are thinking of relocation opportunities expecting the centers to be closed. Still others are thinking of ways and means of being able to keep the center open.

As the final phase of the center life (before the Indian Reservation phase, if it comes) I shall keep close documentation of the reaction of people. The other aspect that I have to keep tabs on is the final phase of the political situation. I have a theory that center organization is just as strong as the block organization, or I should say, dependent upon the block organization. I want to see how quickly the superstructures like the Council, C.A., Adult Ed., Federated Church, Fair Employment Practice Board (dead already) dissolve, and how the block will survive as a unit. I still believe that one of Minidoka's essential characteristic is its weak organization.

Unfortunately, block unity will be broken down by the process of closing down messhalls with less than 130 (?) residents. Blocks 22 and 32 (half blocks) are destined to close down on January 4. Added to confusion from that source is the mandatory ceiling on messhall workers ordered by Washington, requiring a cut on the average of 4-6 messhall workers in each messhall.

I am doing what I can to contribute to the unity in my block. The young people in the block worked hard on the messhall decoration, although they did not win any prize. Last night they gave the little children a party, and enjoyed the evening themselves with games and simple refreshments. The young people are beginning to show signs of mutual cooperation, and group response to leadership. It has not been difficult to win the loyalty of the children from pre-school age to about ten or eleven. The junior high school and high school boys and girls keep to themselves, but are cooperative. The most difficult are the

Dorothy--2

December 26, 1944

boys in their senior year in high school or just out of school, who constitute the oldest boys that I am now concerned with. Since being given responsibility in taking care of the recreation hall and decorating the messhall, they have tended to behave themselves. They behaved admirably at the party last night. This is only incidental to my life here, but the problem of control over a recalcitrant group seems to be about the same as the one the administration is faced with.

I am now experimenting with the writing up of the summaries. I am making a duplicate of them so that you or someone else may employ them as a basis for making an outline or writing a history. Recent events have prevented my getting on with them.

Our cards seem to be coming along smoothly now. The girls working on them were just about ready to quit because Miss Covington had not established a working relationship with them. I arranged for rest periods for the girls, and recently they have been working cheerfully on the cards. After the roster is made up, I shall try to get the missing data.

Kimball is coming from Washington on the 28th, and I shall get his angle of the closing of the center.

I am borrowing the bound Irrigator copies from Graham, the Reports Officer. He tells me that he has to write a history of Minidoka some time next year, and has offered me the file of Reports Officers' reports if I'll collaborate. I am going on the assumption that we can get hold of those reports later on. However, to avoid a great deal of addition and correction later on, it would be best if I had them before I started on my actual write-up. Do you think there is any way of getting hold of them soon in Washington? Perhaps the reports don't contain much. I figure that they should at least have the administration side of the story to the major incidents that occurred on the project.

I am sending you my application for a fellowship. Will you look it over, make any correction that you think is wise, and send it in? I am also enclosing a Report on Candidate blank for you to fill out.

I should be able to find out here on the project whether I'm on the stop list of the Army or not. Hattie has been saying for some time that she'll be willing to do housework in order to find housing for ourselves. She has to work for us to get along, and she feels that she needs the experience in housework, anyway. She doesn't feel competent enough to do secretarial work for anyone else but myself. We are perfectly willing to stay with Christians (Hattie was one herself), without children, not too much work, etc.

'Bye,

*Jeri*

*P.S. My shorthand is Gregg. I shall transcribe the notes myself in my spare time.*

12/27/44

Dear Dorothy,

Both Hattie & I are on the  
cleared list.

Jin