

TOGO TANAKA

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1831 SOUTH BRAND BOULEVARD -- CLENDALE, C
36-12-1 Manzanar Center
Manzanar, California

Dr. Robert G. Sproul, President
University of California
Berkeley, California

To Dr. Dorothy Thomas

Date 11/2/42

Note: This file is charged to you until returned. Please do not forward to any other person without clearing with the Filing Dept. of the President's Office at Berkeley.

October 23, 1942

Dear Dr. Sproul:

The University Clip Sheet announcement of a three-year study of Japanese evacuation prompts me to inquire if I might not be of useful assistance in some phase of the work.

From May, 1936 through April, 1942, during which I served as English Editor of the L.A. Japanese Daily News, and subsequent to our evacuation, I have been gathering and compiling data on the "Japanese of America."

In 1938-39, my interest in the subject led me to apply for a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship. My candidacy was unsuccessful, but my files have continued to grow; and I should like to make them available for the University of California study, on the chance there may be material of some value.

In the hope also that applications for participation in the project may be acceptable, I have enclosed a copy of the War Relocation Authority form required of internees seeking placement outside government Centers.

My work here is that of Documentary Historian; it entails compilation of Project Reports on day-to-day activities at Manzanar. In my leisure, I have attempted writing for publications. A recent manuscript, I have just been informed, has been accepted by the Free World Association, New York. I have previously done research for, assisted, and collaborated with, writers for Saturday Evening Post, Life, Reader's Digest, American Mercury.

I am a '36 graduate, A.B. in political science, of the University of California at Los Angeles; I am not sure whether it should be mentioned here, but if it will help, I also belong to Pi Sigma Alpha, Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Gamma Mu. The six-months period of readjustment through which I have just

TOGO TANAKA

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passed has been one of alternating disillusionment, uncertainty, bewilderment and hope. It has been and remains an experience, however, that I am sure I would not have wanted to miss for the world.

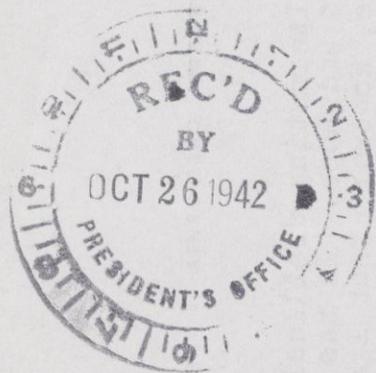
Just a year ago, I flew to Washington, D.C. to testify for the War Department on a bill to clarify dual citizenship before a House committee. I met and documented interviews with 81 people in the Capital: Senators, Representatives, Cabinet members, officials in the State, Navy, War, Justice departments. Less than a month after returning to Los Angeles, I was in jail for 11 days; war had finally come. I was subsequently cleared and had to my credit a wealth of detailed information which I might not have otherwise obtained.

I participated in the unsuccessful efforts to stave off evacuation, have documented what it has been my opportunity to see and experience.

If there is anything which I may do, I would appreciate deeply any direction from your office. With every assurance of wholehearted cooperation and sincere best wishes,

I remain
Very sincerely yours,

Togo Tanaka



(Release Monday Afternoon, Oct. 26)

JAPANESE EVACUATION WILL BE STUDIED

BERKELEY, Oct. 26.—The evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the Pacific Coast, and the economic, political and sociological consequences of this movement, are to be studied by the University of California. In announcing this, President Robert G. Sproul made it known that the Columbia Foundation is contributing \$10,000 a year for three years, the Giannini Foundation \$5,000, and the Rockefeller Foundation has given \$7,500 which it is hoped may be repeated for two years.

The study will be made by Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas, professor of rural sociology; Dr. Robert H. Lowie, professor of anthropology; Dr. Harles Aikin, associate professor of political science; Dr. Milton Chernin, assistant professor of social welfare; Frank Kidner, lecturer in economics; and others who may be designated later.

"The objective of this three year study," said President Sproul, "will be to provide a factual basis for permanent settlement of the Japanese-American minority problem in this country, which war has aggravated, and at the same time to lay a foundation for possible settlement of equivalent problems in Europe which peace will leave unsettled. It is pointed out that this forced migration of a minority group presents opportunity for a case study which will be invaluable in meeting the larger problems of minority migrations in Europe, and that this study should be made now while it is possible.

"We hope that out of this study, which will result in a series of publications, there will come information which the University of California can offer to the world as another contribution to the successful solving of post-war problems."

[COLUMN 2]

INDIVIDUAL RECORD

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| <p>1. Name: Last First Middle TANAKA, TOGO -----</p> <p>1a. Other names: (Include maiden name if a married woman)</p> <p>2. Relocation Center: Address Entry date 36-12-1 Manzanar, Calif. 4/29/42</p> <p>3. Assembly Center: Address Entry date</p> <p>4. Previous address: Street and number, or R.F.D. number City State 1831 So. Brand Blvd. Glendale, California</p> <p>5. Parents: Name of father; maiden name of mother Country of birth Father: Masaharu Tanaka Japan Mother: Katsu Iwatate Tanaka Japan</p> <p>5a. Father's occupation: in U. S. Retired Abroad</p> <p>6. Person to notify in case of emergency: (Relationship, name, and address) Mrs. Jean Tanaka Wife 36-12-1 Manzanar</p> <p>7. Education: Name and location From— To— Grammar school . Los Feliz Elementary '22 '26 Junior high school Starr King (L.A.) '26 '29 High school . . . Hollywood High (L.A.) '29 '32 Business school . . . College Univ. of Calif. L.A. '32 '36 Postgraduate . . . La Salle Extension (Law) Incomplete</p> <p>7a. Degrees, educational specializations, honors, and significant activities: A.B. in Political Science, Pi Sigma Alpha, Pi Gamma Mu, Phi Beta Kappa, John Dewey Club, Int'l Relations Club, California Daily Bruin</p> <p>8. Residence outside the United States: Country From— To— N e v e r</p> <p>9. Military or naval service: Country Branch From— To— N o n e</p> <p>10. Public assistance: 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Aid to dependent children 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Aid to blind 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Old age assistance</p> <p>11. Pension: Source Amt. \$ Pay period</p> <p>12. Height: (Inches) 12a. Weight: (Pounds) 13. Physical condition: 5 67½ 138 Good</p> | <p>OFFICE USE</p> <p>14. Individual number: 3422 - A</p> <p>15. Family number: 3885</p> <p>16. Sex: 1 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Female</p> <p>17. Race: 1 <input type="checkbox"/> White 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Japanese 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Other Spouse's race: 1 <input type="checkbox"/> White 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Japanese 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Other</p> <p>18. Marital status: 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Single 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Married 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Separated</p> <p>19. Relationship to head of family group: Head</p> <p>20. Birthdate: 20a. Age: Jan. 7, '16 26</p> <p>21. Birthplace: (City, county, state or province, and country) Portland, Multnomah County Oregon, U.S.A.</p> <p>22. Alien registration number: Citizen</p> <p>23. Attending school: 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Yes 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>24. Grade:</p> <p>25. Language: Speak Read Write English..... <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Japanese..... <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German..... <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Italian..... <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> French..... <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Spanish..... <input type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>26. Major activity or status:</p> <p>27. Occupation: Pri. Newspaper Ed. Sec. Produce Operator</p> <p>27a.</p> <p>27b.</p> <p>OFFICE USE</p> |
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28. Employment history: (List most recent employment first and account for all periods of unemployment)

| From | To | Employer, Business, Address | Position and Duties | Annual Pay | OFFICE USE |
|------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------|
| '35 | '36 | Japan-California Daily News 339 e 2nd st Los Angeles | Reporter - English section | 210.00 | |
| '36 | '37 | L.A. Japanese Daily News 104 n. Los Angeles st LA | Editor Eng. Sec. tion work also transla- | \$ 987.00 | |
| '37 | '38 | " " " " " " | " " " " " " | | |
| | | also: So. Calif. Farm Federation 950 so. San Pedro st LA | In charge information service | | |
| | | Nisei Business Bureau 104 n. Los Angeles st LA | Manager (charge of promotion) | 1730.25 | |
| '38 | '39 | (Same as for previous year -----) | | \$ 2437.09 | |
| '39 | '40 | L.A. Japanese Daily News 104 n. Los Angeles st L.A. Nisei Business Bureau | Editor English Section Manager | \$ 3136.10 | |
| '40 | '41 | L.A. Japanese Daily News Nisei Business Bureau Life & Time Inc. New York | Editor English Section Manager 20-day research | \$ 3250.50 208.50 | |
| '41 | '42 | L.A. Japanese Daily News Nisei Business Bureau | Editor English Section Manager | \$ 3800.00 | |
| '42 | Jan Feb | " " " " " " | " " " " " " | | |
| | Mar | Osage Produce Company 770 s. Central Ave L.A. | Vice-President (Loss due to evacuation) | | |

29. Skills and hobbies: (List skills other than those indicated in the above employment history. Include types of ability or experience such as carpentry, electrical work, auto and machine repair work, music, arts and crafts, etc.)

Job printing: typesetting, job press, linotype, composition, make-up, press room work. Proofreading.
 Typing - 110 words per minute Secretarial work
 Documentary research.

29a. Social Security Account No. 560-12-0733 30. Religion Episcopalian

31. Additional information: (Enter here additional information on any item for which adequate space is not provided. Indicate in the margin next to the item that it is continued here, and number each entry here according to the item number)

Informant, if other than the registrant:

Date of interview:

Signature of interviewer:

October 31, 1942

Mr. Togo Tanaka
36-12-1, Manzanar Center
Manzanar, California

Dear Mr. Tanaka:

Thank you for your letter of October 23, inquiring as to the possibility of assisting in the study of Japanese evacuation which this institution is making. I am referring your letter to Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas, who is in charge of this study, and if there is any possibility of using your services you will hear from her.

Yours sincerely,

Robert G. Sproul

GL:KWH

cc: Dr. D. S. Thomas

(with Mr. Tanaka's letter)

AFFIDAVIT
--General--

State of California) ss.
County of Los Angeles)

..... MR. TOGO.TANAKA

Being first duly sworn, deposes & says:

That he stands ready to serve the United States of America at all times and in all places;

That he is registered and classified 3-A in Selective Service and has application on file in the Glendale unit of the State Guard;

That he holds only American citizenship and has neither dual status nor any ties with any other country;

That his ties and associations in his capacity as an Editor of the L.A. Japanese Daily News have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

That for purposes of his identity as a loyal American, he reaffirms his allegiance by taking the following oath:

I HEREBY DECLARE, on oath, I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty which in any way may claim my allegiance; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will take this obligation freely and without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So help me God.

And further deponent saith not.

.....

Subscribed and Sworn to before me)
this _____ day of _____, 1942)

Notary Public in and for said county
and state

TOGO TANAKA

Secretary

Age 26

Born January 7, 1916 Portland, Oregon

AMERICAN CITIZEN of single loyalty and allegiance to the United States

Resident of Los Angeles County 25 years

Education:

Los Feliz Elementary School 1926

Thomas Starr King Jr. High 1929

Hollywood High School 1932

University of Calif. At L.A. 1936

(Editor of Hollywood High School News '32; Phi Beta Kappa, Pi Gamma Mu,
Pi Sigma Alpha from U.C.S.A.)

Professional experience

English Editor of the Los Angeles Japanese Daily News since May, 1936.

Business management of department since January 1938. Personnel
management and direction of staff, including over 60 persons.

Daily public relations contacts since 1936.

Business and professional affiliations:

Common Council for American Unity (New York) Los Angeles Chamber
of Commerce (L.A. Japanese Daily News representation)

Organizations

L. A. County Central Democratic Committee Advisory Board member;

L. A. Democratic Luncheon/member; U.C.L.A. Alumni Association;
club

Dale Carnegie Alumni, Ephebian Society.

Owms real estate including own home at 1831 South Brand Blvd., Glendale

FAMILY: Married in 1940 to Jean Wada (U.S. Citizen born in L.A. graduate of
L.A. City College); couple expecting first baby Jan. 1942

Religious affiliation: Episcopalian

Has never been outside the United States, intends to live and die here.

TOGO TANAKA

36-12-1 Manzanar
California

~~1831 SOUTH BRAND BOULEVARD~~ --- GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA • CHapman 5-1662

Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas
Professor of Rural Sociology
Evacuation and Resettlement Study
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley, California

Nov. 16, 1942

Dear Dr. Thomas:

Thank you for your letter and the statement on the Evacuation & Resettlement Study. I shall be only too happy to lend whatever assistance I may be able.

If you would be good enough to forward me a specific assignment, I shall do my very best on it. I have not made any documentation in a form that could be said to represent all or any part of my files. I am puzzled as to where to begin.

However, under separate cover, I am mailing first copies of the project reports which I compile here as part of my daily work. My collaborator, Joe Masaoka, is leaving for permanent relocation shortly. Most of the enclosed, however, represent my own work. They are in uncorrected & un-edited form and not free of errors. I think, however, they give some idea of the kind of work in which I am engaged here.

My pre-evacuation material consists largely of correspondence, research studies, published items, monographs, notes & commentaries on personal observations, and miscellaneous bits accumulated in the six years during which I edited the L.A. Japanese Daily News English section. Some of it is still in the hands of the F.B.I. in Los Angeles, although all of it is gradually being returned to me.

The arrangement you suggest regarding my contributions is perfectly satisfactory to me, if you feel that my assistance could be of some value. In view of the fact also that I am employed here in a department headed by Mr. Robert Brown, assistant in charge of Reports, I would appreciate your writing him. I feel it a matter of courtesy owed anyone in his capacity. I shall inform him personally also.

If there is any occasion for your visit to Man-

zanar, I shall make arrangement to secure your permit. I certainly shall look forward to meeting you.

Are you by any chance acquainted with Dr. John Embree? He is the senior archivist, Office of Reports, War Relocation Authority, Washington, D.C. I believe he is a social anthropologist by training and the author of a book, "Suye Mura", depicting village life in rural Japan. He more or less sets the guideposts for my work here. Our present acting Project Director, Dr. Solon Kimball, is also a social anthropologist.

Thank you again for writing, and I shall await further word from you regarding a specific assignment if such is forthcoming. With kindest personal regards to you, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

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

November 26, 1942

Mr. Togo Tanaka
36-12-1
Manzanar Relocation Center
Manzanar, California

Dear Mr. Tanaka:

I have just returned from a trip to Gila and Poston and found your letter of November 16 as well as the Manzanar historical data. We are very happy to have these reports and would very much like to receive the missing copies (see attached sheet). The Manzanar reports confirm other information I have had concerning your capabilities and make me more anxious than ever to have access to your pre-evacuation material.

It is, of course, very difficult to make a "specific assignment" for you as far as this material is concerned. In the course of our work, we have gathered a large mass of pre-evacuation data. We feel our coverage of such things as 1) attitudes, 2) preparations, and 3) reactions of the Japanese community has been reasonably good. On the other hand, we have very little data on the efforts of the Japanese to forestall the evacuation. I know a little of this story through third-hand reports, but this is one thing you might work up.

Further, one of the important segments of our study is the propaganda and pressure activity carried on by Caucasian individuals and groups to further evacuation. One of our research assistants, Morton Grodzins, recently made a trip to Washington where he gathered considerable data on the groups applying pressure on the Congressmen and the Attorney General. He also visited Larry Tajiri in Salt Lake City and, previous to that, discussed the situation at length with many Nisei of Northern California. He feels, however, that his data are weakest for the Southern part of the State, where such activity was carried on the most. A second "specific assignment" for you could be a write up of pressure group activity.

On all these reports, we are more interested in documentation than anything else. We want specific references, specific names, specific dates. We want copies of letters, first hand accounts, verbatim reports, where they exist. At this stage of the game, there is no point in theorizing or wasting time with literary niceties. A good report on pressure group activity, for example, might very well be three or four pages of description on specific groups, with copies of letters, propaganda forms, newspaper clippings, etc. attached as documentation. Any material you send us, of course, will be held in the ~~in~~ strictest confidence. We will copy or photostat any documents you send and return the originals to you. And,

Tanaka
11-26-42

again, it is the documents that are most important. Little scraps that may appear unimportant to you might very well constitute an important link in the larger chain we are putting together.

We are much more interested in your pre-evacuation material than we are in any study of Manzanar, principally because we already have well organized groups working at other Relocation Centers and because we have not received permission to study the Manzanar community. I do not see any necessity for me writing Mr. Brown, since your work for me will be on your own time and from your own material. Further, it is not too good an idea to publicize the type of report you will be doing. You may tell Mr. Brown as much as you want to and, after that if you still think it necessary for me to write him, I will be glad to take your advice.

Incidentally, Mari Okazaki of 32-11-4, Manzanar, is also doing some work on pre-evacuation material for us, and you may want to talk to her even though your field will be far removed from hers. You may know some of our other Nisei workers: Charles Kikuchi, Earle Yusa and Joseph Omachi at Gila; Mich Kunitani and Tamie Tsuchiyama at Poston; Tom Shibutani, Jimmy Sakoda, Haruo Najima, and Frank Miyamoto at Tule Lake.

We are very well acquainted with Embree. He visited this office in Berkeley and Grodzins returned the visit in Washington. Grodzins, incidentally, hopes to visit you at Manzanar. He feels, however, that it would be better to come after you have worked up one or more reports.

If you have further questions, don't hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas
Professor of Rural Sociology

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NG:vp

Historical Documents

The following documents are in our files:

No. 14, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58,
59, 63, 66, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82 and the
Special Report of Oct. 10, 1942

Tanaka
5831 S. Blackstone ave.
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dr. Dorothy Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
U. of California
Berkeley, 4 Calif.

Jan. 12, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

We hope that balmy Berkeley sunshine is agreeing well with you and W.I. We think we're finally acclimated to Chicago's nose-diving temperatures, and I'm still running about with a California topcoat.

Rummaging through a Marshall Field's booksale a fortnight ago, I emerged triumphantly with an eighth edition of "Sex and Society" by William I. Thomas, The Gorham Press, Boston, 1907. Do you suppose I could bother W.I. for an autograph which could be pasted into it?

I had quite a time at this fire sale; one little volume by Canon Raven, a three buck volume I'd treasure in any library--and I picked it up for 19 cents, brand new. W.I.'s edition is a fifth-hand copy, dog-eared and quite used up. I hope he won't mind my having bought it for 49 cents. Please tell him I rounded up another Clarence Darrow, second hand, for two bits. I get the dangdest fun out of these book sales.

Sprry to be a little slow in forwarding the pre-evacuation stuff. As you probably noticed, it's not done day-by-day in order straight through; and I'd like to fill up the wholes and send it in one piece. In the meantime too I'm adding some current Chicago stuff, particularly--after some discussion with Charley, Frank and Tom--on the Issei resettlement problems. We're turning a great deal of our attention gradually to this phase in our counselling at the office of late.

Also, I've been wondering if there's any room for documentation of the nisei Army men's experiences--that part of it gathered informally and from those who happen to be personal friends. It seems to me, after conversing at some length with over 20 of them in the last three months, there is some part they are playing in the resettlement picture which affects the whole.

It was certainly kind of you to remember Jeannine; she sends her love to you both.

How's Morton, and Ruth and Mike? Please give them our best regards. I'm enclosing copy of a report from the Friends and Baptists for the Berkeley files. Will write more later. Regards,
Joe
Togo

R E P O R T
 On the resettlement work of the Midwest Office
 of the
 AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
 in cooperation with
 the
 AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY
 189 West Madison St.
 Chicago 2, Illinois

January 1, 1943 - January 1, 1944

Philosophy of service

Resettlement of American Japanese and Japanese evacuees to us has been a religiously-motivated service. These people have been in distress. They are in need of help. Christian faith impels us to respond. In the work of the year just ending, each of us has tried to live in the practise of our belief in the ultimate triumph of love over hate, in our faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Statistics

Statistics tell so little. They seem to stress quantitative aspects. And these have been least important to us. Yet some figures help to clarify the picture of what goes on from day to day.

Over 4,200 calls in person have been made by resettlers at our office. This represents about 1,900 individuals. Approximately 550 persons were directly assisted in finding first jobs.

An additional 400 resettlers were helped in finding second and third jobs, involving extended counselling in many cases.

Over 600 persons were assisted directly or indirectly in securing housing.

The Friends' hostel, from Feb. 1 to Nov. 30, accommodated 360 new arrivals until jobs and housing were obtained.

A total of 1,000 applications were filed with us from the centers. And 400 more were filed in person at the office.

Over 100 trains and buses were met by staff members until Traveler's Aid undertook this service.

Contacts have been maintained with 300 employers, many of whom were initially approached by us.

In community relations, 98 different groups, totalling 6,650 persons were reached by personal message through invitational speaking engagements.

An estimated 5,000 inquiries regarding resettlement have been answered by telephone.

Over 8,500 outgoing telephone calls, an average of over 700 monthly have been made.

In student relocation, 50 university, college, technical, and high school students have been aided in matters of program, tuition, enrollment, jobs, and other personal problems.

Meeting changing needs

We have laid out no rigid program which we attempted to follow to the letter. Rather, our service has grown with changing needs, we anticipating

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them as resettlement expanded. Emphasis in allotment of time and effort has shifted constantly.

As one of the early agencies in the Chicago field, we undertook activities which in time formed the pattern for others to enlarge and extend. For instance, the War Relocation Authority office in Chicago was set up nearly seven months after the first evacuee called on us for help in finding a job.

The government was not engaged in employment aid at the first of the year. Our staff was composed of three persons then, but we undertook job placement at the request of the Washington office of the War Relocation Authority.

Three months later, the government's employment program was in full swing. But a new need had arisen -- h o u s i n g. The full time of an additional staff worker was immediately placed in the field. Two months later, the government was at work on housing.

In the fall, the need for adequate counselling facilities was felt. Our recent attention has been centered in the adjustment problems of resettlers, though earlier work on employment and housing has been continued.

We were active in attempting to meet spiritual needs of newcomers before the Chicago Church Federation fully assumed this responsibility through formation of the United Ministry to Resettlers.

Our service is flexible. Our motivation is not.

U s i n g c o m m u n i t y r e s o u r c e s

We have sought to work cooperatively with other agencies, governmental and private, and to utilize all available community resources.

Formation of the Advisory Committee for Evacuees on June 26, 1942, was one of the first steps in this direction.

Realizing the necessarily temporary character of our work, we have felt the need of calling upon on-going community agencies to help in resettlement. We have served as a clearing house to channel requests into expert and qualified hands, recognizing limitations of our personnel and time.

We have enjoyed the friendly cooperation of the government in our efforts, and relations have been harmonious. We have worked with the government, though not for it. We have conceived our function as being that of encouraging the government to do the job and yet carrying on activities in those areas where the need is most pressing.

From limited beginnings, resettlement now has 38 full time staff persons in the Chicago area. These are employed by:

War Relocation Authority
Chicago Church Federation, with representatives of Baptist,
Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian boards.
Brethren Service Committee
Japanese American Citizens League,

Young Women's Christian Association,
as well as our staff of the
American Baptist Home Mission Society and the
American Friends Service Committee

The community resources at the disposal of these staff persons, however, are more extensive; and to them we have turned without hesitation in helping resettlers regain confidence and to find their normal place in a new community. Among the on-going agencies which have been most cooperative are the following:

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Council of Social Agencies | American Hospital Ass'n | Institute of Psycho-Analysis |
| Chicago Board of Education | Chicago Teachers' Union | Children's Scholarship League |
| Chicago Park Commission | Chicago Dental Society | Illinois Association for |
| United Charities, including its Legal Aid Bureau | Catholic Charities | the Crippled |
| Fellowship of Reconciliation | University of Chicago | Traveler's Aid |
| Chicago Y.W.C.A., Room | Placement Bureau | United States Employment |
| Registry Service | Chicago Y.M.C.A. | Service |
| | Illinois State Division of Rehabilitation, | |

as well as numerous Settlement Houses and various departments of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.

R e l a t i o n s w i t h t h e p r e s s

We have avoided newspaper publicity to the extent of never seeking it. Inquiries directed to us, however, have been promptly acknowledged and answered; the press has been friendly, a real factor in community relations.

We have been approached by representatives of the Daily News, Chicago Sun, Times, Tribune, all of which have editorially approved resettlement. The Hearst Herald-American, though unfavorable to the general resettlement program, has given favorable publicity to the hostel.

E n c o u r a g i n g e v a c u e e i n i t i a t i v e

It is our wish and hope to help resettlers regain their belief in themselves as self-respecting, self-supporting people.

One ^{so} surprising, capable young man who relocated last Spring expressed his gratitude for assistance on our part by finding jobs and housing for over a dozen of his friends. This example has been followed by a number of others.

Further, a large number of resettlers have displayed their initiative by finding their own first jobs; and well over half of them have located their own housing.

Most figures place the number of resettlers now in Chicago at approximately 3,300.

To encourage those with whom we come into contact to help resettle others is a challenge to our sense of balance. We feel this should be done without fostering undue race consciousness.

I n t h e f i e l d o f c o u n s e l l i n g

In the last three months, emphasis of our work at the office has been in meeting counselling needs.

K i n d s o f p r o b l e m s f a c i n g u s d i f f e r w i t h e a c h d a y.

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For instance: A Japanese American Service man with honorable discharge from the Army, was referred to us by the American Red Cross; he had held four jobs in the past few months and is trying desperately to make a normal readjustment to civilian life. Here is a glimpse of the future, catching up with the present, in a problem that will be common; from our experiences of the present may come lessons of value for the tomorrow that all of us must face.

There are many others too, such as: a 69-year-old, bewildered, white-haired Japanese, restless from two weeks of unsuccessful job-hunting; he was encouraged and placed. There was the 18-year-old girl domestic who had an unpleasant 'run-in' with her employer; a series of interviews resulted in placing her in an office job for which she had really been trained. An elderly woman, a month out of relocation camp, whose 76-year-old husband lay seriously ill, and she, unable after five tries, to get a doctor; a physician was located who made the house call. An unsettled 21-year-old young man, who has held three jobs in four months, until it was discovered his driving desire was to get back into school; he had funds; he was admitted this week to a university engineering school.

We are aware of the challenge to each of us to help eliminate the hate, the fear, and the bitterness which unfortunately have grown out of the evacuation and life in the centers.

The time, the patience, and the persistence to see each individual through are increasingly important in successful counselling with resettlers.

T h e r e s e t t l e m e n t h o s t e l s

As the first experiment in the hostel plan for resettlement, our hospitality center at 350 West Belden early confirmed the belief in the importance of a friendly welcome to a large, strange city. The Brethren Service Committee hostel, opened shortly after the Friends', recently moved to larger quarters. Since the Brethren were able to accommodate all seeking hostel accommodations, we closed our hostel Nov. 30.

Six hostels now open in the Midwest are at Chicago (Brethren), Des Moines (Friends), Minneapolis (Lutheran), Detroit (Church Federation), Cleveland (Baptist), and Cincinnati (Friends).

At the first of the year, an invitation to the hostel was one of the only two channels for release from a center, the other being a definite job offer. This is no longer true. Releases have been expedited by the government. However, as larger families are being urged to resettle, the hostels continue to meet a very real problem of temporary housing, as well as the equally important function of serving to bridge the gap between relocation camp life and the fast-moving life of the new community.

I n s t u d e n t r e l o c a t i o n

We are finding the need for more careful attention to secondary school pupils who generally have greater difficulty in adjusting to resettlement than their more mature friends. Some of these have required intensive work and concern, beyond the normal needs of educational guidance.

Catalogues are on file from some 50 colleges and universities. Assistance to about 25 students in obtaining part-time employment has been given. Opening of half a dozen hospital nurses' training schools to resettled young women

is a recent encouraging development; we look and work for more of the barriers to be removed.

I n t h e a r e a o f h o u s i n g

Resettlers now live in some 43 of Chicago's residential community areas, and in smaller numbers, in most suburbs. Larger numbers are in Hyde Park, Lincoln Park, Uptown, Near Northside, and Garfield Park; these are areas where new people who are single or in couples often settle upon entering the city.

Most resettlers seem to desire to improve their housing and move whenever better quarters within financial reach are available.

Efforts have been directed to gently urge people from the more undesirable sections, such as near Northside, into more pleasing and less depressed sections, even though obtaining openings in the latter is more difficult.

It is clear that there has been discrimination in housing for resettlers, but we have been able to see some of it broken down, particularly among private owners. Housing remains as acute in Chicago as in any large city in these times, especially for newcomers.

T h i s p r o b l e m o f r a c e d i s c r i m i n a t i o n

An obstacle which must be met almost daily, possibly in a new employer, a new landlord, in schools or even in obtaining medical service, and in countless other contacts, is the misunderstanding which results in what appear to be discriminatory practices.

Our attitude and approach to this problem have crystallized into something of a policy. We leave it to others to utilize publicity and organized pressures. Ours has been fundamentally an indirect approach, on the person-to-person level, attempting to resolve the issues by creating, wherever possible, new approaches and opportunities.

We have found that correct information presented in a firm and quiet way has been most effective in creating better understanding.

Thus, late in summer, when a resettled family encountered some difficulty in arranging hospital facilities, the full time of a staff worker was devoted to the matter. Result: an extensive listing of over 60 doctors and dentists on hospital staffs who are available to resettlers.

T h e e m e r g e n c y l o a n f u n d

Donated by interested persons to aid resettlers in small financial emergencies, a loan fund of \$115 has been used over and over to the extent of \$990 and continues to be available.

S o c i a l a n d r e c r e a t i o n a l n e e d s

We recognize that satisfying recreational and social needs is difficult for any newcomers into a wartime community. Especially is this

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true for the young resettlers who are Japanese Americans who find so few other people of their age group active in community life. We have encouraged small, non-segregated social gatherings as a rule. The Churches, settlement houses, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have been quick to take the initiative and to respond to these needs.

In the employment field

Young women occupy as wide a variety of jobs and positions as men among resettlers. The list seems almost endless. Taken at random from only one section of our files are the following:

| M E N | | W O M E N | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| auto mechanics | chemists | dressmakers | candy packers |
| radio technicians | suit cleaners | stenographers | children's workers |
| radio repair men | lab. technicians | typists | store clerks |
| bookkeepers | bartenders | secretaries | office clerks |
| cashiers | hosp. orderlies | receptionists | dietitians |
| billing clerks | photo retouchers | nurses & aides | cosmetologists |
| plant maintenance | electricians | medical assistants | dress shop salesladies |
| mechanics | floral designers | photo printers | bookstore salesladies |
| commercial artists | spot welders | book illustrators | bakers |
| photo developers | photo printers | bookkeepers | advertising artist |
| accountants | dental technician | cashiers | lab. technicians |
| proofreaders | diamond setters | medical social | beauty shop technicians |
| printing pressmen | retail produce | workers | pearl order filler |
| compositors | manager | accountants | candy dippers |
| offset printers | retail clerks | compt. operators | radio tube inspectors |
| mech. draftsmen | pharmacists | optometrist | food packers |
| machinists | photographers | mail clerks | payroll clerks |
| statuary plasterer | auditors | fountain girls | bindery inspectors |
| and sprayers | fish cutters | ceramics molder | chemists |
| carpenters (skilled) | bus boys | hotel maids | salad girls |
| carpenters (unsk.) | garage workers | language teachers | machine operators |
| chinese mander | language teachers | ceramics painters | waitresses |

.... This does not include a large number of both men and women who have relocated on domestic job offers; many have since found other employment more suitable to their training and experience. By and large, the employment record of resettlers is good. Many are in positions of responsibility. Many, for the first time, are in fields for which they trained themselves but were denied an opportunity on the west coast.

Resistance to employing persons of Japanese ancestry still exists in a number of untapped fields; job-hunting is not without its difficulties and unpleasant experiences for the newcomer who is an evacuee.

Looking to the future

In a sense, we have regarded resettlement as an opportunity to set long range community patterns. On the basis of the past year's experience, we are confident and hopeful that resettlement will prove to be an opportunity to eliminate some of the inequalities and injustices inherent in the segregation of an American minority. We feel that a religious approach to this problem has a practical contribution to make, both now and in the months ahead.

- CHICAGO RESETTLEMENT STAFF
- | | | | |
|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Joseph Brown | *Bob & Gerry Fort | *Edwin Morgenroth | *Martha Sipos |
| *Ruth Coppock | *Walter Godfrey | *Suzanna Reeser | *Togo Tanaka |
| *Auriel Ferguson | *William McKee | Mary Sonoda | *Ruth Urice |
- *-denotes person on staff at present

February 2, 1944

Dear Togo:

Apologies for being so late in answering your letter. I am sending you, under separate cover, a book that W.I. and I wrote together, and we have both autographed it. So that can be added to your Thomasiana. I have just heard from Tom that you have turned in a magnificent report, and I am certainly waiting anxiously to get it. Regarding your question as to whether there is any place for documentation of the experiences of Nisei soldiers. The answer is emphatically "yes." I hope that you are also keeping a running account of attitudes toward the draft. It may well be that we will have to shift a large part of our emphasis from re-settlement to army experiences if a large number of Nisei are drafted. This will be particularly true, of course, if the people on our own study have to go into the army. There is no reason for the study to stop, even if you go into the army, although it will certainly cause a personnel crisis from the standpoint of the study.

Morton has been classified 1-A, and we have put in an appeal but don't know what success we will have. I shall be in a position to appeal similarly for the full-time office workers in the Chicago office, but I feel that I should explain to you that I won't have any chance whatsoever to ask for a deferment for part-time workers and this, unfortunately, includes you. I certainly hope that you won't be drafted too soon, both for the sake of your family and for the sake of the study. But, unfortunately, there is nothing in the world that I can do about it, due to your part-time status.

Give my best to Jean and Jeannine, and W.I. also sends regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

5831 S. Blackstone ave.
Chicago 37, Illinois

February 12, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you and W.I. from the bottom of my heart for the book. It arrived yesterday after a brief period of considerable anticipation on our part.

I hope you and W.I. are in good health. Both Jean and Jeannine went under in the recent flu epidemic, and I was certainly one busy guy. They are completely recovered, and I have resumed trying to teach Jeannine she must not pour ink on my shirt or climb my neck when I am typing. When I realize what tests to which my efforts at concentration are being placed, I feel confident that we will somehow survive anything life may toss our way.

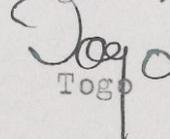
Tom is very generous in describing that report on organization activity in Chicago resettlement; it is really on the crude and hastily written side, as is most of my present output for the Study. In the next few days I hope to have typed out a summary report dealing with the maladjustments and problems of Chicago resettlers based on our counselling interviews of the last ten months.

Hello to Morton. I certainly hope that the appeal for his reclassification, is successful. Have also got my fingers crossed, with an occasional prayer, for Frank.

Thanks ever so much for even thinking about it, but neither Jean nor I have been counting on any deferment. Won't I make one hell of a soldier, though? Who knows, however, I may surprise even myself. I have not volunteered or given much real thought to it yet. I think we have decided more or less to sit it out until the draft; there really is so much still to do where one can feel he is even a little useful.

We have been holding forth at weekly seminars on counselling and interviewing at the Friends office; I am quoting from the book by the Thomases, inasmuch as our current discussions are on the maladjustment problems of pre-school and pre-adolescent children. I've been reading Alfred Cohn & Joe Chisholm's "Take the Witness," a biography of the late Earl Rogers, Los Angeles criminal lawyer; ~~whose protege is~~ Jerry Geisler is one of Rogers' many proteges. It's nice to get away from Los Angeles and re-discover it this way. I'm having more fun reading Clarence Darrow's "Men & Insects: Instinct & Reason" too. Will be sending some stuff along shortly.

Regards,


Togo

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Feb. 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

One day earlier this month, I sat down to type a memo to Dr. John Thomas of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. It dealt with some of our conselling "problem children". That memo grew like Topsy. I've just finished typing it after deciding to send it to you for the Study. A condensed report, the originally intended memorandum, is based on it. I hope you won't mind; and please don't think I've let the pre-evacuation stuff collect much dust. It's coming, slowly perhaps, but certainly. This current data, especially the tidbit individual reports appended, can be continued right along if they have some value to the Study.

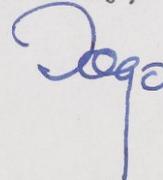
I've been sadly negligent about keeping in touch with the staff at the University; first, we've recently not had much occasion for staff meetings; on one or two occasions when Frank called at the office, I was out. Domestic duties have required my attention lately. We are going to be blessed with another addition to the family in October; of course, we're both hoping I'll be around then, but who can tell in these days of sudden l-A's.

Thanks ever so much for the book. I am using it for my outside reading for our weekly seminars. It is a really treasured addition to our little library.

Hope this finds both you and W.I. in good health; how's your golf? It's seems almost preposterous to even think about golf in Chicago at this time of the year. How is Morton? Will you give our best regards to him and Ruth and little Mike.

At your convenience, I'd appreciate hearing from you on the enclosed stuff. With kindest regards,

Sincerely,



March 8, 1944

Dear Togo,

We received your letter describing the sad little anti-Semitic incident. We sympathize with your feeling. The technique of changing such strong, almost "instinctive", reactions has yet to be developed. By the way, I showed your letter to a friend of mine who would like to make a copy, omitting identification. Any objections?

I have also read your report on Adjustment and your report on Agencies. I have raised a few questions, which I will send later. Both reports are extremely useful, and very well done. Just one question now: Do the cases appended to Adjustment represent the entire "case load" for January 3-25, or are they selected in any way? Have summaries for other periods been prepared? If so, I think some analysis of trends could well be made.

Rosalie Hankey has been to Tule Lake and is going again next week. She is getting the goods allright, even though she has to be accompanied by an internal security man every time she visits an evacuee (she gives him mystery stories and he obligingly sits outside in an automobile). Apparently the evacuees are willing to give us the real low-down, whereas they refuse to open their mouths to anyone connected with WRA. Among her "contacts" is your friend Kurihara. This ofcourse is confidential. I think she will get a first rate report on the situation, and apparently we will be able to make periodic follow-ups, i.e., she will plan to go there about once every month or so.

More later--with some comments. Best to Jean and Jeannine, also from WI.

Yours,

March 30, 1944

Dear Togo:

I have gone over once more very carefully the two manuscripts that you sent me. I have very little to say in the way of criticism. They represent extremely good reporting, and good reporting is what we need most of all on the study at this stage. Also, I find most of your interpretations seem reasonable, although you will doubtless modify some of them after more time has passed. That is, some of these things when seen from the longer perspective may get a different weighting than they do from the short-term point of view. On your adjustment manuscript, I have the following minor comments to make.

Pages 28 and following: Extensive analysis of attitudes of enlisted men, which you proposed to do once, would be worth developing into a separate chapter or report.

Pages 39 and following: This represents exactly the sort of thing I want developed in considerable detail, both descriptively and statistically, on the analysis of residential groups that will be made in Chicago. I wish you would talk this over with Tom some day at your convenience, for, as you know, he is planning to make a group analysis.

Pages 54-55: I doubt whether maladjustment can so definitely be traced to the early life of the individual. I suspect most Nisei did not meet much discrimination until after they left school. I suspect further that the crisis of evacuation has been the precipitating cause of most of the serious maladjustments. Also, I incline strongly to the view that changes in the situation surrounding the individual are more effective in the long run in the treatment of maladjustments than is psychoanalysis or the use of other psychiatric forms of treatment. This does not mean that there are not pronounced neurotics among the Nisei, but I would work on the hypothesis that most of their neurotic manifestations are caused by the situation in which they have found themselves recently.

Further analysis of Issei resettlement would be very important. I would like to know to what extent they are coming out of the camps on their own initiative, or to what extent the whole thing is a matter of their children's insistence. Also, I hope that more emphasis will be put

on analyzing Nisei cases on the effort that they are making to resettle their families. In this connection, look at the brief notes that I made on the manuscript that the Chicago staff sent me.

This is all I have to say at the moment. I believe in an earlier letter I asked you whether those problem cases that you discussed at the end of the chapter represented all of the cases that have come in during a certain period, or whether you have made any sort of selection.

How is the pre-evacuation manuscript coming along? Morton has just about finished his first draft now, and I am sure you will be able to add a great deal of significant material that will fit in with our general plan.

Give my best regards to Jean and Jeannine, and let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Togo Tanaka
5831 S. Blackstone ave.
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley 4, California

April 12, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

This is in the nature of a report and a little long for a letter; my negligence in promptly replying to yours of March 8 and 30 is indefensible.

The barber shop incident has had some time to cool; I guess my letter was an outlet, and I couldn't think of anyone better to release the feelings of the moment than W.I. and you. I have no objections at all to your friend's using the letter.

The cases appended to the Adjustment report, Jan. 3-25, represent my own individual case load for that period; I am sending along all the cases since, as soon as they are typed out. They are not selected in any way; they have represented about one-third of our entire volume in this office; the others are not recorded in detail with the Study in mind. Do they serve any useful purpose, or should I discontinue them as not worth the time?

Rosalie Hankey must be having quite a time; her Tule stuff should be very interesting. I hope she finds friend Kurihara more relaxed than when I last saw him.

Herbert Nicholson of the Quakers visited us at our staff meeting on Monday; he has just been down at Camp Shelby and with the 442nd Infantry. He said: "I've had a wonderful time visiting with the boys down there, and they're all on edge; they expect to go overseas anytime now; the Hawaiian fellows seem to resent the mainlanders exploiting the performance of the 100th infantry in Italy to their own advantages. The JACL is not popular among the men at all." About Poston, he said: "Those fellows there are in an awful stew about the draft; they're real mad. One meeting I attended, Shigekawa of Terminal Island was there, and he raked the JACL and Mike Masaoka and Togo Tanaka and Fred Tayama and a bunch of the fellows up and down and blamed them for the draft and everything else. Trouble seemed to be brewing, but I talked them into being sensible."

Nicholson, who gets around and overflows with love and goodness, has, on occasion, to be taken with a moderate grain of salt. However, he's pumped full of reports.

I've made notation of your comment on the Adjustment re-

(2)

port and will attempt a better analysis of attitudes of enlisted men.

Tom and I have to get together again on the residential and other groupings. The other night I rode home on the I.C. with a Dr. George Hiura, formerly of Central Calif., a dentist with home, office, and practise back in Sevastopol. Last year shortly after he arrived, he said he would just sit it out in Chicago until the west coast opened, then he would go back. Now, nearly a year later, his outlook is different. He has just sent for his dental equipment, has purchased a home in Chicago, is debating whether he will open an office in the Loop or on 63rd street. He plans for a Japanese practise, judging from his conversation. He was active in the J.A.C.L.

Your comments on Pages 54-55 in the Adjustment report have been exceedingly helpful. I took the liberty of quoting them at both our own staff meeting and the joint agency sessions in our discussions of counselling problems.

The pre-evacuation stuff is coming along, though I continually run into snags of confusion. I sometimes don't really know what ought to be thrown in and what ought to be left out, so I wind up by including everything. I often wish Morton were out here for a few weeks; he'd straighten me out quickly enough. The volume of actual writing is terribly unimpressive. When Morton's first draft is completed, I wonder if I could impose on him for a rough outline of the highlights. This might give me some clearer picture of what should be included.

We have a memo today from the Philadelphia office of the Friends, confidential, reporting on gov't attitudes and activities relative to the lifting of the exclusion ban on the west coast.

George Rundquist of the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, according to the memo, has had recent conversations with: (1) Dillon Myer (2) Secretary Harold L. Ickes (3) Colonel H. A. Gerhardt, assistant to Assistant Sec'y of War John C. McCloy. Homer Morris and Clarence Pickett of the Friends have also recently met with Dillon Myer.

Dillon Myer has made the following recommendations to Secretary Ickes: (1) All relocation centers be closed by June 30, 1945 (2) Residents of Tule Lake be screened again through additional investigation and those determined to be disloyal to the U.S. should be turned over to the Department of Justice. (3) Evacuees be permitted to return to the Pacific Coast and this movement should start at once with selected groups, soldiers in uniform and their families, parents of soldiers, mixed families. (4) The budget of WRA for 1945-46 be reduced from \$40,000,000 to \$1,000,000. (5) Those who are indigent and without financial resources

(3)

should be placed under provisions of Social Security so they can be cared for without institutional provision. An item should be set up in the WRA budget in order to make this possible.

In justifying this policy, Mr. Myer states that the whole evacuation from the west coast was on the legal basis of military necessity. The changing military situation has now altered these conditions. On the basis of statements made by the Army, this military necessity no longer exists. In June, 1942, Admiral Nimitz stated that "since the battle of Midway in June, 1942, there has been no serious threat from the Japanese to the Pacific Coast or America's Pacific possessions. Both the Army and Navy have assured the Nation that "the Japanese enemy is not coming to our shores." Since November, 1943, the Westcoast has ceased to be classed as a theater of military operations and is now only "a defense commande the same as other areas of the United States." Mr. Myer is vigorously pushing for adoption of the return-to-west-coast policy; and Sec'y Ackes is reported to be inclined to approve.

"Col. Gerhardt stated to George Rundquist that there is now ~~1~~ no legal reason why the evacuees should not be permitted to return to the Coast."--from the memo.

The Brethren hostel in Chicago is closing this month-end. The Smeltzers are going to Brooklyn where they will open another ~~one~~ one for the Brethren.

Will you give our best regards to W.I. Hope this ~~is~~ finds you both well and in best of health. Jeannie is getting bigger every day; ~~see~~ so is Jean, only differently. Nothing from the draft bd, so am wondering if they've forgotten about me. More later.

Sincerely,

Jojo

April 28, 1944

Dear Togo:

I have delayed answering your letter of April 12 until I knew where I stood in regard to certain important matters. Morton is well along on his pre-evacuation report, and it seems to me quite important that we should get together with you and discuss how you can proceed. Also, I want to see whether you would find it possible to write a section for us on the relations of the JACL with the WRA. This is a very marked gap in Morton's reports and must be filled in somehow. All this is leading up to the following question: Do you think you could get away for a couple of days to meet us in Salt Lake City? I am having a staff conference there dealing partly with the work of the people who are on the projects, and partly with this whole matter of pre-evacuation material. If possible, I should like to have you there for at least Saturday and Sunday, June 10 and 11. A day or two more either before or after this weekend would be desirable, but not essential if you are pressed for time. We would, of course, pay all your expenses. As far as I can figure from the time table, the best train would be the Los Angeles Limited, which runs a sleeping car direct from Chicago to Salt Lake City. This would mean that you would leave Chicago Thursday in order to arrive at Salt Lake City Saturday morning. Will you please give this your serious consideration, and let me know just as soon as possible whether or not you can come, as I want to make reservations for all of us at the Hotel Utah. Charlie is the only other person who would be coming from the Chicago group, and you could probably plan to travel together, unless Charlie wants to come earlier than you do.

The news that you give in your letter about Dillon Myer's plans is interesting. Unfortunately, I am hearing rumors of the plans from various sources, so I am afraid the general idea is no longer a deep dark secret.

Enclosed are tax exemption certificates which have to be filled out when you buy your tickets. Let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

May 2, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Please include me among the reservations you make for the staff at Hotel Utah. I shall make arrangements to leave Chicago Thursday, June 8, arriving in Salt Lake City on Saturday, June 9, to stay there through Sunday, June 10, and if necessary, a couple of days further, as you suggest.

I have not yet had a chance to see Charlie since receiving your letter but will get in touch with him to see if we are leaving together.

The pre-evacuation So. Calif. stuff still presents a big question mark to me, in the matter of organization. At present, I've accumulated about 200 pages typewritten reports; this is single spaced; and yet I've really not even begun to fill in the gaps. Hood of the L.A. FBI expressed some more stuff which we had in voluntary hock until recently; and it has some interesting data. You have the sketchy beginnings of the almost day-to-day reporting on this material which you took back with you last time you were here. The 200 pages I've got here will have to be inserted and added. By the time of the meeting, I am sure we'll be much nearer the end of this present job of sorting, copying, and recording. Do you wish me to forward what I've got done immediately and bring the rest June 10, or should we bring it all at once? I've got carbons of everything, hence have one set in chronological sequence; but I hate to think of someone having to work the originals in proper date-order.

It will be swell to see you and Morton and to meet the staff from the projects. I hope we'll get to see W.I.

Saw Carey McWilliams briefly before he left Chicago last week; he had delivered a lecture the night before under auspices of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee. He seemed to feel that the Evacuee Problem may be one of the minor political issues of at least one of the National Conventions.

Tom Bodine, who represents National Student Relocation, is visiting Tule Lake; a report including excerpts from his letters was recently circulated here. A copy of it might be of interest to check with some of the Study's more recent findings at Tule. I'll bring whatever reports and letters etc. coming out of the religious organizations which may be of some value. Jean sends her best to both you and W.I. With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Jojo

May 12, 1944

Dear Togo:

We have made reservations for you at the Hotel Utah. You will share a room with Morton, according to present plans. I am certainly looking forward eagerly to seeing your pre-evacuation material. On the whole, I think the best plan is for us to return the copy of your original manuscript that we have so that you can make the insertions and additions. This I am sending under separate cover. If you have time to get it to us before the meeting, that would be fine, otherwise just bring it along. Morton will send you, in a few days, a copy of what he has done so far on the pre-evacuation material, and his general outline of what he is planning to do.

I certainly look forward to seeing you and am delighted that you will be able to come. W.I. is coming too, so we will really have a good meeting.

Best to Jean and Jeannine.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

P.S. We have put through an advance for your travel in the amount of \$100.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

May 19, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

By something like the skin of a gnat's teeth, I barely got in under the 30-day-in-advance reservation on the train tickets; so I can now, with a huge sigh of relief, report to you that I have my tickets safely tucked in my wallet. Fortunately, Frank reminded me in time; I got what the agent said was the last reservation out of Chicago June 8 (June 6-7 already filled) on the Challenger (the standard L.A. Limited all filled). This means I will arrive in Salt Lake City at 11:15 a.m. instead of 9:00 a.m.; it was the very best I could do.

If this sounds a little rushed, it is because I am making some belated preparations for a week-end assignment up in Muskegon, Michigan, for the Baptist Home Mission Society and the Friends Service Committee.

I find writing the pre-evacuation stuff good for the soul. Looking back in this manner gives one an appreciation of the past, if only because it makes you glad it's behind you and not ahead of you.

If you wish to be saved the trouble of having the pre-evacuation stuff you have in Berkeley sent to me, perhaps I can insert that material with the addition at Salt Lake; or possibly it is already in the mails. At any rate, it hasn't arrived yet. If I can get in some of the crucial and more important dates typed out in advance, I'll forward the whole stuff before I get there. Otherwise, I'll bring it with me.

There is a remote possibility that I may get out to Southern California in July. This is still in the confidential stage, it seems; both Edwin Morgenroth, executive sec'y of the Midwest A.F.S.C. office, and David Henley, executive sec'y of the Pasadena A.F.S.C. office, have forwarded requests, along with mine, to the Western Defense Command. I've been requested to participate as a staff representative at the Service Committee summer seminar and institute at Whittier College. Am so glad I shall be able to see W.I. Whenever I go where the conversation turns to sociology, I've met more people who have been properly awed every time I tell'em we know W.I. personally, with which you will both have to be indulgent.

Jean and Jeannine are both at their best and send their love. We have wonderful times in our nice back yard these days.

*P.S. - Hello to Morton
and regards to Ruth & Mike.*

Sincerely,
Togo
Togo

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

May 23, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Received copy of your memorandum to conference participants (re: hotel reservations) and your letter, both of which are gems, almost at the same time today. When you are as mad as hell, even your handwriting expresses it.

The Calif. trip has not jelled yet. No word from the WDC as of today. And both David Henley and Edwin Morgenroth requested permits for my stay from July 10 through July 25, which would necessitate my return to Chicago. I appreciate the thought and certainly would have liked to spend a few days in Berkeley with W.I. and you. If plans change, which they probably will not, and I can still make the arrangements to go on from SLCity, I will airmail you in the next few days.

The pre-evacuation material, both Morton's Report No. 2 and my stuff, have arrived. Also the travel advance for \$100.

Weather out here is beautiful. We now just overlook the thunderstorms. We're having a real spring. This last weekend, I spent filling three scheduled engagements and an unexpected fourth in Muskegon, Michigan. It's quite a place, 2nd largest industrial area in the state, after Detroit.

After hearing the woe-begotten tale of our west coast refugees, a bunch of highschool kids donated a collection of twenty-five potatoes, coin of the realm, with which they sent me home. ^{for the A. M. Fr. Ser. Com.} The thing that got me, however, was the silly feeling that overcame me when they asked the freak visitor for his autograph. Now I find this impossible of graceful accomplishment, so I yanked out my little hip-pocket notebook and asked, in turn, for each of theirs.

There is only one evacuee family in Muskegon's 100,000-plus population: Nisei man, wife, and 5 yr old son. They're employed as domestics and not too happy. Resistance to resettlement has been unusually (it seems to me) strong in Muskegon; or perhaps initiative for it has been dormant up to now. I had the fortunate opportunity to visit at the homes of a dozen families, described to me as "typical" of different economic strata in Muskegon; reactions to their first person of Japanese descent were rather illuminating.

The meetings which I attended were predominantly made up of church representatives, though one, held at the Occidental hotel, had a sprinkling of service and civic organizations. Had a wonderful time, have invitation to spend a "vacation" up there next year if

we're still around then.

Certainly am glad Walt Godfrey got to see you. Just had a card from him saying he would drop in on you. We sure miss the guy out here.

Looking forward to seeing all of you at Salt Lake City's New Grand Hotel. By the way, does Utah have a civil rights law of some kind?

Sincerely,

Dojo Taveler

May 25, 1944

Dear Morton:

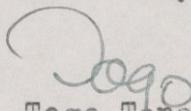
I've been reading and re-reading the first chapters of your Preliminary Report No. 2 and have been particularly struck by the wealth of data you have uncovered. I found it in the mail on the morning of my return from Muskegon; and although I'd been up practically all the night before and thought I was sleepy, it actually kept me up for three hours before I laid it down. Incidentally, V. S. McClatchy died in 1938. I have some correspondence with him shortly before he passed away; also some with Fisk, Kalßenbach which will be included in my pre-evacuation notes.

The organization of your outline will be helpful to me in sifting out some of the stuff in my notes. I'm sorry not to have forwarded all of my notes earlier. At any rate I'm certainly glad we'll have time to discuss them together at SLC. This letter is rather short on the chapter & outline because I've really not studied them closely, but I certainly shall have done so before the conference.

It was good to hear from you and to learn of Mike's progress. We have been thinking of nursery school for Jeannie and hope to have her in the one at the University by the end of the year. She is still 2 yrs 5 mos. The Morgenroths who live downstairs have adopted a youngster who is now a year old, and Jeannie has been making her adjustment; she and little Peter Anderson Morgenroth get along quite famously now; we have a sand box in the back yard. Most of the staff people have been having babies recently, and when we all get together, it is quite an assemblage, big enough for a nursery of our own.

Jean asks to be remembered to you and Ruth and sends her very best. With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely


Togo Tanaka

PPS. more later.
excuse the hasty
nature of this note.

Wednesday, June 14
1944

Dear Dorothy,

En route home. Spent most of today at J.A.C. - Kido, Tajiri & Okada. Kido asked again, seriously, if we could go to N.Y. & Wash for J.A.C. They're pretty hard up for personnel, apparently. Had to decline again, but asked, after explaining, within limits, nature of study, if they would open all their files to us. The joint Kido-Tajiri-Okada reply: "Sure, so long as we know it's friendly; besides, Togo, you're involved, so you gotta be friendly." (facetiously intended, I gather). At any rate, the door ~~is~~^{is} open. I looked into their "files" in their office. Incredibly disorganized, a jumbled mass of confused and

disordered papers. But there is a
wealth of material - back to 1930 and
some even before. They would not be
prowled upon to let me take a
trunkful of the stuff back to Chicago,
but insisted I do it all in their
office. If I had 3 weeks time, full
time, I think we could get it all -
that is, what they've got. How
important do you regard this?
Personally, I am completely
intrigued by what I was able
to peep into today. Don't know
how I can get the time from papers
& friends, but I do get a 3-week
vacation sometime - anytime
soon & would be glad to do this
then - after I talk to Jean - & if
you feel it necessary.

First thing I'm going to send
on (within a few months I hope)
will be the New Spain analysis
& Organization activity, I am

(2)

returning home with a tremendous, improved picture of the study - what I may be able to contribute to it. Thank you ever so much for including me in on this conference.

While I am utterly & thoroughly exhausted physically, there is something of a renewed and stimulated urge to get on with the writing. I must confess it almost makes me want to get away from the Friends office until it is completed.

Now, after I get home, in meantime, will you please write a formal request to Kids JACL Reason Bldg Salt Lake City asking JACL to make files avail -

able to representative of Study
if you decide this is necessary?
They insist on this.

But regards to W.2. It's
hard to say how much I enjoyed
the meeting & what a real
privilege & regard being able
to sit in on any meeting
blessed with his presence! It's
an educational high light for
me.

Regards

Togo W.

Togo W.

MEMORANDUM

TO: John W. Thomas
FROM: Togo Tanaka
DATE: June 16, 1944
SUBJECT: Interviews at Central Utah Center (Topaz)

Dear John Thomas:

My first visit to a relocation center in 17 months was an eye-opener in many ways. I visited Topaz on Tuesday, June 13, expecting to find the oppressive atmosphere we left behind at Manzanar in December, 1942. I did not find quite what I expected.

This may or may not jibe with other recent observations reaching you. But I was impressed by the singular fact that there are Issei at Topaz who are apparently better adjusted and seemingly happier than many Issei in Chicago whom we have been attempting to counsel these past months.

For the first time in my association with resettlement, I think I now understand what a number of Chicago Issei and some Nisei have described as "homesickness" and a "longing" for the camp. Some of my counselling boners--as my efforts have related to the older people in Chicago--have been, I now see, quite classic. Apparently one errs in naively assuming that relocating evacuees leave camp primarily because they "want to be on their own" or "make their own living."

Leading incentives for coming out of camp as far as the older (Issei) evacuees are concerned, it seems to me, have been a combination of (1) desire for financial improvement and (2) reunion with or concern over younger family members.

At the same time, however, there are actually older couples at Topaz who are culturally Japanese, for whom continued residence in the center is emancipation from a number of burdening responsibilities faced on the outside. These older people, aware of the obstacles of language and frequently blocked (in thinking about relocation) by fear of prejudice and discrimination on the outside, say they feel more secure where they are. They say they want, above other things, for the government to leave them where they are; apparently one of their largest anxieties springs from the unsettling fear that W.R.A. will compel them to get out. They say they are fairly stable and organized in their living now. Relocation, especially when pressured, is a form of disorganization. Most of them expect eventually to get out. But each individual wants to pick his own time and place, without any official prompting.

Heretofore I have wholeheartedly believed that "anything on the outside is better than the inside, so let's hurry and get everybody out--by all means." I still believe that all Nisei, generally, should be urged to come out. But there

(2)

is this residual group in the center about which religiously-motivated workers on the relocation end have had, perhaps, relatively little awareness. I write this because it has been the case with me in Chicago.

This residual group will probably be the last to be relocated, if at all. It is composed primarily of older Issei, beyond 55, in their sixties and seventies, whose in-group security is enhanced by the immediate presence of other Japanese-speaking persons.

For instance, Mr. S--- of block 36 was glad to learn Chicago had welcomed so many resettlers; he listened politely, then asked: "Do you ever have any experiences of discrimination?" I told him, by and large, our experiences had been favorable and acceptance good, but occasionally, we did encounter some discrimination. His reply: "We don't have ANY experiences here to spoil our day." (of discrimination)

I have no idea how many persons fall into this group which I have roughly and perhaps inadequately described; one would think the number is considerable. For the most part, these people are, almost without exception, occupied with some daily activity of a constructive nature. They make things with their hands--paper flowers, novelties out of stone and shell; they weave beautiful baskets, turn out really exquisite cabinet work, paint pictures. Their pace of living is relatively slow and congenial. Their housing and living facilities, while meager and at a minimum in their own estimation, are found to be liveable; and these people have made their adjustment to these conditions quite gracefully.

Because they are the oldest members of the camp community, because they are the most stable in their outlook on life generally and apparently best adjusted, this group constitutes the really influential leadership of thinking in the center. Most of these old people have sons and daughters on the outside and have successfully resisted the latter's efforts to bring them out. Many have sons in the Army, a number overseas. You do not usually find these people in the Community Council or in the forefront of activity.

Due to language barriers as well as the unwritten practise against "fraternization", these older people by and large seldom come into direct contact with the project (Caucasian) administrative personnel. These people speak primarily in Japanese. They are perhaps the least American-culturally-integrated individuals in the center and respond quickly to sentimental attachments to Japan; yet they identify their present and future with their children whom they recognize as

(3)

American.

How to effectively reach these people from the outside poses a problem. They are hungry for news from their young ones and relatives. To listen to them, one would gather that Nisei relocatees, by and large, fail them in correspondence. Language, of course, remains a real handicap (due to the fact Nisei usually cannot write Japanese, and so many Issei cannot read English). But it seems to me that relocation counsellors might make an effort especially to encourage the flow of correspondence to their relatives in the center, with emphasis on happy experiences.

The unfavorable aspects of living in Chicago or anywhere else 'on the outside' seem to get undue circulation anyhow.

In trying to describe some conditions at Topaz today, I realize my basis of comparison is poor, since my previous first hand knowledge is limited to Manzanar, and that during a period acknowledged now to have been abnormal.

But it seems to me that, unless widespread group resettlement and segregated communities on the outside can be successfully pushed, resettlement workers on the outside might well recognize the claims of this residual group that, by and large, conditions on the 'outside' are not yet favorable for what they term "our enforced relocation." For the moment, they want to stay put.

How to get at the young people still in Topaz (and I presume at the other centers) is a challenge not only at the project level, but also at the Chicago and New York level as well. To reach them, we cannot ignore the importance of the residual group of old people who themselves are least inclined to come out. I was surprised at the number of young men and women still in the center. This was due largely, of course, to my preconceived notion that the Topaz population was made up of the very young and very old. The trend may be in that direction, but it is not so as yet.

There seems to exist a spirit of expectancy and hopefulness among some of these younger people; this was something I never sensed at all at Manzanar in 1942. The Topaz Project Reports Officer Bankson confirmed this feeling with his observation:

"We lose our workers all the time; our administrative evacuee turnover is rapid. It isn't at all unusual to see a young man or woman studying folders and maps about Chicago or Milwaukee during lunch hour."

(4)

The facts and figures show that the young people are relocating. I'm sorry my limited time did not permit me to visit the relocation office at Topaz, but I deliberately chose to get into the more remote sections and among the admittedly "hard-to-relocate" camp residents.

U n r e s t: There are some emotional undercurrents one still feels. On block 36, for instance, I learned there had been an informal Issei meeting the night before to discuss an appeal for financial support made by the Japanese American Citizens League from Salt Lake City. It surprised me a little to discover there is some recognition of the "group protective" work of the J.A.C.L., particularly in the test cases before the courts. But, by and large, that organization continues to be a scapegoat, and resistance to its appeals for financial support is still extremely strong, despite departure of Tule-bound evacuees.

I've a feeling that thinking older leadership at Topaz takes the attitude now that support of JACL, like a man's religion, ought to be a private individual affair, and there ought not to be any pronounced community activity, either on behalf of, or against, that organization.

I am at a loss as to how to measure the extent of distrust of, and antipathy toward, "white" people. But, recalling my documentation activities at Manzanar and subsequent reports from project sources since then, my impression was that this kind of race feeling was much less at Topaz in June, 1944, than I had found at Manzanar in December, 1942. Though rumors are still very much characteristic of camp life, there seemed to me to be much more balance and sanity in attitudes reflected by them.

My one-day visit there was altogether too brief for any sort of valid observation; to me, the greatest surprise was discovery of how far askew my concept of the relocation center had wandered in 17 months. Altogether, I was, to my surprise, reassured, even uplifted, by some of the things I found, in contrast to my expectations.

The effectiveness of our counselling efforts, of our activities in securing outside community acceptance, and our whole resettlement program can only be strengthened, it seems to me, by a gaining of a more realistic understanding and perspective of the inside by those on the outside.

June 19, 1944

Dear Togo:

I received your letter of June 14, and I am much interested in the possibility of getting access to the Salt Lake City files. At the moment, I am in the throes of planning the budget for next year and, as I believe I indicated to you, we are in rather a tight spot. I am not ready to make a definite proposal to you, but want to put out a feeler in regard to what you could do for the Study in a way that would be most profitable both for you and for us. If I could arrange to release funds in an amount sufficient to cover your salary for two months fulltime and, during this period, cover your traveling and living expenses in Salt Lake City for two weeks, do you think it would be possible for you to obtain leave of absence from the Baptists? You could thus devote your full time to writing and organizing data for us on both the organization and vernacular press. This should not be entered into hastily, as we would want to know pretty clearly just what we expected to get out of the records so there would not be a loss of effort. It would mean, incidentally, that your connection with the Study would, for financial reasons, have to be terminated at the end of this two-month period.

If I could manage it, would you be willing to work on this basis? You might think this matter over and raise the question with John Thomas or whoever is in charge, with the understanding that at the moment I still haven't manipulated my budget sufficiently to make the funds completely available, but with the further understanding that I can probably do so if the job seems worthwhile both to you and to us.

I certainly enjoyed the conference, and thank you for your participation. Give my very best to Jean and Jeannine.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 20, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Returned home last Friday, then caught cold & went abed to rest, just got up this p.m. feeling good & ready for work. Jean & Jeannine both send their very best to you both, and the little one certainly did change in one week.

Am outlining my writing schedule, having, I think, a fair idea of the shape it should take after the Salt Lake meeting. You can reasonably expect:

- (1) Report on Organizations & Activities
Pre-war L.A. County by July 31.
- (2) Report on Vernacular Newspapers
by Aug. 30

and a good running start on the History of the JACL as well as filling in the gaps on the pre-evacuation notes on which I will continue to work.

I appreciate deeply your patience in not pushing, but it seems to me that I can work better when pressing against some kind of a deadline, and I want to be committed to the above.

Have enclosed copy of a memo to John W. Thomas summarizing that brief stopover in Topaz.

Am going back to the office tomorrow, for the first time in two weeks (having been asleep most of the past four days), then tomorrow night take the train to Alton, Illinois for a one-day stand at a Baptist denominational college. After that, we're going to be close to the home base and should get some work done on the Study.

Also attached is a statement of expenses. In making it out, I was puzzled about street car & taxi fare & included same; if they are not to be included, you will have to strike them out for me. The railroad receipt shows \$95.70 paid; from this \$6.65 should be deducted for round trip fare, Salt Lake City & Delta, a Baptist item which I did not use, thanks to Otis Peterson. However, I am informed there is no refund on same. The round trip, Chicago-Salt Lake, is \$73.95 (Standard) with pullman \$.6.05 going & \$9.05 returning, a total of \$89.05. The other items are self-explanatory. The receipts are enclosed. Hello to Morton and regards to W.I.

Sincerely,

Jsgo
Togo

*P.S. - on train, was
5 hrs. to Chicago*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 25, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your letter of June 19; mine of the next day crossed it in transit apparently. The suggestion you made in it, subject to conditions you also mentioned, was exactly the kind of arrangement I would have hoped for--before I got home. Three things, in the order of bulk, seem to stand in the way: (1) My being away from home for any period of time now is going to make it especially hard on the family, Jean's contours now being something to behold, if she will forgive me (2) The Friends' office schedule indicates that McKee is due for a month's vacation in either July or August, and both of us cannot be away at the same time (3) John Thomas is coming into Chicago in the next few days, and I am going to discuss it with him anyway, but any arrangement made with him is also subject to approval by Edwin C. Morgenroth of the Friends.

Therefore, don't you think that I first complete the things already at hand & forward same as I've outlined in my letter of 6/20/44, meantime keeping my lines & contacts with Kido-Tajiri-Okada in SLCity open so that the JACL data will be available to any member of the Study? I have been spending this week-end on the first draft of the Organization Activities Pre-War report, and it is surprising how much ground one can cover once he sets his mind to it.

I have been reduced, however, to the low mean device of bribing little Jeannie to keep away from me as I work. It goes like this: she climbs on my typewriter; I put her out of the room, shut the door; she opens it and repeats performance; I yell for momma; peace for 10 minutes; then Jeannie is perched on the keyboard again. So I say: "If you will leave me alone for one hour, I will give you some nice grape juice." She looks at me skeptically, then says: "Grape juice? Okey doak." It works beautifully. But I have learned to scrupulously keep my promise.

Ralph Smeltzer's address: 168 Clinton Street, Brooklyn 2, New York. In your letter to him, you might mention the fact he has promised to make his scrapbook on the Brooklyn hostel available to the Study in conversations with me at Chicago.

Have enclosed a clipping from the Chicago Sun, Samuel Grafton's column with some interesting observations on Myrdal's "The American Dilemma." Thought you and W.I. would be interested if you haven't already seen it.

Ran across a memo on my desk day before yesterday reporting of a Nisei serviceman's wife who has received permission for permanent residence in California; she is also a Nisei; apparently the return is already under way without any public fanfare.

On my return trip from Alton, Illinois, last Thursday where I participated in a Shurtleff college meeting, I drew as my travelling companion a big red-nosed veteran of World War I who handed me this bit of anti-semitism: "You know what I told three Russian kikes what they ought to do with Hitler? They ought to bring him over here and make him immigration commissioner?" He let out with some repulsive snorts that were intended to be laughter. Boy I sure do run into some interesting

characters on the trains. Jean and Jeannie send their regards to you and W.I. I hope to produce something on Organization Activity worth while & will get same to you before July 31, or earlier. In meantime, if you have any other instructions, please let me know. With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jojo

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

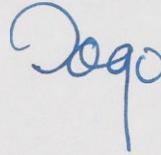
EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 1, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Enclosed is a copy of a report sent us by Walt Godfrey which may be of some interest; also the latest resettlement report from the Midwest AFSC office for the files.

Sincerely,



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

July 18, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Your last letter has been misplaced temporarily, and I am relying upon a rather poor memory in writing this note. For 10 days after the Fourth of July, I did absolutely nothing; it seems I'd been physically as run down as one can get without being sick, so it was suggested I take a complete rest. Just eating, sleeping, taking Jeannie to the park, aquarium, museum; lying in the sun and doing nothing at all have been restful, and I've gained back some lost weight. I feel wonderful now. Four days ago I began the actual writing on the Organization stuff, and it's coming along well.

I've worked out an outline roughly dividing the material into five chapters, covering the period of two years preceding Dec. 7, 1941, in the first four chapters, and the war-to-evacuation events in the fifth. Chapter I is devoted to the structure of economic life as the basis of organization activity, with some detailed reference to the major importance of agriculture and related interests, the floricultural and fishing groups, the L.A. County trade and business interests and their various organizations.

Chapter II attempts to cover the chief community mediums of political expression; and an account of the Central Japanese Association of America, Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, Southern California Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Japanese American Citizens League start it off. The competitive nature of their relationship, their rivalry for community financial and moral backing, their points of cooperative contact; the changing character of Issei-Nisei relationships through 1940-41, relationships with the Japanese consular office come in for some attention.

Chapter III is primarily coverage of Organization Activity in the social life of the community. It begins with Kenjin Kai (prefectural societies), of which there were some 47 in Los Angeles County at outbreak of war, traces the growth and development of the Junior Kenjin groups in the ten years preceding Pearl Harbor, attempts to analyze their functions and activities. Data on the Gakuen (Japanese language school) organizations, the Issei hobby groups is also included. I am a bit puzzled as to how to handle the Nisei social organizations here, of which there are several hundred. I am tempted to discuss them in terms of those that without doubt are "American" in character and those that are more "Japanese" but feel this kind of analysis may be misleading. For instance, the Japanese Athletic Union and the Women's Athletic Union (JAU & WAU) represented clubs which engaged in ballroom dance socials, baseball, basketball, football, tennis etc; on the other hand, there are Nisei groups more closely affiliated with the Issei

(2)

organizations, and one finds these clubs went in for ondo, odori festivals, kendo, judo, sumo. There is the inevitable overlapping, of course, but the differences stand out pretty much, it seems to me, along the lines of "American" or "Japanese" culturally. Some suggestion as to how this should be handled would be appreciated.

Chapter IV attempts to analyze the extent of influence and leadership exerted by the religious organizations centered on the Buddhist Christian (both Protestant and Catholic missions) and Shinto groups. Nearly all my first hand contact have been with Buddhist and Christian, and I find myself without much on the Shinto. I am surprised at the number of Shinto temples in Los Angeles listed in the Rafu Shimpo Directory. It was my impression there were two; actually there were some 16.

Chapter V will be largely J.A.C.L., United Citizens Federation, Junior Produce Club, A.F.L. Union 1510, Y.M.C.A., Buddhist Federation and other nisei groups, although I am still in the process of organizing it at the moment.

Have any important omissions in the general coverage been made?

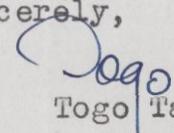
The journal is still coming along, and the stuff will be sent along as soon as 100 or more pages accumulate to warrant the postage. Am making notes as I go along with the J.A.C.L. history and the language newspaper account in mind.

I am surprised by the relatively large volume of J.A.C.L. stuff we've on hand in my own files; my correspondence with James Sakamoto of Seattle dates back nearly 10 years; with Walter Tsukamoto to 1936, and there's considerable on the lobbying on the fishing bills at Sacramento. Second hand accounts on the Suma Sugi trek to Washington for the amendment to the Cable act and 1st hand stuff on Tokutaro Slocum's mission to Washington on behalf of the Veterans (Oriental) Citizenship Act. I think it would be wiser for me to organize what I have on hand on the J.A.C.L. first, then you can decide whether you think it necessary to send a staff person to SL City; it may not be necessary, or it may be. I really suggest this because I find myself unable to make the trip now and do as you suggested. Bill McKee takes his vacation in August, and I will have to remain in Chicago all that month. Sept. is a remote possibility, if John Thomas should be willing, but the baby is due in October. So it looks like I can get the most accomplished by doing what I can here each day.

If any of the questions in your last letter has been unanswered, it will be as soon as I clear off my desk here and locate it. In the meantime, this to let you know how things go. This week I shall go out to the University office and meet with Frank & Charley & Tom and get my bearings set on the outline on the Organization Activities. Jean sends her regards to you and W.I.

P.S. Hello to Morton,
Ruth & Mike

Sincerely,


Togo Tanaka

Outline

ORGANIZATION ACTIVITY AMONG THE JAPANESE POPULATION IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Time period: the two years preceding
December 7, 1941 through the evacua-
tion period.

Copy to D. C. ...

CHAPTER I

Structure of economic life as basis of organization activity

- Influence of farm, trade, business associations in Los Angeles County, their inter-relationships
- The major economic interests
 - (1) Agricultural
 - ... Areas of conflict between large & small Japanese truck farmers
 - (2) Produce Shipping & Distributing interests
 - ... Japanese wholesale terminal organizations racially apart
 - (3) Floricultural interests
 - ... Development of Flower Market Association, competitive and cooperative aspects of relations with non-Japanese interests
 - (4) Fishing industry
 - ... Terminal Island, San Diego, Monterey
 - a. Development of Nisei organizations
 - b. Ingrown 'Japanese colony' aspects of organization activity in this field
 - (5) Retail produce
 - (6) Major urban business & occupational interests
 - ... Hotels, rooming houses, apartments
 - ... restaurants and cafes
 - ... laundries etc

The 'ineligibility to American citizenship' of the Issei as a factor in shaping the nature of organization activity in the economic sphere

- Tendency for all major Issei trade groups to foster Nisei 'junior' or auxiliary organizations especially marked in 1940-'41.
- California Alien Land Law and effect on agricultural organization activity

Major dependence of urban 'Little Tokio' (Los Angeles) organizations upon rural financial support

CHAPTER II

Chief organizations of political expression

- Central Japanese Association of America
- Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles
- Southern California Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- Japanese American Citizens League, Los Angeles chapter

Three-to-one ratio in favor of Issei dominance as of 1941

- Changing nature of inter-relationships between these four major organizations in year before war
 - ... J.A.C.L. vs Central Japanese Association; rivalry in solicitation of funds; the Long Beach Southern District Convention, August, 1941
- Shift to emphasis upon Nisei personnel by the Issei organizations 'Lobbying' activities

- Contacts at Sacramento; relationship between National J.A.C.L. and the fishing interests
- Relations with City & County officialdom
 - ... Confusion among local politicians in distinguishing between citizen & non-citizen groups
 - ... The Jefferson Park controversy in City Council
- Relationship of the organizations with Japanese Consulate
 - Ambiguous nature of Issei organizational position
 - Community prestige (socially) stemmed from Consular office
- The increasing emphasis upon 'Americanism' in community public relations by Issei as well as Nisei groups
- Reliance of economic interest groups upon major political organizations for protection against destructive pressures

CHAPTER III

The Japanese language daily newspapers

- Analysis of Los Angeles publications, their personnel, general editorial policies
 - ... The Rafu Shimpo (L.A. Japanese Daily News)
 - ... Kashu Mainichi (California Daily News)
 - ... Sangyo Nippo (Industrial Daily)
- Weeklies, monthlies: Nanka Jiho, Japanese American Mirror (all English), Doho, etc.
- The language dailies' role in the shaping of community attitudes and patterns of thinking
 - ... The 'Domei' (dispatches (Tokyo short wave))
 - ... Japanese political coverage; publication of 'extras' whenever new Government formed in Tokyo
 - ... Effect of Sino-Japanese war news coverage in shaping resident Issei thinking
 - ... The 'Tokyo' bureau dispatches and the lecture programs of Japan visitors
- Competitive relationships between publications
 - ... Urban vs. rural (Rafu Shimpo vs. Kashu Mainichi)
 - ... Personality conflicts (Publisher vs. Publisher)
 - ... Farm labor controversies (Sangyo Nippo vs. Kashu Mainichi)
 - ... Issei prefectural differences (Yamanashi vs. Yamaguchi) etc.
- Development and growth of the English Sections
 - ... Independent editorial policies, financial dependence upon Issei Japanese section
- How the language dailies were affected by Pearl Harbor
 - ... Arrests & internment of publishers
 - ... Shifts in control of editorial & business policies
 - ... Changes in tone of editorial & news columns
 - a. Resultant community reactions
 - b. Contrasts between English & Japanese section reader reactions
- Relationship of newspapers with organizations (political)
 - ... Nakamura-Tanaka trip to Washington, October, 1941
 - ... JACL- Rafu Shimpo public relations program
 - ... Sangyo Nippo-Farm Federation collaboration etc.

CHAPTER IV

Organization activity in the social life of the community

- Historic leadership of the Kenjin Kai (prefectural society)
 - ... Functions, nature, membership, & published listing of Kenjin Kais in Los Angeles County, 1940

- ... Perpetuation of cultural contributions, retention of ties with Japan
- Development of the Junior Kenjin Kai (Nisei) movement
 - ... Resultant community controversy
 - ... J.A.C.L. vs. Junior Kenjin Federation
- Complete isolation of Nisei from Issei fields of organized social activity
- The Issei hobby, recreational, sports groups
- Leadership of the Japanese Y.M.C.A. & Y.W.C.A. in development of social organizations among Nisei
 - ... 1941- emergence from adolescence
 - ... The marriage institute
- Nisei social activity after Pearl Harbor

CHAPTER V

Organization activity in the religious life of the community

- Buddhist
- Christian
 - ... Protestant
 - ... Catholic
- Shinto

Distribution of church-going population between faiths

Analysis of church influence in community affairs

Roles of the pastorate: Christian, Buddhist, Shintoist

Separate development between Issei & Nisei

Mixed motivations for Church attendance and development of

Church as center of social life

Emerging leadership of Nisei clergy

Expanding functions of the church after Pearl Harbor

CHAPTER VI

Organized gambling and vice activity in the community

The Tokyo Club

- Its history preceding its final dissolution; its operations, reputations; analysis of its influence in the Japanese community

CHAPTER VII

The Japanese language school federation

- Its pre-war Southern California leadership
- Its influence in the community
- 1940- text book revision project
- Analysis of the calibre of faculty
- Student attendance activities
- Language school closing as result of war
- Efforts to reopen schools after Pearl Harbor & resultant repercussions

CHAPTER VIII

A f t e r P e a r l H a r b o r

Paralysis, inactivity, dissolution of the Issei organizations

Nisei organization rivalries

- J.A.C.L. vs. United Citizens Federation

Confusion & chaos; a chronicling of highlight events from December 7 1941 to April 28, 1942, summary.

August 1, 1944

Dear Togo,

I have been mulling over your letter of July 18th. Your organization of your material is clear-cut and logical: first, the division into two time-periods; then the functional division: economic, political, social, religious. As you outline them, chapters I, II, and IV seem to me to be far more important, from our standpoint, than the other two chapters.

In case you could not find my letter of July 3rd, I am enclosing the carbon. Will you please return this for the files? As that letter indicates, it is especially important to try to build up whatever you have on the pre-war economy of the Japanese. George and I will very soon have an outline of the work we are doing at this end, on economic developments after evacuation. We shall, of-course, send it along, so that we can get a better tie-in.

My present feeling is that you should go ahead with the plan you have developed, emphasizing chapters I, II, and IV, and treating the other chapters more sketchily for the present. Send them along as soon as you get them in first draft, for I shall be better able to criticize and offer suggestions when I have a grasp of the type of material you have at hand.

Re Chapter III, go ahead and develop it along the lines of "American" and "Japanese" culture, even though we recognize that there will be inevitable overlapping.

I wrote to Kido, but have had no reply. Have you heard anything from him re our request to get access to the data? You might jack him up, if you have a chance.

When you went through the ~~six~~ Salt Lake City files, did you get any impression about the amount of material bearing on the economic aspect? I should certainly like to have you make that trip for us, at your convenience, and I heartily agree that you should first work up what you have in your own files.

Things are rather quiet here, and we are making progress.

Latest grapevine rumors are that the return to the Coast will happen right after election. What do you know that's new? Morton's planned Washington trip is being postponed, on the chance that we can get a record of the release of restrictions. We hope now that he can leave here sometime in October, and stay in Washington through the election period. Unfortunately, he is committed to go to the language school at any time after November 1st, so we are actually cutting things pretty close.

Best to Jean and Jeannine; also from WI.

Sincerely yours,

July 3, 1944

Dear Togo:

I am enclosing your check. I received your letter of June 25 and am sorry any complications have arisen. I agree that you should proceed as indicated in your last letter. But I hope you can reach an agreement with John Thomas and with Jean that will make it possible for you to at least make the Salt Lake trip for us.

I asked Dick for some suggestions re JACL analysis. Following is a quotation from his letter.

The purpose of formation of the JACL, both formal and informal. I know that the early leaders were ambitious to influence people in the California and Los Angeles politics.

The lobbying by Suma Sugi, by backing of the JACL, in Washington regarding the Cable Act in 1930. This is the first attempt (?) by the Japanese to influence the national policy.

Subsequent tie-up of the JACL with those in the politics, especially with the Los Angeles City politicians.

Encroachment of Nisei into the Los Angeles City and County jobs. What jobs were held, and how they were obtained in the early days. That is, the political manipulations to obtain the civil service jobs, e.g. Kiyoshi Okura, Koseki, etc.

The change in the policies of the JACL should be traced with the changes in the leadership of the JACL. For instance, there was a decided change in its policy between the Takeyama regime and the Sugahara regime. This should not be too much in detail for our purpose of the present.

Any tie-up with the Japanese organizations, here and abroad, should be covered briefly.

A little emphasis should be placed on the efforts of the JACL to gain a political prestige with the voting strength.

The organization tried to improve the status of the Japanese in America.

More important, anything concerning the economic background of the Japanese should be uncovered. I am certain the files would contain documents on the Japanese economy in California. This is the special field in which we are very weak. Special attention should be given to this phase.

As I told you before, I am particularly eager to get all possible information bearing on economic background, which Dick also mentions. George Sabogh begins work for us on the economic aspect of the study in general this week and anything you can feed us on this will be greatly appreciated.

Some of the WDC boys came to the recent meeting at which I was chairman. They said -- in reply to a quotation that "anyone" could come back now merely by applying to WDC. It doesn't quite check with what we know and with your experience in particular but it suggests to me that word has gone out to WDC from the War Department.

Hope to hear further news from you soon.

Sincerely,

hc

August 5, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

It's so uncomfortably hot & sticky currently that extended work is almost impossible; you just sit & sweat, and your brain grows numb.

Thank you for the letter; and I'm returning the carbon with Dick's quotations. Now, on my organization report:

After consulting with Frank at our last meeting, I have included the newspaper summary as Chapter III; enclosed is a rough summary outline of the eight chapters which will make up the completed report. I have finished the *first draft of I, II, IV, V, and VI; still have III, VII, and VIII, on which nothing has been done yet.

*
no long
hand

Because I am doing corrections & additions as I do the typing myself, the process is slower than just the mere writing of it; however I ought to have it completed by August's end, with the newspaper report included.

Now I am somewhat ashamed of Chapter VI, and before I slap the whole thing into one piece, will you go over it with your critical eye and send it back with your suggestions? My files have comparatively little on the Tokyo Club, as you can see. I spent darn near a whole week ploughing through half a dozen crates and orange boxes with papers & stuff (just recently shipped out), went through notes & diaries & correspondence. The "invisible gov't" of the gambling interests referred to by Dick is an elusive thing to document & chapter VI represents practically my all. If you think it will help, perhaps you can send Dick a copy of this 1st draft of Chap. VI for his corrections & additions?

I'm also a little leery on Chapter VII; it was stuck on at the end when we became entangled in a discussion about whether the Kenjin groups fostered the language schools or not. I don't know how much data I have on it.

Tomorrow I will type out readable first drafts on Chapters I, II and IV (according to my letter of July 18) and send them on to you for corrections. The present original draft is mostly in long hand (I carry the stuff around with me and write it as the spirit moves).

Under separate cover I am mailing you copies of the 1939 & 1940 Year Book & Directory of The Rafu Shimpo for the Berkeley files, if you haven't already got them. WRA shipped nearly a ton of my stuff, mostly books, files & papers, last week; and I have discovered lots more J.A.C.L. stuff too.

Am in fairly regular correspondence with Kido; he said you had written him & he was expecting me in SLCity any time. I told him it would probably be later this year, if at all. He said he would be glad to cooperate with the Study, and I am surprised that he has not acknowledged your letter. Shall I remind him to do so? He writes and asks if I will assist him & Masao Satow prepare a J.A.C.L. pamphlet, the exact nature of which has not yet been determined. I have

(2) made no committment since I do not know where I can find the time.

I can only guess at the amount of material bearing on the economic aspect in the SLCity JACL files; but I've a feeling there's an awful lot of stuff that's good material as well as a lot of junk in that disorganized office. This isn't very helpful to you, I realize; but that's about the extent of my impression on that score. I certainly will look forward to doing that SLCity stint later on if the need is still felt after we've gone through what I now have in Chicago.

The Hearst paper (Herald-American) out here has been conducting an anti-relocation campaign lately; Charley probably has a good record in his journal. I understand it's part of the campaign to keep the west coast closed.

During the Democratic convention, I had a nice visit (1½ hr) with Robert Kenny, the California Att'y-General & Mrs. Kenny; my impression too is that there will be virtually complete relaxation of the exclusion bars on the west coast after the election.

I think some of the private religious agencies are quietly working westward; some field work is already ~~ben-~~ being done on the re-settlement end in California.

We had a couple of west coast fellows for dinner last Sunday; both are lieutenants in combat intelligence as language experts (Caucasian) in Japanese; Phil McBride was from U. of Washington; and Tom Rowe from UCLA. It was quite an experience listening to them talk to each other in Japanese, read difficult 'kanji', and affect all the mannerisms of a Japanese, even to the bowing etc.

Tsuyoshi Matsumoto who did that piece on the history of Japanese agricultural & industrial contributions to the west coast for the Central Japanese Association (in my journal) is visiting Chicago and staying at the International House; he's helpful in my filling some of the gaps on the Central Ass'n.

Hope Morton's call from the Navy will be sufficiently late to permit him to finish the Washington job. Not a peep from my draft board.

Jean and Jeannie both send their very best regards to you and WI.

Sincerely,

Jogo

August 12, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

A resettler who has just arrived from Denver, Colorado, where he has been residing the past year had some interesting comments yesterday about the "Tokyo Club".

I thought it might be of interest in connection with Chapt. VI as well as with, perhaps, other phases of the Study.

No explanation was made to this person about the University Study; the conversation took place outside my office, and it was more in the nature of a bull session anyway.

This man probably would not want to be quoted, so I will omit his name for the present. His observations are not too reliable, I believe, because they are largely second-hand; but some of them are confirmed by other sources.

He says that there is "plenty of Tokyo Club money" in Denver. He did not name any of the Club members or leaders and agreed with me that the No. 1 big shots had either gone to Japan or were in Tule Lake. But he came back with: "The little fish seem to have the dough, though."

He says that this Club money is being used to finance some Nisei (he named one person who has had a reputation of never having had much money at all) in business and in the purchase of buildings, most of them centered around the Larimer street district. He says this is the beginning of Denver's Little Tokio.

His comment was: "Now you know J---- U----. Cripes, he never did have a nickel; and now he's going around buying buildings!"

He says that the Club isn't big yet, still can't buy police protection, and is mostly 'back alley' stuff; he was a little vague when he said: 'But they have plenty big poker games, \$200 a night and stuff...'

The reason for my writing this to you is that it occurs to me that if this is anything accurate in describing the pattern of Little Tokio development in Denver, then Dick's theory about the extent of influence of pre-war Tokyo Clubdom is a lot closer to the truth than my evidence would indicate. What do you think?

Hurriedly,
Togo

August 9, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Just had an interesting hour's conversation with a re-settler who seems to have had first-hand knowledge of some of the Tokyo Club operations. I think his background would tend to make most of his observations fairly reliable. He asked not to be named; I told him I was documenting data for a social science study; he was quite cooperative.

This man was scoutmaster of a troop in which three of the boys were sons of Tokyo Club 'big shots'; he was also cashier of one of the larger wholesale produce commission houses in the Seventh Street Terminal.

He maintains that the Tokyo Club was incorporated as a recreational club, under California charter, and presumably was listed by the corporation commissioner of the state as a place where people could play checkers, chess, billiards, ping pong, and read magazines! Is there any way to check this?

He also maintains that the Tokyo Club kept checking accounts under that name in the California Bank branches at the Ninth Street market and on East First Street in Little Tokio. I find this a little hard to believe, but it may be so.

He says that the Club, through the Nichi-Bei Kogyo Kaisha (Japanese American Theatre Association), exercised a monopoly in the motion picture distributing business in Los Angeles, and no one ever dared attempt competition in that field; he says likewise that there was an unwritten code that no one ever launched a chop suey or "rioriya" (Japanese restaurant on 2nd floor) in Little Tokio without first consulting the Club. In addition, he says that "many" Little Tokio businesses as well as a number of wholesale market firms were actually financed by the Tokyo Club. He could not name many specifically, but said that the Manshu Low restaurant, East First and San Pedro, and the San Kwo Low, another chop suey place, were financially "controlled" by the club.

He says that in 1939, the Tokyo Club sponsored a Sumo ~~kengakudan~~-kengakudan (sightseeing-educational) trip to Japan for a group of southern California nisei sumo experts; the Club controlled the sumo organizations in Los Angeles and even imported the teachers, Ikeda and Edogawa from Japan.

He says that the "Tokyo Club had its fingers in a lot of pies" but it never went in for organized prostitution or "anything like that--only gambling."

While many people condemned the Club, he says he felt that the Club had a large and substantial and loyal following; he made the comment that he heard from many of these loyal

people that the English Editors of the L.A. Japanese Daily News were "all wet behind the ears" when they got indignant about the Club. He says that Yamatoda was extremely popular among those who knew him and very well liked; he also says that Yamatoda actually was in power less than two years before the big smash-up; that his predecessor, a Yamawaki, was an extremely intelligent and cultured man who was chairman of the board of directors of the Chuo Japanese Language school, a well educated and capable business man who left with his family to return to Japan around 1938-39.

He says that the Tokyo Club was a benevolent protective organization for those who were faithful hangers-on. He says he personally knew of a number of old down-and-out men, bachelors, who were given passage and spending money to return to Japan by the Club. The Club also "always fed" unemployed and fed them well, he emphasized.

He says that the Tokyo Club leaders fostered an extreme race consciousness, as witness their instructions to their employees never to sell any 'chances' or admit non-Japanese into the Yamato Hall. This informant goes as far as to express his personal opinion: "The Tokyo Club really was responsible for Little Tokio coming into existence; it was the real backbone of the district, and the real power." He says that after the Tokyo Club was closed up in Jan, of '41, "business was rotten in Nihonmachi". We disputed this point by asserting there were other factors responsible.

This informant's views tend to lean toward Dick's conclusions, I thought. Where do you think there is room for incorporation of this hearsay evidence in Chapter VI? Or have I given a semblance of balanced coverage to it?

Am working pretty hard on revising Chapter IV (last outline) and will send it by the end of the week. Chapter I and II ~~have got me~~ look a little incomplete to me yet but will get them off to you soon.

Frank tells me Tom has received his orders to report.

More later,
Legend,
Boyo

Chapter VI.

ORGANIZED GAMBLING AND VICE ACTIVITIES

Best known and biggest of Japanese underworld organizations in Los Angeles County was the Tokyo Club. None of the directories of legitimate firms and respectable associations ever included the Tokyo Club in its listing. But it would have been difficult in 1941 to find any business man or resident of the East First and San Pedro Street area who had not heard about the Club.

While nearly all Issei organizations were known by their Japanese names and their English equivalents, the gambling outfit was known even in Japanese conversation as the Tokyo Club, although phonetically it sounded more like Tokyo kurabu. Sometimes it was referred to as the Nichi-Bei Kogyo Kaisha, or Japanese-American Theatre Association, one of the front businesses which it operated.

The financial assets of the Club were never exactly known nor ever publicized. The general impression was that it was fabulously wealthy. Police statistics on January 7, 1941, indicated that the Club strongbox held exactly \$10,921.90 in cash when raiding officers closed its main headquarters.

Most of the time when the Club had not been closed down by periodic vice squad incursions, it occupied quarters on the top floor of a warehouse reconverted into the Yamato Hall, 317 $\frac{1}{2}$ Jackson street. It held a long-term lease on this building and rented the use of a large hall on the second floor to the respectable community organiza-

tions for public meetings, motion pictures, lectures and various programs.

In the pre-repeal days of the twenties, the Tokyo Club was reputed at one time to have been a small time carbon copy of Chicago gangdom in its less refined techniques of employing violence.

In the thirties, under the leadership of a ruthless organizer who became kingpin of the Los Angeles branch of a coastwide gambling syndicate, Hideichi Yamatoda, it prospered fat and arrogant, rubbing elbows with police characters and sharing its intake with city politicians. During the Los Angeles administration of Mayor Frank Shaw, henchmen higher up in the Tokyo Club carried on their persons little badges identifying them as honorary policemen of the city.

The Tokyo Club had its beginnings when most Nisei were in diapers. In 1941, on the eve of its final smash-up, its guiding leadership and financial control were still Issei; but its legal and strong-arm talent were largely Nisei. Over a period of several decades, it seemed inevitable that the Club's operations should leave scars and an indelible impression upon the people among whom it carried on. For one thing, it appeared as if the community had apparently become resigned to its existence as a necessary evil.

An Issei merchant dealing in home appliances in the main Japanese business district in 1940 once railed against the Club privately among close friends.

He never quite found the time to crusade against it publicly, though his friends knew that the man's brother had been a Club victim, his broken body found one day by police at the foot of towering Arroyo Seco bridge at the entrance to Pasadena.

A Ninth Street produce dealer who operated a yard concession once went into temporary hiding until he could straighten out a "misunderstanding" with the "Tokyo Club boys." But these were merely sidelight incidents circulated by word of mouth which merely added to the generally accepted statement among the goody-goody people of the community that it was bad to have anything to do with the Club. And if preachers raised any voice against this evil, either publicly, which was almost never, or within the comfortable confines of their temples, it never seemed to be a very loud cry that attracted much attention. Furthermore, there was an interesting rationalization that gave comfort to many disturbed souls. It went something like this: there are always a certain number of young men who will patronize gambling dens; it can't be helped; human nature. They all used to go to the Chinese "joints" until the Tokyo Club came along. It's better for them to lose their money "Nihonjin-doshi" (among fellow Japanese) than to the Chinese.

If there were bush league professional gamblers and such ilk in Little Tokyo during the bootleg days of the twenties, they had apparently either been swallowed

up, driven out, or otherwise liquidated by the mid-thirties. There was only one outfit, and it was major league by itself, countenancing no competition. Hideichi Yamatoda was sometimes listed in local publications as President of the Japanese American Theatre Association. Its office was located at 201 North San Pedro Street, where passersby could almost always see two or three hard-faced men slumped on a bench in front of the building. These characters were reputedly Yamatoda's bodyguards. In a shallow garage on the south side of the office, there usually stood several shiny black limousines, property of the Theatre Association. Across San Pedro Street and eastward toward the Los Angeles river, on the north side of Jackson, stood the Yamato Hall, half a block away. Inconspicuously staring at the Hall from across the street on Jackson was a small confectionary, where a lookout was posted during the Club's operations.

Among the vernacular newspapermen who were familiar with its ups and downs, it was claimed that the Tokyo Club prospered chiefly from the proceeds of the "sucker crowd", its hopeful constituency among the thousands of market workers in the wholesale terminals and retail fruit stands, its flower market followers, its fishermen and farmers who, bored with the monotonous routine of their everyday lives or addicted to the habit of the spinning wheel, poured into Little Tokyo come week-end or holiday for the session on the top floor of the Yamato Hall.

Once admitted inside the heavy iron-frame door, they found a variety of diversions to occupy their time, cards, craps, roulette, lottery; and the Club even maintained a commissary with a full time cook. Down-and-outers were fed free, regularly along with the cash customers who came hungry.

Occasionally a patron unwisely made accusations about loaded dice or fixed wheels, and the Club's bruisers would have to move into action. One rough beating, it was said, usually sufficed to settle the affair. Once an obstinate farmer from Lodi, California, came into town, so the story goes, with a couple of thousand dollars he had collected on a truckload of grapes sold in the city market. A few drinks and a dozen whacks at a half dozen games at the Tokyo Club, and he suddenly realized he was broke. Reportedly, he grew ugly, voiced loud threats. The bereaved widow of Teruhiko Namba never saw her husband again, and one of the witnesses who first told investigating city police he had seen the victim in the Club one Saturday night suddenly lost his memory when the probe deepened. That was in 1938, and the police never found the body. Yamatoda went on trial for the alleged murder but was acquitted.

In addition to the location on Jackson Street, the Club was known to maintain establishments in the hinterlands, in Terminal Island, in the Los Angeles downtown

market area; it also employed a small corps of lottery ticket salesmen with slips of paper ranging from the Oriental "bakappei" to the Irish Sweepstakes.

The Tokyo Club specialized in profits from gambling, reputedly was never successful in other fields. Efforts to organize competition in operating houses of prostitution were bucked by the established and entrenched white and Negro interests. There is no evidence to indicate, further, that the Club ever engaged in the racket of exacting "protection" tribute from Little Tokyo business men.

The community's leading citizens as a rule assumed an attitude of disdain, indignation, condemnation, or regret whenever the Club was publicly mentioned. It was pretty well known, too, that many of the downtown merchants may not necessarily have been on intimate speaking terms with Yamatoda and his henchmen; but many were patrons of the Club; some had regular accounts. For even a small number of business men, the Tokyo Club could be counted on in a pinch financially, for there was usually some loose change thereabouts. Also, for the benefit of the busy Little Tokyo client, the Club maintained a horse racing bookmaker; and listed here and there among the customers were names that could be identified as those of leading civic lights, both Issei and Nisei.

Yamatoda and the Tokyo Club which he ruled

were said to have taken a privately contemptuous attitude toward the organizations which represented Little Tokyo's civic virtue. An unlettered man of stubborn will and unscrupulous ways, he prided himself on the power of his money and the silence he boasted of commanding through his thugs. He and his top men claimed that presidents of various associations and chairmen of different committees "always come to us for donations". The Club was known to be a fairly generous giver.

With the three daily Japanese language newspapers, the Club appears to have successfully established relations on a "live and let live" basis by 1940. One of the three publications, the Sangyo Nippo, rented its office and plant space in the Yamato Hall; the Sangyo never attacked the Tokyo Club. In the columns of another daily, the Kashu Mainichi, editor-publisher Sei Fujii occasionally sermonized editorially about the evils of gambling; but he never mentioned the Tokyo Club by name in any of his preachments. Once the un-instructed English editors of the Rafu Shimpō swung out indignantly against the Club late in 1940 when the day's police blotter had produced an unusually long list of arrests. The unwitting Japanese section reporter of the same newspaper, who had been covering Little Tokyo as his beat and who was on speaking terms with Yamatoda, was confronted that same evening by the gambling chief and his bodyguards. He was escorted to the Club headquarters and given a terrific

verbal blasting. For a while, he admitted afterwards, he thought he was in for physical rough-housing as well. Yamatoda raked the reporter and the newspaper he represented, sharply reminding him that the Theatre Association was a faithful advertiser as well as regular donor of New Year's gifts of hundred pound sacks of rice and gallons of rice wine. Out of concern for the physical safety of this Japanese section reporter, the English staff withheld further pot shots at the Club for several months.

If there actually existed any relationship of recognition between the civic organizations and the Tokyo Club, there is no evidence of it. The relations which at times seemed to link a prominent association with the gambling group were on the person-to-person level between officers of, or individuals associated with, different respectable groups, and the Tokyo Club big shots. Yamatoda apparently was fairly well acquainted with the Issei legal lights of the community. These were the men who decorated their office doors with the Japanese equivalent of "Law Office" and referred to themselves as "bengoshi" (lawyers), although technically they were not quite lawyers. This was because they were "aliens ineligible to citizenship" and therefore could not secure license to practise before the California bar. These were also the men on whose shoulders usually fell the mantle of leadership in the three outstanding civic org-

anizations. The presidency of the Central Japanese Association, Chamber of Commerce, and Chamber of Commerce and Industry often rotated among half a dozen of these Little Tokyo "bengoshi".

Yamatoda never sought the limelight of public office; he apparently knew he had neither the respect nor prestige of a community following. Furthermore, he candidly admitted that he preferred to run a business-like gambling outfit, rake in his neat pile, and sit in the background. He said he had his hands full in protecting these interests from his from the depredations of greedy policemen and politicians, and he always had to keep a weather eye open for rival gangs as big as his own from muscling into the lush Southern California territory.

In 1940, Little Tokyo ran with rumors about a New York outfit, frequently referred to as the "Yuge gang", demanding a split of the business from the Tokyo Club. It went the rounds that the New Yorkers had been run out of Gotham by the clean-up campaign of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, and besides, the easterners regarded Los Angeles as a more lucrative field of operations anyway. Yamatoda apparently had grown soft and vulnerable through the years of unchallenged power in his bailiwick, and the outsiders engineered a kidnaping of the Tokyo Club boss which nearly succeeded. A carload of gunmen snatched the surprised Yamatoda at his home, whisked him southward; and allegedly in cahoots with the chief of

police of El Centro (who subsequently faced indictment and trial as a result of his participation), attempted to smuggle the gambling king into Mexico. Yamatoda successfully broke loose and escaped, returning to Los Angeles. His kidnapers drew prison terms. The backbone of the "Yuge gang" invasion had been broken, but the community was yet to feel the repercussions of the rivalry. There were two groups now bidding for police protection, each in a state of open hostilities with the other. This situation seems to have served the Police Department, in the throes of a clean-up itself as the result of a reform Mayor's administration, with favorable potentialities. There was bound to be a vulnerable leak in the Tokyo Club armor, and the struggling newcomers could then be easily disposed as well.

If 1940 was a year of upheaval for the organization which had long operated on the periphery of Little Tokyo's recognized institutions, 1941 was its year of downfall. And in making its ungraceful, loud exit, the Tokyo Club made headlines locally and nationally which were significant in shaping the attitudes of the public mind about Little Tokyo and the people who lived there.

Around nine o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, January 7, 1941, a moving van loaded with Los Angeles city policemen drew to a slow stop in front of the Yamato Hall. At a pre-arranged signal from within by an Inspector Rudolph who threw open the iron doors and commanded the en-

trance, they swooped into the gambling room, arrested Yamatoda in his office, handcuffed manager Katsutaro Sera and several Club hirelings, and whooped off to Central jail with nearly 100 customers, most of whom were shoved through the booking mill. The raid was only one of a wholesale number designed to clean out the Negro and Japanese sections of town, the metropolitan press reported next morning. The uprighteous Mayor Fletcher Bowron had embarked upon a campaign of hatchet-fests to wipe out the disgraceful orgies of gambling and vice which blackened the City of the Angels. Hardened old timers on the metropolitan press, especially the anti-Bowron L.A. Times, pooh-poohed the pose of civic virtue; some commented at length in their columns about the latent feud between the Mayor and the newly-elected District Attorney John Dockweiler which developed only three days after the arrests over whether the City or the County should get credit for this civic deed. Ordinarily, it was claimed by some, the headlines would have petered out the second or third day; but the Japanese angle was too good to skip over lightly. The tension on the Pacific brought it into sharp focus. The metropolitan press went to town.

In addition to the Tokyo Club bag of nearly 100 persons, it came to light next dawn that about 400 other arrests had been made that same evening, with a total of over 200 police officers breaking into gearly

thirty night spots, mostly gambling, some prostitution, in a space of several hours.

The biggest bombshell to drop into the midst of the Japanese community the next day was the revelation that among the arrested suspects in the Tokyo Club casualties was a Nisei attorney who had been prominent in local community office. As a matter of fact he had been one of the presidents of the group in Los Angeles which eventually developed into the Japanese American Citizens League, although it had been over a decade since he had dropped out of active participation. At the time of his arrest, he was still an officer of the Commodore Perry Post of the American Legion and a member of the English section editorial board of the Rafu Shimpo. Karl Kiichi Iwanaga maintained throughout his trial on charges of several counts of attempted bribery that he had acted solely in his proper capacity as legal representative of Hideichi Yamatoda when he had approached Inspector Rudolph with offers from his client to pay \$2000 monthly for immunity for the Yamato Hall operations of the Tokyo Club; it was also in this same capacity, he stoutly maintained, that he acted when he made the payments for Yamatoda.

That the incident should inspire a wave of uneasiness to be expressed by widespread community indignation was the expectation of a handful of Little Tokyo citizens whose open criticism of the Club had long been muffled. These were critical times when civic organiza-

tions of Little Tokyo were becoming increasingly conscious of the need for good "public relations". Feeling against Japanese had been mounting for the past year, and it was felt this was no time for parading the community's dirty linen in public. A segment of popular feeling in Little Tokyo appears to have found expression through an obscure committee of the Japanese American Citizens League which issued statements, prompting unprecedented coverage of the event in the English sections of the language newspapers. The Rafu Shimpō, in its edition of January 8, 1941, printed in its English columns the following:

"'Little Tokio', business hub for about 5000 Issei and Nisei but known to a million and a half Angelenos as the 'Japanese section' of town, took a 'nasty little black eye' in the Los Angeles metropolitan newspapers this morning."

There followed front-page first-paragraph quotations from that day's Los Angeles Examiner, The News, Los Angeles Times, and the Evening Herald and Express, with the Rafu Shimpō English editors' editorial comment in 12-point type:

"The combined circulation of the five daily newspapers quoted in this story totals over 750,000 subscribers. The reading audience they reach is well over 2,000,000 persons in the southland. In their hands this morning and afternoon, was placed long and elaborate accounts of 'Little Tokio' vice. Under such circumstances, the editors think it stretching things

too far for the Nisei or the Japanese community to maintain that 'traditional reputation of a law-abiding' people. What do you think?--ED. NOTE" ¹

For days afterwards, the raids continued to make front page literature. On January 14, the District Attorney's office announced that, as the result of the sweeping raids, indictments would be sought against eleven men, five of them Japanese connected with the Tokyo Club. Docked for trial along with Yamatoda, Sera and Iwanaga were two other Yamatoda hirelings, Sekijiro Shimohara and George Yamato. While newspapers came forth daily with contradicting statements about the number of persons under arrest, a tabulation of the various totals brought the "average" reported to somewhere around 187 persons; the charges ranged from bribery, conspiracy to commit bribery, gambling. Most of the joints closed down were Negro.

In the Japanese part of town, glum and gloom hit the spots where the Tokyo Club's more faithful following usually hung out. During the week after the raids, it was the claim of those "in the know" that "some cops especially that Rudolph" belonged to the family of the ro-
dent in the animal kingdom; it was common talk around San Pedro and Jackson and in the wholesale market area that

¹ The Rafu Shimpo, English Section, Wednesday, January 8 1941, p. 1 cols 3-4

the erstwhile friend of the Club who had set the trap for its downfall had been soaking in "plenty of gravy" for some time before he "went straight" and decided to "report bribe offers to superiors". On top of that, it was maintained, he had even enjoyed the wine and women provided for him lavishly and unstintingly by Yamatoda. Whatever the basis for the rumors, Inspector Rudolph was no longer a familiar face around the old Tokyo Club haunts; he was now a newly-decorated hero three blocks away in the towering City Hall.

This raid, eleven months before Pearl Harbor, sounded the death knell of the Tokyo Club as an organized institution in the community. It drove the recently arrived "Yuge gang" remnants into inactivity. For the big guns of the Tokyo Club at the top of the outfit, it was every man for himself thereafter. Yamatoda proceeded to negotiate for the services of Attorney Jerry Giesler who had defended him on previous occasion. The gambling king posted \$10,000 bond for his freedom, then shortly afterwards disappeared. He had skipped bond. Months later, it was rumored in Little Tokyo that he had bribed his way aboard a Japan-bound freighter and had landed across the seas in his native Hiroshima. Iwanaga, Sera, Yamato, and Shimohara went on trial to be convicted on various counts of bribery and to serve their respective terms in confinement.

The numerous smaller fry of the organization

found themselves unable to produce either the cash or the leadership to reorganize for a comeback. In 1941, the Tokyo Club was found to be a shaky house held together largely by the 47-year-old gambler Yamatoda whose luck was bound to run out; and with him went the Club. The elements which had provided the gang leader with his following, however, remained.

The destruction of the Tokyo Club was one of Mayor Fletcher Bowron's most intimate brushes with the Japanese-populated area of the city over which he presided. Those close to his office in the City Hall¹ maintained that the experience convinced the straight-laced jurist that the talk about "law-abiding Japanese" was for the most part "propaganda". The experience served, if anything, to heighten his suspicion and distrust of what he termed the "inscrutable Oriental." Made suspicious by the circumstances of his election and imbued with the sense of mission of a reformer, Bowron was quoted as having been "greatly pleased" with the results of the raids. He was quoted in one newspaper as having said:

"I do not think there has ever been such a large raid as carefully planned and executed in the history of Los Angeles." 2

The destruction of an institution which symbolized the Japanese section of the city in the Mayor's mind

1 From personal notes of visit with Deputy Mayor Frank Peterson

2 The News, Los Angeles, Wednesday, January 8, 1941, p. 1 col. 2

had also been synonymous with a political success and went down as one of the major successes of his early administration. In a sense it also marked the turning point of his reorganization of the Police Department; he told reporters:

"The fact that there was no tip-off restores my confidence in the police department and demonstrates that there are plenty of honest men in the department. It should restore the confidence of the public in the administration of criminal justice in Los Angeles. This is not an outgrowth of investigation into personnel. All the suspects came into the police department offering bribes for protection." 1

As the attention of the Mayor was thus turned to one of the seamiest aspects of life in Little Tokyo, there were placed before him in addition reports of potential fifth column activity among these lawless Japanese elements. The Los Angeles Times' news story of the incident said that among the police raiders at the Tokyo Club was P. B. Dunn, United States Immigration Service head in Los Angeles. "With several aides, Dunn was on hand--apparently on the lookout for illegal aliens or fifth columnists." 2

The more sensational journalistic possibilities of the story did not go unnoticed. One of the

1 The News, Los Angeles, Wednesday, January 8, 1941
p. 10 c. 2

2 The Times, Los Angeles, Wednesday, January 8, 1941
p 2 c 1

first to pounce upon the subject with considerable energy was a well-known Los Angeles newspaperwoman, Florabel Muir, later to become chief executive and owner of the City News Service. Some of her associates described her as a "Jap-hater" of long standing; she had been close to the California Joint Immigration Committee and its perennial campaign to "rid America of the Jap population." Florabel Muir wrote a scathing piece about Jap gangdom in Little Tokyo, reportedly submitted it first to the Saturday Evening Post, then, after the Post had passed it up, to other national publications. These efforts which publicized Little Tokyo seemed to be contagious, and as tabloids all over the country came to the attention of Little Tokyo's conscience-stricken civic leaders, there grew an awareness and a feeling that "we're on the spot". This was in large measure the inheritance of the respectable organizations from the death of Los Angeles' Tokyo Club in January, 1941. / 2

Outline

ORGANIZATION ACTIVITY AMONG THE JAPANESE POPULATION IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Time period: the two years preceding
December 7, 1941 through the evacua-
tion period.

CHAPTER I

Structure of economic life as basis of organization activity

- Influence of farm, trade, business associations in Los Angeles County, their inter-relationships
- The major economic interests
 - (1) Agricultural
 - ... Areas of conflict between large & small Japanese truck farmers
 - (2) Produce Shipping & Distributing interests
 - ...Japanese wholesale terminal organizations racially apart
 - (3) Floricultural interests
 - ...Development of Flower Market Association, competitive and cooperative aspects of relations with non-Japanese interests
 - (4) Fishing industry
 - ...Terminal Island, San Diego, Monterey
 - a. Development of Nisei organizations
 - b. Ingrown 'Japanese colony' aspects of organization activity in this field
 - (5) Retail produce
 - (6) Major urban business & occupational interests
 - ...Hotels, rooming houses, apartments
 - ...Restaurants and cafes
 - ...laundries, etc.

The 'ineligibility to American citizenship' of the Issei as a factor in shaping the nature of organization activity in the economic sphere

- Tendency for all major Issei trade groups to foster Nisei 'junior' or auxiliary organizations especially marked in 1940-'41.
- California Alien Land Law and effect on agricultural organization activity

Major dependence of urban 'Little Tokio' (Los Angeles) organizations upon rural financial support

CHAPTER II

Chief organizations of political expression

- Central Japanese Association of American
- Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles
- Southern California Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- Japanese American Citizens League, Los Angeles chapter

Three-to-one ratio in favor of Issei dominance as of 1941

- Changing nature of inter-relationships between these four major organizations in year before war
 - ... J.A.C.L. vs. Central Japanese Association; rivalry in solicitation of funds; the Long Beach Southern District Convention, August, 1941
- Shift to emphasis upon Nisei personnel by the Issei organizations 'Lobbying' activities

- Contacts at Sacramento; relationship between National J.A.C.L. and the fishing interests
- Relations with City & County officialdom
 - ... Confusion among local politicians in distinguishing between citizen & non-citizen groups
 - ... The Jefferson Park controversy in City Council
- Relationship of the organizations with Japanese Consulate
 - Ambiguous nature of Issei organizational position
 - Community prestige (socially) stemmed from Consular office
- The increasing emphasis upon 'Americanism' in community public relations by Issei as well as Nisei groups
- Reliance of economic interest groups upon major political organizations for protection against destructive pressures

CHAPTER III

The Japanese language daily newspapers

- Analysis of Los Angeles publications, their personnel, general editorial policies
 - ... The Rafu Shimpo (L.A. Japanese Daily News)
 - ... Kashu Mainichi (California Daily News)
 - ... Sangyo Nippo (Industrial Daily)
- Weeklies, monthlies: Nanka Jiho, Japanese American Mirror (all English), Doho, etc.
- The language dailies' role in the shaping of community attitudes and patterns of thinking
 - ... The 'Domei' (dispatches (Tokyo short wave))
 - ... Japanese political coverage; publication of 'extras' whenever new Government formed in Tokyo
 - ... Effect of Sino-Japanese war news coverage in shaping resident Issei thinking
 - ... The 'Tokyo' bureau dispatches and the lecture programs of Japan visitors
- Competitive relationships between publications
 - ... Urban vs. rural (Rafu Shimpo vs. Kashu Mainichi)
 - ... Personality conflicts (Publisher vs. Publisher)
 - ... Farm labor controversies (Sangyo Nippo vs. Kashu Mainichi)
 - ... Issei prefectural differences (Yamanashi vs. Yamaguchi) etc.
- Development and growth of the English Sections
 - ... Independent editorial policies, financial dependence upon Issei Japanese section
- How the language dailies were affected by Pearl Harbor
 - ... Arrests & internment of publishers
 - ... Shifts in control of editorial & business policies
 - ... Changes in tone of editorial & news columns
 - a. Resultant community reactions
 - b. Contrasts between English & Japanese section reader reactions
- Relationship of newspapers with organizations (political)
 - ... Nakamura-Tanaka trip to Washington, October, 1941
 - ... JACL-Rafu Shimpo public relations program
 - ... Sangyo-Nippo-Farm Federation collaboration etc.

CHAPTER IV

Organization activity in the social life of the community

- Historic leadership of the Kenjin Kai (prefectural society)
 - ... Functions, nature, membership, & published listing of Kenjin Kais in Los Angeles County, 1940
 - ... Perpetuation of cultural contributions, retention of ties with Japan
- Development of the Junior Kenjin Kai (Nisei) movement
 - ... Resultant community controversy
 - ... JACL vs. Junior Kenjin Federation
- Complete isolation of Nisei from Issei fields of organized social activity
- The Issei hobby, recreational, sports groups
- Leadership of the Japanese Y.M.C.A. & Y.W.C.A. in development of social organizations among Nisei
 - ... 1941- emergence from adolescence
 - ... The marriage institute
- Nisei social activity after Pearl Harbor

CHAPTER V

Organization activity in the religious life of the community

- Buddhist
- Christian
 - ... Protestant
 - ... Catholic
- Shinto

Distribution of church-going population between faiths

Analysis of church influence in community affairs

Roles of the pastorate: Christian, Buddhist, Shintoist

Separate development between Issei & Nisei

Mixed motivations for Church attendance and development of Church as center of social life

Emerging leadership of Nisei clergy

Expanding functions of the church after Pearl Harbor

CHAPTER VI

Organized gambling and vice activity in the community

The Tokyo Club

- Its history preceding its final dissolution; its
- ~~its influence~~ operations, reputations; analysis of its influence in the Japanese community

CHAPTER VII

The Japanese language school federation

- Its pre-war Southern California leadership
- Its influence in the community
- 1940- text book revision project
- Analysis of the calibre of faculty
- Student attendance activities
- Language school closing as result of war
- Efforts to reopen schools after Pearl Harbor & resultant repercussions

CHAPTER VIII

A f t e r P e a r l H a r b o r

Paralysis, inactivity, dissolution of the Issei organizations

Nisei organization rivalries

- J.A.C.L. vs United Citizens Federation

Confusion & chaos; a chronicling of highlight events from December 7, 1941 to April 28, 1942, summary

August 14, 1944

Dear Togo:

I have your letter of August 9. It occurs to me that you have not read the manuscript that Dick prepared some time ago on gambling at Poston. It includes in it quite a lengthy discussion of the history of the Tokio Club. I am sending you that part of his manuscript, and I wish you would go over it carefully and raise questions with him. I am likewise sending your chapter to him and asking him to write his questions. Between the two of you, I think we can get the whole thing satisfactorily documented. So my suggestion is at present to let this chapter go pretty much as it is until we have the rest of the manuscript in hand. The one factual point on which the manuscripts seem to disagree is the point you raise about the Tokio's Club attempt to organize prostitution. This seems to conflict with Dick's statement and with what your informant of August 9 told you. I think we can get this whole thing straightened out later.

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

August 23, 1944

Dear Togo:

As I told you, I sent your chapter on the Tokyo Club to Dick. I am enclosing his comments, which I think are very helpful. Will you kindly return the letter to me for my files?

Everyone here sends regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Sept. 5, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

I should hang my head in shame, and as a matter of fact that's where it is at the moment. The deadline at which I was confident of completing the organization chapters has passed, and I'm still really struggling with the larger part of it. Despite the outline, I've been leap-frogging from one chapter to the other and have nothing to say except a strong feeling of guilt has descended over my head. I'm afraid we overestimated my capacity for speed & competence in getting this thing done.

Frank tells me that there is a more official November deadline which gives me some hope though it does not lessen this feeling of having missed the mark.

I must also confess that one of the things which have slowed me down lately for extended work has been my eyes; they have needed a new fitting of glasses, I fear, and this has limited the daily output.

Enclosed is Dick's chapter on organized gambling which I have read closely and made note of for revisions and changes on Chapter VI. Also I will forward his letter for your files in my next. From a number of other sources since contacted since writing that Chapter, I find evidence to support Dick's statement that the Tokyo Club apparently never attempted to organize prostitution.

You may observe that in Chapter IV I have omitted any account of what happened to these groups after Dec. 7, 1941. I thought that the big Chapter VIII would give better coverage of that period, including an account of all the organizations described in the preceding seven chapters.

Enclosed also is an addition to the journal which has suffered from neglect since the June conference. I had Jean type a copy of a manuscript prepared for the Flower Market in August, 1941, which should go into the journal as of August 12, 1941. More later, with the Chapters. Regards to W.I.

Sincerely,

Jago

September 14, 1944

Dear Togo:

Thanks for your letter of September 5. Don't worry too much about missing the deadline you had set for yourself. These things always take longer than anticipated. The November deadline to which Frank refers really applies to him and Rosalie more than to anyone else. I am hoping to have their manuscripts in hand so that they can form the basis for our December conference.

I don't believe I have explained to you exactly what our financial situation is in respect to the Study. We are going to have to cut down radically during the present year and I hope to be able to carry on with a very small staff for the next year. I had to be realistic in regard to segments that might be considered finished for the present year, therefore, I appointed Morton, Tom and you for a six months' period ending on December 31. I may say that if you decide to make that Salt Lake City trip I will be able to dig up enough money for it even although it comes in the early part of next year, as I think it will lead to the exploitation of important data. I have heard from Kido and he seems very cordial and anxious to cooperate.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

September 15, 1944

Dear Togo:

My signals were mixed and my wires were crossed. Also, I had a bad lapse of memory. Mrs. Wilson pointed out to me this morning that you returned the chapter on Pressure Group Activities exactly one month after you received it. If my previous note bothers you, I tender my humblest apologies.

Best regards again to you, Jean and Jeannine.

Sincerely yours,

Sept. 19, 1944

Dear Morton:

Your two notes arrived while I was away in Wisconsin, and it is a source of much comfort to realize that No. 2 took care of No. 1, otherwise there would have been these few days' delay. Yesterday, Dorothy's last letter arrived, and it ended for me a rather compressed period during which a growing feeling of guilt (for my very slow work on the Study) was beginning to hamstring me. I think Dorothy is a pearl of patience as well as all the other things that make it a pretty rich experience to work with her.

I am not only relieved with a new lease on the effort but think I've acquired an optimism that ought to get me over the hump this time.

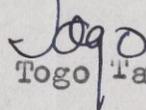
How are Ruth and Mike? I took Jeannine with me to a summer camp for youngsters (high school age) at Bridgman City, Michigan, recently, for a week-end. It was great fun, and it also gave Jean a good rest at home.

We've had some outbreaks of vandalism on the southshore front here lately, with hoodlums defacing one of our synagogues. For the past year I have volunteered in one section of the Chicago Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, working with Stella Counselbaum and Flora Dolton and have enjoyed the experience immensely. I have joined only one organization out here, the City Club; and participation in its activities has been rather satisfying. The race relations committee of the club is currently embarked on a fact-finding project to determine "Sources of racial and religious hatreds in Chicago."

Last week-end I was up at the DeKoven Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, for an Episcopal Laymen's retreat. The forum moderator was the man who is director of the Military Intelligence Language school at Fort Snelling, Minnesota; he had spent some 15 years in Japan as a faculty member at St. Paul's University (Rikkyo Daigaku) in Tokyo and apparently has an excellent grasp of the pre-war political situation over there upon which to base his speculations and predictions about the future.

It will be with a great deal of interest that I look forward to see your completed masterpiece. We shall continue to struggle along on this end. Our No. 2 is due in about three weeks now, I think. Jean sends her best regards, so does Jeannie; may this find all of you well.

Sincerely,


Togo Tanaka

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Oct. 13, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for the letter. The family is pretty well settled now, and I have brought Jean and Christine home from the hospital. Am certainly sorry to hear about Rosalie and Morton and Jimmy's sister. Hope Morton is up and about soon. Is Jimmy still at Hunt?

Each day gets me closer to what I hope will be satisfactory completion of the chapters. I have arranged with the office to take one full day a week off, in addition to the evening stints; but progress seems to come the hard way. I am now sure that the only thing that will prevent my going to SLCity, according to your invitation & suggestion, will be whether I have finished this present job in time. Otherwise, I shall stay on here until I do, dig through my JACL data here, then you can decide then whether you wish me to do the SLCity JACL stuff. Kido is in town now, and the JACL is holding its 2nd chapter meeting here on Monday across the street at the International House.

Walt Godfrey & Esther Rhoads of the Am Friends S Com in Pasadena have been keeping us posted day-by-day on developments out that way, and I have been making a folder of correspondence, news clippings etc. Looks most interesting. Some of Godfrey's meandering interviews make interesting reading. If he hasn't furnished you with carbons, and if you think they might be of any value, I'll send the folder & letters along.

At our Friends-Baptist office, we're finally getting out of job placement. Our card & folders files, which I've been checking through this past week, show that we have interviewed through our office some 3,500 individuals. For purposes of our periodic report on resettlement to the office constituency, we ran through a "sampling" of 1300 of these, covering the entire period of resettlement work, and found the following:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Single persons (unmarried) | 81% |
| Married | 17% |
| Separated, divorced, widowed..... | 2% |

Would you consider 1300 out of our 3500 a fair cross-section? Now would this in turn be representative of the Chicago city total of 6,500? (estimated)

In their age breakdown, here is what Bill McKee, in our nonscientific calculations, have arrived at:

62% are in the age group 20-30 inclusive; greatest numbers in following age levels:

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 20 - 9% | 21 - 11% | 22 - 9% | 23 - 7% | 24 - 5% |
| <u>25 - 4%</u> | <u>27 - 3%</u> | <u>28 - 3%</u> | <u>29 - 2%</u> | <u>30 - 1%</u> |

We have also found in this same tabulation that ~~we~~ females were in the numerical preponderance: 53% women 47% men.

2.

I am going to give these figures and our paperwork to Frank and let him mull over them for whatever purposes they may serve in checking other data at hand.

For the Baptist-Friends report, they served to fill out the following paragraph in a report which ought to be out at the end of this month:

" I n s t a b i l i t y i n R e s e t t l e m e n t

How permanently resettled are these 6,500 new Chicagoans? Among resettlers and agency workers, among employers and landlords, among community people of good will and others with whom resettlers come into contact, there is wide difference of opinion.

... Some believe a general reopening of the west coast may signal a mass exodus in that direction. We do not share this belief.

... However likely or unlikely this may be, it is commonly acknowledged that a large proportion of resettlers have a sense of temporariness about Chicago residence; they do not intend to stay here.

TWO FACTORS appear to be largely responsible for evident instability in the permanent resettling process which the government program seeks to accomplish:

- (1) COMPARATIVELY BAD HOUSING
 aggravated by discriminatory restrictions
- (2) PREPONDERANCE OF YOUNG, SINGLE MEN AND WOMEN RESETTLERS
 less than one-fifth are family units

Available housing, to hundreds of Chicago resettlers, is incredibly bad, below west coast evacuee standards; discrimination in trying to get housing has been more acute to the resettler, more disillusioning and frustrating, than any other unfavorable group experience.

Only 17% of those here are married persons constituting family units including those who have not yet been able to bring out the rest of their families for lack of housing. 81% are single men and women, mostly young; 62% are in the age group 20-30 inclusive, with the greatest numbers at the ages 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Single young women outnumber young men.

AREA OF NEEDED ATTENTION: the re-establishment of what constituted normal pre-war family units, especially in the case of Issei parents with minor children, has made little headway in Chicago--as yet. This may account too for the police records of resettler delinquency which, though few in porportion to the total population, have been reported in the press.

There are known to us--and probably to all resettlement agencies here--persons who are blocked in their attempts to bring out the rest of their families still in relocation centers, due to inability to obtain housing.

Many of these people are Issei, handicapped by language barriers in making effective inquiry on their own.

Generally, in the older-age brackets are

people whose maturity and responsibility would make for stability in Chicago re-settlement, whose re-establishment here would tend to modify the shifting, transient nature of the resettler population."

Have we drawn any unwarranted conclusions from our statistics? I'd certainly appreciate your comments.

The report covers Evidences of Permanence, Areas of Discrimination (in housing, employment, public places, schools, hospitals, burial & funeral arrangements), and a number of other items which we felt the church constituency wanted to know. I shall send you a carbon as soon as I get the first draft typed out; it is to be mimeographed and circulated only to committee members here.

We got some interesting figures on "religious preference". In the application forms which we have had most of the 3,500 persons fill out, we have a blank labelled "Religious preference". It is only one/out of two sides of an application form, and each persons is told he does not have to fill out anything any part of the form he finds objectionable. Religious preference also does not necessarily mean church membership. Here are our figures based on the same sampling of 1300:

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Christian | 69% |
| Methodists | 13% |
| Baptists | 7% |
| Presbyterian | 6% |
| Catholic | 3% |
| Congregational | 3% |
| Episcopal | 3% |
| Southern Baptists, Free Methodists, Holiness, Brethren Reformed, Christian Scientists, Church of Christ, Seventh Day Adventists, Church of Disciples | less than 1% |
| Denomination not stated | 33% |
| Buddhist | 12% |
| No religious preference | 19% |

Do you think it would be safe to assume that most of the 19% who wrote down "None" or left the space blank were Buddhists? The Buddhist representatives who have been coming to our inter-agency staff meetings have claimed as high as 3000 to 4000 Buddhists among the resettler population of 6,500. I feel their claims are high, but I am wondering how representative a cross-section we got at our office. The Friends were on resettlement nearly seven months before there was a Chicago WRA office; the files are quite revealing too. Our little interview cards, which I have not yet had counted, contain some rather revealing attitudes and expressions by resettlers, and I do not think we got the "church" people altogether.

In the matter of educational background of the Chicago resettler population, using the same sampling, we arrived at the following conclusions: (taken from a paragraph in the same report):

4.

"E d u c a t i o n a l B a c k g r o u n d

THE CHICAGO RESETTLER population is a highly literate one: 93% have had at least a complete, four year high school education; 20% have had trade, business or professional training after high school; 28% have had some college or university education, in many cases interrupted by evacuation; 8% are university graduates. Many have continued their education here in Chicago."

These conclusions may be unjustified on the basis of only 1300 out of 3500, but somehow neither Bill nor I felt it necessary to go through the whole thing; beside, we didn't have the time, and our report may suffer as a consequence. Will you give me some expert opinion on this? Perhaps you may be better able to evaluate when I send you a carbon of our report.

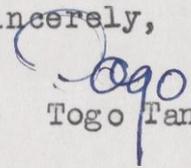
We are in the process of changing our whole schedule; our emphasis will be out in the field, out of the office, and we hope to concentrate our energies in: (1) opening desirable housing, particularly for family units and (2) in the general area of neighborhood tensions.

I have been hoping to get together with Tom to compare notes on group formations; our paragraph on "Evidences of Permanence" cover the subject briefly, but it is rather long for me to type out now; it is after midnight, and you will have read far enough by this time.

Best wishes to W.I., please give Morton our best wishes also for speedy recovery, also to Rosalie though we've not met, and I shall write to Jimmy. I hope he's not been hit too hard.

Incidentally, Dorothy, do you have any population statistics on what the usual period of female preponderance in a given family is? Jean asks to be remembered to you both.

Sincerely,


Togo Tanaka

October 18, 1944

Dear Togo,

I was greatly interested in your letter of October 13th. So much so, that I spent almost the whole day working out some comparable tabulations that I thought might throw further light on your data.

My tabulations refer to the 1468 persons over 17 years of age who relocated from Tule Lake between October 1, 1942 and September 30, 1943. Many of them went to Chicago, but I have not separated the Chicago resettlers from the others. I am not sure how comparable these are with your data primarily because I do not know whether or not you include children. I do not, as noted above, but confine my analysis to adults 17 years of age and over (as of the end of 1942)

You have 81% unmarried; 19% married, widowed, etc. I have 66% unmarried; 34% married, widowed, etc. This is a very appreciable difference, and could be accounted for if you have included younger persons. You should, I believe, divide your data by Issei and Nisei. Thus I find only 35% of the Nisei married, contrasted with 71% of the Issei.

You find 62% aged 20-30 inclusive; I find 58%. Probably not a significant difference.

I find 54% males, contrasted to your 47%. I suspect I am closer the truth for all resettlers. It looks as though your sample is overweighted with females. Frank can, however, check on this.

*^ number of
class in
figures*

The religious comparison is particularly interesting. Since Tule Lake was so heavily Buddhist, my comparisons will not be usable without correction. I therefore applied the proportions of each religious group migrating from Tule Lake (by nativity) to the base ~~xxxxxxx~~ population for "all projects" (data obtained from WRA) to find the proportions expected among resettlers in general. I find that we would expect approximately 59% of the resettlers to be Christians, 17% to have no religion, 24% to be Buddhists. Thus, it looks as though your sample is overweighted for Christians and underweighted for Buddhists, but just about right for those who have no religious preference. However, the claims of the Buddhists to having 3 or 4 thousand among the resettler population of 8500 seem to be absurd. A more reliable estimate would be about a quarter of all resettlers. I do not think that those who express "no religious preference" are primarily Buddhists. I base this conclusion on the general statistical behavior of this group, which is, in several measurable respects, intermediate between that of Buddhists and Christians, but somewhat nearer the Christian than the Buddhist, if you get what I mean.

The education figures are certainly impressive. According to the 1940 census, 57% of the Male Nisei aged 25 and over had had at least 4 years high school; 53% of the females (figures for California); 19 and 12% for the two sexes respectively having had some college or university education. These figures are not quite comparable with yours because of the age differential. Nevertheless, I suspect the resettlers are, on the average, more highly educated

than the general evacuee population(and certainly very much more so than the general Caucasian population)

Go back to your question of sampling. The number in your sample is unquestionably adequate. To know whether it is "representative" or not is quite another matter, and one that I can't answer without further information. How did you select your sample from among your own 3500? Was there any biasing factor? An unbiased sample could be obtained if you took say, every third or fourth case from either a chronological or alphabetical arrangement. A biased sample would have been obtained if you took only voluminous cases, or cases of particular sorts, or interesting cases.

The number, again would be adequate to represent the Chicago city total of 6500 cases, but I have doubts about the representativeness of either your sample or your whole 3500 cases in respect to the Chicago "statistical universe" of resettlers. It seems a priori probable that, because of your suspects, you would draw an undue proportion of Christians. This inference is strengthened by the analysis I made of the probable religious composition of the resettlers. There would certainly be other selective forces that would draw certain types of resettlers to your office, whereas others of different types would not seek out your aid. So, irrespective of your numbers, I don't think you can, without considerably more evidence, claim representativeness.

I think however that you have an extraordinarily important body of data at hand. I should like to help you plan further tabulations. Perhaps, if you are not in a hurry, you could bring a few case folders to Salt Lake City, if you come, and we could draw up some forms for tabulation.

Regarding SLC, get your reservation a month ahead of time, along with the other boys. You can always cancel, if your plans change, but it is very difficult to get a ticket on short notice.

I am afraid I cannot give you any assurance that your next will be a boy(who wants a boy anyway?) Although the overall probability of boy versus girl births is 105 to 100, the experience of individual families is often a "run" of one sex or other. So I guess you are founding a matriarchy.

Our best to Jean, Jeannine, and Christine.

Sincerely,

In answer to your question re Jimmy, his address is 12-12-C, Minidoka.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

October 24, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Thanks ever so much for your letter of the 18th. We've rechecked some of our figures for the Friends-Baptist report, which, incidentally, has just come back to me for final revision. I see a lot of the statistical data lopped off, as you will also note when I forward the mimeographed copy. For purposes of a church agency constituency, some of the figures were found to be unnecessary, or likely to be misinterpreted. For instance, we're dropping the percentages on denominational affiliations, which I thought rather interesting.

I think, after reading your notes, that our sampling was somewhat biased. We did not go through the whole period in chronological order, yanking every third or fourth one. We took one big heavy file, knocked it over, went through it in the process of putting it back into position; it covered the early period. Then we took another portion largely of 1944 arrivals. We figured so long as we had folders of people for the entire period, it wouldn't matter whether we got everyone from A through Z, which was rather unscientific, wasn't it? Now I realize we probably don't have a representative cross-section.

Unless you direct otherwise, I shall be at SLCity with Frank and Tom and will bring several of the folders along with me. Also as much of the completed chapters (I hope they will all be complete by then) as I am able to get done. Tom called today and said he was going day after tomorrow (26th) to get the reservations.

Before going to SLCity for the bite into JACL files, I'd like to get an outline of all the data I have at hand here. Whatever work I must accomplish in the JACL data compilation & writing, I must get it done in 2 weeks, as it will be necessary for me to get back to Chicago by mid-December. Is that all right with you? I feel that, without the incessant interruptions of the work which occupies most of my time here in Chicago, and working under pressure, I can get a whole lot more done in a much shorter time than this dizzy effort to do things piecemeal as I have been trying.

Jean and I enjoyed the last paragraph of your last letter no end. Matriarchy's ok too. Heck, what choice has a guy got? Regards to W.I. and hello to Morton; hope everyone is well.

Hurriedly,

Jego
Togo

Soc. Science

Geology

Rural Sociology

Genl. Anthropol.

Phil. Inst.

Public Relations

| | | |
|---------------|-------|-----|
| Soil Brgt | 3-3-3 | (6) |
| Soc. Wel. (2) | 3-3 | (4) |
| Phil. Study | 3 | |
| Soc. Orgs. | 3 | |
| Pub. Training | 3 | |
| Child Welfare | 3 | |

27

October 28, 1944

Dear Togo,

I am glad you will find it possible to go to Salt Lake City. Enclosed a travel-and-expense advance.

The conference will be a rather lengthy one. In view of the pressure of time, I suggest that you attend the first two days. On the first day, Tom will discuss his Chicago investigations. On the second day, you will tell us just how far you have got with your report, outlining the various points you have covered(since we shall not have had a chance to read the manuscript), and we shall work out plans with you for exploring the JACL files. Thereafter, start work on the files, and come in and out of the conference as you can find time. Since the major part of the conference will be on studies at the project level, you can well afford to skip a good part of them.

Sincerely yours,

American Friends Service Committee

Midwest Branch

189 West Madison Street

Chicago, Illinois



Telephone CENTral 2623

General Office, Philadelphia

Rufus M. Jones, *Chairman*

William R. Fogg, *Treasurer*

Clarence E. Pickett, *Executive Secretary*

Midwest Office

Charles S. Beal, *Chairman*

James C. Matchett, *Treasurer*

Edwin C. Morgenroth, *Executive Secretary*

October 30, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

The day on which I purchased my round trip ticket for SLCity, Tom got his notice; he called me about it, so I have returned my ticket which was for a departure on the 27th from Chicago and will go with Frank.

Enclosed is the mimeographed copy of that report about which I wrote you when we were in the process of trying to tabulate figures so they would have some meaning.

Regards,

Togo
Togo

Dear Dorothy
Will be seeing you
soon at St City
Togo

M e m o r a n d u m

To: John W. Thomas
From: Togo Tanaka
Date: Nov. 13, 1944
Subject: Anti-Semitism among Japanese Americans

On October 25, 1944, I had mimeographed and mailed the following letter to 93 personal friends, mostly Nisei:

"Dear ---

"Enclosed is some literature which I thought you might be interested in reading and perhaps passing on.

"The Congressional Record extract quotes Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy. In reading recent Los Angeles newspapers, I found him extensively quoted in a plea for fair play for all American minorities.

"During the past 19 months, in interviewing some 1,800 resettlers, I have been occasionally disturbed by what seemed to me anti-Semitic utterances, as unfair and unreasoning as the anti-Nisei expressions of professional race-baiters in California.

"It would certainly interest me to get any of your reactions to the enclosed literature. I should like to get a fairly wide distribution of this material, and would appreciate your suggestions. And how can we encourage people to refrain from the kind of prejudiced thinking which victimized them on the west coast?

Sincerely,

Togo Tanaka _____ "

The enclosures included, in addition to the Congressional Record extract, a reprint of an article entitled "Off My Chest" by Philip Wylie of the Miami Daily News, and a cartoon book (in color) entitled "They Got the Blame", illustrating injustices to scapegoats in history, prepared by the Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

--The letter was addressed to Nisei both inside Relocation centers and in a number of cities throughout the country: Manzanar, Minidoka, Topaz, Granada, Rohwer, Heart Mountain, Poston, Gila; Columbus, New York, St. Paul, Madison, Buffalo, Dayton, Salt

2.

Lake City, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Washington, D.C. Los Angeles, Evanston, Minneapolis, Cambridge, Davenport, Riverton, Elgin, Indianapolis, Champaign, Riverdale (N.Y.), Ann Arbor, Syracuse, Naperville, as well as Chicago.

To date I have had four telephone acknowledgments and 14 letters in reply.

Without exception, the 18 out of 93 who have replied to the letter feel the problem is quite real and not imaginary.

Here are some direct quotations from those replies; they may not necessarily be accurate, but they are an indication of a situation:

From Manzanar:

"... at Manzanar it seems that anti-Semitism is alarmingly prevalent. You remember Janet Goldberg of the H.S.? She was frightened by its extent. But she seemed reluctant to treat it -- I think she was too young--younger than us. It exists in places that disappoint me--from the Catholic priest to the Japanese Protestant ministers to almost everyone else. I wonder just where the decontaminating process begins. Probably it should be integrated and take place all along the lines--from pulpits, Sunday school classes, school discussions, papers, block managers... -- S-- H-----."

From Champaign, Illinois:

"... I too have been somewhat disturbed by the attitudes of Nisei regarding the Jews, especially in Chicago. Just the other week I was with a group of nisei on the North side. The subject of Jews was brought into the conversation. Majority of those in the group frankly expressed their dislike for the Jews. One nisei remarked that the Jews were responsible for the evacuation of Japanese from the Coast. Another mentioned that the Jews were really the ones who were reluctant about employing nisei in Chicago. He gave Marshall Field as an example. I believe that most of the nisei are not well informed on the problems of the Jews. Certainly the circulation of literature... is one of the best means to educate them... I'm certain that a large number of nisei can be reached by distributing these circulars and folders through the church groups, nisei student groups on various campuses, and other nisei organizations. -- N--- T-----."

From Columbus, Ohio:

"... several of my nisei friends have various

3.

prejudices for no certain reasons, and I wish we could do something to break it down... I think it would be a very wise idea to distribute copies of various pamphlets such as 'Races of Mankind', 'The Negro and the War', and other material to the nisei, as many as you can contact. I think it is also important that we have some contact with various Negroes, Jewish friends, and others--to make the nisei realize that we are not the only ones who have problems--in fact, our problems are minor compared to those of some of the other races... Here in Columbus, the young Friends have started a very interesting inter-racial group which meets every other Sunday, and it has been very successful. About half the group are Negroes, and there are a few white and nisei. I have come to know several of the Negroes quite well and we have had some very interesting evenings.... You will be able to get some excellent material on race prejudice from the Columbus Council for Democracy, 9 East Long St., Columbus, O. Also the Public Affairs pamphlets are very good... -- E--- Y-----."

From Cleveland, Ohio:

"... Your observations regarding anti-Semitic feeling among the Nisei parallel mine. It is extremely disturbing to feel that one minority cannot associate its difficulties with some of its own biased attitudes... I should think that distribution of the comic strip, 'They Got the Blame' among the Nisei would be very helpful. Do you have additional copies that I might have for this purpose? ... I feel very strongly that there is very little hope for the Nisei unless they are able to see their difficulties in the proper perspective, putting them into their context of the total race situation in the United States...--S-----N-----."

From New York:

"... It is very important that the Nisei should not imitate the prejudices of people with whom they are getting acquainted. I think there are some among us who take advantage of the prejudice against Jews and Negroes so as to protect ourselves. In the end they will realize that racial prejudice is racial prejudice no matter whom it is directed against. What is un-Christian and undemocratic towards one segment of society cannot be Christian and democratic toward other segments of society. --T--- M-----."

From Salt Lake City:

"... As far as the comic book ("They Got the Blame") is concerned, the Japanese American Citizens League is expecting to distribute about 25,000 with a special message printed in the back. We have had this project under consideration for almost four months, but have not been able to decide on the type of message to be carried. We feel that the Nisei need to be educated on racial tolerance as well as anybody else... --S----- K-----."

4.

From Chicago:

"... I've noticed it among the Nisei but didn't think anyone else cared. I don't know what you can do about it; some of the Nisei that I've heard say such things aren't the kind who'd read this literature... --V----- A----."

"... I would like to have as many copies as possible sent for distribution among my patients of all races. Doctors, dentists, hospitals have the nearest contact with people, so have nurses, teachers, the P.T.A., the schools. I would like the material reach every home, especially among German, Swedish, old English neighborhoods. -- G---- L-----." (Not a Nisei)

"Thanks for your letter dated Oct. 25 regarding the Nisei attitude toward Semetic group. I don't think they have such a strong prejudice as to hate them as such, but it is a commonly spoken subject among the nisei. Partly because their parents have taught them and partly because people in general talk about them. The real prudice of Semitic people is pointed to their disposition regarding money. I could imagine why some has been so bitter toward them because they have experienced some exploitation in the West during the evacuation. However, I don't think it is as strong as the Issei's prejudice against the Semeitics. Pamphlet is a good means to spread favoritism but I wonder haow many would be serieous about it and take a stand in other question. Thanks for the service. Sincerely yours... -- S---- K----."

"... While I am quite aware of the fact that we all need to be educated on the subject, and although it is not fair to brahd the entire race by a few, this race question I believe must be a two-sided affair. Just as most of the resettlers strive for a stamp of approval, so must the Jewish race improve most of all their business ethics. This factor seems to he the greatest grievance against them in speaking to both Caucasian and Nisei friends since receiving your letter. Of course, this does not mean that I approve of the race-baiters or of prejudice against any race, and I sincerely believe that your efforts in disseminating the gospel truth on the matter certainly will help to cure some definitely poisoned minds. Sincerely yours. --G---- H-----."

New Grand Hotel
Salt Lake City Utah



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley 4, California

U. of Calif.
Evacuation & resettlement study

Dec. 7 1 p.m.

1944

Dear Dorothy:

Am just going out to lunch now, but can't resist writing this note to let you know that I have just finished Chapter II (Emergence as National Organization). It is, in its 1st draft, 9 pages single spaced (about 21 pages dblespcd) with some documentation. I just missed you & W.I. & George this morning but got an early start. With yesterday's suggestion re: procedure, I think it will come along more smoothly with less wasted effort. It sure feels good to have a chapter done. If I can bang out Chpt III tomorrow, I can work on IV & V the next three days. (I hope). More later; Sure all of you will be missed in the evenings especially. If this concentration drives me to it, I hope you won't mind my going to see a show or newsreel for a couple of hrs. Regards

J *1940*

December 11, 1944

Dear Togo:

I received your postcard and was glad to hear of the progress you are making. I find your reports very stimulating, particularly the one on the vernacular press. You are certainly doing a fine job for us.

I had intended to discuss the financial aspects of our arrangement with you but simply neglected to do so. You understand that if you have any loss of salary from the Friends and Baptists during the time you are spending in Salt Lake City, we shall of course make up that deficit in addition to the regular honorarium which you will get for December, and also your traveling expenses. So let us know how we stand.

You will be amused to know that I spent a great part of the return trip pacing up and down the train with a teething baby, son of a war bride who was completely exhausted. The baby succeeded in chewing up W.I.'s hat and George's necktie in addition to the collar of my nice fresh blouse. As a parent you will know what I went through.

Give our best to Jean, Jeannine and Christine.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

December 12, 1944
11:00 p.m.

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your letter. It must have been quite a trip with a teething infant, and I think we've an idea approximately what it was like. If it was the same hat W.I. had with him that the baby chewed, that hat could take a lot of chewing and still come out okay.

The heavy hand of time caught up with me sometime around last midnight. I've finished (first draft only) Chapters I, II, III, VI, and most of IV. I realized then that if I were to catch the train at 7 p.m. Dec. 13, it would not be possible to finish Chapter V, so I spent this a.m. writing and the afternoon at the JACL office wheedling and bargaining with Saburo Kido to let me take (1) the Masaoka report (2) selected letters, memoranda, reports, etc. home to Chicago with me.

I like Kido very much, and he has been quite generous and helpful, but he balked on No. 1 (Masaoka report), because "it's the only copy we got." He agreed readily enough, however, to let me take the data for Chapt V on condition it be returned promptly.

Around about 4 p.m. he asked me if I would be interested in taking a job with J.A.C.L., in New York, Chicago or Washington, asking at the same time how long I expected to be with the Friends & Baptists. Since I do not know the answers to these questions, particularly the latter, I could only give him guesses on my own part.

My very good friend Joe Masaoka at this point suggested that maybe "Togo could edit Mike's report". That helped clinch it. I am able to report tonight that I have it and will have it typed in Chicago & sent to Berkeley. It really is about the best piece of J.A.C.L. literature on the evacuation period from the standpoint of analyzing J.A.C.L. attitudes on various issues, reactions to incidents both inside and outside the camps.

Kido said he would write you a letter informing you that your research assistant Tanaka failed to live up to his bargain of classifying and organizing J.A.C.L. files in return for "our letting him see everything." I told him maybe the Baptists would send me this way in six months and if he would sweep out the office once in a while, I'd clean the things up for him then. Mrs. Kido gave me a jar of pickled radishes to take home.

Would you go through the enclosed Chapters I, II, III, IV (not complete) and VI and then send them on to me in Chicago with your comments. There must be some horrible gaps. I spent too much time that first week typing out notes & reference material, only a fraction of which I have yet used. As Dick said, this could easily run into a thousand pages though at the

(2)

time of our sessions I seemed to be sure it wouldn't.

I shudder to think how some of the paragraphs sound as you read over them. The sentences are ponderous and poorly written. You may run into a lot where the meaning may not be clear. I'll try hard to catch them on the 2nd draft when you send this back to me. I have not re-read the enclosed, am even afraid of the ordeal at the moment.

As this is the only copy (I neglected to make a carbon, an oversight I've just discovered), I will be completing the pre-evacuation chapters and working on the Chicago stuff in the meantime, keeping in touch with Frank. Will also contact Boisen at Elgin State and try real hard to get everything in for you by the year's end. Please don't worry if it should run into the first couple of weeks in January.

Chapter V takes in the period from April, 1942, to the present, and I have about 20 pounds of stuff commandeered from the JACL files which I've mailed to Chicago today. In your criticism of the enclosed, if you will include points you feel should be especially covered in Chapt V, it would be very helpful to me.

I'm afraid some of my analyses is inadequate and poor at a lot of points. The whole thing has been written too hastily and sloppily, but I'm sure the 2nd draft will be an improvement.

It is very kind of you to offer to make up any loss of salary I might have incurred in the Chicago office as a result of my Salt Lake stay. Now I really don't know what that situation is going to be. My salary from the Baptists has been \$200 a month; although I've been away about 2½ weeks, I don't anticipate any deduction beyond half a month's salary, if there is to be a deduction. I'll know at the end of the month. John Thomas was in Chicago Dec. 10, but I missed him of course.

As for expenses, so far my day-to-day notebook shows a total of \$182.59, including the rd trip fare & berth & hotel bill paid up to date, also including some few personal items which will have to be subtracted in the itemized accounting I shall send on for Mrs. Wilson to check with the receipts. I've another day to pay on the hotel, then tomorrow night entrain for home and the noisy comforts of my little family.

I hope you have heard from Tom regarding the \$125 on his travel advance. He turned over his railroad ticket & balance of his cash to me when he was inducted, in return for which I gave him my personal check covering the total amount advanced to him. He said he would send it on to you. I am using the \$250 advance which you mailed to me. Frank said he would clear this matter with you, and I forgot to ask you about it here.

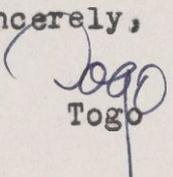
It was a real privilege to be able to attend this conference to see W.I. and you again, as well as Dick and Jimmy, to meet Rosalie and George, and to swap detective yarns with Frank; and while in the midst of the JACL research at times I've felt

(3)

like a grubworm, it's been quite stimulating and an enjoyable task at that. I did take in a 2-hr show on Monday, a technicolor nonsense entitled "Something for the Boys", lotsa dancing & stuff, and came back to the middle of CHapt. IV quite refereshed.

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for the opportunity, and with kindest personal regards to all,

Sincerely,


Togo

Dec. 13, 1944

Dear Georges:

Thanks ever so much for your letter and for mailing back those papers for the JACL files.

This morning I had a brief, frantic experience of scrambling around all over for my wallet & railroad ticket back. Discovery that it was missing was made at 9:00 a.m. My draft card etc also had been in it. After looking all over & almost giving up, I called Union Pacific & asked if they could let me on anyway at 7 p.m. tonight. They said nope I better buy another ticket. I made a reservation to pick it up by 3 p.m., and gave myself until then to: (1) find my wallet or (2) raise sixty bucks for fare back plus money for my meals. Eureka, as they say, I just found my wallet, on the left arm of one of the chairs here, in the most obvious spot in the room. Otherwise, this letter would have had to be written in Chicago or on the train enroute.

I think the slight strain of the past two weeks is beginning to show on me, because things like this always happen. Last time I busted my glasses.

Here is the record of our Dec. 6, 1944, interview with Saburo Kido on some property losses in evacuation:

"We sold all the equipment in the plant of the New World Sun Daily (japanese language newspaper in San Francisco) for \$1800 in March, 1942. It was sold at auction. As attorney for the firm and having been associated with it for some time, I know the stuff was worth more than \$30,000. We had a debt of \$2000 to pay, and if at that time we had that much cash, as we look back on the deal, we should have bought the stuff ourselves.

"The Home Cleaners in San Francisco, a dry cleaning establishment was purchased by its Nisei owners for \$30,000. George Shigezumi who is now in Chicago was one of the owners; ask him for the details. The place was sold for the sum of \$4700 as a result of evacuation.

"I think the biggest losses were among small business men, suit cleaners & dyers especially in San Francisco. One of my clients who could have sold his business for at least \$3500 if he had held on to it a little longer, got scared and stampeded and instead got only \$275; this was the Union Cleaners in San Francisco operated by Daisuke Takahashi.

"In San Jose, Thelma Takeda's family (she's the girl who works for the JACL office here in Salt Lake City) had a 10-acre pear ranch with a six-room house on it that had been built just three years before; they left about \$15,000 worth of valuable equipment on the ranch too. The pears were just about ready to be harvested; at that time the value of the crop was estimated to be about \$1000 per acre, which meant \$10,000 in income. You know what kind of arrangement Thelma's family allowed to be made with the people to whom they rented their place? Just pay the taxes on the property! So they lost all their pear income as well as got the low end of the deal, even today, on rental.

"Dr. Russel Wehara's optical manufacturing firm is another example

[Dec. 13, 1944]

(2)

of loss in evacuation. In 1941, Dr. Wehara paid \$10,000 in income tax alone on a gross income of over \$100,000. He had three stores and employed a number of people. He got about \$35,000 for his whole business. I think it was handled through W.C.C.A. He had a beautiful house worth about \$14,000. He rented it to some people free.

"Mrs. Fuji Aoki of the Aoki Taisei-Do books and stationery store in San Francisco took some losses too. She sold all the phonograph records of the store for two cents apiece; she could get over a dollar for them now.

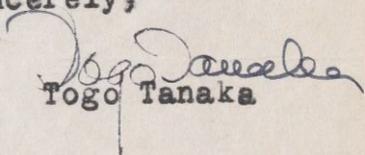
"In many instances, during the period before evacuation and even after it, the wholesale food provisions dealers did not take any losses, but even made profits. Shoyu, for instance, can be kept indefinitely, and that's what happened. Also the cutting off of provisions from Japan made a lot of the dead stock on hand worth a lot more than it had ~~been~~ ever been.

"The nursery losses in Northern California were pretty big, I think."

I did not get to examine as thoroughly as I would like to have all the correspondence of the J.A.C.L. on the evacuation period; so I am taking a pretty good assortment (I think) home with me, having mailed it yesterday. Perhaps I can send you some stuff from Chicago, if it has any bearing on the material you are looking for.

It was certainly good to have been able to attend the conference here. I have found the sessions and the meeting with W.I. and Dorothy Thomas most interesting and stimulating. It was a real pleasure to have met you, and I shall look forward to seeing you again some time. My work with the study winds up at the end of the year, but perhaps we may see you in Chicago. With kind regards,

Sincerely,


Togo Tanaka

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley 4, California

Dec. 18, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Having arrived home Friday without mishap, I ran smack into over 2000 lbs of furniture & stuff piled on our front porch awaiting my return. The next 48 hrs were spent largely in uncrating & lugging it up to our 3rd floor roost; and it has been near zero weather outside.

That and a little mountain of accumulated work at the office have combined to keep me below the water line until tonight when I get back on that Chapt V & also pre-war chapters.

I should have known better when I put the JAOL things into the Christmas mail, but neither of the large packages I posted in SLCity has yet arrived. I trust (and pray) you got my special delivery registered mail with the 1st draft I batted out at Salt Lake.

It's nice getting acquainted with the family again, and I discover that Jeannine has undergone some nice training which permits me to get uninterrupted minutes on whatever I may be doing if I ask her in the right way. In other words, she is growing up a little.

Jean sends her best regards; Merry Christmas and Happy New Year from all of us,

Sincerely,

Togo
Togo Tanaka

P.S.
I shall get the expense statement in the mail tomorrow.



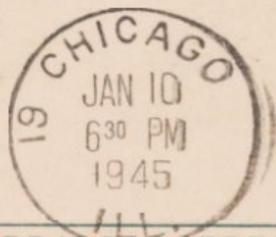
*to Dorothy & W. I.
from the
Tanakas.*

Jan 7 1945

Dear Dorothy:

Am having Louise type
2nd draft of TACC stuff (my SCate
stuff re-written.) Chapt I will be
longer than other chapters. Is progressing.

Wes



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
507 Giannini Hall
Berkeley 4
Calif.

Dear Dorothy,

Jan. 5, 1945

I have received your letter of Dec. 26 & have been digesting contents. Progress on chap. I is slow but steady. Draft no. 2 of completed JACL manuscript is ought to be ready by end of next week. Pre-war stuff still to be banged out. Louis is working on Macaulay manuscript. Have not yet had time to go out to see Bowen but will follow through. There is other stuff such as pre-war notes in diary form that I still am delinquent on. Will continue to feed this material in and whatever may be of any value in the stuff collected in Chicago despite the termination of my official connection with study - if this has your consent. You've been most generous and patient, and it's been a priceless experience for me to be able to sit in on the sessions. More later & please forgive the post card. With
but regards to W. J. Sincerely, Togo

5831 So Blackstone Ave.
Chicago 37 Illinois



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley, 4
California

February 1, 1945

Dear Dorothy:

Here it is, another new month. January was one of the most hectic months I've experienced in all my life. I think we should have kept a journal and titled it "A Japanese American Tries to Buy a Home in Chicago" and run a sub-title "And Saddles himself and His Family with a Huge Mortgage". Chapter I might have been devoted to "Indignities at the Hands of Little People". Of course, all this sounds like the cynical outburst of a frustrated and disappointed person, but I hope it's not, because my efforts (after seeing some 163 or more houses) have culminated in partial success.

But golly, the prejudice one encounters at the real estate and neighborhood level leaves no illusion in my mind about the level of the people whose good company it's been my privilege to keep these two years. They're simply not the kind you meet in the street. I'm afraid that my sitting in the office and interviewing resettlers has deprived me of the experience of feeling some of the things they've been describing to me. Getting out and going into the community, talking to people who are total strangers in their home and hobnobbing with a housewife who has a mentality age 10 and an education low sixth year, discussing relocation with unsympathetic real estate people, trying to convince a savings and loan association secretary that a particular Nisei is a good applicant for a mortgage loan, attempting to get a Nisei family located on a block where everyone else is both Irish and Catholic whereas the Nisei is Japanese (racially) and Protestant (religiously)--all these have added up to terrific headaches.

It all started with my assignment to the work on securing family housing. Prudence Ross of W.R.A. at a recent inter-agency meeting urged private agency workers to "stimulate new areas where Japanese Americans may live in order to avoid the establishment of undesirable ghettos." In the process, as some of the Nisei prospects for housing I cornered backed out when it appeared some kind of community issue was going to be created by their coming into a neighborhood, I got myself and family involved in several applications for purchase. In every instance, however, where some opposition to a purchase by a J-A was voiced in a neighborhood, I got rejected somewhere in the proceedings.

Take for example the Roseland area of Chicago. It is far south, also referred to as Calumet. I spotted a house at 103rd & Indiana. The Harold Alexanders owned it. They were quite willing, anxious, to sell it to me or to any other Nisei family I might recommend. The Harold Ahlstroms next door, whom I visited on an evening, are swell people and the kind we would like to have for neighbors. I believe they felt the same way about us and were quite helpful in keeping me posted on neighborhood developments and recommending me to the loan (federal savings -mortgage) people. But the McSherrys who lived next door to the Ahlstroms don't like "Japs", as they ~~under~~ referred to us. So I understand they

(2)

went to work on the-neighborhood. The Chesterfield Savings and Loan Ass'n secretary assured me at first that there would be no difficulty securing a mortgage on the property I now proposed to purchase. Two days later, Abel DeHaan (the sec'y) called me saying that the loan committee had voted 5-4 against approving the loan. He said he had swung three men but had not been able to get the fifth. I decided to ask him for a chance to work on the other five myself. He said he would, but also I must get the assurance of the editor of the Calumet Index to promise not to raise an issue in the newspaper if a Nisei came into that neighborhood.

Next I got an introduction to meet Floyd Haas Jr who runs the Calumet Index. This was arranged through Morris Kaplan, editor of the Westside Times with whom I have been serving on the race relations committee of the City Club, and through Bob Cleveland, editor of the Southtown Economist who invited me to speak recently before the Englewood Lions Club. I found Haas a young man, not much older than myself, but exceedingly prejudiced and color-conscious despite the fact he strikes a pose of being fair and unprejudiced. He knows all the answers, but I'm afraid his actions have an awful time keeping up with his professions. He promised me, however, that he would not personally oppose my coming into that neighborhood, and he added, "And I'm not going to turn around as soon as you leave this office and run a big editorial about a Jap coming into Roseland as a property owner."

Actually, I discovered he had been on the spot for quite some time in the Negro-white tensions that have arisen in an area about two miles away with the government erecting a public housing project for Negroes (Altgeld Gardens).

From Haas, I proceeded, with introductions, to call on the church people of the neighborhood to marshal support and got a comfortable bit of it too. Then came the final blow. The Chesterfield firm rejected the second application with the comment, "This is final." Well, I could have gone elsewhere and secured the necessary financing, but this Chesterfield outfit practically controls the block and would be in a position to make it uncomfortable.

Of course, all the friends we had made in the neighborhood have been more than just consoling; and I think we've scratched the ~~ee~~ social conscience of some good people who have never been aware of the problem.

Repeat that performance half a dozen times, throw in over a hundred inquiries into new housing areas, tramping ~~hpe~~ through the streets in sub-zero weather, meeting speaking engagements at the rate of three a week, and you have a picture of this poor benighted soul's journal in January. The work on the Study, therefore, suffered. But I shall make a real brave effort to come up in February. I am told Louise's time will be more at my disposal; she has completed the Masaoka JAFL report.

As Frank may have written you, I am considering making a change

(3)

from the Friends and Baptists. I have been asked to retain affiliation with the work on a consultative basis until the program among private agencies closes down. I've been mulling over an offer to do editing for the publications section of the American Technical Society; more about that when I make a definite change after a thorough investigation of the possibilities. If I do make this change, it will place me within three blocks of the University office where Frank is holding forth and therefore I would feel justified in predicting some action on my delinquent writing for the Study.

Also, believe it or not, we are in the process of establishing permanent residence in a two-flat brick building I am undertaking to buy at 56th & Ellis, half a block from Stagg Field. Would you or W.I. by any chance know this building? We take great joy in realizing it is in a neighborhood where we are not apt to become a community issue.

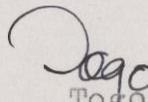
Nothing from my draft board, though one keeps wondering how much longer. Not before I get the family settled permanently, I hope.

This had been too long for such trivia, but it is intended to let you know that my continued delinquency continues to prey upon my mind which means we are likely to get it done. Jeannine & Christine are in as active circulation as ever, and Jean has just weathered a cold. Her mother who has been staying with us since last September is returning to Manzanar ~~in~~ on ~~he~~ the 20th of this month, which is going to keep Jean busier than ever.

Are you and W.I. getting much time for golf these days? One nice guy who wanted to sell a Nisei family his house at 6226 S. Honore but couldn't because "the neighborhood is too clan-nish", took great pride in his being able to hold to a "below 80" game all the time; he's retiring as a passenger agent for the Pennsylvania lines.

Jean asks to be remembered with warmest regards to you both. More later, and best regards to Georges,

Sincerely,


Togo

Dear Dorothy:

Our new address after March 1, 1945, will be 5548 South Ellis ave., Chicago 37, Illinois. We got the two-flat and it is being redecorated and repaired for our occupancy within the next couple of weeks. Am now closer to University neighborhood generally, as have taken job as editor with the American Technical Society, 850 East B 58th Street, starting tomorrow. Plan to see more of Frank & Louise at the office. Regards to W.I.

Sincerely,

Togo
Togo

2/15/45



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas
207 Giannini Hall
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Dorothy:

We are moved now, and permanently (with reservations) at 5548 South Ellis ave. My study on the 2nd floor is a real retreat, a safe barricade from all the bombardments of our offspring. The disarray of papers is being ~~at~~ straightened out currently, and I am getting down to business again. I have not been to the office in the last fortnight, chiefly because of the chores of moving. We did it all in a trailer, and I worked (with back, legs & arms) for 22 hours straight.

The new job editing books for the American Technical Society is lots of fun and much less strenuous than full-time at the A.F.S.C. The hours are much shorter. I am keeping downtown appointments at the Service Committee office on Tuesdays and Saturdays, leaving me all of Sunday and at least two evenings a week to get down to the final writing of the Study chapters.

Several weeks ago I happened to be out at the Max Straus center here in Chicago. Morton Rosenbaum, director of their forum series, delivered to and at me a thirty minute dissertation on William I. Thomas. It developed that he had read most of W.I.'s published work (so he indicated), including "Child in America". He didn't know Dorothy Thomas as well, but he could go on for hours on W.I. It was impossible to resist the temptation to tell him I had spent a whole week at Salt Lake City in the company of W.I. Thomas recently.

How has Charley fared? And is Dick out there too now? I haven't seen Morton since he went breezing through enroute to Washington, D.C. but hope to call his Dad's home this week to find out what decision he was able to make.

We like our new place. We have to, since we decorated it ourselves (with the help of a professional decorator, of course) and installed a new heating system, plumbing & all the other appurtenances necessary to make one of these ancient Chicago buildings habitable. I've notified my draft board in Glendale of my change of address, expecting to hear from them. This is the 7th change of address notice I've sent them; not once previously has my notification been so much as acknowledged.

Incidentally, we're now on the first floor, and Jeamine has a nice back yard to play in. If you and W.I. ever get stuck for a place in Chicago again, we have room; and so far I have found no livestock, roaches, or other fauna (?) within sight.

Will you give my best regards to Georges and hello to Mrs. Wilson. Next time I write, here is hoping the letter will accompany some completed manuscripts.

Sincerely,

Toyo
Toyo

March 9, 1945

March 20, 1945

Dear Togo:

Congratulations on your new housing arrangements. They certainly sound swell. I am also glad to hear that you are enjoying your new work. The reason I haven't written, as you might guess, is that we had had so much to do here and so many people coming in and out. Charlie is doubtless back in Chicago by this time. Jimmy and his wife arrived just two days after Charlie left. Morton leaves on April first and Dick arrives here for a month on May first.

I am glad to hear that you are making progress on your report for us. Did you, by-the-way, ever get around to giving the notes on your case histories to Louise for typing? I apologize for not having kept more closely in touch with you and promise to reform.

Everyone here sends regards.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

P.S. (Morton dictating)

If you have an apartment on the top floor of your new house, the Grodzins' family is a potential renter. I plan to be in Chicago on the tenth of April and will, of course, come up to see you soon after I arrive. This time, Ruth and Mike will at last be able to meet Jean, Jeannine, Christine and any other additions you may have to your family by that time. Best regards.

Sincerely,

May 24, 1945

Dear Togo,

I hate to seem like a one-woman pressure group (although I think you have observed that I have talents along those lines), but I do wonder when we can expect to receive your pre-evacuation report. It would be awfully useful to us as soon as you can possibly manage it. If you have only one copy, we shall have it run off here. In that case, it should be sent registered mail. If Louise is copying it, we should like to have two copies in this office. Since Louise must be pretty busy, if she has not already begun it send it to us for retyping.

I hear rumors of you from Chattie, and judge things are going well with you. We wish you would take a trip to the Coast one of these days. All here send regards, and our best to Jean, Jeannine and Christine. How about a snapshot of the family?

Sincerely yours,

May 29, 1945

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for your letter which just arrived. First, the date of completion of the pre-evacuation report: not later than June 30. The chapters which I should have given to you at SLCity will be sent via registered mail this coming week. The JACL chapters will also be completed within the month. I shall continue to compile and work on the Friends material, and the long-delayed inquiry through Dr. Boisen at Elgin and Springfield (re: the resettler cases in mental hospitals) will be done after these other materials are forwarded to you.

I feel much like a delinquent with bad conscience and no acceptable explanation. First, I owe you many many letters. My work on the Study, long overdue, has been the victim of continued procrastination; not because I have been lazy so much as because I apparently work best under pressure. Unfortunately, the pressures these past months hit me rather hard from New York and Chicago. This is a terrible confession, but the performance shows it up.

Since last February, I have been in full-time editorial work with the American Technical Society. Efforts to locate a replacement for me at the American Friends Service Committee were not successful, and I have continued to give part of my time there, Tuesday and Saturday for appointments and several afternoons for house-hunting & general housing assistance to resettlers. In addition, they (The AFSC office) have assigned me an average of two speaking engagements weekly.

At one stage in my on-again-off-again efforts to sit down for a stretch and write the Study reports last month, I made a slight spurt forward when it developed that I might get to Whittier College, California, in July, for the 11th annual Institute of International Relations. An invitation to participate in the sessions was extended by the Southern California A.F.S.C. Now it appears, however, that I shall not make the trip; and I am determined more than ever to get down to the actual producing of the final draft. Thanks ever for being so patient and good about it.

Actually, my family is cooperating with me most beautifully. Everyone is well and in good health; and Jean asks to be remembered to you and W.I. with warmest regards. I shall forward a picture when we take one celebrating my completion of the pre-evacuation material at least. My draft board, incidentally, finally sent me a form to fill out. My bosses at American Tech tell me the position I am filling there is essential since a number of my assignments are editing books for the Marine Corps Institute & United States Armed

Forces Institute. However, one can never predict the behavior of draft boards. All the more reason why I had better get to work on the Study.

I see Charlie rather frequently these days; he's pounding the pavements for housing with a vengeance. The results one gets in this business of settling a whole family are heartbreaking. Last Saturday, after two months of steady searching, we were able to locate one for a young resettler, age 20, bringing 5 members of the family out of Manzanar. The whole family is starting from scratch, practically penniless. Two leads that might have been possibilities for Charley's needs slipped through our hands within an hour last Saturday; one was much too far away from the University district.

Jean and I have been planning to have Morton & Ruth & Mike call on us. I talked with Mort a few days after his arrival; I hang my head in shame again to think that we've not had them over yet. Jean is getting the house in fairly good order now, though the process of getting settled is a slow one. Are you and W.I. coming this way again soon at all? More later and some Report material with the next letter within the week. Kindest regards always,

Sincerely,

Jago
Togo

Dear Dorothy:

Frank says to send stuff in piecemeal if necessary but send it in, so here is the first installment on that long overdue chapter on the Vernacular Newspapers. The material I had originally tried to organize for it is about 50 more pages, and I have been struggling with the typing of it these past few days. I have been trying to work in what seemed to me of some importance--a questionnaire taken among high school graduating seniors back in 1938, because it was on the basis of their answers to the question ~~000000~~ "Prefer to live permanently in United States or Japan?" that the editorial policies of the Rafu Shimpo (and later the other English sections) were given more positive expression.

I would like to get your advice on how to incorporate this material, if at all, into the chapter. Am working pretty hard every moment I can get up to my upstairs retreat, but, golly, isn't progress slow? You know, there was an interim of nearly two months (while we were getting settled in this house) when I hardly touched the material. But no more now. More later, and even if it's a little at a time, it'll be arriving regularly. Any suggestions from you will be appreciated aw always; some good chastising, of course, ~~wll-~~ will be deserved. Jean sends her love and asks to be remembered to W.I.

Hurriedly,

Dago
Togo

June 12, 1945

*Ps - Hello to Georges.
PSPS - Morton will probably shoot me, but I haven't
seen him yet; plan to call him shortly, but
after I get a little more in and rolling
again.*

*PSPSPS -
The writing of these chapters
probably reeks. Hope that I will have
time to do a real going-over later.
More soon.*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY
207 GIANNINI HALL
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

June 30, 1945

Dear Dorothy:

First the answers to questions in your letter of June 20: The Summer 1938 Rafu Shimpo high school questionnaires included approximately 80% of all Nisei graduating high schools in ten southern California counties. That was an estimate based upon: (1) our subscription lists & reports from representatives in these counties (2) some inquiries directed to Boards of Education, school principals etc and (3) our Rafu Shimpo Yearbook & Directory files.

How the findings of the questionnaire influenced English section editorial policy will be treated with some detail in the chapter on Vernacular Press. They were used to justify editorials criticizing dual citizenship and to support those on the board of editorial counselors ~~th~~ who insisted upon vigorous flag (U.S.) waving ~~qs~~ opposed to those who questioned the wisdom of over-emphasis upon "Americanization of the Nisei."

Frank was good enough to spend most of an afternoon with me this week. I took a week off (my vacation this year) and inched ahead on the writing. I made notes and an outline, thanks to Frank's suggestions; and we went over some of my material. I must report to you that I shall probably be writing for you for at least several months and that Frank will take what chapters may be described as reasonably completed when he goes west in July.

I've enclosed a copy of a report published in the Rafu Shimpo, dated December 29, 1940, which Frank thought you would be interested in having me incorporate in one of the chapters, perhaps the one on Vernacular Press.

My earlier ~~p~~ outline to you on pre-war organizations in Southern California may have to be tossed into the wastebasket. Frank suggests I concentrate on writing up the material which I have without necessarily sticking to an outline which has compelled me to dig around only to discover an absence of source material on a particular subheading.

The Grodzins & the Tanakas are finally getting together --next Saturday. How is W.I.? All of us wish to be remembered to him. Of course, Dorothy, my face is red, and I should feel self-conscious; for the June 30 "dead line" has ~~p~~ caught me again; the only answer is that we'll get there someday yet. More later. Best wishes, Togo

June 20, 1945

Dear Togo,

I read the beginning of the report on the vernacular newspaper. It seems to me you are following the lines we worked out at SLC. I will be in a better position to criticize when I get the whole chapter.

I think those questionnaires you enclose contain important material. The list of activities engaged in by those young nise is truly impressive. Incidentally, I am checking through the list of males to see how many if any were among the segregants at Tule Lake, and to see whether there is a correlation between that fact and answer to the question re residence in US or Japan. I will also make some simple analyses of activities, etc. Thus the results will prove useful, I think. Do you have any idea how large a proportion of graduating seniors was covered by this questionnaire, i.e. what sort of selection there might be in the group sending in answers.

I don't know how you can work the material into your own chapter. You say the results determined your editorial policy. In what way?

From the messages transmitted to you by Frank, you must think I am indeed in a panic. The reason for my reaction is that literally everyone I know out here under 30 years of age has recently been classified 1A, and I anticipate the same for you. I hope I am wrong.

Best to the family.

Sincerely yours,

This report was published in the Sunday, December 29, 1940, edition of the English section, with the following editorial introduction:

"THE NISEI'S PLACE IS IN AMERICA. To his native country, he owes an undivided oath of loyalty and patriotic devotion. There is no other honorable course.

"On December 23, THE RAFU SHIMPO Holiday Issue presented an array of messages from nisei throughout the United States. The sentiment of wholehearted allegiance to America was re-echoed with emphasis.

"In this pre-New Year Edition, our last issue of 1940, we present a forum discussion among six leading figures, well known to the nisei world, who are in Tokyo today. Four of them are American-born nisei, the other two are Japan-born but American-educated.

"Their frank views of the nisei's position in these troublous times reach the inevitable conclusion:

"'Come what may, the nisei's only place is in America. There is no room for them as a group in Japan.'

"We live in a state of political upheaval and tension. Realism requires us to face the prospect of a possible conflict on the Pacific.

"In such an unhoped-for event, there is but one honorable course of action for all Americans, whatever their racial descent--LOYALTY TO AMERICA."

Participants in the forum, held at the New Grand Restaurant in Tokyo, were described as follows: George Nakamoto, chairman- Overseas Division of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, chairman; Henry Shimanouchi, representative, Society for Promotion of Cultural Relations; Peggy Fujioka, Foreign Office Secretariat and Secretary to the publisher of the Japan Times & Advertiser; Frank Matsumoto, faculty member, Meiji University; Goro Murata, News Editor, Japan Times & Advertiser; Ray Kunishima, Export Bureau, Automobile Manufacturing Company.

A verbatim copy of the published report follows:

NAKAMOTO: Shall we start this, then?

This gathering was called by cable from Los Angeles. The Publishing & Editorial Staff requested that a round-table forum comprised primarily of former Southern Californians regarded as key persons in matters concerning the "Dai Nisei" should be called together and their opinions, their investigations, their information, etc. be gathered to be published in the Annual Christmas Holiday issue of the English Section of The RAFU SHIMPO, and its Japanese translation in the New Year Edition. The contents of our discussion this evening will also be filed with the English Section Editorial Counsellors that we have at Los Angeles under The Rafu Shimo. It is composed of nisei leaders in Los Angeles, who are called together at a meeting four times a year to discuss the problems confronting the Nisei and which is used as a guide in carrying out the policy of the newspaper. But this is the first time The Rafu Shimo is trying to get the opinion of the so-called key persons in Tokyo and Mr. Shogo Muto had considerable trouble selecting the first "personnel" for this evening. He gathered recommendations and inquiries he had made through the Foreign Office and different leaders here in Tokyo, so the selection was not made by myself, or Mr. Muto, or you, or by the Los Angeles Editorial Office.

In carrying out this discussion for this evening, I think there should be a basic premises on which we shall all agree on, or rather, we should stipulate, in order to prevent unnecessary discussions on subjects that have already been discussed previously. Now when we speak of the Nisei here this evening, we are not concerned with the legal technicality of the word "Nisei". They need not be born in the United States. As long as they spent their childhood days or obtained their education in the United States, we shall consider them as "Nisei".

We have, for example, Mr. Matsumoto and Mr. Shimanochi, both born in Japan but who have spent years in the United States. Our discussion must be made with major emphasis on the Nisei residing in Japan because the Nisei here in Japan is a comparative minority and because the discussion is to be published in the U.S. to be read by the Nisei over there. We also recognize that those who have American citizenship, their primary allegiance is to the United States while those born in Japan should be regarded as having their primary allegiance to Japan. But as Nisei, in the sense outlined just now, we are commonly dedicated to the ultimate mission of the betterment of Japanese American relations

under any circumstances to the very last.

Barring any radical changes, the Nisei will work toward a harmonious relationship between America and Japan.

Now the field of discussion will be limited to the adult Nisei and the student Nisei, because I think the past round-table discussions and other "zadankais" that have been held here in Japan, also in the U.S. have largely been devoted to the welfare of the students.

However, I think we should be more concerned about the Nisei as an adult after he has left school. Are there any questions before we proceed?

Well, we'll start off, then, with Mr. Matsumoto; I will ask you a question. I think you are the oldest in point of residence here in Japan. We should like to know the change in the trend here in Japan among the Japanese people toward the Nisei.

MATSUMOTO: Well, at first when I came over to Japan, there were so few and they (the Japanese) were rather inquisitive and looked upon the Nisei rather congenially but later on as the number of Nisei grew, the sentiment changed and there was a time a lot of those Nisei were looked upon as a "problem child." That was quite a set-back on the reputation of the Nisei, and it took quite a time before the general public could really get a true conception of the Nisei. Recently I think that the trend has changed. They are trying to understand the Nisei much more than they used to. Because of the present emergency, we find certain number of narrow-minded nationalists--perhaps this word is not appropriate--who do not understand. All they think is in terms of their "tachiba!" But on the other hand, we find some people who are trying, or who are at least using their efforts, to appreciate the situation of the Nisei. I know recently several prominent people both in the Government circle and in the educational circle--well, they are taking a much more sympathetic stand toward the Nisei.

MURATA: When we were in the United States, we used to hear utterances by Japanese statesmen that the Nisei should be American and uphold their American rights and try to become better American citizens. When we come to Japan, the Japanese, those visiting statesmen and visiting politicians sometimes made statements or speeches at home etc., and we got repercussions in the U.S. But after coming here they know the opinion of the Japanese when they first came, and now do they look upon the Nisei as American or Japanese?

MATSUMOTO: In general, when the group first came to Japan, they couldn't consider them to be foreigners. Of course, they couldn't understand their legal status, so they made up their minds they were Japanese who couldn't speak Japanese or speak in or think in terms of Japanese. Of course, that was due to lack of change.

MURATA: What do you think?

MATSUMOTO: They have changed a great deal and criticize the Nisei much more severely than they used to, but they appreciate the Nisei situation. But on the other hand, there are some who do not appreciate the unique situation of the Nisei.

NAKAMOTO: In other words, the novelty has worn off.

MATSUMOTO: Yes, that's quite true.

MURATA: What do you think, Mr. Shimanouchi?

SHIMANOUCHI: My observations are somewhat similar to Mr. Matsumoto's. Of course, when you try to think of the reasons for the original misunderstanding, it was largely because of the "misconduct" (misconduct in quotes)--because they brought their American manners and customs over here and not being Japanese, these were misunderstood and to a great extent since the mass migration of the Nisei to Japan within the last ten years, quite a considerable number of Nisei have been trained in the ways of the Japanese and in that sense, much of the original misunderstanding along that line has worn off. It seems to me that the recent tendency is among a certain section. I didn't say that this represents the majority. It is to apply the attitude toward the training of the Nisei who were born in the South Seas regions or Manchuria or in South America, you might say to the exact U.S. Nisei and that is to see it isn't possible to "Japanize" them as much as possible. I think behind this type of thinking there is a strong--should I say nationalistic ideology to make them stronger Japanese and to utilize them. Maybe utilize would be too strong a word, but to use them. It is quite difficult to express--maybe I should say spreading the national glory overseas. I wonder if you don't notice that tendency?

MATSUMOTO: That was the nisei ideology. They found that at the outset. They tried to view the nisei here too strong an American, so to speak.

MURATA: They were fundamentally Americans.

MATSUMOTO: Those in Japan could not quite understand that because of lack of knowledge of the nisei, they could not understand the sentiment of the nisei. If I should be blunt--their loyalty to America.

MURATA: They did not realize doing the same thing to white Americans.

MATSUMOTO: That is, practically all the nisei institutions failed because of that. Now the tendency has changed entirely. For instance, a school that is run by a Mr. ----- in Tokyo--they teach them to be Japanese. If you want to become "Mexican" or "Brazilian" they might agree with that and teach them to be better citizens of these respective countries. There is a big difference now. The thinking being different, those that run those institutions are much more broad-minded.

NAKAMOTO: Goro, do you see any difference in the mind of the nisei at the time you first came over here and those coming over now? Is there any difference in the type of nisei or their attitudes toward this country?

MURATA: Sure. When we first came, we came immediately. This mass migration took place shortly after the Manchurian Incident. We came more or less from the standpoint of curiosity; we weren't quite sure what to make of this country and came with a very critical point of view. So when we arrived, certain things disappointed us, and when those things occurred, we criticized them very severely. Although we were sincere Japanese, we couldn't take it sometimes. Lots of nisei come over now, and I notice the infiltration of things Japanese and Japanese culture have taken place very rapidly in the last five or six years so they come with certain understanding and past knowledge of this country. The majority of the nisei who come over here now have great respect for their parents' land and their parents' ancient culture. What they want to do is to go further and deeper into those studies, and you see on the whole a better quality. Which also means that better quality and maturer nisei are coming to Japan than seven or eight years ago, when I came to Japan. The University graduates come now-a-days. University graduates were fewer in those days. In other words, people who come now are just like white Americans students who come over here to study Japan, its history, culture, language, etc., but lots of nisei come with the same ~~peak~~ point of view. Also I suppose there is a tendency to look for new land and newer places to conquer, and their adventurous spirit leads them to come to Japan, China, Manchoukuo. That is always in the minds of the young men all over the world, and from the United States going eastward, you are heading into civilization that is far advanced; and if you keep going west to Japan, China, and Manchoukuo which is least developed, the nisei think they have great opportunities.

SHIMANOUCHI: What do you think is the tendency with respect to job seeking?

MURATA: That's a good question. We have always advocated that Japan is no place to seek jobs. Unless you are well-prepared as technicians, nobody listens. They think Henry and I are trying to monopolize the jobs. But lots come totally unprepared and have gone back with disappointment on their outlook and that outlook had gradually permeated and when they come now, they don't come with such high hopes. They usually make sure they have a job here before they come. Don't you think so?

SHIMANOUCHI: You said something about the adventurous spirit. They weren't seeking a job in that case.

MURATA: They are not seeking jobs, but more or less--

SHIMANOUCHI: Two years ago, when I spoke to nisei audiences from Seattle down to Los Angeles, they would invariably ask the question of vocational opportunities in China, Manchoukuo, and Japan, and the very thing you just said, Goro. It's very difficult to answer those questions before an audience in which there are familiar faces.

MURATA: Lots of people have written to me about so and so, saying how about getting them a job or "What do you think about my coming over?" I have never answered any of those letters. I have never written a single article encouraging them in that field because I don't want to give them the idea that this is the land of opportunities and at the same time, I don't want to discourage them. You, Frank, weren't faced with that request since you are in contact mostly with students.

NAKAMOTO: Then you think maybe there is a change in the motives of the nisei coming here. How did you find things when you first came here?

KUNISHIMA: I came here six and a half years ago to be exact. My motive in coming to Japan was more or less to ~~acquire~~ acquire some Japanese education and manners. The main thing which prompted me to come here was dissatisfaction with my work on the mainland although I was receiving a nice income. I always thought I still lacked something that could be acquired only in Japan, and that is my reason for coming to Japan. I had no intention of coming to work. I came well prepared to stay for three years and was not worried about

any job or anything but I am different from this group. I lived in Yokohama. Among my friends in Yokohama, several are college graduates. One of them was offered a job in Japan and he came to Japan because of this good job which was offered him. He got it and was working until five or six years ago when this firm went down. There are others in Yokohama, graduates of the University of California, who came to Japan to study. They have been in Japan for about five years. The longest has been in Japan for the past nine years. All of these fellows have good jobs and make a nice income and live comfortably, and in their thirties now. Their motive in coming to Japan was, as I said, for education and I guess employment came rather--well, I can't say what--but was more or less a nice opportunity to apply their American education in Japan at a nice fat salary. So after finishing their Japanese education, they got into their positions, and they are still in those places.

NAKAMOTO: Do you find that those who come back are satisfied with their positions in Japan?

KUNISHIMA: This one fellow who has been in Japan for five years is very well satisfied. The other, as long as he is paid a nice fat salary is more than satisfied since he is living in nice quarters and at the same time very convenient. And unless there is some reason or anything that forces him to go back, I think he is very well satisfied living in Japan.

NAKAMOTO: What of the girls? How have you found girls who come from the states? Do they come here in search of work? Do they come here to study? Or do they come in quest of matrimony? How did you find it among your friends?

FUJIOKA: As far as I could gather, the majority of them definitely came here for the purpose of study but unless they return, they stay longer than they intended because of work that has been offered to them and because they find greater possibilities here. As far as matrimony is concerned, I think the proportion is small.

September 11, 1945

Dear Togo:

Time certainly passes, and our correspondence seems to have fallen off. With the end of the war, I find it possible to make realistic plans for publication. In fact, I am headed for a deadline for the first volume to be ready for the Press on December first, and we are working with great energy toward that end. In one of the chapters I should like to draw on some of your pre-evacuation material, so if you could shoot it along to me in whatever form it is, I should be grateful. I hope, but I am in no position right now to make an absolute commitment that your materials will be in such a shape, that we can actually publish a technical monograph under your authorship.

I am deeply impressed on reading over the various things you have done, including your long report on Manzanar, with your objectivity and clarity of expression. It is really too bad that circumstances were such that you could not have continued in camp for a longer period as our research assistant. But what you have done is extraordinarily valuable to us.

Give my best to Jean, Jeannine and Christine and W.I. sends regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas.

American Technical Society

DREXEL AVENUE AT 58TH STREET

Chicago

September 17, 1945

Dear Dorothy:

Your airmail special delivery letter of Sept. 11, which arrived on Friday morning should have been acknowledged that day and would have but for the fact I was in Racine, Wisconsin, this week-end attending another of those conferences of religious groups. This is Monday and something of a day of reckoning. I will get the materials at hand in as readable shape as possible and forward them by registered mail this week.

I think you are already too familiar with the sundry excuses we've bandied about for this long delay and failure to deliver the goods, all of them boiling down to the impossibility of holding two jobs and trying to complete a third. I'm only too certain that my pre-evacuation stuff is entirely unfit for any publication as you suggest might be remotely considered and cannot help but feel that, in all these months that have gone by so quickly, I have missed a real opportunity.

Your generous comment on the stuff I was able to send in from Death Valley (maybe that's where I should go to get this pre-evacuation material) takes some of the sharpness off the remorse I feel in realizing how time has finally caught me by the neck and hard. For the sake of my commitments to the Study, I'm afraid we bought a house at the wrong time; it's been such a drain on our time just to get settled, and (forgive this re-enumeration again) Jean's health has not been good this year, necessitating days when I have stayed home from this office to nursemaid the kiddies. (I enclose a snapshot of the two taken a few weeks ago at the Midway.)

I'm wondering if, between now and the deadline later this year, in view of the incompleteness of the material I shall be forwarding this week, if you will not continue to give me the opportunity to fill in, so to speak, by way of reply to queries you might raise, as we did on the Manzanar riot material. Perhaps, between now and then, I can devote myself to it in that way. After all, I have the material at hand now, have had it for some time; the problem has been one of being able to sit down and write it.

Jean sends her very best regards; she has been seeing the doctor with some frequency recently and is currently trying to get caught up in her supply of vitamins. I hope both you and W.I. are in the best of health. With best wishes always,

Sincerely,

Togo
Togo