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*Shibutani*

6051 Kimbark St.  
 Chicago, Ill.

June 8, 1943.

Dear Morton,

Sorry about the delay in replying to your many letters, Somehow or another we just didn't get around to it. After a brief stay at Hyde Park we decided that we weren't sufficiently cooperative to live in a coop. As you probably noticed, we have moved.

We had to pleasure of meeting almost ~~all~~ of your family here. I think we have met everyone except one brother. Your parents were really swell. Your brother and sister came over too. I'm just sorry that we didn't have an opportunity to invite them over. We shall, though.

Don't take the outlines too seriously. W.I.'s comment when I made outlines was, "They're O.K., but don't put your life to it." We seem to have spent the greater part of our time in working on and revising outlines and past experience tells me that all these damn things will have to be changed after we try them on the first case. Oh well, it was pretty good anyway. It just knocked me out as far as school work goes, however. If you hear of me flunking out of Chicago . . . .

Sorry about the delay in sending the expense account. I've been looking all over hell for some of the receipts and can find only one--the one Dorothy gave me for the stuff Billigmeier sent. Since that freight items is on my account I should pay her that money. I also owe her for Teggart, or should I pay you for it. (Incidentally, I almost forgot. Thanks ever so much for getting it for me. Anyway, all dallying aside, I'm enclosing the expenses with this letter. It runs slightly over the amount allotted to me, and you can cut off the I.C. rides if you like. I haven't kept track of all of them anyway.

I agree with you that Chicago isn't so tough. I must say, though, that some of the grads are pretty sharp. The average run of students seem to know little about a lot of subjects and not very much about anything in particular. Dilletantes (spelling?).

Saw D.S. and W.I. off this morning and then got a hectic wire from Spencer. It had us all in an uproar for a while.

Settling down to study. Hibernating to do 12 weeks work in 1½ weeks. Pray for me.

Best regards to Ruth. Tomi sends her regards.  
*Tom*  
 P.S. (over)

P.S. I just received some blanks for retirement insurance for state employees. Could you advise me on the following points?

~~I understand that one must be employed full time for 6 months or part time continuously (is it for 1 year or 6 months?) It's not quite clear in the booklet. I want to know about part time or magt,~~

Should I have an affidavit made here by some lawyer or notary at an additional price or should I just send in a birth certificate (which I have) with a note telling them to return it? —

Now that I reflect on it, this second question sounds dumb too. I won't scratch it out, just a reflection on my stupidity. Sorry.

T. O. O.

June 12, 1943

Mr. T. Shibutani  
6051 Kimbark Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Tom:

With Mrs. Wilson's aid, I have squeezed out an even hundred dollars on your expense account. It would be much easier all the way around if you could keep your receipts after this. The way it is now, we have to squabble with the business office on virtually every account we send through and, usually, they can back up their stand with written rules. But what the hell! If we still owe you \$1.15, we'll try to catch up with you next time. Incidentally, you owe me, not Dorothy, for Teggart.

Had a letter from Dorothy yesterday, and she's really having a fine time with Bob Spencer's shenanigans. Her last line was "Kroeber can have the damned fool," but that, I am sure, is a passing fancy. We are going to miss Bob in many ways.

I am glad you got out of the uncooperative co-op, and also that you had a chance to meet some of my family. I know the family would be very pleased that you called them. Apparently they had a fine drinking party with W.I. and Dorothy.

I am working like hell to finish a report before D.S.T. arrives Monday. I'll give you any odds you wish that you don't flunk out of Chicago. Even money you get "A's".

Best regards to you, Tomi and the rest of the gang.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins

MG:mw

June 18, 1943

Dear Dorothy (now is that better?),

Thanks for the very encouraging letter from Phoenix. We were a bit disturbed when Spencer's wire arrived. We could just see the expression on your face when you got ours on the train, "Now what?" He sent his message on time, but the damn telegraph company sent it to the wrong address and everything was stalled for a day. I got the message the afternoon of the ~~Sit~~ after Miss Torell went chasing all over the library to look for me.

The news that you sent was very encouraging. As you noted, the typical American trait of not taking laws seriously, especially when they affect one's personal desires, has its good points now and then. It came during the midst of one of my angry ~~moments~~--after reading stuff about the Dies Committee and other bastards fighting for some kind of democracy, and it certainly raised our morale.

The office has been kind of dead after your departure. We haven't walked off with any steel file cases yet so please don't worry. Incidentally we got to keep 502. Charlie is very faithfully pounding our his JACL stuff and I think he is developing rapidly a certain animosity which is supposed to be one of my characteristics. Frank is running around already, keeping an eye on Michi's clothes-buying and on the Jap situation at the same time. Now and then some of the sociology students drop in and we have some pleasant and profitable chats. Nothing has started rolling as yet, and I doubt if you're going to see any documents for some time. I've lined up a gal for part-time steno work but we're not sure yet whether we want her. We're going to try her out for efficiency, etc. (standards not applied to research assistants) and will notify you of our decision later. God, you and W.I. certainly have some influence around here. The profs here actually bend over to speak to us now and then. Isn't that wonderful!

Charlie claims that he is in the midst of a terrific conflict about his career vs. numerous contacts with Japs. A bunch of them moved in a block from his place and he's contemplating pulling up stakes. I sometimes feel the same way now that the Takahashi's have bought a house a half block from our place. My first reaction was: let's move to Blue Island or some other suburb miles away. Now I feel like a martyr to the cause of science. Haven't paid my respects to that glorious . . . family yet, but intend to do so as soon as the mother (the boss) arrives. I think we'll have to get in good with her if we want to get anywhere. She's the smartest one in the family anyway.

After four days of constant agony I finally finished the stuff for Wirth's course. I spent the day yesterday recuperating. Saw Wirth in the elevator and told him that his exam wastoo tough and his reply was, "Well, those questions weren't intended to be answered anyway." !!!!!!! He asked about you and sends his regards.

Now that I'm through writing out those exam questions I'm in a quandary as to what to do this summer--in the mornings. Yes, now that Tomi starts working in the morning, I get up too. Believe it or not, I'm typing this letter at 9 A.M. in the office. We'll be doing most of our interviewing in the late afternoons and evenings and over weekends, I suspect, and during the spare time I'd like to pick up something. Frank suggested that I continue to work on the matter of soc. organization further and read all the stuff on Wirth's bibliography plus any additional stuff that he and Hughes might suggest to get clear in my mind what social organization or society means to me. He suggests though that I keep my eyes peeled too so that I could keep my feet on the ground in spite of theory. Oh well, something will come out. If I flunk Wirth's course, that'll end my career in Chicago anyway.

I don't dare send in a copy of the paper I wrote for Wirth on the Japanese immigrant family. It's all full of nonsense and theory as you might gather from the title, "Adjustment to Types of Social Solidarity as a Factor in Immigrant Family Unity." I know W.I. will disapprove. Think I'll either hide it or burn it.

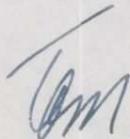
Intend to spend the rest of the week catching up on 1½ month's correspondence that has been totally neglected and then will start working on the Tule Lake documents. Frank and I are going to the church Sunday (following your "orders"--by god, that's about the only reason)--and will try to establish some contacts. Who knows, Frank may become a real archbishop at that.

Doi, my former roommate, writes from St. Louis that he knows a smart (Phi Beta) S.C. Nisei soc. student who is making a one-woman survey of the Jap situation in St. Louis. This week's Time had some reference to her--Setsuko Matsunaga. He is somewhat like Charlie in many respects and he offered to lift some of the stuff for us, but I think we might be able to get the stuff legitimately--if it's any good. I'll write her, if you don't mind, to ask what she's doing and what she's got and what the hell she's doing it for. I also intend to write to Prof. Smith at Utah to ask how he's coming along too. It might be worthwhile to push those two studies along. They can do the work and claim the credit, but it will help us in our understanding of the problems involved.

Charlie just came into the office and is in excellent spirits. He sends the following message: he will write up the JACL report slightly differently. He will write up the developmental account and follow it with a brief analysis. He says he can't systematize it around any framework. Charlie's been working like hell on this and I think he's slightly demoralized. Maybe he needs a shot of . . . anyway, we're anxiously awaiting Morton's arrival.

All's rolling along in the sense that nobody's particularly sore about anything other than the JACL, the Takahashis and the Dies Committee. Will write again soon.

Michi, Tomi, Charlie, and Frank send their regards. Regards to W.I. and Morton.



June 18, 1943

Dear Morton,

Thanks for you letter of the 12th. I'm very sorry about not sending in all the receipts. I know I ought to have my . . . kicked for not doing so especially after all the hell Dorothy gave me for not doing it ~~during~~ during the trip. I don't know what the hell's the matter with me but now and then I just get that way. It won't happen again.

Another apology is due you about the delay in paying for Teggart. I wasn't quite sure who I owed since you said you had to use her name to get a reduction in prices. She wouldn't take the money until she was certain and then I almost forgot about the matter. I'm enclosing a check with this letter for \$3.51, which, as I recall, was the exact amount. You see, I've also lost that receipt! Oh, what the hell.

Things have quieted down quite a bit since the Thomases left. Everyone took off a day to recuperate from the pace. God, but D.S.T. can sure step on it. How in the hell ~~to~~ do you manage to work there all the time without a breakdown--do you have your supply of firewater? We were so god damn pooped out that we just didn't do a damn thing. I rested a day and then buckled down to tackle Louis Wirth, who is also no turtle, although I think my respect for him is falling slightly now that I'm coming ~~the-the~~ to the end of the quarter. He's been spending much of the class time telling us of his predictions of future events, and I don't know . . . . Anyway, I think I'll steer clear of him for a while. Four days of concentrated reading from morning to night and three days of constant typing from 8:30 to midnight was a little too much. Then, the stuff I turned in was pretty bad. Incidentally, I don't think I'll flunk, but I'll take the bet about the "A". A dinner at a fairly decent (not elite) restaurant in Chicago says I don't make it. O.K.? The payoff can come when you arrive. I'll supply documentary evidence this time.

Plan to run down to the WRA office tomorrow, heat or no heat--and it's plenty stuffy and hot. Sunday, we're all going to church to be converted to paganism. The stuff they dish out ~~makes~~ repulses me in spite of the fact that my friends call me "Holy Boy." Charlie refuses to go and Frank agreed to sacrifice for science after some coaxing. Togo Tanaka has just been swell and has been doing more work than all the rest of us put together. He's already got about 10 case documents. At the rate he's going, we're going to run out of manila folders pretty soon.

Well, we'll write again. Best regards to Ruth from Tomi and me. Sorry about the receipts.

Tom

June 21, 1943

Dear Tom,

Glad to hear that you're back in form and getting mad at the "bastards" again.

It is a good idea to find out what the people (or person) in St. Louis are doing. You may find it desirable to run down there soon to check on the situation. I agree that other people should be encouraged to carry on, for the work will be useful for us, too.

Things here are rather quiet. As I told Frank, I am taking a chance on another keto for Gila, for a time at least. She is well-trained and may be able to get good information. X and Hikida will be able to supplement her records. And, as you know, it is rather good insurance to have a female around these days.

Poston is in a state of great excitement, due to the visit of the Dies Committee. The administration has been going around destroying records (their own) and sent messages around instructing block residents to destroy all semblance of "subversiveness". Tamie reports her own block manager made the following announcement "If any one has a Japanese flag or anything of a subversive nature in his possession please put it away in an obscure spot since the Dies Committee is supposed to come in at any minute." The residents are also planning to appeal to the Spanish consul again if conditions become too bad as a result of the reduction in subsistence.

If you do any travelling, now, be sure to fill out tax exempt blanks and keep a record of expenses.

Best to Tomi and the others.

Yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 23, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

Enclosed is a sheet of Tom's notebook paper for which he desires some refills. I wonder if you could send us a few other items, if you have them on hand, namely,

~~2 straight edge or ruler s~~  
~~2 bottle of mucilage~~  
1 pr. of scissors *(in envelope)*

From Tom's report, it seems unlikely that we're going to get any action from Shirrell's office on the schedule that you sent him. Mrs. Ray declared, "This schedule is all right and would do nicely if we had someone like Dr. Thomas here to supervise the work." It seems that she doesn't know how to transpose the material she has to this schedule, or of what to do with the thing in any case.

Charlie had a little trouble about his apartment. Someone who called himself a representative of the Kenwood Better Business Bureau phoned Charlie's landlady and said, "I understand you have some Chinese living at your apartment. As you know there is a covenant restricting Chinese from living on Drexel Avenue. You had better ask them to move out." Charlie went out to find this Bureau, talked to a man in the Swan Lorish office, and to some lady at the Bureau, but could not trace the telephone call to anyone in their offices. His guess is that some "crank" must have done the trick. In any case, the landlady has agreed to let them stay, and Charlie is waiting to see what else develops. Shirrell reports that this sort of thing is happening everyday, but that the OPA has backed the evacuee residents whenever the problem is brought to them.

There's little else to report at the moment. However, we may have some things to send you in a week or two.

Sincerely yours,

*Frank*

I know Florence Tateoka (she is now in Denver and Yanaga knows her address; Michi has it somewhere too) but I know very little of her specific qualifications. She is about twenty-eight, attractive in a way, makes good social adjustments, quite Americanized, and is regarded as being very intelligent for a Nisei girl. I had forgotten about her contacts with Erna Gunther, but I believe she was taking quite a bit of anthropology at one time. Erna would know about her qualifications there. Offhand, I would say that she's a more capable girl than Martha Okuda, though without as much training in sociology. I can't imagine that she would be interested in going back to a relocation center, though she might have a different view if she were offered a research job, but I understood that she has a fairly decent position with a firm in Denver. I have no opinions to offer concerning her ability to carry on alone in a place like Denver if you were to be interested in such a study. If you wish, I might sound her out, or Yanaga might be in a position to do it since he lives quite near her place.

I rented another typewriter without asking your permission, and am enclosing a receipt for the amount. Charlie needed a typewriter at home, and we felt that Blumer's typewriter alone wasn't sufficient for office purposes. Could you kindly have a check made out to me for \$7.50.

Could you kindly send us the following material:

- 50 stamps (6¢ airmail ~~and~~ 2¢)
- 3 books → large clips
- 6 → shorthand tablets (bags)
- 1000 → yellow 2nd sheets - 2 1/2 x 11 - 3 hole punched
- 12 → pocket-sized notebooks (as per sample)
- 500 sheets for 3 by 5 notebook fillers (for Tom's pocket notebook) 3 holes

Tom gave me a sheet of his notebook paper to indicate the size he wanted, but I absent-mindedly threw the thing away. I'll get another sheet to send on to you.

At present there isn't much to report of our work here. All of us are spending most of our time making contacts and getting casual notes on the social life and events. Togo, of course, is in a particularly favorable spot for interviews, and he's already got several case histories started. Charlie declares that he has about fifteen persons lined up, and will soon go after them. I've been out to the Bretheren's a couple of times and have established some contacts. Tom only recently completed his papers for Wirth, but he'll probably have something under way before long. All in all I think the possibilities of interviewing look quite favorable, and people seem more than willing to unload themselves. We're trying to include all kinds of cases in our interviews, but our contacts at present are predominantly with those whom we know.

At our last conference (we meet every Friday afternoon between 4 and 6 P.M. at the office) we decided to make two carbon copies of all case documents, one for the interviewer, another for

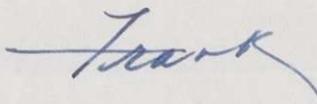
your office, and a third for our office. Thus, we'll maintain a central file of all the case documents here as well as in your office, and all of us will have access to it. It was decided that cases would be numbered CH-1, CH-2, etc., meaning Chicago document 1, 2, 3, ...n. Charlie's documents will run from CH-1 to 100, Tom's from 101 to 200, Togo's from 201 to 300, and mine from 301 to 400. However, we'll have our names on each document. We also have folders such as: "Incidents," "Friends Service," "JACL," etc. I hope we have something to show Morton by the time he gets out here.

Nothing has been said about office arrangements since talking to Redfield's secretary. I think we shall be able to stay here without being bothered.

Nothing of special interest is occurring here just now. Due to a furniture dealer's conference between June 20-30 here in Chicago, the Hotel Assoc. requested the WRA not to bring in evacuees during that period unless they had definite places to go to. My sister and brother-in-law are expected to arrive on Thursday. Reports come back from the centers that people are getting discouraging letters from those already here in Chicago. It would be desirable to try to collect some of these. From what we gather Washington D.C. papers are carrying accounts of the Dies Comm. investigation, all unfavorable of course, and Togo is concerned that things may get very bad. Personally, I regard Dies as a thorn in the side rather than a real threat.

Give my best wishes to W.I. and to Morton. In the case of an emergency, if you wish to reach me my plans are to be in the office from 9:00 to 12:00 almost every morning.

Sincerely yours,



June 28, 1943

Mr. Tom Shibutani  
6051 Kimbark Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Tom:

The bet is accepted as far as your Chicago course is concerned. I'll be in Chicago, as per present plans, around the 3rd of September.

Thanks for the check for Teggart.

Best wishes to all,

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 30, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for the encouraging letter. I don't think that things are running here as smoothly as your note implied, but it isn't bad. None of us are back in "form" again--whatever that means--and I doubt if you're going to get any cases other than the one that Charlie mailed in this morning. Togo has been doing a lot of work, but the rest of us are just threatening to start.

No news yet from St. Louis. I don't see any sense in running down there yet, although I've discovered that I knew more people there than I thought. It's close to Rohwer and a lot of Stockton people are there. A Stockton boy is working in the W.R.A. office too. I think we might be able to line up several case studies, but I doubt if it will be worth the expense of a trip. Anyway, if I do go, I'll have to go either within the next couple of weeks or else in late August. Class schedules cut in heavily otherwise. Of course, if something comes up, I may go anyway, but I doubt if it will be that important. If I do go, I have the tax exempt certificates and will remember about the receipts.

Charlie and I raided the W.R.A. files today and found all sorts of interesting things. All the community analyst reports are here and so are the weekly releases giving clippings from various newspapers and so forth. They also have a list of men in all sorts of occupations--for all the centers. We walked off with lots of names and may get started soon. One thing, I don't think we had better avoid students in our sampling. There are so many of them that if we left them out, there wouldn't be so many left. Most Nisei were going to school before evacuation anyway, weren't they?

I'm not registered for work this summer, but I am taking some courses. Hughes is giving a course in "Social Institutions" which is quite different from anything I had at Cal. He's O.K. He wants me to make a report on something or ~~other~~ without disclosing the actual data that we collect. I suppose I'll have to do something or he might feel hurt. I'll use my discretion about the data. Hughes' course runs during the first part of the summer quarter, that is divided into four parts. It's really crammed together--lectures are three hours each. During the middle part of the quarter, Redfield is offering a course on "The Folk Society" that everyone recommends to me very highly. I think I'll sit in on it, but I'll have too much work to do to take it for credit.

Toward~~e~~ the end of the summer quarter, Wirth ~~is~~ begins<sup>his</sup> his course on the "History of Sociological Theory", which I think I may as well get out of the way. Somehow I like Wirth in spite of the fact that he wanders in his lectures and doesn't talk about sociology. The people he makes dirty cracks about are the people I don't like, so it's O.K.

You see, actually, I'm taking the equivalent of three full courses for the summer, but the work is so spread out that I'll never be taking more than four lectures a week all summer. I doubt if it will cut into my work-time too much since we can't find anybody around during the day anyway. I've decided to follow W.I.'s advice seriously and am making a distinction between the stuff I read (1) for my own benefit, and (2) to satisfy some prof in a Ph.D. exam. I realize that I have to do both. Some of the sociological theories I intend to concentrate on for Wirth, I'm sure you and W.I. won't approve of, but they are theorists that we're expected to know pretty well here in Chicago. I've selected for the time being: Simmel, Weber, Durkheim, Tarde, Pareto, Sumner, Cooley, Park, and W.I. I'm going to concentrate on the last four especially and I'm sure that's O.K. Don't know what's coming in the fall, but I suspect that we'll be well enough along the way in field work and the weather will be sufficiently more clement to allow us to go out more to meet more people. I doubt if I can get in many courses then. It's turning out this way. I find myself with notes from swell lectures and tremendous bibliographies--yes, Hughes is that way too--and I'll just have to do the reading some other time. I can do some of the more important ones now, but it's impossible to do as much as I want. I think, though, that if I can get that much out of Chicago, I can finish up anywhere, wherever they have a decent library.

The back work is coming rather slowly. I'm still cleaning up correspondence. Incidentally, I do have some swell letters now. Maybe all those stamps weren't used in vain. Some good ones are coming out of camp and I'm cultivating these guys to try to keep them writing. The cases on families in Tule are coming along, but most of them will have to wait until the field notes are put into shape. They won't be finished for months yet, since I'm following your advise of doing part time work on the back work and parttime on the new interviews. I may as well state now that I probably won't send in any new resettler's cases for months yet. We're getting our first interviews now but they are so incomplete that I see no sense in writing them up until we have more dope. After a long series of contacts, I think I'll write them up.

So, I'm spending most of my time cleaning up Tule lake; then, cultivating people to line them up for studies here; and if there's any time left, I'm studying. The last I think is most profitable for me, but just impossible to spend more time on. It is discouraging because every time you learn something new you think of something you wrote and say, "God, I was a fool to put down a thing like that. Why didn't I think of this?" It's

~~I'm~~ encouraging, though, to think that I'm getting a little bit less ignorant with every lecture and reading. If my reports stay as bad as they have been, you can conclude that I'm hopeless.

Re the Social Change section that you wanted me to revise, do you want me to write anew the section that I omitted, viz., the part on "social change". God this is confusing. Originally, that chapter had three divisions: (1) Chronology of events, (2) Social change, and (3) Summary and analysis. I put in parts 1 and 3 in the report that you justly tore up. We have some material on the broad trends of change that might be included in section 2. I'm afraid though, that it will be a theoretical discussion or if not that it might be a case of the facts fitting a certain theory. It's one of those difficult problems. I'm being perfectly honest, but when I see one plausible theory (say, Robert E. Park's) then I honestly see things happening that way. I make no effort to stretch anything, but things seem to happen the way Park says it would. It's a matter of selection I think; we select certain items (which are true) and their combination can take place in a number of ways. Well, anyway, Tomi has quit working at the co-op and says she will type the section for me if I put in the revisions and write the new parts. Please tell me what you want done about the "social change" business. If I do write anything it will be in terms of the collective adjustment of the various groups to peculiar situations presented by the camp conditions. It will be in terms of "social movement" theories--the crystallization of ways which developed as answers to peculiar needs, etc. I think most of the stuff is in most of the other sections anyway. What do you think?

We hear that the Dies Committee might come to Chicago. If they do, we'll just have to watch our step. Hope no guys like Ernie Takahashi show up at the wrong moments. Heaven forbid.

Don't know why I bother you with trivial details, but it seems that I've been doing it ever since Tanforan--or even before that. Sorry.

Tomi feels much happier now that she has only one job. She sends her regards. Michi is very unhappy about Chicago but is taking it like a good scout. Charlie hasn't walked off with any steel file cases or desks yet. All's fairly well.

Best regards to Morton and W.I. Please tell Morton that I still don't know what grade I got, but judging from the way Wirth sneers at me, I think he's going to owe me a dinner.

Adios,

~~Tom~~  
Tom

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 6th, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
338 Giannini Hall  
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Just a brief ~~note~~<sup>note</sup> to let you know that we have finally had the good fortune of getting a part time secretary. You can check her neatness (?) and efficiency by looking at this letter which she is going to type. Her name is Miss Sumi I-guchi, 6328 South Kimbark, and she is at present attending the Gregg Business College. She has agreed to come in to take dictation after school a few days a week and on Saturdays.

Thanks to her, we have finally gotten all the back letters out and have started this afternoon on back fields notes and Tule Lake case documents. At the rate that I think we can go, we may be through with the documents in a month or so. I am sure this will be good news to you.

Regarding Chicago, we have rounded up about forty ex-cronies from Stockton, Tule Lake, and Berkeley for case studies. Please have no fear; they are not all students. I do not know how many of them will be available for intensive studies, but I am sure that we can count on at least some. Prospects do look much brighter than it did in Tule Lake.

There are several individuals, especially those of questionable character, who were at Tule Lake and on whom we have some records who have resettled in Chicago. The interesting thing is that some of these people appeared in Los Angeles, and Togo knows a great deal about them. We will get together to revise some of the documents and will bring ~~it~~<sup>them</sup> up to date.

2--Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, July 6th, 1943

Frank has probably written you about the letters of authorization, but I might remind you we may need them in the near future, especially if we travel. We shall appreciate having them soon.

I have decided definitely against going to St. Louis for the time being, **but** I am making arrangements for a brief visit in the fall. A possibility has developed that we may be able to get some material on the Rohwer Center. If you want documents from there, please let me know because I can think of dozens of reasons for going there.

So much for the time being, but I will write again soon. Best regards to W.I. and Morton. I am sure you will rejoice with us over our good fortune.

Very sincerely,

TS:si

*Tom*

P.S. I'm afraid that Sumi will need a little going-over. On the whole her punctuation is good. Some of the errors on this letter, which I corrected, were due to indistinctness on my part. Ask W.I. I'm going over the letters & other things with her because I think it will be good training for her. Hope you don't mind.

July 12, 1963

Dear Tom,

At last I have finished one of the annual reports that are due, so, in the breathing spell between reports, I shall try to answer your letter of June 30th.

The budgetary difficulties about which Merton and I wrote to Frank have not yet been cleared up. But I am not worried about them, for we have good friends at court who are looking after our interests. And the whole course of the study has shown that monetary troubles are always the least of our troubles, so we might as well save our worrying for things that are important. (If the sponsoring Foundations could read the above, there might be some shocked surprise. Also, if the troubles were serious enough to endanger anyone's appointment or salary, which they are not, you ~~xxxx~~ some of the others on the receiving end might tell me a thing or two.)

Re your sampling point, ie. "I don't think we had better avoid students in our sampling....Most Nisei were going to school before evacuation anyway, weren't they?" My point is this: most evacuees were certainly not going to school. And most Nisei over twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, and a great majority of those ever, say eighteen, were not going to school. To limit your contacts to those who were going to college, university or technical schools means that your sample would be overweighted with persons who were training for professional careers. Of-course, a large proportion of those who relocate first may very well be just these professional classes, in which case they must be heavily represented in the sample. But coverage of the other classes is exceedingly important, and must be consciously sought for, since rapport will be, on the whole so much easier to establish with the professional classes.

The courses that you plan to sit in on this summer sound good to me. You are certainly lucky to be at the University of Chicago. We are practically cleaned out here. I have been working out programs for students during the past two weeks, and it is a discouraging business. The social sciences are shot. Misbet is in the Army; Lowie and Paul Taylor are on leave for the semester (and perhaps longer, at least Taylor); both the economic historians (Knight and Mosk) are on leave for the duration, and the same is true of Aikin, Kidner, Kroeber. DST acts as though she is on leave for the duration, too, although she weakens and takes special students, being at present overburdened with four of them (two graduates, two undergraduates). It is almost impossible to plan a reasonable program for the students here. I imagine the same thing will happen at Chicago, so get in your courses while you can.

v Re the social change section that I wanted you to revise, what I had in mind was no elaborate theoretical treatment, but a more carefully documented revision of the type of thing you did in your "Chronology of Events". Then you can summarize what you call the "broad trends of change." What I want at this stage, is FACTS not THEORY.

The fact that FACTS seem to fit so many "plausible theories" so well suggests to me that the theories should be considered as little more than valuable hypotheses. And, as you say, they serve a useful function as guides to selection, arrangement, interpretation, and the posing of new hypotheses.

So, as far as the revision goes, write a sort of summarized "social history of Tule Lake", using what you have already prepared, modified by my criticisms wherever those criticisms are just, amplified by material you did not previously incorporate, enriched by the wider perspective you have now attained.

No particular news items to report. Jimmy is having some trouble defining relations with Opler, but I think he will get that situation under control soon. Maybe he told you he joined the JACL while he was in Salt Lake City! Spencer comes in and dictates for hours on Sumo. Morton is going to Los Angeles for a week, to get some more on the pressure groups. I hope to get hold of the statistical data, in which case I shall really have a good time. No word from Bob Billigmeier, but I hope he will drop in soon with the reports.

Best to Tomi. Is she working for Burgess? You did not tell me what the job is.

WI sends regards.

Yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 12, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
338 Giannini Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

I am still piled up with our back documents which makes me feel a bit guilty since Charley, Frank, and Togo are turning out their cases at machine-gun paces. I am ~~sincerely~~<sup>frantically</sup> bearing down on the job of revising the "Social Change" section and would like to have your comments on some preliminary remarks, a copy of which I am enclosing with this letter. You can probably see the influence that Chicago has already had upon my thinking, and if you do not approve, please notify me at once. I am taking into account all points that you took up on your criticisms, and I am making a few changes of my own.

I am sorry to take up your time in the midst of the melee that you described in your letter to Frank, but I would like to get this section out of the way for once and for all. Charley is working very hard and is behaving quite well for a change. Best regards to Morton and W.I.

Very sincerely,

Tom

TS:si

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 13, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
338 Giannini Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

This brief note is really a postscript to the letter I sent yesterday. Tomi gave me ration stamp 21, which I understand expires on the 21st, to send you for your coffee a long time ago, but I had forgotten to send it. I'm enclosing it in this letter; I hope that you get it in time to use it.

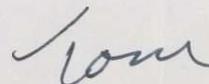
Could you please send another set of affidavits of citizenship for Sumi to fill out. We are now using both Sumi and Louise because of the tremendous amount of backwork we have to get out soon. In all probability we shall not need so much stenographic assistance after we get this Tule Lake stuff out of the way. I'm now using Sumi whenever she is free and am loading her down with typing. I'm also dictating to Louise whenever she is free. I want to get this stuff out of the way and get started on the new material which is much more interesting and meaningful than the other material which is now beginning to get cold. We may run a little over the allotment for this month, but if we could balance it with less work in the months to come we thought that the arrangement might be satisfactory. It takes so long to write up the stuff that I just have to have someone or else I'll be tied up too long. I'm sorry that I didn't clean up while I was still in camp.

Still debating whether to work for a degree here in Chicago or not. Expense seems to be the major consideration since I can take any course I want. Well, it's not important right now anyway.

Best regards to W.I. and Morton. Tomi says hello.

Very sincerely,

TS:si



July 15, 1943

Dear Tom:

Thanks so much for sending coupon #21. I think from now on we will have all the coffee we want for we seem to have adjusted our habits to the rationing program, but this pound will be a welcome addition.

We are enclosing two sets of affidavits of citizenship. I am puzzled about your reference to Louise. Who is Louise, and what is she doing to you? I agree that you should get all the stenographic help you want for the moment, and if it becomes necessary we will adjust your stenographic budget downwards after this month, but go ahead and get all of your back material typed up, and don't worry about the immediate expense.

I certainly think you should plan to work for a degree in Chicago, even though it will take a long time to get it.

I was very much pleased with the two pages that you sent in outlining your approach to the social changes section. That letter of yours obviously crossed one of mine, in which I had made some suggestions. It seems to me that the Chicago influence is all to the good and that you are maturing greatly in your thinking. The one question that I would raise is whether the work you are considering doing on collective adjustment doesn't actually duplicate a good deal that Frank has already done? That is, it may not be necessary to have this section treat collective adjustments intensively, although the concept can very well be used as a framework. Anyway, I shall be interested to see how you develop it.

Our budgetary difficulties are not yet solved. That is, we have had no news whatsoever regarding the status for next year. But I think that no news in this case definitely means good news, so for the present go on as you have with your stenographic and other assistance, and I'll write again as soon as I know more.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 17, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
338 Giannini Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for the very quick reply to my letter. I am sorry that we have to disturb you so often in the midst of all your budgetary struggles. Frank just explained to me the nature of the difficulties that you are having, and I was very relieved to know that the only crisis involved was that of a possible lowering of our salary. I had thought for a moment that the whole study was about to fold up.

Regarding your sampling points, I think that about the best thing that we could do is to get everything and everybody that we possible can until such time that the W.R.A. Statistical Division reveals to us the exact nature of the selective factors in the age, sex, occupation, etc. In the meantime the best we could do is to continue to guess.

Regarding the University of Chicago, I thoroughly agree that I am exceedingly lucky to be here. It seems that the prospects for the fall semester are even brighter with Blumer returning as well as two economist, Lange and Viner. I intend to consult Miss Torell about working for a degree in the near future.

With reference to the "Social Change" section, I shall go on as planned. Your first letter indicated disapproval and your second indicated approval. Since it is well underway now, I shall go on as scheduled. The emphasis will still be on the history, and I have cut out as much of my emotionism as possible. I doubt if I would bring the section up to date, so I shall revise it as best I can and count on Jimmy to do the rest. I gather from his letter that he is doing something of the kind anyway.

- 2 -

I am enclosing with this note the Affidavit of Citizenship for Sumi, and you ask about Louise. I think that Frank has written about her. At present we do need all the stenographers that we can get. Frank dictates to Louise all morning everyday, and she spends the rest of the time typing up the material. I am dictating to Sumi whenever she is free, and she is putting in considerable time typing out the material. Charley is still doing his own typing, so you can see how much we have piled up. The situation in Chicago is becoming very fluid. Incidents are breaking out which I suspect may be of considerable significance to some of the resettlers. I think I had better start making observations here as soon as possible, so that we won't miss something very important.

Tomi is still working for Burgess, although she does not seem to like the job too much. It is much easier, however, since she quit working at the co-op.

Best regards to W.I. and Morton.

Very sincerely,

*Tom*

P.S.

We are sending under separate cover several reports and case documents. These documents are all very brief but long ones will follow.

TS;si  
Enclosure

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

226 West Jackson Blvd.  
Chicago, Illinois

July 19, 1943

Mr. Tamotsu Shibutani  
Box 17, Social Science Bldg.  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Shibutani:

Some time ago you wrote to us about the validity of restrictive clauses in leases and deeds and the legality of eviction in such cases.

We have discussed this matter with the Legal Department of the Office of Price Administration. Some restrictive clauses have been held illegal but in these cases it was the matter of the technical wording of the clause rather than the principle which was ruled on.

Restrictive clauses of all types are generally recognized and adhere to by the Office of Price Administration if the restrictions have been observed throughout the neighborhood and for a reasonable length of time. If the restrictions have generally been ignored and are suddenly applied in a particular case, the Office of Price Administration has usually held that through usage the clauses are nonapplicable and that their sudden enforcement appears to be an act of individual discrimination.

All persons who are threatened with eviction for any reason other than nonpayment of rent should go immediately to their local Office of Price Administration Rent Office and report the matter to them. Each case will have to be decided on an individual basis.

Wherever property is leased without the approval of the lessor, the lessor has the right to evict the person taking the sub-lease. If you hold a lease, you may not sub-lease the property without the consent and full knowledge of the lessor. In the case which you referred to me in your letter, that of Aster and Sumi Iguchi, the agent was within his legal rights in requesting them to move if the woman originally leasing the apartment did not secure permission before sub-leasing it to the girls.



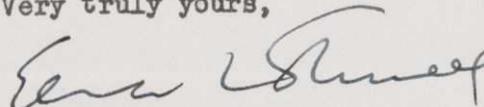
Mr. Tamotsu Shibutani

2

July 19, 1943

Evacuees who sub-lease houses or apartments should make sure that the original lessor approves of his sub-lease before moving in. We have generally been advised by the housing people in the City of Chicago that no action can be taken against existing restriction clauses in leases and deeds.

Very truly yours,



Elmer L. Shirrell  
Relocation Supervisor

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 21, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
338 Giannini Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for the very encouraging letters. I was down in the dumps about something or other and your notes helped to buck me up. A lot of back work is now out of the way, but there is still enough left to make me sick. Every time I look at that stack of documents left over, I wonder how much I'm actually accomplishing pecking away at the rate of about three a day. Both stenos are working for me now and yet we don't seem to be running too fast.

I finally got the Social Change out of the way. I've revised the "Chronology" section, taking into account all comments that you made in your criticism and also making a few corrections of my own. I've tried to eliminate all fishy statements as well as those made in moments of irritation. The fourth part of the paper is an addition, as you will probably note, and I'm not sure that you're going to like it. I haven't had much time to systematize the material and put in much of it from memory and from what was already in the third section. I hope you don't find it too obnoxious. You will probably note that the whole orientation of the chapter is quite different--no more baloney sauce about "goals", etc.

I'm enclosing with this letter a statement of the amount of time that Sumi put in for us between July 3 and the last date mentioned on the slip. I hope it arrives in time in Berkeley.

On Monday, we're going to mail a lot of field notes, the Social Change section, and about a dozen documents.

Best regards to W.I. and Morton.

Very sincerely,

*Tom*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 28, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Just a note to unload my woes. I've been working like hell (believe it or not) but just don't seem to be getting anywhere. As you have probably seen already, all the documents I've sent in are very brief and probably worthless. When I think of those things costing the study about \$.75 to \$1.00 each in steno time it makes me pretty sick. We have about twenty more short ones left that I want to get out of the way first and then we'll go into some of medium and longer length. Length doesn't mean anything, but those short documents don't do any more than give a general summary of a person's life and then relate an incident or two. I took Blumer seriously when he said you have to have a lot of cases if they're brief and unfortunately I've loaded myself down with too damn many and they're interfering with other things. Another difficulty came up this morning when I was dictating some to Louise. I found that until my diary is written up and my field notes more completely worked over I won't be able to send some of the longer studies with the exact documentation. So you can see that there's a hell of a lot of work to do. I want it out of the way because if I don't do it now I probably won't ever do it--and I might forget. Sorry I've made a mess of everything.

To add to the load, I've registered as a candidate for an M.A. This means that I'll start getting credit in spring of '43 and will finish my course work by either winter of '44 or spring of '45. Under the new regulations, there is no language requirement for the degree so that that takes off quite a bit. My fields are Social Theory and Methods of Research (both required) and Social Organization. I haven't decided on a definite topic for a thesis yet, but I'm seriously considering overhauling the Impact paper and adding more material. Another possibility is the study of the J.A.C.L. as a social institution. Another possibility is a thesis on the evacuee family in Tule Lake, but on that one we'd have to make special arrangements with the department. Anyway, I've dropped Redfield's course and am working like mad to clear up as much as possible before next week, when I have to take (for credit) a required course taught by Wirth. I think I'll be leading a dog's life for a while, but it may be worth it. An A.B. from Cal in Soc. I. isn't worth a damn.

Sorry about sending so many letters and so few case documents. Will try to remedy that horrible condition before long. Keep your fingers crossed for me.

Tom

P.S. I'm waiting for Sundberg now. He's due any minute.

- I. Introduction
- II. Objectives of this Section
- III. Chronology of Events
- IV. Social Change
- V. Conclusions

Shubert

Part II. The Objectives of this Section

In this paper we shall be concerned primarily with presenting a rough chronology of the significant events that attracted the attention of the Tule Lake community during the first half year of its existence. A rough chronology of events is therefore presented in Part III. There is no definite criterion of "significance", and roughly, the events reported here have been selected largely with two things in mind:

- 1) Events which, in the opinion of the observer, the community itself considered important, and
- 2) Events which seem important in the light of the analysis given in Part IV.

The treatment is therefore undeniably subjective in selection, although every effort has been made to report the various events as objectively and as accurately as possible.

In the treatment of "Social Change" in Part IV we shall be concerned both with the administration and the community. When we speak of a "community", we are referring to the evacuees of the project not so much because of their similar legal statuses, but more because their associations and institutions arise largely, although not entirely, as a result of a common living in a geographical area. Besides describing the fluid situation, our objective is to outline the nature of the collective adjustment made by the evacuees to the peculiar situations into which they were forced. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the effect of the administration and its actions, for they constitute an important factor in the adjustment of the evacuees.

In a normal and relatively stable community there is a routine of the expected. However, the evacuation and relocation forced these individuals into new situations for which there were no already-established routines of behaving. What, then, was the reaction of the evacuees to the unexpected situations?

We are then interested in the development of patterns of relationships that developed as a result of the peculiar nature of the situation. We are interested in finding what the various situations were that called for new adjustments, and also in the definitions that were given to these situations by various factions in the community. We are interested in seeing whether any collective adjustments were made to these new situations which eventually led to new social structures--new routines better suited to meeting the situations brought about by the circumstances. Our interest is therefore in collective behavior--in the random behavior of a people confronted with a new situation gradually developing and crystallizing into a new social order, with new values, new routines, and new attitudes.\*

\* The writer has a feeling that many of the reactions of the individuals did not arise out of any peculiarities (cultural or biological) of the people in the centers but rather out of the peculiar nature of the situation. Studies of C.P.S. Camps and Army camps may provide some interesting data confirming, modifying, or demolishing this notion.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

August 11, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your encouraging letter. Needless to say it's lightening some of the worries that have been bothering me. I'll continue with the back work as planned and will see Ogburn about the topic you suggested for my thesis.

I am writing specifically about Miss Setsuko Matsunaga of St. Louis who has, at long last, written to us. As you can see from the enclosed copy of her letter, she seems to be rather ~~a~~ intelligent young lady. Considering the circumstances under which she is making her studies, it seems that she is doing rather well. If you will note, she states that she may supplement data for the questionnaires with case studies, in which case she may turn out something very valuable. I am also enclosing a copy of her questionnaire that she sent.

Frank and I talked this matter over and decided not to do anything until we first consulted you. We felt that we might send her an outline of our study but we now have no copies available here. I have not written to her as yet nor have we made any definite plans as far as St. Louis is concerned. Do you think that one of us ought to go down some time before September when she graduates to look over the situation? We felt that it might be better if you wrote to her and stated your opinion directly.

Both Togo and Louise know Miss Matsunaga and both state that she is an exceedingly capable young lady. She was a Junior Phi Beta in Sociology at U.S.C. I take it that she studied under Bogardus but as Frank remarks, she can be retrained. Al Doi, the person to whom she makes reference in her letter, was my former room mate at Cal and Doi states she is one person who managed to hold the study together in spite of lack of finances and cooperation. It seems to us, therefore, it might be well worthwhile to establish some sort of contact with her and to cooperate in some manner. We don't know what the financial situation is in Berkeley so we have not said anything about this to her.

Please let us know how you feel about the matter. It seems we have here a much better bet than Tally Yusa.

All reports from Berkeley indicate that W.I. is amazing medical science. I told Worth of what had happened and his comment was that if W.I. had his whiskey and his tobacco, no dish cabinet would get him down. My very best wishes to him.

Yours very truly,

Tom

TS:1  
Enclosure: 2

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~~UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA~~

~~EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY~~  
~~207 GIANNINI HALL~~  
~~BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA~~

235 East Washington  
Kirkwood, Missouri  
August 6, 1943

Mr. Tamotsu Shibutani  
Research Assistant  
Field Office, Evacuation and Resettlement Study  
502, Social Science Bldg.  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Shibutani,

If you will forgive the seeming apathy and rudeness of so long a silence, I should consider it most gracious of you. If this first correspondence--or lack of it--is a sample, you may feel that the rumors of my "laudable activities" were turly rumors. However, blame it on whatever you wish; I shall attempt to make amends.

Though the plans for our study were formulated in April, many complications have delayed the presentation of the study. Because the previously prepared questionnaires were lost, a new set, incorporating many recommendations, was printed. This preliminary survey's findings should be ready by the middle of the month; of course, you will understand the need of avoiding publicity until a substantial part of the study has been completed. I am enclosing a copy of the questionnaire; it is unfortunate that it is so long, but it was our belief that the subject matter of the study concerned the persons questioned sufficiently to attract additional attention and care. We shall know whether this be true by the response.

As you suggested, the situation in St. Louis undoubtedly differs from that in Chicago and elsewhere. I have selected no particular problem on which to concentrate, though it is in the aspect of social adjustment and I am interested--resettlement itself; though, perhaps, it eliminates a study of the mechanics of the WRA's program. It may be readily seen that the study thus far is only a most general survey in its preliminary stages.

From the results of an earlier essay-type questionnaire, the present questionnaire was framed. The findings of this later questionnaire will serve as a basis for a more detailed plan of study, which I hope will include case studies, investigations into incidents that have indicated conflict situations; of course, the interview method will be the primary means of study, but more objective means may be worked out. Part of the larger study will include the factors contributing to the St. Louis Chinese population's assimilation and segregation.

Though the original plan was to have a committee working on this research program, at present, I am the only active member in the planning of the study; there are several other students, however, who have contributed as much as their schedules allowed. This small

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207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA~~

Page 2

group of interested, though untrained, individuals is sponsored by no one or organization; quite naturally, the time expended is volunteered. Quite frankly, we are interested in immediate recommendations to the groups and individuals working on the relocation program; the urgency of such recommendations from a study of actual conditions is accentuated by the acceleration of the relocation program. We are, too, interested in a long-range study, but we are limited in time, money, and skill--all of which have been mustered from extremely limited sources.

I am very interested in participating in a larger study; in fact, I am now preparing for such work at Washington University's Sociology Department. I shall be graduating in February, at which time I shall be available for further research, teaching in a center school, speaking for the extension of public relations, the Women's Army Corp, or what-have-you. Perhaps you could tell me what possibility there would be for graduate work at the University of Chicago in the Department of Sociology, also, how I may be of aid to the University of California's research program.

With very best wishes in your research program,

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Setsuko Matsunaga

Enclosure: 1

August 17, 1943

Dear Tom:

In reply to your letter regarding Miss Setsuko Matsunaga, I was much interested in her letter and in the study she is making. I don't think very much is coming out of the questionnaire, except for what might be called the objective data. On the whole, these questionnaires that ask merely for checking of a number of items don't lead to very much. What she needs to do is to get a series of interviews, and follow-up on a selected number of cases.

I think that you, or Frank, should go to St. Louis to see her, and arrange to have her do a few cases on an experimental basis. Under separate cover, I am sending you some of our outlines and schedules. Find out, particularly, how she is getting her sample, whether she is attempting a complete coverage, and what the response is to the questionnaire.

I am enclosing a signed letter which I have written to her, and if you people approve of it you can just drop it in the mail. The budget is really rather tight, but I feel that we could take a chance on the amount I have suggested then if the work turns out well, and we have any more money the beginning of the year, we may very well want to make some further arrangement with her.

W.I. is getting along well, but is not yet ready for golf. Best wishes to everyone in Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

August 30, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

I can't say how disturbed I was when I first heard of W.I.'s accident. It was really too bad, and I can well imagine how you must have felt. I certainly hope that everything is coming along as well as your letters indicate. We're all pulling for him.

It seems that I waste a good deal of the study's time and stamps writing letters on every conceivable excuse. It must be in my nature to blow steam and settle things. Frank showed as the check that you sent and we all decided that we probably won't need the money as yet. Most of us can hold out for at least a few months yet, but thanks ever so much for your kind thoughts anyway. I think Frank will probably be mailing it back soon.

We had an interesting experience today although all of us were pretty griped at not having been able to get any work done at all this afternoon. Dr. Masuoka of Fisk University is here for five weeks and dropped in for a chat. He strikes me as being a rather well-read and thoughtful individual in spite of the fact that he has an extremely high opinion of himself. For example, he was telling us all about the centers--although he has never been in one. He is a bit dogmatic, but well-trained. He began the discussion by telling us how wrong the W.R.A. was in trying to disperse the people. Needless to say, that rubbed the grain the wrong way for Uncle Charlie, who has by now concluded that any sociological theory that does not support a program of assimilation pronto is a fallacy. Charlie has a theory that the reason why Masuoka wants Japanese communities is that he can then look for a wife without running around too much.

I had a long talk with myself the other day and decided that I was complaining too much and alibying too much and doing too little work. Charlie and Togo are setting the pace here and Frank is doing very nicely. I seem to be lagging far far behind. I wanted to raise one question. I won't be writing up cases for a long time because I won't be interviewing people all at once. I intend to get them over a long period of time because my experiences in Tule Lake show me that one of two or even five interviews don't really give you the "feel" of what's going through a person's mind. Therefore, in the absence of documents, do you want me to send you periodically a copy of my field notes on various individuals and situations or would you prefer that I kept everything until the time of the write-up. I can do either, and I should appreciate your letting me know how you feel about this.

We're having the Yasukochis over for dinner tomorrow in spite of the fact that Tomi hates George's wife. I had to plead with her for the sake of science. George knows a hell of a lot and I think Frank (who will also be there) and I will have to pump him dry. I think the number of addresses and names that we can pick up will be worth the small portion of food that they might consume.

The section on Social Change has been delayed. Sumi, who has been typing it for me, got a cold or something and has not been able to finish. She was about three-quarters through a few days ago and I'll send it in as soon as it's done. There are also several documents on Tule Lake families laying around here (slightly better than the last bunch--they couldn't be worse) and I'll send them too. I certainly hope that you don't have a hemorrhage when you go through the lousy stuff.

I know you're awfully busy and worried. Please take extra good care of W.I. and tell him that we're all pulling for him.

Tom

P.S. We're out of small envelopes.

Did Frank send an order?

We're short on paper too - both

white & yellow.

August 10, 1943

Dear Tom:

Thanks for your letter of August 30. With regard to the question you raise as to whether you should send me any field notes on various individuals and situations, the answer is "yes." They are very helpful in giving me some idea of what is going on. As I told you in my last letter, don't worry about what you call "lagging far behind." I imagine that you and Frank are now planning what we should get at Tule Lake. I haven't yet gotten a decision from Kroeber as to whether Spencer can go or not, but I am counting on it pretty heavily.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

DST:mw

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

August 13, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

At long last we are sending in some stuff. Charlie and I are sending in some odds and ends that we have been working on for some time. We decided to send it express because there is too much for first class mail. It would cost us about ten dollars by mail. Since we are not going to insure it (since it goes out from downstairs and there's too much red tape), we are sending only those things of which we have at least two more copies. Charlie's journal is coming separately under first class mail. In this package, we are enclosing the following items:

For Charlie:

Compositions of school children in Topaz.  
Excerpts from volunteer pub. in Topaz  
Doc. CH-206 with attachments  
Doc. CH95a

For me:

Tule Lake documents number 4, 14, 20, 23,  
25, 28, 30, 38, 44, 55, 57, and 67.

We are also sending with this letter Charlie's expense account and the acceptance of appointments for both of us. We are also enclosing the cards for disposition of our monthly checks. Please forward them to the proper office for us. We ran short on paper and had to buy some; there just wasn't anything left around here other than the letter-head paper. We need paper badly--very badly. Please send us all the second sheets that can be spared (we can use plenty) and more bond paper too. We need the Congress note books and plenty of steno note books too. Please don't worry about over-supplying us here. We have enough stuff to catch up on and with everything going in triplicate the paper goes like water. We are sending the express material collect and shall probably continue to allow things to pile up so that we can send it this way rather than by mail.

Hope everything is satisfactory. Best regards to W.I. We're quite sure by now that he's pulled through.

*Tom*

COMMENTS BY D.S.T. ON ST. LOUIS QUESTIONNAIRE

---

- A. 4(b) No good without definition of "family" and specification of members.
8. Apt to be variable - also will depend on definition of "family."
11. Difficult to interpret. Chronological listing of jobs and dates called for.
12. No good. Need description of contacts - under what circumstances (school, job, neighbors, etc.)?
13. Language used with whom and under what circumstances.
- B. 2. Living in household with?
3. Difficult to interpret.
4. Better or worse in what respect?
5. Difficult to evaluate.
6. Several of these could be checked; are not mutually exclusive. Therefore "approx. number" is meaningless.
- 7(c) Attitude of what landlords? This situation cannot be handled in such a brief question.
8. Should list changes themselves as well as reasons for changes.
9. Ambiguous.
- C. 1. Ambiguous. Relevance?
3. See comment on B.4.
4. Too general.
- D. 3. Does this refer to "original job" or "present job"?
4. Working where? In whole plant, or in division, or in room or what?
6. This, of course, will vary from one fellow-employee to another. Cannot be handled in questionnaire.

- D. 9. Very bad question. How can one possibly know?
- E. 1(a) What does "class standing" mean?
2. What school?
5. When?
6. Again, too variable. See comment on D.6.
- F. 1(a)  
& (b) Badly worded. Cannot be answered so briefly.
- 1(c) Good form of question.
- 2(a) Meaningless, unless situations are described.  
& (b)
- 2(c) Not enough room for description.
3. Good.
4. Concerns in what way?
5. What public? Where?
6. Good.
7. Not enough space to give adequate answers.  
What members of family?

COMMENTS BY D.S.T. ON ST. LOUIS QUESTIONNAIRE

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What members of family?

Comments by D.H. on  
St. Louis businessmen

## A Criticism of Pelton's questionnaire:

- 4b. No good, without definition of "family" & specification of members.
8. Apt to be variable - also will depend on definition of "family"
11. Difficult to interpret -  
Chronological listing of jobs & dates  
Called for.
12. No good. Need description of  
context - under what  
circumstances (school, job,  
neighbors, etc.)?
13. Language used with whom &  
under what circumstances.

## B. 2. living in household with?

3. Difficult to interpret
4. Better or worse in what  
respect?
5. Difficult to evaluate -
6. ~~All could probably~~  
Several of these could be  
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exclusive. Therefore "approx.  
rules" is meaningless

7.

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4. Too general.

D. 3. Does this refer to  
"assigned job" or "fixed job"?

4. Working where? In whole  
plant or in division or in  
~~office~~ room or what?

5. This phrase will vary  
from ~~one~~ one fellow  
employee to another. Cannot  
be handled in questionnaire.

39. Very bad question. How  
can we possibly know?

E. 1. a what does "class  
standing" mean?

2. What school?

5. When?

6. again, too variable. See  
comment on D 6.

F 1. <sup>a+b</sup> Badly worded.  
Cannot be answered so

1. <sup>a</sup> highly good four ? question.

2. (a+b) meaningless, unless  
situation are decided

(c) - not enough room  
for description

3 - good.

4. Concerns in what way?

5. What path? When?

Towards what issues?

6. Good

7. Not enough you do  
just adequate answer  
What words ? fairly ?

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

August 13, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

This is in a sense a p.s. to the letter of yesterday. Sumi came in this afternoon and was good enough to bang out several documents for me (one of which I think is rather good). We haven't gotten around to sending the material express and I'm enclosing the following additional documents: TL-56, TL-71, TL-106, TL-110.

*TL-14 is being omitted.*

I wrote to Miss Matsunaga (on very general topics) and got a quick reply. It seems that she is expecting some communication from you and also that she has some scholarship or something lined up (beginning this fall). I gather from her letter that she is dissatisfied with her study and wants to do something more as soon as her scholarship comes through. I'm at a quandary as to what to do. She guarantees me at least five case studies (all non-students since she doesn't think much of interviewing students) if I'll go down there to look over the situation. She admits that one could get only a superficial picture in a brief trip, but wants to make the trip partially worthwhile for us by lining up these guys for interviews. I think she wants to see what the hell we're doing before she turns over her stuff (which she this time agrees to do). I don't know exactly what to do. I would feel guilty about pulling out. I'll have from September 11 to 24 off (no school) and by that time expect to have all my Tule Lake stuff done. I have several cases started here and will have at least one relatively complete (complete in the sense that the guy won't talk any more) by that time, but I'm not too sure that it's going to be worthwhile to hop down there. What do you think? I rather suspect that the patterns of adjustment of the Nisei are about the same all over, although some differences may appear now and then. I gather that from letters that I receive all the way from Salt Lake to New York. They all say the same thing. The line they hand out seems to be a fad of some kind. It's true that the Negro situation there makes some difference, but how much would it affect the life organization of the Nisei? I doubt if there are any significant difference from that point of view, and a study of structuralization would take a hell of a long time.

Bill Himel blew in yesterday in an Army uniform and with a Nisei girl that might be his wife. At least it seems that she sleeps with him. I assumed that they were married. He wanted a bull session and stayed until 5:00 a.m. this morning and I pumped him dry. I'll write the stuff up within a few weeks and mail it in. I'm sure you'll find him as mysterious and as interesting as ever. He's still beefing about the keto and chasing Nisei girls (pretty ones).

Should have waited another day for the last letter. By the way, we're out of three-cent stamps.

*Tom*

# The University of Wisconsin

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

STERLING HALL



Madison

August 24, 1943

Mr. Tamotsu Shibutani  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

My dear Mr. Shibutani:

Herewith I send a copy of the Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, plus a few translations made by Professor Gerth and others. The charge is \$2.00 and your remittance should be sent to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, care of Mrs. Mildred Coleman, Secretary, 336 Sterling Hall.

Sincerely yours,

*Howard Becker*

Howard Becker

HB:jm

August 25, 1943

Dear Tom:

Enclosed is copy of a letter I just wrote Professor Queen. He had written to me recommending Miss Matsunaga. Frank tells me that you are willing to go to St. Louis, and I think you had better take off a few days and get an estimate of the situation.

Your large express package from Chicago arrived yesterday. I have looked over the various documents hurriedly. Your social change section is greatly improved. It is particularly gratifying to note the degree of objectivity that you have achieved since leaving Tule Lake. Two of your case histories interested me particularly. I shall comment on them later.

Morton leaves in a few days, and you will see him, presumably the first week in September.

More later.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

August 26, 1943

Dear Morton,

Sorry about not having written for so long. Don't know what excuse I can use to justify or to rationalize for all this. It seems that I write only when I want something-- just selfish, that's all.

Frank reminded me the other day that you were arriving here about September 3 or thereabouts. I take it that you must have your reservations by now and must know the exact date of your arrival. Could you let me know when you intend to arrive and when you're going to pull out for Washington so that I can plan the trip to St. Louis? I don't know what I could contribute, but I'd like to be here while you're here so that we could talk over some of the points that should have been hashed over long ago, especially regarding the relations between the Buddha-heads and keto--which I understand you are interested in. Frank flatly refuses to go to St. Louis so that means I'll have to go. My vacation from school runs from September 11 to 24 and the latest that I can be in Chicago would be the 17th. I want to have enough time in St. Louis to look around a little and get a few case studies as well as talk to Miss Matsunaga. I gather from the conversation around here that you're going to be here about a week on your way to Washington and that you'll stay longer on the way back. I'd like to adjust my program to your schedule.

Things are buzzing around here as you might gather from the volume of paper that Charlie, Frank, and Togo are burning up. Boy, they're really going to town. When they get through interviewing, the other guys are exhausted. Now and then we get low, but on the whole things are coming along quite well. Charlie had a run-in with the registrar but I think he can get around technicalities. Michi had an infection behind her ears, but is coming along well. Frank's mother and sister are expected here Sunday. Tomi's still cursing the weather. It's raining and thundering like hell but it's still hot.

Would appreciate your sending the dope toute suite. Remember that you owe me a dinner. I think you do, although I haven't checked with Wirth yet. Best regards to Ruth.

*Tom*

August 28, 1943

Dear Tom:

Apparently our traveling plans will fit together very nicely. I arrive at 8:30 a.m. on the Overland Limited, Friday, September 3, and leave for Washington on the B. & O. New York Express at 9:50 a.m. Saturday, September 11. Since your vacation begins on the 11th, I don't see how things could be any neater.

This new draft business has made me suddenly realize how much work I must do within a short time. If I can stay out of a uniform until May, I think I will have the small segment of the study I have cut out for myself in pretty good shape. If I go in January or February, however (which Chaney of the University War Council says is possible, if not likely), things will be a mess and I will feel damned badly. I am in a most peculiar position because I believe firmly that the drafting of fathers ahead of war workers is the only sound national policy. I even believe it is sound when applied to myself, personally, and this despite the very real personal difficulties when it comes to leaving Ruth and Mike. However, I will feel completely frustrated if Selective Service gets me before I finish my own job on this study. I like to finish things that I start, and I have finished plenty of lousy things in my short life. Now, I am determined to finish what might be a decent production, and if Selective Service interferes with that plan I will be one sad Joe, as my soldier brother puts it.

Coming back to earth: do you want us to pay your Iguchi woman this month? If so, it might be a good idea for you to inform us about her hours of work. We have already sent through our payroll, but can send through a supplementary sheet if you think that necessary.

I hope I don't have to see Wirth, myself, in order to collect that debt.

Best regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

502, Social Science Bldg.  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, 37, Illinois

August 31, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
338 Giannini Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, 4, California

Dear Dorothy,

It seems that your letter to Frank (about the trip to Washington) not only answered the questions I raised in my last note to Morton but also just about knocked Frank off his pins. He's having a hell of a time because his mother and sister just arrived in town and have to get settled. However, he's taking it like a good scout and seems to be determined to face the music. None of us envy his job. We know how Morton works and know that it must be hell trying to keep up with him.

I'm going to stay here in Chicago until about the 11th so that we can go over anything that has to be gone over while Morton is here. I'll head for St. Louis about the time that Morton and Frank leave and will stay there long enough to make contacts with the university, the W.R.A., Miss Matsunaga, and potential cases. What arrangements we make I suppose will depend upon what we run into there, but I'll see to it that the best interests of the study are served. Charlie says that it takes about 18 hours of interviewing at least for a good case document. If I'm to interview five people or six people there, I suspect I'll have to get maybe one good one and let someone else follow up the rest. Miss Matsunaga writes that she has a report of some sort which she is willing to give us--maybe she has already sent it to you.

I still have some guilt feelings about my work during the past few months. The Tule Lake documents are just about all dictated, although it may take some time before they are all typed up. As you have probably noticed, they have been run through in a hurry and not much time has been taken for organization. I hope to revise them someday--not in the near

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
Page 2

future. Some of the documents it will be impossible for me to complete until I have worked through all my field notes--which have been untouched since our arrival here. There is one question with regard to the Tule Lake documents that I should like to raise. Don't you think that I had better keep the real names on at least one copy? The reason I raise this question is that quite often we have found that some of the others on the staff know quite a bit about some of these people but did not recognize them with their phony names. This is especially true of married women--if I have the real maiden name quite often several people can tell me plenty about them. By accident we have come across a few cases covered in the Tule Lake documents who have resettled here, and had I not known the maiden names I would never have found them.

Deki, who is now married to Dr. Seto (who was also in Tule Lake), tells me that Dr. Seto knows that Dr. Iki was more involved in the Bacon Imai case than we suspect. Dr. Seto's professional pride won't allow him to talk about it, so Deki is planning to get him drunk some night to make him talk. Maybe we can get something more on the case.

Am trying to finish up my tussle with Wirth before Morton arrives. He has me working on a paper that I'm sure both you and W.I. would thoroughly disapprove of--on the controversy of Geisteswissenschaften and the development of Weber and Sombart's verstehende Soziologie. I've talked to Hughes about revising the impact paper for a thesis. He had some interesting comments to make and said he would re-read it to make some more concrete suggestions. In all probability, I'll be working on the more "human" side of that period, i.e., the changes in conceptions that individuals had of roles and careers as well as changes in social structure after the crisis and collective adjustments to the new undefined situations created by the war. I hope that during the course of the next two years (I hope to finish up by the winter of '44 or the spring of '45) I can revise that so thoroughly that you won't even recognize it. I'm also going to rework the background material on the social structure of the Japanese community--in terms of ecology, social stratification, role of kinship groups, voluntary associations, unwritten codes, and institutions, rather than organize the material around Lynd's headings. There will also be a greater emphasis on personal organization.

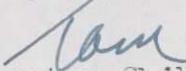
I hope to do a job in St. Louis good enough to justify the expense of going there. I'll try to compensate for my guilt feelings. Keep your fingers crossed for me because

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas  
Page 3

I'll be doing my damnest to clean up.

Our best wishes to W.I. Judging from reports you'll both be back to your old routine of golf every Sunday. We are quite confident that a bump won't phase W.I. too much.

Very sincerely,

  
Tamotsu Shibutani

TS:si

P.S. Heard that Jimmy was engaged & are raking our brains for an appropriate gift. Everything we think of turns out to be rather embarrassing for Hattie.

P.P.S. We're out of airmail stamps.

September 3, 1943

Dear Tom,

Your letter of August 31 has arrived. Since Mrs. Wilson is on vacation, I am enclosing a few air mail stamps. Send in an order for what you want in addition, if anything, by the middle of next week, when she will be back.

Re your St. Louis trip, I do not think you should try to get complete case histories while you are there, unless you just happen to be lucky in some contact and feel that you should not pass it up. Rather, try to get an overview of the situation there, find out what material is available, find out what Miss Matsunaga has. See if anything exists that could be comparable documentation, in specified respects, to what is being got for Chicago. In order to do this, make out one of the outlines for which you are famous, basing it on the Chicago experience, covering the types of problems and types of adjustments that are being made. Go over our outline with Miss Matsunaga, explaining its tentative nature, but pointing out our emphases. Maybe take one of Charlie's cases along to show how we go about getting the information.

Re the question you raises about keepng the real names on one copy of the Tule Lake documents, why don't you solve it by a face sheet that would be attached to the original in the beginning. Incidentally, it is gratifying to note that people don't recognize the cases with the "phony" names attached, for actually we have made very little attempt at disguise.

Bob Spencer goes to TL tomorrow to try to clean up the files. He has Frank's memorandum and your new chronology with him as a general guide. I hope he will be able to fill in many of the gaps for us. Bob Billigmeier spent several days at Tule Lake and got some good additional information on Segregation for us, including notes he took on the hearings. Jimmy is turning up a great deal of detail. We are also getting excellent reports from Gila and Poston. Some will have a pretty complete record of that situation and its aftermath. Does your father write anything on segregation? I understand he has been doing some counseling or interviewing. Mr. Obayashi has been keeping a very interesting record for Jimmy.

Yes, Jimmy is engaged. He commissioned us to get the rings for him. He seems to be satisfied with our selection and Hatie apparently was pleased. Re a present: what he wants most of all is a hot plate, without which he says his married life will not be complete. I told him there were no new ones on the market. If you could pick up a used one, it would probably be greatly appreciated.

Jimmy will stay as a volunteer at TL until segregation is completely over. Merton will tell you the rest of the news. WI is progressing splendidly. More later.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Box 736, YMCA Hotel  
16th and Locust Streets  
St. Louis, 5, Missouri

Dear Dorothy,

Progress report from T.S. We've run into a combination of a lot of bad luck, but in spite of it I'm quite optimistic about results. To begin with, Matsunaga was gone as I wrote you a few days ago, but she'll be back tomorrow morning and I have an appointment with her and Dr. Queen. The main gripe is that it's been raining like hell for the past few days and that cramps our style.

I talked to Queen at great length this morning and he had nothing but praise for Matsunaga. His only hesitancy was with regard to what he called lack of training, but he felt sure that she could make it up because of her tremendous energy and intelligence. He has been giving her work for one of his courses which he thought might be in line with what you wanted; he has her reading Blumer's critique and Allport's essay on personal documents. He seemed quite willing, in fact eager, to help out in any way he could and offered to help guide her work in any way that you wanted. He said that without even speaking to you he was sure that anything you wanted done would meet with his approval. He agreed further that if Matsunaga wanted to work for a thesis, he would see to it that the proper committee was appointed for her and that if her thesis were completed before the war-- this is assuming that she does make good in the next four months-- he could keep it hidden. According to what everyone says around here, Matsunaga is willing to work for us--even for nothing. At any rate, while I can't make any statements without even seeing her, she seems to be a hell of a lot better bet than Tally Yusa. I think whatever work she does in the next four months will decide.

The situation here in St. Louis is very interesting and quite different from that in Chicago. For one thing, the difference in the size of population and the nature of the Nisei population seems to have made considerable difference. We have for one thing the difference between a large city and a big town. The general atmosphere here isn't as stinking as Chicago. For another thing, over one-third of the Nisei here are students, and the W.R.A. has tried to be choosy about the type of Nisei they allow to come here. There is a definite reaction on the part of both officials and the Nisei here against the influx of zoot-suiters. The college students have been active in speaking tours and in newspaper articles and one man (Y.M.C.A. man) who knows almost every big shot in town has been at work in softening up the community. The newspapers are

all favorable and things like the Dies committee mess have not even been written up. Matsunaga's articles seem to have aroused favorable comment too! The Nisei seem to be quite contented here and some have even developed a civic pride and to some extent identification with the city. I've talked to dozens of people who have stated that they were willing and preferred to work at menial jobs here than to get highpaying jobs in Chicago or elsewhere. A lot of these people have travelled to Chicago and have come back in disgust. Since the avenues of communication are fairly good for all elements of the Nisei population except girl domestics, the news has gotten around about what a hell of a place everywhere else is. There are apparently no "sixty-day Japs" around here and there are no difficulties in getting houses because of discrimination. It's just that there aren't any places open--even for Army officers. It's really worse than Chicago in that respect. I haven't heard any complaints about loneliness thus far. A lot of the kids are planning to stay here after the war is over. All in all, in contrast to Chicago, the resettlement program seems to be getting along very well.

I went to a Nisei social the other night and picked up a lot of dope there. There are apparently at least five organizations set up primarily for the purpose of helping Nisei adjustment. I was going to go out to see people about all of these organizations, but since Matsunaga is connected with all of them I thought that I could leave that with her. Incidentally, the dance was lousy.

I'm going down to see the WRA man here in about an hour. I couldn't see him last week and something tells me that I might not fare as well with him as with the others around here so far. I understand from everyone I've seen that he has a hell of a temper and hates all sociologists! Oh well. The Nisei don't have much respect for him and never go to the WRA at all. There is no dependence on the government here--as contrasted with Chicago. There is a guy named Haack at the Washington U. YMCA who is doing most of the counselling and everyone rushes to him whenever anything goes wrong. There are definite local policies of the WRA, however, which are apparently different from those of Shirrell, and I understand that Kennedy's basic philosophy is not to get as many people out of camp as possible but to do a good job of placement on the few that do come. Well, I'll see the guy anyway. Wish me luck.

I've decided definitely against any case studies. I'm just interviewing here and there and trying to organize a general report from which Matsunaga can take off and fill in. There are only 250 here so she can get more than half of them. I wouldn't count too much on her survey report. I've heard of what they did from some of the people who helped her. It might be suggestive but we'll just have to do more.

So much for now. Will write again in a few days. Best regards to W.I.

*Tom*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

September 9, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Just got your letter and was glad to hear all the good news. Thank you for sending us all the stamps. I think there are some things to be ordered but Morton was saying something about sending a big order in so I'll let it go.

Morton has turned the place into a whirlwind of activity. We've been going at his pace since he's come. It was awfully good to hear that W.I. is now in shape to beat you in golf, but his description of your health wasn't too encouraging. I certainly hope that things will be better now that W.I. has recovered. It was swell to know that both of you are coming again in November.

At the suggestion in your letter I've made out an agenda for the St. Louis trip. I just sat down and banged it out with some suggestions from Frank. I'm afraid that it's much too ambitious, and you may not like parts of it, but I'll work on this for the time being. Time is short and I don't have time to go over it again.

The sudden cold weather has wreaked havoc in our office. Charlie was laid out with a cold for five days and Togo is home in bed. I'm leaving for St. Louis tomorrow morning at 8:15 against my better judgment because I feel like hell too. I think I'll turn in early tonight and try to shake the cold. It's just that I have a reservation on the fastest train down there and I hate to give it up. Also, the people down there have made their plans and since they are very busy, a change in my schedule would throw them off. Anyway, barring the worst, I'm leaving tomorrow.

Frank and Morton are all set to go. Naj has made some arrangements for Frank so everything seems to be O.K. Charlie is back in good spirits and is planning big changes for the office while the others are away.

I'm enclosing a copy of the outline. You can reach me in St. Louis in care of either Miss Matsunaga or Alfred Doi, Room 640, Y.M.C.A. Hotel, 16th and Locust Sts.

Best regards to W.I.

*Tom*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Sept. 11, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Just a line to let you know where I am & of changes in plans necessitated by what has happened in the past few days.

St. Louis is so different from Chicago that it isn't funny. There are only about 250-300 Nisei here - including workers in nearby farms & about 100 of them are students or recent graduates. Washington U. is the center of the Jap. community here. There are no complaints of the nature that we hear in Chicago at all. People are actually contented. The guy running the W.L.A. seems to be a bastard; I'm going to see him next week. It seems that a handful of individuals have been active in trying to get acceptance for the Nisei & so far as I can see they have succeeded. It's really a relief to see this place after Chicago.

For some reason that no one can explain, Miss Matsunaga has given us the slip. She left town for Rockport, Ill. on the day I arrived. She won't be back until next week. At any rate, my anger has by now calmed down, & I have changed my plans. I'm going to interview some people first & try to see what I can find out by myself. No case documents. I'll prepare a report on what I find & then will let Matsunaga tear it to hell. Everyone I talk to has a high opinion of her. She must be some gal.

I'm working on various organized groups now & will be interviewing on these groups until Tuesday & Wednesday. Then, I'm planning to interview some of the "insignificant" people in the community to see what's what. I won't write up anything until I get back to Chicago - either next Friday or the Monday after.

It's very interesting - the differences between Chicago & St. Louis.

Regards to W. J.

P.S. (over)

Tom

P.S.

My address is.

Box 736, YMCA Hotel  
Locust at 16th St.

St. Louis, 5,

Mo.

September 15, 1943

Dear Tom:

I have received three letters from you which have not been answered. I have been snowed under with the material Bob Spencer brought back from Tule Lake. He did an excellent job. I think you will find that we have cleared up quite a number of important points, although, naturally, there are still a lot of gaps.

Your report on the St. Louis situation is very interesting indeed. I am sure you will get a preliminary survey that will be valuable. I can't understand why Miss Matsunaga walked out on you, but I suppose by this time you will have seen her. I agree with you that what she does in the next four months will decide whether or not she will be valuable to us. Don't encourage her too much about any permanent connection with the study, because our budget is really completely allocated, and, unless somebody gets drafted, I don't see any possibility of an opening for her, and I am certainly crossing my fingers and hoping that nobody is drafted.

I am glad you are getting a line-up on the organized groups that are helping the Nisei, and I am sure that when you and Matsunaga get together, you will be able to go ahead with your plans. Let me hear from you again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

September 18, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you for so patiently answering ~~me~~ my numerous letters, most of them containing fragments of what I should put together and send all at once. I'm sorry that I bother you so often.

Well, I'm back from St. Louis and raring to go. I think the trip did me a lot of good, for reasons that I shall enumerate below, but first for some business.

The situation in St. Louis is quite different from that in Chicago and I think we are in a position to work out some kind of a comparative analysis. If Matsunaga doesn't come through, we might have to change plans and perhaps work on some other city, but I am becoming convinced from my experiences in both Salt Lake City and St. Louis that we might miss quite a bit if we stick to Chicago *alone*. I am now working on a general report comparing the typical patterns of personal and social adjustment in Chicago and St. Louis and will send it down some time next week. It's based upon superficial impressions, but Matsunaga has agreed to fill in the gaps or the rewrite the damn thing if necessary.

Could you please write to Dr. Queen and thank him for all the courtesies extended to me on the trip down there and for his cooperation with our study? He was really swell. He made all sorts of arrangements for me and was indispensable in going over the material with Matsunaga. He sat down with ~~me~~ and was more than helpful. He seemed quite anxious to help out Matsunaga (although he doesn't seem to be interested in getting "in" or anything like that) and agreed to play ball with any plans that you had for the study in that area. Matsunaga is taking a special project course from him now and he has arranged her reading assignments in such a manner that she would read for the course the kind of books that would help in the study such as we are making; such as, the Polish Peasant, Blumer's Critique and Allport's work on personal documents. He also made several suggestions which I think are worth following. He was really swell and I can't thank him enough.

Re Matsunaga, I don't know quite what to say. I'm a bit hesitant about recommending anyone because of the poor selection of people that I had recommended before. It seems that Charlie is the only one that came through and

as I recall he was one fellow that I recommended with qualifications. This must mean that my judgment is terrible. I really shouldn't worry because whether she'll be of any value to the study or not will be borne out by what she does within the next four months. She has accepted your offer and wants to begin work on October 1. After February I think Queen wants her to work for her M.A. at Washington U. and she wants to work at most part-time, but I have a suspicion that you are going to have a hell of a time at that time figuring out how to make ends meet financially because I think she'll come through. I not only feel quite sure that she'll come through (barring accidents such as marriage) but I'm afraid that she'll show up half of the people here in Chicago. She's really an amazing kid, and is worth a thousand Tally Yusas.

I'm writing this with mixed emotions because I don't like her very much. As you know I was plenty griped when she skipped out on us and the things that happened since then didn't improve the personal relations. She has a sparkling personality and all that but is cocky as hell and very egocentric, and since I'm conceited myself I could recognize these things right away. She's about as queer as some of the others on the study, but she's much better adjusted personally. In spite of all this, however, I think she'll come through.

We can ignore her Phi Beta Kappa key because she got that in music. She began sociology last September at Washington U. so we don't have to worry about her being corrupted by Bogardus. She's not strong on background but that should be O.K. since she won't be able to theorize and because Queen is working on methods and techniques of getting facts. She is extremely keen and a hell of a fast worker. During the last three days we went over all the material I brought down and we also tried an experimental interview on one of our mutual friends. She tore Charlie's cases to hell. Then in the experimental interview I gave her two problems stated in general terms and left the questioning to her. She did amazingly well, and I couldn't criticize her because I don't think I could do as much. The fellow who was interviewed was formerly my roommate and I know him pretty well. She dug out quite a bit which I hadn't be able to in all these years. Her main worry is the lack of background in theory but I assured her that that didn't count for much in this study and told her what W.I. had said about some of these guys. Queen got a big kick out of it.

There is one thing that has to be straightened out if she does make good. I didn't promise a damn thing and I think both she and Queen understand that you didn't promise anything either. Both will be working like hell, though, because she really wants to get in the study. She has been giving a lot of speeches and writing stuff for newspapers, and most people seem to think that she has personally been responsible for some of the favorable attitudes of the community toward Nisei. She is anxious to continue that work (and agrees not to use the study material) but I

think that some understanding had better be reached at an early date--that is, if she makes good.

I think we went over all the mechanics and I think that she knows pretty well what is expected of her. She'll start turning in case histories soon but in the meantime I think you'll get a couple of other reports--some on St. Louis and one on the riot in Santa Anita which she claims Tsuchiyama did not cover sufficiently (she's seen Tsuchiyama's stuff or something). Anyway, she's going to send in stuff other than case histories and I told her to go ahead because I thought that the stuff might be helpful to you.

She's the first Nisei I've ever met who was completely emancipated from the Nisei society. Her suitors are mostly Caucasians, the main one a lieutenant in the Army. Anyway, she's interested in the Nisei problem because she's interested in the general problem of "democracy" as the liberals would say. She used to go around with Joe Oyama in L.A. which ~~is~~ should mean that her political sympathies are O.K. if not too liberal. L.A. Nisei apparently don't like her but she is one of the most popular girls in St. Louis and I suspect that she can get contacts and cases. Anyway, time will tell.

I am enclosing an expense account with this letter. You will probably be amazed that I included all the receipts this time and have other visible evidence for expenditures such as street car tickets. Please don't be shocked that I charged up anything for breakfast because I eat my breakfasts about 12:30 or 1 in the morning. Some of the dinner expenses were high because I had to take some people out to get them to open up and because of obligations to people who helped us a lot.

I'm just about worn out from the trip because we worked at a terrific clip. You won't believe it but I got up at 8 every morning. I rolled in about 2 or 3 at night, but in spite of this got rid of my cold and felt fine. I had three things to do ~~there~~: (1) work, (2) social obligations, and (3) meeting my many friends there; and these three things kept me pretty well occupied. The whole thing was good for me because I convinced myself that I can work much harder than I have been, although not as hard as last week. When I saw all the things that Matsunaga did and the quality of the work I felt very much ashamed, but it doesn't discourage me; it's just a challenge. I'll be dictating all next week and then will get down to the new work next Monday.

Most of my time from now on will be devoted to chasing around the Buddha-heads and getting case documents. I've started about ten cases and will get after these people now that all the other backlog has been cleaned up. Next Monday, I'm also going to begin working on my master's thesis and all the supplementary material, which I feel might possibly be of some value to the study. I'll be working under the supervision of Blumer and Hughes for the next two quarters and hope to turn out, on the side, partly as class

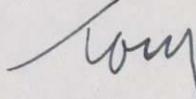
work but mostly as background material for the study as a whole, a series of studies on the pre-war Japanese community. All this is preliminary work for my master's thesis but I thought I'd go into the stuff in more detail because (1) no decent study has been made of the Nisei community, and (2) because I think it will throw a lot of light on what is happening now and what happened after Pearl Harbor. I wish that you will let me work over this material in my spare time because I'm afraid that the material will grow too cold if I let it go much longer.

My interest is mainly in the study of social structure, but with Blumer guiding the work there'll probably be a lot of socio-psychological slants coming in and in general, I think, a much more fruitful approach than say Lloyd Warner's studies. I've thrown Lynd's categories to the winds and won't use his concepts at all. I want to analyze the Nisei community in terms of social stratification, unwritten codes, types of associations and institutions and how one's personal organization fits into the total picture and how the Issei community fits in. It's a very complicated and complex mess, but I think it's worthwhile trying to untangle the whole mess. No one, for example, so far as I know, has made a study of status relationships among the Nisei. No one has studied the role played by athletics and other recreational activities in the social stratification among the Nisei, and yet because of the youth of the group as a whole, recreation was extremely important. This sort of thing, I think ought to be done, and I hope you won't hit the ceiling and conclude that I've gone nuts. Please have no fear that I'll get so entangled in this that I'll forget the cases. I can't because I don't know the answers and still have to go after them.

Well, so much for my personal problems. I sound like a wayward son reporting or justifying his misdeeds. I'll send up the report as soon as possible and hope that you won't find it too lousy. Please write to Queen because he has been swell. You can expect a lot from Matsunaga because I think she'll surprise you if you don't. I'm keeping my fingers crossed on her and hope she wasn't putting on a show for me.

Best regards to W.I. It was certainly swell to hear that he has completely recovered.

Sincerely,



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

September 23, 1943

Dr. Dorothy Wwaine Thomas  
383 Gianinni Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

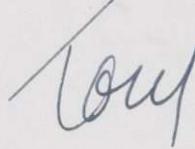
Dear Dorothy,

I am enclosing with this letter a memorandum which is intended to take the place of two reports: (1) the monthly report from this office that neither of us are capable of writing, (2) a brief summary of the situation in St. Louis. You will probably find that much of it is an elaboration of obvious points, but I hope that you find it reasonably acceptable. I have left the St. Louis report fragmentary so that Miss Matsunaga can fill in whatever she finds so objectionable as to make her angry. I have sent additional copies to her and to Frank, and we still have two copies in our office.

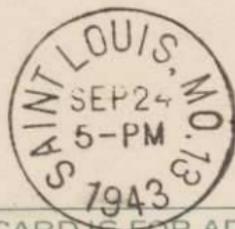
I am also enclosing with this letter the Employee's Withholding Exemption Certificate that Sumi has filled out. Tomorrow afternoon I'll send in a time sheet for both Louise and Sumi. You'll probably get tomorrow's letter first because it will go air mail.

Our very best regards to W.I.

Very sincerely yours,



TS:SI



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr. Tom Shibutani  
502, Social Science Bldg.  
University of Chicago,  
Chicago, 37, Illinois

September 24, 1943

Dear Mr. Shibutani,

What's the word on speaking engagements? I'll write to Dr. Thomas about the matter if you haven't already heard specifically.

My calendar's fast filling up--now getting Illinois requests...One of them to Moline, Illinois, for a state-wide conference of the Congregational Church; I am to address both assemblies--young people and adults.

Unexpected delays in promised report of this week-- Mrs. R's mother is no better, and, consequently, I've assumed much of the responsibility of the household; and, curses!, a run on speech-making. But it'll be in the mail on the morn

*J. Tompkins*

*D. M. M. M. M.*

Sept. 24, 1943

Dear Dorothy:

We are sending under separate cover a copy of a report which was supposed to have been written by Minoru Yasui, who was on trial before the Supreme Court, when he was working with the Japanese Consulate in Chicago. Bill Himel, whom you told us to keep away from, was kind enough to let us use it, but he doesn't know that we copied it. I don't know whether it's supposed to be confidential or not. I don't think the report is worth much but since we don't have anything ~~else~~ it might be possibly of some help.

We are enclosing a receipt for having Bl<sup>u</sup>mer's typewriter cleaned. We used it so much that we thought we had better get it in decent shape before returning it.

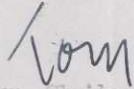
I am also enclosing the time sheets for both Sumi and Louise for services during the month of September. Louise is to be paid at the rate of 60 cents an hour and Sumi at not more than 50 cents an hour. We are making this differential because Sumi's work, while very neat, is very slow. We have not yet reached a final decision on arrangements with Sumi for future employment but will probably do so within a few days. We are now trying out on typing directly from dictation since she is very slow in transcription. I'll let you know in a few days what happens.

We are now running very short in letterheads. Please send about a ream or so of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study paper.

I don't know what promise you made Mr. Shirrell when you were here but he certainly put us on the spot today. He told Charlie that you had promised him that he could call upon us at any time and ask us to speak before a staff meeting of the dodoes in his office and to criticize their work. Dr. Yatabe was also to speak but he was discreet enough to keep his mouth shut. Charlie and I had the alternative of either displeasing Shirrell by keeping still or displeasing some of his staff members by blasting away. We decided to shoot off our mouths and did so. ~~We~~ fired away with both barrels and made Shirrell very happy. There's a split in the WRA staff between the social workers and the employment service group. The social workers agreed with us but the employment guys got sore. You may as well be ready for a cool reception the next time you come.

Best regards to W.I. from everyone in our office.

Yours sincerely,

  
Tom Shibutani

October 2, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

As you no doubt know by now, we are comfortably settled in our new office, which is dirtier than the last but otherwise a hell of a lot better. I don't know what Frank's going to say when he comes back, but both Charlie and I are very pleased with the swap. We scared Redfield's secretary by telling her we had a war project, etc., etc. and she gave us extra locked files and desks. We now have two locked files--both four drawers. The facilities are so much better that I brought all my stuff from home and am doing most of my own work here at nights and over week-ends.

I hate to bother you when you are so busy, so I'll try to work it this way. I know that you must be plowed under by the stuff the Spencer and the two men in Washington are sending in and have sent in; therefore, could we work it this way? I state the proposition, and if you approve, please let everything go and don't bother to write me about this. If you disapprove, then, please let me know before I go too far.

I have started in earnest the job of revising thoroughly the section on the "Initial Impact of the War." After seeing some of Morton's work, I decided that I may as well settle down and do a more satisfactory piece of work; so the revision plans are at present very ambitious. I doubt if everything planned can be done, but it may be worth a try. This work is to be spread out (in my spare time only) over a period of over a year, and will be done under the supervision of Blumer and Hughes, both of whom have agreed to go over the stuff with me carefully. Under the present schedule, I'll have it in shape for the blue pencil by December, 1944. I thought that I would do this partly because I have to do something for my class work anyway and I wanted to work with data I was familiar with, but mostly because I think I can get excellent supervision in working over materials of this sort here. Both Blumer and Hughes, not to mention Redfield and Wirth, are very much interested and have really been swell.

The work that is planned included a good deal more than what I intend to do for a master's thesis. I'll condense part of it for the thesis. I want to do it for my own training for work in the future and to get certain things clearer in my head. I certainly hope that at least part of the material will be helpful to the study as a whole. I'll send in a carbon of everything for you.

Today, I spent the afternoon straightening out a bibliography, which has by now grown to pretty big proportions. Most of the stuff on the Japs is pretty bad, but I have found that now and then there are quotations from letters and diaries that are pretty revealing. I'm trying to set up the bibliography in such a way that all of us might be able to use it after the war. We have about eight inches of cards already and it will probably be triple that by the time the war ends.

I'm enclosing a rough outline of the work. You will see that a special effort has been made to stay clear of Morton's territory. Please don't worry about this cutting into my present interviewing. It won't. My vacation is over and I have recovered from Tule Lake fever. I get to work by 8:30 or 9 every morning--I doubt if you'll believe this, but it's true--generally.

Best regards to W.I.

*com*

October 2

P.S.

Yesterday I sent in some beginnings of documents (CH-101 to CH-108). All the field notes aren't typed up yet, but they will be in as soon as possible.

Beware of another outline--a lousy one.

*Tom*

- I. The Historical Background (This section will be Very brief and will include only factors that proved of importance during the time of evacuation. Will try to stress social adjustments more and will get better documentation on this--much exists in print already in scattered articles, and when there is time, I'll look into it.)
- A. General History of Immigration
  - B. Reception of the Japanese in California
  - \* C. Social Adjustment of Immigrants to life in California
- II. Population and Ecology (Will Let this go for time being and may never include it.)
- A. Population movements
  - B. Demographic Characteristics of population
  - C. Territorial Distribution
  - D. Economic Adjustment
- III. Pre-War Japanese Communities in California (This section will be done in more detail than in the "Initial Impact" paper because much of what happened after Dec. 7 can be understood only if we have a clear picture of the life in the Japanese communities before the war. So far as I know, this job has never been done adequately.)
- A. General Orientation
    - 1. Relationship of community to out-group
    - 2. Relationship to world crises
    - \* 3. Issei and Nisei areas of communication (2 "societies")
  - B. The Social Structure
    - 1. Social Stratification (Wirth's course in Social Organization)
      - a. Issei
        - 1) Positions and social distance
        - 2) Types of Leadership
        - 3) Remnants of class structure
      - b. Nisei
        - \* 1) Fashion setters and charismatic leadership
        - 2) Status relationships and mobility
    - 2. Associations (Hughes' course in Voluntary Associations and Burgess' course on the Family)
      - a. Kinship
      - b. Voluntary Associations
    - 3. Mechanisms of Social Control (Hughes' course in Social Institutions and Blumer's course on Folkways and Fashions)
      - \* a. Understandings and expectations
      - \* b. Institutional control
      - c. Fashions (Malinowski)
    - 4. Social Institutions (functional analysis) (Hughes' course)
      - a. Description of major (selected) institutions
      - \* b. Offices and personal roles
  - C. Personal Organization and Personal Careers (Blumer's course in Social Psychology)
    - 1. Relation to institutional offices
    - 2. Conceptions of the self, roles, careers - *life histories*
    - 3. Patterns of adjustment
  - D. Social Change and Disorganization (This is more a summary because the rest of the analysis will be in terms of change)
- IV. The Japanese Communities After Pearl Harbor (This section will receive the most careful attention and more space will be devoted to this section than to all other parts combined. Most of this work will be done under Blumer in two of his courses--Collective Behavior and Psychology of Social Movements)

- A. General History of the First six months
  - 1. December 7: definition of situation
  - 2. Changing definitions of the situation and adjustments to changes
  - 3. Migrations (voluntary)
- B. Changes in Social Structure
  - 1. Forced Changes in relationships
  - 2. Changes in Associations and Institutions
  - 3. Changes in Mechanisms of Control
  - 4. Changes in status relationships and in roles (inst. offices)
  - 5. Changes in definitions of relationships
  - 6. Collective Adjustments to new situations and needs
- C. Changes in Personal Organization
  - 1. Changes in conceptions of the self, roles, and of careers
  - 2. New definitions of roles and adjustments of the individuals to changing responsibilities
  - 3. Adjustments of individuals to changing expectations
  - 4. Changing trains of experiences (life histories)

Part III is essentially a study of social structure from the point of view set down in Hughes' article "Institutional Office and the Person", i.e., a study of structure in terms of personal careers. *functional analysis à la Malinowski too.*

Part IV is essentially a study of collective behavior, the adjustment of a group of individuals to a situation that they defined as a crisis. This section forms the core of the paper and will be done first, although some sections of part III may be done from time to time.

Will use all materials I find in print + some of my own stuff. May do some interviewing to fill in gaps - ~~prof~~ will have to. May have to make arrangements with you to get back some of the material I sent or left in Berkeley thinking I wouldn't need it until after the war. Will send a list of things (my own only) if you approve of the project. I suspect that the whole thing is going to be plenty long because I shall be careful to try to pile up evidence for whatever propositions that are presented. Plenty of documentation.

October 4, 1943

Dear Tom:

I am very much behind in my correspondence, due to several factors. In the first place, I received the 15,000 statistical cards from Tule Lake and for two weeks was busy and happy matching births to mothers and trying to find out something about the types of people who were going on indefinite leave. In the midst of this, Morton telephoned to say that Mr. Myer suddenly had become interested in the reproduction of the evacuees and wanted some analysis of it, so I have been approaching the Bureau of Vital Statistics and the Western Defense Command and seem to be getting some very good statistical material. Another complicating factor was that Dr. Wellman asked me to predict the postwar enrollment in the University of California. As you can imagine, that is a nice little job. I never was much good at prediction and on the whole don't approve of it, but I figured this had to be done.

Now as to your report on the comparative study in Chicago and St. Louis: I think it points out the main problems in an excellent way. Obviously, it is sketchy and opens the way for a great deal of documentation that will have to be obtained. My only criticism is in regard to what I considered the unnecessarily ponderous theoretical framework that you have built up there. What you should do is write social history and that is largely a matter of accurate description. You don't need to drag in Durkheim and Halbwachs or Park or Max Weber. In fact, I don't see the relevance of this reference at all. This is a very minor matter because, actually, you are handling the various problems in an extremely competent way.

Now as to your problems for study in the two areas: some of them seem to me to be formulated in a way that can lead to definite answers. Others are far too abstract. Questions that seem to me to be formulated realistically for research include Nos. 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10 in your first heading, Problems for Study in Both Areas. Question No. 2 assumes that you have adequate information on the occupational mobility of the Nisei before the war. I know of no thoroughly adequate body of data on that point. What sources do you actually have? For comparison you would also want to know whether occupational mobility is not at present extremely high for the general population compared

with the situation before the war, taking into account, of course, the freezing orders in regard to change of job. In regard to your second heading, Problems for Comparative Study: the question seems to be formulated in a way that will make it extremely difficult to get realistic answers. What I object to is the implication that you can work out these cause-effect relationships with any degree of accuracy. I would formulate the questions in terms of differentials. What are the differences, for instance, in the type of publicity in the local newspapers in the two communities? What are the differences in organized groups? What are the differences in the local policies of governmental and religious agencies and so on, leading up finally to a clear definition of how the Nisei are behaving in regard to occupational mobility, and so on, in the two places. Then it is true you will be able to draw some sorts of inferences as to causes, but the whole thing must be highly inferential. The set-up is not perfect for social experimentation and much more leeway should be given for unexpected results and much greater effort must be made not to set-up an ironclad theoretical structure which will lead to dogmatism in the final interpretation.

I am glad to see the progress that you have made in cleaning up your Tule Lake cases. Now, you will want to examine them as a whole and see to what extent any common patterns seem to be involved. The interpretation of a single case is always a difficult matter methodologically. You are now in a position to draw together the results from a great mass of cases and see what comes out.

I am very anxious indeed to have you start organizing your field notes on the Chicago situation and give me a clear idea of what you have and how you are proceeding well before I come to Chicago. This means not only writing up your notes on specific cases as far as you have gone, but also showing me what you have on the analysis of groups and of the general community situation.

Regarding Miss Matsunaga: I sent you a copy of the letter I wrote her, in which I explained my general attitude toward giving speeches, and so on. Obviously, we can't control people completely who are just collaborating in a minor way in our study. It would, for instance, be impossible for us to say to Togo that he couldn't give any speeches. On the other hand, you are perfectly correct in saying that they must not use the results of our study or refer to the study or appear as a member of our staff in any public meetings. Naturally, situations arise even with the full-time members of the staff when they have to make their own decisions. As,

for instance, you and Charlie did quite correctly when Mr. Shirrell asked you to come to the meeting.

Your plans for your Master's thesis sound, to me, excellent, and I think it will turn out to be very useful indeed to the study.

In regard to your letter of September 24: I have never received a report written by Minoru Yasui, but I did receive something on Chicago by M. Ishida.

We were much distressed on Saturday when Morton's questionnaire arrived from the Selective Service System. I expect that our headaches are just beginning, for the tone in Congress is very unfavorable. Apparently, they are going to draft the fathers under thirty unless they are in agriculture or making airplanes. We shall put up a big fight to try to keep Morton, but I have a notion that the most we can hope for is a short-time deferment. Anyway, we'll keep our fingers crossed.

I hope you are feeling better now and that you really rested up after your strenuous trip. The trip was certainly worthwhile from the standpoint of the study, and I think it is giving you an excellent insight into the various types of problems that are arising in regard to re-settlement.

Give my best to everyone.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

DST:mw

October 7, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you for your letter of the fourth. You must be terrifically busy with all those jobs to do. Sorry that we are perpetually pestering you about one thing or another. I hasten to comment on some points that you raised and to write about some of the latest news here--some of which is bothering Charlie no end.

As for the St. Louis report, I agree with all your comments. It was a hasty piece of work and was too theoretical. I think I'm getting this theory around here in too big a dose all at once and have not yet been able to digest it. Hope I'll get through this stage without coming to think well of Sorokin or anyone like him. I doubt this, since Chicago profs have certain ideas about theory that I think are sound. Concepts are tools to be used as long as they help one in seeing things they would otherwise miss, but are tools only and are to be discarded when they are no longer useful.

I intend to work through the Tule Lake stuff eventually, but I'm afraid that I'll have to put it off for the time being because of all the other things that have to be done right now. Re the Yasui document that we mentioned, the name Ishida is that of the Japanese consulate. Yasui wrote the paper. It's lousy anyway, but something.

Things are happening fast and furious now in Chicago and it is really too bad that Frank isn't here. For a student of collective behavior it would almost be like paradise. The Nisei society is beginning and the WRA has now sanctioned the whole thing. The policy of the Church Federation and the WRA has changed drastically, and Smeltzer and others who spoke of assimilation or some such thing are definitely in the outs. The YWCA is now sponsoring a dance every Tuesday; a Buddhist Church has been opened; a woman is organizing the domestics on the north side; Nisei are congregating by the hundreds in certain companies (Cuneo Press, McClurgs, etc.); three Japanese boarding houses have been opened; millionaires are starting to take interest in the "lonely" Nisei. There are now supposed to be 4,000 Nisei here, according to Shirrell and it seems that the formation of some kind of society now seems inevitable. The communication between the various Nisei in town has been enhanced no end by the moves within the last few weeks and I now don't see how Charlie can see his wish come true. Watch the JAFL now. Their policy is shifting.

We are now scheduling interviews with the people responsible with this thing and Charlie and I are splitting up the guys between us. We'll be sending in something, we hope, for the progress report for this month. We'll try to get the dope and Frank can write it up. He can have a week's vacation and then we'll put him to work. Poor Frank.

Some of the things I shall need for the work I'm starting under Blumer are: (1) all the rumor sheets that we left in Berkeley, (2) the Japanese-American yearbook for 1940 with all the addresses, (3) all the Nichi Bei that you can spare--for suggestions and more data, (4) all the Current Life magazines, and (5) all the clippings that I had been collecting for some time. I can now work on this stuff systematically, but am now sure whether they can be sent here. I never realized when I sent the stuff to Berkeley that I would be doing any writing before the war was over. Is there any chance of getting the stuff for use in this office? I should like to hear about this soon.

Will write again. Regards to W.I.

*Tom*

October 12, 1943

Dear Tom,

I am about to rush off to Sacramento to collect stuff for that damned prediction I am supposed to make about University enrollment "after the war" and also to look into the vital statistics of the JA population before evacuation. Just two brief comments:

What you plan to do for your thesis and for the study sounds ok to me. Will comment more at length later, but you may take it you have my blessing.

Would you mind waiting until Morton returns to have the things you have asked for sent? For one thing, Morton has filed away all your clippings. I hate to say anything against the white-haired boy, but his filing system makes me shudder. Also, everyone else who has looked at it or tries to find anything has the same experience. If he is drafted, aside from the major tragedy that would be for the study, there would be the minor discomfort of trying to figure out where in hell he has put anything. Will you please grab him while he is in Chicago and tell him firmly just what you want, so that we can plan to get it off to you as soon as he returns.

Will you please return to us the balance due from your travel advance, as we cannot file your expense account until you do so?

Please tell Louise I appreciated her letter, and look forward greatly to meeting her and to seeing her snappy filing system (Maybe she can indoctrinate Morton, which would certainly be a blessing). Ask her to make a note to press Frank about working out his expense account as soon as he returns. Somehow I have a feeling she is the most practical person in the Chicago office, although Charlie isn't so bad!

I certainly sound sour, but don't take it too seriously. I just wrote two brief reports on the population of Tule Lake: one based on a statistical analysis of those getting indefinite leave (age, sex, marital status); the other a very neat analysis of reproduction, which Dillon Myer apparently is much interested in ~~xxxxxx~~ (reproduction, not my report), and I therefore sent them both off to Morton so that he could bring them to the attention of the great man.

More later. Yours,

October 13, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Another mournful note and more stupid questions which I hope will be cleared up by Morton when he returns this Friday. I'm a bit at a loss as to how to plan my work for the next few months because I don't know what your plans for the staff are. I'd like to work in my program with your overall plans, but I'm pressed for time and have to make my decisions quickly--partly because I'm taking courses here which won't lag behind like I do.

We've had some news during the past few days that might force me to change my plans. Jim Yamada came in yesterday and told us that Tsuchi-yama was going to Cleveland or Florida or somewhere to write up her stuff, but that if a certain person goes overseas or something like that she might (probably would) come here to Chicago to work for five months on her material. You can imagine what would happen then. Charlie was very upset about it. Another thing was news from Frank that you wanted him to take time off to write up the Tule Lake stuff. That would automatically throw a big load on Charlie and me and I suppose that I shall have to cut down on the other stuff. Since there are no set number of hours that we are supposed to work each day, it's a bit difficult to budget our time unless we have some idea of what is expected of us. If you have already told Morton what you want us to do, please ignore this note. If not, I think that all of us would appreciate knowing a bit more definitely what we're supposed to do.

Now that the raining season has hit us after a week of autumn, some of our interviewing problems have been solved. Some of the hard-to-find boys are beginning to stay at home more and if we brave the rain, we are almost certain to find them. I'm sending in another batch of notes, current and back-log, in a few days.

I've been banging out outlines again and this time have really revised the initial impact paper. I'm sending the latest one for you to throw in the waste basket. Blumer and Hughes have gone over it and have given a lot of helpful suggestions. Blumer seems extremely interested and says that we have here an opportunity to study the type of social unrest that others have either ignored or were unable to see. Hughes has gone through the entire manuscript and really gave me hell. Blumer is more interested in the revision and next week we are beginning work on the analysis of rumors. I'm doing some general reading now to get some background, while waiting for the arrival of those sheets that I hope can be sent. Please don't take the outlines too seriously. Like my thoughts, the outline will change often and by the time we finish it will be entirely different. I think it would be a sad case if I didn't get a new idea in a year and a half. Please don't worry about conceptualizing. Blumer and Hughes have their notions about it too.

We'll be looking forward to seeing you in November. I guess I'll be writing less frequently after this--am beginning to find less and less time now and kick myself for not having worked harder in the center.

Sincerely,  
Tom

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE EVACUATION

I. Preliminary Remarks

- A. The Historical background
  - 1. The general history of Japanese immigration
    - a. The flow of migration
    - b. Reaction of the Californians
  - 2. Social Adjustment of the Immigrants
- B. Population and Ecology
  - 1. Population movements
  - 2. Demographic characteristics of the population
  - 3. Territorial distribution
  - 4. Economic adjustments
- C. The Pre-War Japanese Communities in California
  - 1. General orientation
  - 2. Social structure
    - a. Social stratification
    - b. Social Control
    - c. Associations
    - d. Social Institutions
  - 3. Personal organization
  - 4. Changes and disorganization

II. The Pre-evacuation Adjustment of the Japanese in California to Wartime Conditions.

- A. Introduction
- B. General History of the Period
  - 1. The periods
    - a. December 7 and the week following
    - b. Period of quiet (December-January)
    - c. Period of hysteria (January-March)
    - d. Eve of evacuation (April-May)
  - 2. Including a discussion of:
    - a. Official moves
    - b. Outside groups assisting
    - c. Changes in definitions of the situations
    - d. Adjustments to new definitions
    - e. Migrations
    - f. Other events of importance
- C. Collective Behavior
  - 1. Analysis of Rumors
  - 2. Struggle for leadership and power
  - 3. Collective adjustments
    - a. New definitions of the situation
    - b. Changing attitudes
  - 4. Analysis of social unrest
    - a. Insecurity and fear
    - b. Panic and stampede
  - 5. Morale

- D. Changes in Personal Organization
  - 1. Changing conceptions of:
    - a. Self
    - b. Roles
    - c. Careers
  - 2. Adjustment to new roles
    - a. Changing responsibilities
    - b. Adjustment of personal careers to changing institutional offices
  - 3. Adjustment to changing expectations
  - 4. Changing trains of experience
- E. Changes in Social Organization
  - 1. Changes in general patterns of relationships
    - a. Definitions of relationships to Caucasians
    - b. Changes forced by new regulations
    - c. Changes due to new definitions of situations
  - 2. Changes in Social Stratification
  - 3. Changes in associations and institutions
    - a. Functional analysis of:
      - (1) Religious institutions and associations
      - (2) Political institutions and associations
      - (3) Recreational institutions and associations
      - (4) Educational institutions and associations
      - (5) The family
      - (6) Cliques, factions, and fraternal orders
    - b. Analysis in terms of:
      - (1) New definitions of relationships
      - (2) Changes in institutional offices
      - (3) Effect of changes on personal careers
  - 4. Changes in mechanisms of social control
    - a. Understandings and expectations
    - b. Community sanctions and institutional control
    - c. Public opinion (among the Japanese)

### III. General Summary

- A. New situations created by wartime conditions
- B. Adjustment of Japanese to new situations
  - 1. Definitions of new situations
  - 2. The role of communication
  - 3. Collective adjustments to new situations

October 14, 1943

Dear Tom:

Dr. Thomas was away all day yesterday at Sacramento, so I got busy and searched the 'cubby hole' for the material you asked for in your last letter. I found the following, and am sending it off by express today:

Nichi Bei (Feb. 5, 1942 - May 1, 1942)  
Japanese American Directory 1941  
Current Life - 11 issues  
Rumor Sheets  
"Life History from a Student of Psychology"

The clippings you mention are missing, but as soon as Morton gets back I'll ask him about them. They may be mixed in with his files and, in that case, it may be a little difficult finding them. However, you can expect the clippings to reach you sometime at the beginning of next month.

Regards to all,

Sincerely yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

October 16, 1943

Dear Mrs. Wilson,

Thank you for so kindly sending the things that I asked for. Since I have already started an analysis of the material I have on hand, these items will be helpful indeed.

I am enclosing with this letter a memorandum to Morton about the additional things that I should like to have. He was here this morning but I missed him. I should appreciate your putting the pressure on him when he returns to Berkeley. He said something about wanting the Nichi Bei's himself, but I can settle that with him later.

Also enclosed with this letter is a statement of expenses for the past few months here in Chicago and the balance due to the study from the \$60. travel advance that I received some months ago. I am sorry about the delay; I had just forgotten about it. Also enclosed is a personal check for the balance due: \$14.02.

Current expenses have not been added up as yet, and I shall send them in within a month or so. Since I have started interviewing in earnest, my phone and st. car bills have gone up sky-high.

Morton gave us the sad news about the state of the budget and we are still trying to make adjustments. We made some decisions yesterday that may change things a little. I am now scouting around for a typewriter that we can rent for nothing; wish me luck.

All seems to be well here. Everyone seems to have recovered from the strenuous trips already. Frank is busily working away at his expense account and it will probably be in the mail tomorrow or Monday.

Thank you again for sending the material.

Very sincerely,

Tom

Enclosures: 3

October 18, 1943

Dear Tom:

I received your letter of October 13, including your outline, which again looks like a good outline to me. I'll be interested to see what you do with it.

Morton will, undoubtedly, have discussed our general plans with you. I think it is quite important for Frank to take enough time off to work up the Tule Lake material. After all, we have a limited budget, and resettlement is, at present, touching a very small part of the evacuee population. We cannot hire any more people, and we must be sure that we are getting the complete story of what goes on in the relocation projects. In the long run, I think you'll agree that this is a wise policy. Don't worry about the additional pressure on you and Charlie. Charlie must continue in the way he has been going on, and I feel that he is covering a good deal of ground and doing an admirable job. I don't want to push him toward any quantity production whatsoever. As far as you are concerned, I want you to emphasize the group and community aspects of resettlement, and I feel that you have made an excellent beginning on those topics. What you are doing now is fitting in to the larger program very well indeed. When I come to Chicago in November, we'll go over the whole plan again and make some minor readjustments.

I wish you wouldn't worry too much about what I consider unimportant matters, e.g. <sup>where</sup> Tamie Tsuchiyama is going to write up her stuff. I realize that there is a clash of personalities and that Tamie likes very definitely to work by herself, and that when she works with other people, certain difficulties arise. She has no intention of joining up with the Chicago crowd. She is planning to stay in Cleveland, and if not Cleveland, the present indication is that she will go to New York. She is taking indefinite leave and the government will pay her expenses all the way to New York if she wants to go there. If she gets a sudden urge to come to Chicago, I trust the Chicago office to handle the matter tactfully. You can point out to her the true facts, which are that you have limited office space and that you don't know how long you will be able to hold on to that. But I don't think she will make

any move without consulting me. I shall, as a matter of fact, have her come on to Chicago for a few days to confer with us if she is in Cleveland when I am in Chicago. I am also planning to have Jimmy come to Chicago for ten days, so that we can get a better integration of the whole program.

Morton will be back on Wednesday, and I'll write to you again after I check up with him.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Oct. 18, 1945

Miss Setsuko Matsunaga,  
235 E. Washington St.,  
Kirkwood 22, Missouri.

Dear Setsuko:

Not having heard from you for some time, I was rather interested to know how things were coming along. This morning I had a brief conversation with Doi and I gathered from what he said that there has been a slight misunderstanding on the part of one of us about your connections with the Study and your responsibilities.

For one thing, so far as I know, and honorarium from the University of California was awarded you for the purpose of collecting experiential document relating the stories of the resettlers. To my best knowledge, the honorarium was not granted for the writing of a general report on St. Louis. As you recall, our agreement was that that report was to be in Chicago on the week following my return, which was still the middle of September. Your honorarium began the first of October. You are, therefore, under no obligation to send a report unless you care to and we should appreciate knowing whether or not you intend to send it.

Another point which I think I did emphasize, was that the question of whether or not you would have any further connections with the Study would depend upon the work that you did between October and January and not upon your previous work or reputation. I might say very frankly that our funds are extremely restricted and the chances of getting on if you do only a fairly decent job are extremely slim, if not, almost hopeless. I am writing this not so much to complain but rather to lay our cards on the table so that there will be no misunderstanding between us. Since we are engaged in the kind of work where no one may be asked to keep definite hours, the only evidence that anyone can present for work done is the end product--case document and reports.

I don't want to sound like a doting mother but waiting the return of a wayward son. But I would suggest that you turn in something before the end of the month. I trust that this will clear up any misunderstanding, if any existed. The best of luck to you.

Very sincerely,

Oct. 19, 1943

Miss Sumi Iguchi,  
6328 S. Kimbark,  
Chicago 37, Illinois.

Dear Sumi:

I meant to discuss the matter of your further employment on the Study and since I may not be able to see you for some time, I am taking this means to notify you of your status. I am very sorry that due to circumstances that we had not anticipated, we shall be unable to continue your employment beyond the month of October.

We have not realized this summer when you first went on the payroll that our budget was so tightly restricted. Now we have found that we simply do not have enough money to pay another part time worker. We are faced with the alternative of either cutting our staff now or all being out of work by the end of this fiscal year. We are very sorry to have to do this but I think you can see that we do not have any alternative.

I would suggest, therefore, that if you want part time employment you either apply at your school or at some employment agency in the near future. If there is anything that we can do to assist you in finding a new job we shall be very glad to help you. Since your employment does not expire until the end of October, I would suggest that you continue coming on Saturday and turn in your time sheet on the 30th instead of the 25th.

We certainly appreciate your helping us out when we needed your assistance so badly. The work that you did was exceedingly good. We are very sorry that circumstances dictate that we take this action. I trust that we shall continue to see you. Please do not hesitate to call on us if there is anything we can do.

Very sincerely yours,

Tom Shibutani

October 27, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

Thank you for your very encouraging letter. I guess I was in the blues when I wrote the last one. I guess that you must have your hands full going through the 17 dollars (express) worth of material from Washington! I can just imagine what the office must look like now. Things are running along fairly smoothly now, as far as our work goes, although we had to change offices again. We're cramped into a little dinky dump right now, and beginning next week we may all have to take a few days off because the workmen are coming in to clean up the place for us. I have a funny feeling that we're going to get tossed out of this dump too because it is one of the larger offices here <sup>(when they take the junk out)</sup> and there are only five of us here; whereas other offices have from ten to fifteen in similar sized rooms. Our supplies seem to be accumulating, but the express package still hasn't arrived and all of us were in a stew about it. On top of that, we unexpectedly received a wire from Tsuchiyama to meet her at the station. Please read Charlie's diary for today to get the uproar that it caused in this office. Frank was the loser in a flip and got stuck with the job of going after her.

We let Sumi go last week and it almost broke her heart. I'll be sending an account of her with some other notes as soon as we fill up a box. Louise is flooded with work, but is taking it like a good scout. The field work is coming rather well, and I myself find everything more satisfying now that I am out on the field much of the time and now that I'm working on something I can bite my teeth into--the pre-evacuation stuff. Blumer is really coming through and is helping me a great deal. Hughes promised to help and showed great interest, but I've been too rushed to see him lately. Wirth has been swell about steering some case studies down our way.

When I started interviewing to fill in the gaps in my pre-evacuation paper, I found what it meant to be interviewing with some purpose. I actually enjoy the work tremendously in spite of long hours and the great expenditure of patience--which I don't have much of anyway. That is the reason why I have drawn up, tentatively, an outline for research for my doctorate and what I hope would be some contribution to the general study. I know it's early in the game to be thinking about this, but the phenomena I'm dealing with is happening right now and I have to get it before the draft or something else takes away all the cases and interviewees. I have to collect the data now, and I want to do some purposeful collection. The statement that I worked out is rather dogmatic, but please understand that it is tentative even if it isn't labelled as such. It will change as time goes by. Also, it is a very general problem and I

couldn't possibly cover the whole field in the detail that I should like to. Furthermore, much of it overlaps Frank's territory, and we may have to work out some division of labor between us. There is one point on which we don't see eye to eye, however, and it is on that point that our problems differ. My major emphasis will be on structure; Frank's won't be, I don't think. When you come here in November, I hope that you might let me know what you think of this program for study.

Charlie has been going along at the same terrific clip that he set this summer. Except for occasional crises, like news of a Boochi social, he has been going along steadily. I don't know whether it is our bad influence or not, or whether it was Morton's influence, but he has begun to think a bit about some problem on which he could concentrate his attention. The one in which he expressed interest seems to be right up his alley. He is interested in social welfare and in race relations and in preventing the WRA from forming a policy making a Nisei society easy. Consequently he is getting a wealth of data in policies of various organizations with reference to relations between Nisei, adjustment, keto. He was thinking of trying to work out something with reference to the effectiveness of some of the policies or theories of race relations, studied in terms of the life-organization of the individuals (Nisei) involved. He has asked us to formulate this problem a bit more specifically for him, but Frank and I hesitate to do anything because we know how you feel about this sort of thing. Therefore, we shall wait for your opinion on the matter. There is no hurry at all about this because Charlie says that he is perfectly satisfied and has his hands full with things as they are. He says that if you want him to work on anything like that he will talk it over with you in November.

Charlie also asked me to thank W.I. for sending his lecture on personal documents. He said that it buoyed his confidence since now he knows that he isn't doing anything wrong. He seemed quite pleased with everything and is going along as ever.

Well, I've got a long trip to Melrose Park (2½ hours ride) for an interview ahead of me for tonight. It's a hectic life, this research business, but interesting if there's something to stick your teeth into. Will be sending in some interview stuff pretty soon. Tomi sends her regards.

Sincerely,

*Tom*

P.S. Please remind Morton to return my library book when he finishes. I want to go over it for a section I'm writing now-- and don't want to get into a scrape with this library. Thank you.

*Also sending Travel Exp. blanks*

October 30, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

I just went over the long memorandum to the staff and am pounding out my initial reactions. I want to say that the effect of all your efforts was devastating. I'm not sure that I agree with everything you had to say, but I think I can see your point of view--and, believe it or not--in large part agree with you. Accordingly, please junk the ponderous outline that I sent in about problems for the study of the changing structure of Nisei society. I had a feeling after I had that in the mails that I should not have sent it, and then the more that I thought of it the more I felt that I was restricting myself too much with a conceptual framework which seems plausible enough but which I have not yet accepted myself in toto and which I'm sure you will toss in the waste-basket. The whole thing was too theoretical. To be sure, if I followed that plan, I would have had some things to look for--and probably would have found precisely what I sought. That is a great danger.

As I understand your view, you want to set forth a simple problem and then concentrate on getting facts--not theories or interpretations. In spite of the junk I've been sending in, I agree with you to a great extent--the problem should be as simple as possible and not overburdened by unnecessary theoretical trimmings and assumptions. However, I wonder if that will solve our difficulty. You mention, for example, in page 2, "how persons affected behaved under these restrictions and after the restrictions were removed." That covers quite a bit of territory and even though we have broken down the area in our outlines, I wonder if the ~~basic-difficulty-is-not~~ whole thing is not too general and too vague. I suspect that whatever disagreements there are are disagreements of degree rather than of kind. Even in your simple formulation, you have made plenty of assumptions--propositions you apparently consider self-evident and in need of no further proof. If I formulate a problem I'll make even more assumptions. Somewhere we have to stop and I suspect that the question is, where. I wonder if the basic difficulty is not this: here in Chicago we are taught a rather definite point of view; therefore, we can formulate specific problems to test certain propositions that might substantiate or demolish this point of view. If you don't accept the approach taught here to begin with or look upon it with suspicion--as we should--then we find that it is rather difficult to formulate specific problems. Well, I'll ponder over this a little more and will say my say in December.

I might mention briefly the nature of the work I'm doing in my spare time--which comes every now and then--because it might throw some light on the kind of thing I'm driving at when I asked for a more specific formulation of a problem. I have no quarrel with you on the points you raise about empirical data; I am in complete agreement with you that factual data is the most important thing. However, this is what happened.

2

As you know, about four weeks ago I began the revision of the "Initial Impact" report under the supervision of Blumer and Hughes. Since I'm taking a course from Blumer I've been working most of the time with him. He went through the material rather carefully and then raised questions about the type of material I had on hand which were not included in the paper--he was after empirical data. Then he began to tell me why such ~~a-such~~ and such information was significant because it revealed this and that. For the first time, I realized that if I had done a little more thinking before the war I would have been in a position to clean up during those pre-evacuation days. There were so many things that were so obvious and easy to get that I neglected. Now I am forced to trust to my memory and the memory of those I am interviewing, but this is very ~~dis~~satisfying. Had I had a little more theoretical training and a much wider knowledge of the empirical studies dealing with similar circumstances or if I had had a bit more specific guidance there were so many important things I would not have missed. I know that there's no use crying over split milk and I shan't, but I hate to make the same mistake again. Of course, there is the danger of going overboard for this reading stuff, and I'm glad that you are constantly checking me on this. I certainly appreciate this. But it was just the feeling of disgust that I had for missing so many important things I could have gotten simply because I didn't know what I was looking for that got me disturbed. The old saying goes, "It's human to err, but only a fool makes the same mistake twice." I may be a fool already, but I want to make an effort in the other direction first before I am convinced of it.



While I'm on the question of the revision of that paper, I might mention the kind of work I'm doing because I fear that I'm duplicating some of the work being done in Berkeley. This is beside the point of the methodological problem concerning us. I'm reorganizing my material on the antagonism and the statements of public officials to bring out in clearer relief the uncertainty and the contradictions involved. I know that this is also part of Morton's job, but it is rather essential for me because I want to show the kind of distorted picture of the pre-evacuation days that the Japanese were forced to have. My work differs from Morton's in that I'm more interested in the kind of things of which the Japanese themselves were aware rather than the things that actually happened. In other words I'm trying to get at the statements and events that might have had something to do with the definition of the situation on the part of the people involved. In doing this I am making a list of all events and statements, alarming and otherwise, that were discussed among the Japanese. I suspect that you have probably made such a list already. Please ask Morton to let me know how things stand on this score. I'll be glad to send in my material when it's ready. Incidentally, I shall need the Nichi Bei (complete file) badly soon and should appreciate knowing what the chances are of getting them here.

To get back to where we were, there are a few comments I should like to make concerning my "assignment" here. I find it agree-

able with my personal interests and am prepared to throw myself into the work, even though we don't quite see eye to eye on the division of labor. I would not separate the treatment of the individual and the group in the fashion that you seem to have done, but I'm sure that you will agree that that dichotomy is an unwise one to hold to. However, as we said when we were making the group outlines, the important thing to watch here is the formation of groups. It seems to me that the most important observations that can be made in this stage of the game are those of the random behavior of restless and disorganized individuals. This random behavior may lead to anything, but I suspect that groups form from these random efforts. This remains to be seen, but it's something I don't want to take a chance on missing if it does happen. The study of the process of group formation is a hell of a tough assignment. We're in a period of flux in a place where you can't easily find people to talk to; we have an enormous field to cover and that is why I'm leaning on some conceptual frameworks that provide some cues as to what I ought to look for. I don't think I'm doing the wrong thing in watching the behavior of individuals, but I'll have to select those aspects of individual behavior that might have some relevance to group formation. For example, there is considerable dissatisfaction among the resettlers. I want to know what the nature of these dissatisfactions is because they may lead to collective efforts to overcome the difficulties. I hope that we might discuss this in December when I hope to have my thoughts formulated a bit more precisely. I'll try my darndest to stay clear of ponderous frameworks.

You mentioned something about my doing a finished job. I can bang out something for you if you insist, but I should prefer not to write up these things for the time being. Things are happening rapidly and I don't want to take time off to write. Furthermore, I intend to follow up these individuals much more than Charlie does and am concentrating more on the activities of these people in Chicago than on their background. There is one other thing. I'm not quite as interested in the individual as Charlie is. I'm more interested in those things in the individual which are relevant to collective action. That puts a little different slant on the interviewing and the write-ups will naturally be a little different.

I am employing now a type of analysis which is not quite conventional in sociology, but which I think is more useful and realistic. Frank suggested that I ask you about this before going ahead. Actually it doesn't have much to do with the nature of the data itself, but it does affect the classification of materials. I'm using a functional analysis. For example, I would treat the pre-evacuation J.A.C.L. and Y.B.A. not as political or religious associations, but as recreational, because so far as I could see those associations fulfilled recreational functions as far as the lives of the average members were concerned. I would therefore view them in terms of what I considered their real function (from point of view of lives of people involved) rather than their stated functions. Anyway, it's only a matter of classification in the last analysis, although you may have something to say about the wisdom of studying organizations

in terms of the life-histories of individuals.

One other point, I don't know who that certain professor at Chicago you were speaking of is, but if it's either Wirth or Blumer I think that your comments are unfair. I personally don't give a damn, but I think that it is unfair to infer that they don't do anything but think simply because they don't go out on the field and get their hands dirty with field work. So far as I can see, empirical data is empirical data whether the guy who uses it collects it or whether somebody else collects it. When you work with these men you find that they base their thinking on the findings of studies and of accounts of certain types of situations. When you read their books or articles you find only the residue without references to all the empirical data that they have actually examined. So far as I can see, historical data is empirical data, and the ideas of these men, more than one might suspect, might be based on accounts of what actually happened in given situations. I'll certainly agree that some of the notions of these men cannot, or are difficult to, be verified empirically. And yet, it seems to me that they are striking at the core of the problem of human association. What things are true of human beings because of the fact that they live in association with each other? It seems to me that that is the central problem in sociology. That is what we eventually want to know. If we become so concerned with method that we forget the central problem and seek only those things that are relatively easy to get at, I think that we are missing the whole point in scientific endeavor. It is certainly relatively easy to get data on some things, but what good is all that effort if the results don't have any significance? As Robert E. Park said a few months ago to a group of students, "The idea is to get to the point, not to collect a lot of data to file away in steel cabinets." I don't know what your reaction to this will be, but I do feel rather strongly about this. This is why I feel that the formulation of problems is so important; because it may lead to a meaningful, purposeful collection of data. I have no quarrel with the collection of data. I have no quarrel with your point about not using ponderous frameworks. But I do feel that we should not allow our subject matter to be determined by method, or by limitations in method. I think, perhaps immaturely, that sociology will continue to be an infant science until the time that we can develop techniques to get at certain answers, which are at present "empirically unverifiable." I don't think the preciseness in method in itself will mean anything unless we can find a way to get at some of the basic problems of human association.

Well, I've blown at great length again. This took up about a half a day at the office, and Frank is still pounding away. I don't know if we should get so excited about this thing, but it seems that this is the prelude to the storm to break in December. My mind is not yet set--thank God--and I am still very susceptible to your influence. I certainly hope we can get this cleared up. In the meantime, we'll carry on the best we can.

*Tom*

*Shibutani*

November 6, 1943

Dear Tom:

I should have written sooner, but the combination of a very bad cold and an accumulation of work in the office, plus somewhat ~~short~~ <sup>extended</sup> discussions with Dorothy, constituted a good excuse for my silence. I have the following things on my mind:

1. Yesterday I mailed to you the library copy of Blake Clark's "Remember Pearl Harbor." I should not have taken the book in the first place, and I sincerely hope its absence caused you no inconvenience.

2. I transmit to you my thanks to the entire Chicago office for the recent gift. I suspect the real artist in the matter was Charlie and, if this is true, I hope that you will tender him my homage.

3. I had the definite impression that I was in the dog-house around here for at least several days that followed my lengthy discussion with Dorothy about matters methodological. This feeling had more to do with my own reaction than with Dorothy's. She took all that I could dish out and hit back harder, leaving me with the feeling that I had struck with too much vehemence in the first place. I tried to present my own point of view just as I tried to present the point of view of each of you people in the Chicago office. It all resulted in the manifesto to the Chicago office and, after that things calmed down a little here. Personally, I feel much better now because I understand Dorothy's attitude <sup>rather</sup> than I ever did before, and because it seems less distant from my own than I had assumed it was. In fact, there's damned little disagreement left so far as I am concerned. I do not think I have shifted my position any. Rather I simply understand where it stands in relation to Dorothy's position. Reading the comments of all three of you, I have the feeling that the same thing may hold true for you. In any case, let it be known that I served as the punch-bag for Dorothy's warm-up. I did this cheerfully, but I came out pretty limp in the end.

4. You asked in your letter of October 30 to Dorothy whether or not we have made a list "of all events and statements alarming and otherwise that were discussed among the Japanese" in the pre-evacuation days. The answer is "no." The first chapter of my own projected works calls, of course, for a review of events that preceded evacuation. I have

deliberately procrastinated in the writing of this chapter and indeed have not even a respectable collection of notes for it.

5. The offer of the Nichi-Bei stands as follows: We have a bound file in this office, complete except for some fifteen editions. You will recall that I said I would send this to you since I had the feeling that the library had complete files of Nichi-Bei, as well as of the San Francisco and Seattle vernacular papers. I have just discovered, however, that the Fourth Army Command had borrowed "for an indefinite period" the University's files of Japanese-American newspapers. That leaves us with the only available file of Nichi-Bei's in Berkeley. I am still completely willing to send this file to you if you are unable to find it in Chicago. If I do send it, I would appreciate it if you could make use of it as soon as possible and return it, since we use it here regularly for reference purposes. But do not be at all reticent about asking for this file. If you will write me when you want it, I will put it in the express for you on that date.

Best regards to all,

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins  
Research Assistant

MG:mw

November 8, 1943

Dear Dorothy,

I gathered from your letter to the Chicago staff that you were rather irked by my gratuitous interpretations of your remarks in the other letter (the long one). I'm sorry if there was any misunderstanding on my part, and I suspect that all of us on both sides are making a lot of assumptions about the position of the other that may not be entirely true. At any rate, I find myself agreeing with you much more than you may suspect. I don't want to make myself obnoxious by pressing unimportant points; so I think I'll let the matter drop for the time being. In response to your request, I have typed out a brief outline of the two projects that I am carrying on. I think you will note that I have not only accepted your central problem, but have incorporated both my problems into your framework. I think it is much better, and the reason why I changed my outline was not so much for the sake of keeping peace within the staff but because I find it much better to work with.

You will probably note that in both outlines there are certain basic notions that underlie the whole organization, but these basic notions I think are simple and have been borne out by empirical studies, like the Polish Peasant. I haven't thrown out everything, but as you can see, the work isn't quite so restricted by ponderous concepts. I suppose that the assumptions that I'm making are, in the main, (1) a crisis disrupts the routine in a community, (2) in the random behavior that follows there can be no collective adjustment unless there is some communication between the individuals involved. Other than that, I have defined my job as that of observing what happened within certain selected areas of life. I have selected certain areas of activity, which I think are most important in the lives of most Nisei. There is nothing specific right now that I should like to ask of you now except that you tell me off if you still feel that I'm on the wrong track. I'm very anxious that you do tell me off at this stage of the game because I don't want to end up like Howard Becker.

The work on the Chicago project is coming along better than I had anticipated. I'm having no difficulty breaking down people for interviews, in fact, I'm way behind on most of them. Most people are more cooperative than I had anticipated, and I'm actually enjoying the interviewing in spite of the biting cold and late hours. I'm not following the outline on individual resettlers too carefully, although I am making an effort to touch on all the major points. The problem I have defined covers quite a bit, and it usually takes four or five interviews plus several follow-ups to get what I want. All this is usually prefaced by at least one or two free-association interviews. However, it seems to me that the random behavior of these restless individuals is the most important thing for us to get and I'm planning to just sit in on some bull sessions just to see what the hell's

eating these people. This participant observation is pretty tough compared to the job we had in camp, but now that I have some idea of what I'm after, I think it'll turn out all right. I'm planning to budget my time a bit differently, spending more time on "bull sessions" and less on straight interviewing. At present I think this is more effective, but it all remains to be seen.

The project on pre-evacuation is also coming along. Please don't worry about it in spite of the fact that most of the guidance is coming from Blumer, because Blumer continually insists that I draw my conclusions from my data and not from his theories. I've gone through the rumors rather carefully and have supplemented our basic list (which stood at 150 after I threw out all the non-rumors that were in there) with material from case studies and field notes. I've classified them in terms of contents, emotional states manifested by spread (fear, resentment, etc.), rumors that led to action, etc., and have discovered some very interesting things. I plotted the number of rumors month by month by content and was amazed to find the way in which they clustered together. Rumors about F.B.I. raids and stool-pigeons centered in February; rumors about evacuation center in March; and rumors about camp conditions centered in April. Those on violence and discrimination are common throughout the period. With our lousy sampling this doesn't mean anything, but it does seem to indicate that there might have been a shift in the focus of attention and the dominant mood in the community. Anyway, I'll try to work over this section in first draft by the time you arrive--or before--and hope to have made sufficient improvement on the last paper as to shock you. In drawing up the picture of the distorted world in which the people lived, I'm making a list of the important things to which the attention of the people was attracted, classified under four headings: (1) alarming announcements, (2) alarming events, (3) reassuring announcements, and (4) reassuring events. I think it is very important that we have these lists as comprehensive as possible, although that won't be necessary for my purposes. Anyway, do you have such lists or tables already made (for Morton or anyone else), or shall I start from scratch and go through all the sources? As soon as I complete this list, I can start my analysis of shifting moods in the community and the major patterns of adjustment. I hope to have this whole mess finished by next summer, although it is possible that it may take all of next year. It's far off anyway, and as far as my degree is concerned I won't be coming up for my exams until next winter anyway.

To get back to the office, Charlie is very happy about having gotten his school mess straightened out. It was really good news. I went down to see Shirrell and straightened out the misunderstanding between him and Charlie, I hope, and he still seems to be on our side. It wasn't very serious; so please don't worry about it. I think Smeltzer is the guy we have to watch because he seems universally unpopular and Charlie made the error (?) of siding up with him. As for the methodological woes, your last letter didn't hit us too hard because the first one was enough to lay us all out. There just wasn't anything left to swing at. Well, I'm enclosing the stuff you requested.

P.S. Sent in another batch of notes recently. Matsunaga notes coming too.

Problem #1

The Initial Adjustment of the Japanese in the San Francisco Bay  
Region to Wartime Conditions

- I. Describe the circumstances in which the Japanese in this area lived between the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor to the time of evacuation, giving particular emphasis to the distorted picture of the circumstances which these people got through the inconsistencies in official pronouncements and through rumors.
- II. Describe how the persons affected behaved under these circumstances.
  - A. Shifting moods in the community following a specific series of events and announcements, as exemplified in the nature of rumors current and in other verbal expressions that were widespread.
  - B. Give an account of the struggle for leadership and power that occurred in this period of crisis.
  - C. Give an account of how selected areas of activity were affected by these circumstances, and the manner in which certain customary functions were performed during this period.
    1. Family life
    2. Using leisure time
    3. Religious activity
  - D. Give an account of the nature of changes in the life organizations of the individuals concerned.

Major Difficulties: lack of adequate data.

Problem #2

The Collective Adjustments of the Resettlers in Chicago

- I. Describe the nature of the circumstances in which the resettlers are living in Chicago.
  - A. List and describe the factors threatening or reinforcing (imagined or real) the collective security of the resettlers.
  - B. Describe some of the major forced changes in relationships among resettlers which would tend to affect the patterns of adjustment.
  - C. Describe the "relevant factors" in the environment of Chicago that may affect the adjustment process.
- II. How were the major areas of activity of the resettlers affected by these circumstances?
  - A. Family living
  - B. Earning a living
  - C. Spending leisure time
- III. Describe the patterns of adjustment
  - A. Describe the nature of the random behavior during the period when everything is unstable. What are the things with which the individuals are preoccupied? What are their fears, etc.?
  - B. Trace the development of the facilities for communication
  - C. Trace the development of group activity.
    1. Classify the groups tentatively by:
      - a. Residence
      - b. Former friendships
      - c. Occupational
    2. What felt needs are satisfied by these associations?
  - D. What are the significant changes in the life-organizations of the individuals concerned?

Difficulties:

1. It is impossible to cover the field, and not being familiar with the nature of the "universe", it is difficult to develop any sample.
2. The study of social unrest can best be made by participant observation, but due to limitations in time, this is difficult.

3. Concentration on these items in the interviews would lead to leaving out much that might be useful from other standpoints.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

*Shibutani*

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

November 11, 1943

Dear Morton,

Thanks for the letter. I received in the mail today the copy of "Remember Pearl Harbor". Some bastard wants the book apparently, but I've stalled off the library. I told them we were doing war research and I had to have the book. It came off O.K.

The gift was sent with compliments from the entire staff in the hopes that Dorothy doesn't have convulsions about it. We were plenty scared for a moment when Redfield's secretary said something about a catalogue of the books down here, but we're relieved when she said she was thinking of compiling it in the near future. For a moment we thought our goose was cooked.

We've stopped getting excited about the methodological problem. I think personally that I see Dorothy's point of view and agree with her more than she might suspect. However, I still feel that there's a hell of a lot of questions to be asked and the selection of data ought to be with reference to specific problems. I'm going ahead and am defining an area of concentration for myself, but will continue to get data as Dorothy wants it too. It's just a matter of spending one extra interview for my own purposes. We'll see how things come out. We gathered from the manifesto that Dorothy was pretty mad and sympathize with you for having been there to take the brunt of it. I have a bad habit of trying out anything new that I run into, and that apparently irritates her no end. For example, when I run into a concept that I think might be helpful, I try it out to see how it is. If it's no good, I discard it and never use it again. But Dorothy sees the one instance when I do use it and concludes that I'm going to the dogs--which may well be. Anyway, I'm much more cautious now in my experimentation, and I think you'll be surprised at the pre-evacuation write-ups that I'll be sending in soon.

You mentioned in your letter something about the first chapter of your work covering the events leading up to the evacuation. That is precisely what I need too. As my tentative plans stand, it will be chapter VI in my project. I need a general account for the setting. Once I have that general picture, then I can go on and give a picture of the distorted world in which the Japanese lived. That latter part, of course, is most important for me. Do you suppose

there is any possibility of getting together on that one chapter? There's no sense in both of us working like hell on it and duplicating each other's work. I intend to revise that long chapter in the "Initial Impact" paper, cutting out a lot of unimportant things and adding better documentation for the other items. I don't think I'd want to treat the various items in detail, because that will come in other parts of your paper and mine. I'll be working on this section in December and January and should appreciate knowing what you think about it.

With reference to the Nichi Bei, I must confess that I need it rather badly, although not at once. I shall need the volume for at least one month and possibly a few weeks more, but certainly not longer than that. As to when I need it, I think that I can adjust my schedule to your needs. I shall be too busy for the next two weeks, and I doubt if I'll have any time after Dorothy arrives. Perhaps the best time as far as I'm concerned is over the Christmas holiday and January. Do you suppose that I could have it at that time? If this interferes with your schedule, please let me know. I can readjust my working schedule quite easily. I'm starting out on the Nichi Bei's that we have here and shall catalogue all the items that I might use. That will mean that I'll keep the volume for that much shorter a period. I intend to make notations on separate cards for every item, shuffle them around and then really get down to work. Another thing, we have plenty of people around here who can read Japanese, and I may give some guy \$5 to translate some of the stuff in the Japanese section for me. There's a lot of good stuff in there that I think can be used to good advantage.

I don't know whether the work I'm doing on the pre-evacuation adjustment of the Japanese particularly interests you, but if you like I can send in a rather detailed account of the work. It's quite different from the outline I last showed you or the one I sent to Dorothy. One reason for the drastic change was the manifesto from Dorothy, which convinced me that my job was to give an account of what happened first, and other things afterwards. I'm wading through the pre-evacuation rumors now. I'm afraid this will end up in a terrifically long chapter since there is so much data on hand. I was surprised to find so much material that could be used to advantage. I expect to finish the ~~whole thing~~ <sup>just draft</sup> before Dorothy arrives, and will send <sup>it</sup> ~~in a first draft~~ as soon as possible. All the material is now classified and arranged for the writing--several weeks of hard labor. I should appreciate your comments and criticisms because you know so much more about this period.

Charlie asked me to tell you that he is mailing in a couple of documents soon and that he is sending in the proper numbering on the documents about which Mrs. Wilson raised a question.

Best regards to Ruth and Mike.

Tom

November 15, 1943

Dear Tom:

I have certainly been slow on the uptake, but I have had a great many things to do this past week. I want you to understand that I am not irked, not irritated, not angry, etc., and that I do not anticipate that the time in Chicago is going to be spent in one grand brawl. On the other hand, I agree with you that we see eye-to-eye to a far greater extent than one would realize from our recent letters.

I have received your batch of notes, and also the Matsunaga notes. We will discuss your whole plan of procedure when we meet, and will also go over the Matsunaga material.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

*Shibutani*

November 27, 1943

Dear Tom:

This is the belated reply to your letter of November 11:

(1) Re the Nichi Bei. I will send you our bound volume when you write me that you need it. I will try to finish my work with it before Christmas and, therefore, you will be able to keep it for as long as you need it.

(2) I certainly would like to see your paper on the pre-evacuation adjustments, and I will do my best to supply you with some comments and criticisms. In turn, I will send you some of my pre-evacuation stuff as soon as it gets put in order. At the moment, I am working on the Pressure Group chapter.

(3) Your suggestion that we, in some fashion, cooperate on a section covering the events leading up to the evacuation makes good sense to me. The difficulty is in arranging a schedule that will suit the larger purposes of both of us. I do not think these difficulties at all unsurmountable.

Unlike you (to whom outlines come as easily as sleep) it took me 14 months to produce an outline, an abridged version of which I enclose. Like you, I don't like the outline once put together. My over-all summary of pre-evacuation events will be included in chapter one. Following Dorothy's suggestions, however, I will not write this until the very end. At the moment, again according to Dorothy's directions, I am working on the chapters 9 through 14 and they probably will not be finished before the middle of January. I have already completed most of chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, and have done some work on 2 and 3. As you will note, the whole first section, chapters 1 through 8, is a pre-evacuation chapter. My introduction of chapter one will, in great part, be a brief over-view of the succeeding seven chapters. Obviously, it will be easiest for me to write this summary for chapter one after completing the remaining pre-evacuation sections. Perhaps the best way I can help you would be for me to send you the drafts of chapters 2 through 8 and let you use what you wish. I doubt if I will have the summary of pre-evacuation events ready before some time in March. At that time, of course, I hope to be able to send you the complete draft of Part I (all this assuming that the Army doesn't get me).

(4) The outline, incidentally, very poorly shows what I am aiming at. Essentially, I am trying to combine a chronological sequence (the chapters) with topical treatment (the summaries). Dorothy thinks there is the danger that I will twist the chronological data to suit the topical matter, and my biggest problem now is to circumvent this danger. Methodologically, I do not think the chronological-topical combination is at all impossible or at all unscientific. The whole paper, of course, is impossibly large and I will not finish it if the Army gets me any time in the near future. Though Dorothy has not said so in so many words, I have the feeling that she thinks it is grandiose and that I'll never be able to complete it.

My best regards to you, Tomi and the Chicago gang.

Sincerely yours,

Morton Grodzins

Enclosure

December 23, 1943

Dear Tom:

Dorothy and I have tried to get together as much of the material as possible from the latest list that you requested. I am attaching this list and am sending the material, under separate cover, with some Tule Lake data for Frank. I am not sending three items: (1) The only clippings that we have from the older papers are included in a rather haphazard fashion in the other files that we are sending. We do not have, apparently, the "New Year Special editions." If you have any specific advice about whether they might be in the stuff that is stored at Dorothy's, I will be glad to go searching there. ~~again.~~ (2) I do not know who Tryon is and, therefore, cannot get you the case studies from his files. If he is the man in psychology, then I recall Dorothy saying that the best way for you to get the stuff was for you to write him directly. (3) I am sending you a copy of Korematsu's plan for the cooperative farm. I have a rather extensive file on other plans for a settlement, in which are included some 20 or 30 ideas. If it is all right with you, I would like to keep these for another month or so, since I intend to write a section about them.

In addition to the Minutes of the Bay Region political meetings, I am also sending a good deal of miscellaneous data from various JACL chapters, as well as from the Los Angeles Citizens League, etc.

I hope that we have been able to find the data that you want and will be glad to follow up any other suggestions that you have. Incidentally, I am now in a position to send you our volume of the Nichi Bei, if you want it.

Dorothy has had a slight case of the flu' for the last couple of days and she has just called to say W.I. has come down with it too. We are all hoping that his case will be a mild one, as most of them have been.

I trust that you are not lapping up too much liquid heat to withstand your first winter in Chicago. Ruth and Mike join me in sending you and Tomi a cordial wish for a merry Christmas.

Very truly yours,

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

December 27, 1943

Dear Dorothy and Morton,

Greetings and salutations for the New Year. Thanks for your cards and kind wishes. Here in the Chicago office we still have not completely recovered from the conferences, but we're looking forward to a big year in spite of our tattered and crippled condition. We were very sorry to hear about Dorothy and W.I. being ill, but being familiar with the terrific resilience of both we are pretty sure that they will fool the doctors again. Medical science is behind when it comes to treating them.

I've been meaning to write, but have spent the past week pestering the WRA and getting progressively madder at them the more I go over there. I spent a couple of days going to their statistical material and came out with a lot of junk. We computed some material today and found that nothing checks with anything else. Even the WRA figures taken from the same sources don't check with each other! I don't think there's anything wrong with their adding machine or ours, but apparently they have lumped together a lot of figures without indicating clearly enough what was included. Shirrell, as usual, was swell. He gave us permission to go through everything in the files, and so on the 24th the whole staff invaded the office to clean up. We found quite a bit of material that might be helpful, but the damn WRA employees seemed to have nothing to do but talk to us in spite of the fact that about fifteen people were waiting outside; and we consequently got very little work done. This raid will take some time and since there is so much material--especially on background--I intend to spend some time there this winter to clean up what I can.

With reference to that damn report we have to write for WRA, it seems that Jacoby's ideas grow every time we talk to him and it seems that we will be working for WRA for a couple of months. I don't like that at all, and Frank decided that we should have another conference with Jacoby--without Embree--and try to reach some understanding as to where our responsibility ends. They are wise to the fact that we know some things that they don't know--it's amazing for the WRA--and they want everything. I appreciate all the help and courtesy they have given us, but my reaction is that they can go to hell if they want us to be stooges for them. We'll straighten it out, I guess. Frank's quite a diplomat. It's a good thing he's here.

I have suddenly discovered that I have ten times as many things to do than I had anticipated. When Dorothy left, as I recall, I was to spend my time working on only two things. I find myself loaded down with about ten jobs instead. This WRA deal really hits me because much of what they want lies in my territory. The ecological study, the Chicago background study, the group studies, the WRA report, service group files, finishing up interviews already started, the history of resettlement in Chicago--all this besides my school work and the pre-evacuation material! I just can't do it all at once and have decided to let pre-evacuation go for several months. That's why, Morton, you may as well keep everything you need until you are good and ready to send them. We should like to have the stuff, but I doubt if I can work on any of that for some time to come.

With reference to your recent letter, Morton, I am sorry that you couldn't find the New Year editions. They contain a wealth of information about recreational institutions plus some essays that can be used as personal documents since they reflect the kind of things the Nisei were concerned with at that time. I'm am reasonably sure that I sent them in because I would never have thrown them away--and I don't have them here. Well, if they are lost, it can't be helped and I can get along without them. Concerning the plans for resettlement--including Korematsu's--I should like to have material on all those that were in part or entirely hatched by Jap minds. The others I would be interested in only if they succeeded in causing collective excitement and gathered some following to their fold. As I said before, you may as well keep all of it until you are through with them. Please send the Nichi Bei whenever it is convenient for you. We can use it for several purposes here. I doubt if I can go through it for another four months or so, although you never can tell about these things. About my thesis, as Dorothy probably told you; I have reorganized my material considerably and have changed the emphasis altogether. The main body of material will be a straight description of what happened with the data organized to bring out more clearly the characteristics of this type of condition in society--what I have called sustained collective insecurity. I'm bringing in quite a bit of material on Nazi psychological warfare because strangely enough the circumstances to which the Japanese were exposed after the attack on Pearl Harbor are almost identical to the circumstances to which the Nazis exposed their intended victims before their blitzkriegs. The Nazis worked consciously and presumably the Americans did their nefarious tricks unconsciously, but the effect on the social and personal organization of the persons involved was the same.

I'm going to forget the pre-evacuation stuff for a while, but will get back to it presently. I enjoy this stuff more, but there's not much choice for me. The Chicago work has to be done, and I want to get it out of the way and have the Chicago study well under way before getting back to this. Will be writing again soon. Best regards from the Chicago gang for a speedy recovery and a better year.

*Tom*