

January 3, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I am enclosing a few documents on Poston that Morton brought back. Others are now being copied and will be sent to you shortly. There are two lengthy reports of which we only have one copy that we can send to you if you do not already have them. One of these is a report by Norris James addressed to Harvey Coverley on December 11, 1942, and titled "Final Report on the Disturbances and General Strike at the Colorado River War Relocation Center." This report is 54 pages long. The second document is "A Report on a Developing Community, Poston Arizona" by Conrad N. Arensberg, mimeographed, with a covering letter by John Collier, dated November 5, 1942.

I had a letter from "X" today, in which he said he had lost his typewriter. We are taking immediate steps to try to get one sent to him. I am sure we will succeed, but there may be some delay. I have suggested that he send his handwritten copy of the Journal here, whereupon I can immediately have it typed and send a copy back to him and one to you. Is this satisfactory to you? I hope we can get the whole thing straightened out so that we can go back to the old system before too long.

I look forward to hearing from you soon, and await your instructions about my writing to Mr. Shirrell. I still have some after-effects of the flu', and hope you have managed to escape the bad effects of the Chicago climate.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosures



The following are excerpts from X's letter of Dec. 27  
which I thought might interest you:

The community is not aware of the shooting by the M.P. of the "I-am-the-President" Sansei at Gila. It was reported in the Pacific Citizen which arrived here yesterday. I heard it from Frank Sakamoto, the former Gila Community Councilman from block 58. He visited here for a few days last week. According to him there had not been much excitement over the shooting at Gila. The Gila residents had been taking it "in stride"; Sakamoto thought the quiet reception of the news was due to the fact that the boy was demented, he had stepped out of bounds, the M.P. had given ample warning before shooting directly at him.

My friends reported to me that they had heard from their Tule friends that Poston is supposedly on another sit down strike. The Tuleans wanted to know what's going on here. Rumors at Tule claim that we are protesting against the Poston harvesters who had returned from Tule just recently. Most likely this rumor had been created by wishful thinking of the Tuleans.

I have read the articles by Leighton. I have no use for the shorter paper, which has proved that we had been correct in suspecting Leighton's ulterior motive and ambition in the past. In it I noticed, "... areas likely to be occupied such as ... Japan . . . "

The longer paper stinks. It's lousy as hell. I thought they had better material than that. You said Ned Spicer had claimed that the BSR had swell stuff in their files. Your analysis of Spicer that he was on the defensive seems to me to be correct. For instance, look at "SAMPLES OF RESEARCH RESULTS" for the month of April. It conclusively proves that their materials are away from the community. Food agitation was sponsored by Yahiro and Sugimoto and more or less artificially stirred up. The community failed to support it, although the residents made jokes of "neck bones". It says, "Toward the end of the first week food improved and interest in it correspondingly declined." This is off. The scare -- "The center would run short of food" -- this is off, too. The scare as we know was at its height at the time of the two million dollar scandal.

It says, "Health interest was high . . . due to . . . infantile paralysis and typhoid fever." That's a laugh. Dick Nishimoto and Sakamoto had a hell of a time convincing the community of the danger. They could not create enough interest among the residents. (You know how the Japanese are about sanitation.) The Sanitation Department is having a tough time even now.

Even of the paragraph on the execution of the American fliers, it is more correct to say that the residents talked about the fact of the execution itself, not so much on its effect on the public relation. You remember the American government had insisted up to that time that all the planes had flown from



Shangri-la and reached China safely. That was the pivotal point of their discussions.

And that is the result of their research for the month, they claim. What happened to the two major issues of the month? Didn't any of the members of the BSR know that the biggest issues were the corruption of police (the subsequent resignation of Shigekawa. This is the first attempt on the part of the community to enforce law and order. This was the break toward a new trend, a peaceful, law-abiding sentiment) and the manpower shortage (The shortage was first felt acutely in the various messhalls. The block drafted and compelled workers to transfer from other departments. And adobe building volunteering).

"Sources of security and satisfaction were evident chiefly in the spiritual realms of religion . . . " Religion must be playing a hell of a big role at Poston!

Leighton in his passage on the strike is trying to take all the credit for settling the strike.

Anyway the whole damn thing smells. I wrote to Thomas inquiring if she wants my unkind comments on it. If she wants my harsh comments I will write one and I shall send a copy to you.

Haas brought French over to my apartment last Sunday. Haas thought it was a good place for French to visit without knowing that Spicer had instructed him to get in touch with me.

French told me he was astonished by the fact that Leighton had so many enemies here. Before he starts on any research, he must live down the lousy reputation of the BSR, he said. He has been hearing nothing but unkind remarks about Leighton since his arrival a week ago last Friday. "Spicer is loyal to Leighton and he did not breathe anything about the adverse attitude of the community toward Leighton."

Haas and French were jockeying around for me to say that I would help them in getting material. Hell, I knew why they were over at my place. Don't you worry about that. I won't serve two masters. I remember how you feel. Anyway, they said they would appreciate my help, so I said, "Sure, I would be glad to cooperate with them". (I would not tell anyone that I was working for you.)

French told me that he had read the voluminous documents in the BSR files. He thought they were a bunch of junks. It contained all copies of correspondence of several departments, which he could not see much value in making the study of the community. He said he could not get much out of the stuff to understand Poston. French, however was impressed by the fact that Leighton had gone after quantity and got what he had gone after.

French was instructed by Leighton and Spicer to commence his study and analysis on a "block basis." "Everything is based on a block basis", he quoted Spicer. That is, Spicer thought every



move of the evacuees begins with a block. (Spicer has not kept abreast of the changing trends of the community. It would have been correct in last February, but not any more). French had been given an elaborate lecture on the characteristics of various blocks. He could not see how he could make his study on this basis. He wants to base his study on the pre-evacuation status and castes and classes, and wants to study how each group had made its adjustment and is making its adjustment. A high hope!

(The following sounds like a Nishimoto bragging. It is not intentional. I could not record it in the Journal because of its flavor). Some A.P.'s (Haas, Nelson, and Harris among others) according to the grapevine, think that I control the block managers and I have a great influence over the local council. I don't know where they got the idea. Some believe I am the power behind Nomura. On the other hand, many evacuees believe I have a great influence among the A.P.'s. The police force shares this view. Very, very interesting!

Last Tuesday I had a very busy day. It started with covering the deAmat conference with the evacuees, tour of inspection of the living quarters with Butler and Mrs. Wagner, a representative from the State Department who had returned from China on the Gripshom, the Block Managers' meeting, the dedication party of the high school auditorium, the meeting of the Boston Mess Workers' Association. Don't you think that was a full day's work?

#### Rising and falling stars of politics:

Nomura ascending; he is well received. M. Okamoto struggling to rise; still the old feud with the Nagai faction bothering him. He received a considerable criticism for his unpreparedness for answers to deAmat's specific questions.

Kushiya shaky; trying to recoup with the mess workers.

Mas Kawashima unemployed; his power down to the bottom. Okabe attributed his downfall from the EB due to the politics-playing with the younger set at the time of the Issei fiasco (What's the guy's name who wore awfully thick glasses and spoke poorly?)

Nagai without much influence. He is in the background. The EB outlived its usefulness; not doing anything now. The office is a place for bull sessions (of course, SW gossips).

The old line politicians are being taken over by others. Onishi of 32 is coming up, but would not last. He hasn't much ability.

Jimmy Yahiro quiet as a lamb. "



January 8, 1944

Dear T amie,

I appreciated very much your straightforward and honest letter of January 3rd, which just arrived. I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Shirrel, requesting, as you suggested, that negotiations leading to your return to Poston be started immediately.

I am deeply concerned about the struggles you have been going through, and wish you had brought the matter up when I was in Chicago. I will do the best I can to get my point of view across to you by letter.

First, I want you to try to understand the fact that I myself am playing a dual role in regard to the Study and the Staff. In one of these roles, I am director of a study which I conceive to be uniquely important, and of the importance of which I managed to convince the President of this University and the Directors of two Foundations to the extent that I was relieved of a great part of my routine University duties and was given a considerable amount of money to carry on the project to completion. In this role I assumed an enormous responsibility to "produce the goods". In this role, too, I am bound to regard the study itself as of greater importance than any individual working on it (including, of course, myself!) In my other role, however, I am a person who has, by force of circumstances, been placed in a situation where I must make a choice between furthering or impeding the careers of quite a number of talented young scientists. In this role, the individual concerned is bound to be of greater importance to me than the ultimate success of the study.

On looking back over the above paragraph, I think it sounds bombastic and megalomaniac! Nevertheless, I believe it has some element of truth in it. It is certainly true that I have been forced to make a series of compromises between these two roles ever since the Study began. It is also true that the compromises have been weighted in favor of the second role. If I could have followed the first role consistently, Frank and Tom would have stayed in Tule Lake after registration and Bob Spencer & Charlie would still be in Gila. Somebody would have been in Topaz-- probably you. Carried to its ultimate conclusion, Jimmy might be in the bull pen at Tule Lake.

Now, the damned funny thing about all this is that all the compromises that I made seemed to be working against the good of the Study, as Study, when they were made. But viewed from the situation at present, I'm not so sure. Tom and Frank and Charlie are doing better work on the outside than they ever found it possible to do in the projects. Rosalie, entering Gila "cold", is doing a remarkably good job as a replacement



for Bob. Jimmy is opening up a new and important phase of the Study in Minidoka, where the Tuleans are, apparently, bringing all the latent conflicts to the surface. And you, with X's help, are making a contribution to the understanding of the "core" of the Japanese community which is, in my opinion, unparalleled in its significance to the study as a whole.

In other words, the Study, up to the present, has not suffered because we have yielded to the individual interests and desires of the Staff. As we go on, however, I ~~will~~ realize that decisions will have to be made, in the interest of individuals, which will definitely be detrimental to the study as a whole. We have no guarantee, for one thing, that the study will continue beyond September 1945. Opportunities for greater security or greater advancement will certainly come up for various members of the Staff, and they simply will not be able to afford to turn them down in favor of the uncertain future and lack of tenure (and meagre financial rewards) that the study offers. It would be monstrous of me to try to keep them under those circumstances.

So--all this leads up to the serious problem that you face at present in the decision you have had to make re Hawaii. I am deeply appreciative of the personal sacrifice you have made in postponing your return. And I am delighted beyond words that you are planning to finish up your report before making any final decision in the matter.

It would be tragic for the study if you left immediately, but I would be willing to have it happen if the job in Hawaii were not held open for you. When you finish the report, I agree that you should feel completely free to make the choice. I have told you often, and I repeat it emphatically, that I hope you will find it possible to stay with us "to the bitter end". But it mustn't be too "bitter" for you.

I am not at all surprised that you are dissatisfied with your work and "terribly disappointed" in the types of reports you are doing. All good scientists feel that way about their own product, and they don't come any better than you. I have the deepest admiration for your objectivity, for your meticulous attention to detail, for your penetrating analyses, for your clarity of expression, and for your freedom from unrealistic speculation. You know damned well that I want you to stay, but only if the cost to you is not too great.

Happy New Year to you!

As ever,



5455 So. Drexel  
Chicago 37, Illinois  
January 10, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

This is to acknowledge receipt of the documents you sent on January 3. I read Conrad Arensberg's "Report on a Developing Community, Porton, Arizona", in the fall of 1942, but would like to have a copy sent for my files. I have not read Morris James' "Final Report on the Disturbances and General Strike at the Colorado River War Relocation Center" and would be extremely interested to see it.

I am going down to the office tomorrow to see what I can "lift" in the files there. Frank wrote a few days ago that he had a complete set of administrative instructions issued from Washington which I may take if I wish. I hope the 3-inch snow we had Saturday will thaw out by then.

I hope you have written to Mr. Skirrel by now. I'm afraid my sojourn here is "softening" me and if I don't get back to camp pretty quick I'll have a tough time getting acclimatized to 15° temperature indoors and "macaroni and cheese" without cheese.

My regards to W. I. and I hope you have gotten over the after-effects of the flu by now.

Sincerely,  
Tamie

P. S. Your suggestion as to the disposal of X's journal is okay with me provided I receive a carbon copy within a few weeks of its arrival there.

Just received the second batch of documents mailed Jan. 4.



TAMIE TSUCHIYAMA  
5455 DREXEL BOULEVARD  
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

ROSALIE HANKEY HERE NOW WILL ARRIVE PHOENIX FEBRUARY NINTH  
AND COULD MEET YOU SAN CARLOS WIRE ME IF SATISFACTORY.

DOROTHY S. THOMAS

SENT 10:00 a.m.



# CLASS OF SERVICE

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# WESTERN UNION

1201

# SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter  
NT = Overnight Telegram  
LC = Deferred Cable  
NLT = Cable Night Letter  
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TA198 NL=CHICAGO ILL 26

PROF DOROTHY S THOMAS

=207 GIANNINI HAL UNIVERSITY OF CALIF BERKELEY CALIF=

POSTON UNDER CONTROL CAN MEET ROSALIE SAN CARLOS FEBRUARY  
9TH IF SATISFACTORY PLEASE MAKE HOTEL RESERVATION AND WIRE  
BACK=

TAMIE.

9TH TAMIE.

73-6000  
MRA  
854A  
Sec  
mail



Dear Dorothy,

January 21, 1943 4

Thanks for your morale-building letter of January 8<sup>th</sup>. When I get into the dumps again I'll haul out your letter and pretend I'm "vital" to the Study. One of these days if I try hard enough I may actually delude myself into believing it.

I had no difficulty in getting Shirrel's permission to return to Poston. Immediately upon receipt of your letter I rushed over to the WRA but Shirrel was at home with the "flu" so Jacoby offered to contact him for me. Two days later a Paul Dougherty wrote me I could return whenever I wished. However, I had received a letter in the meantime from X saying that I shouldn't return before February because of the ~~ordate~~ housing situation there at present so I decided to wait a week or two. Yesterday I notified the WRA I was leaving on Jan. 31 so they offered to wire Head I was arriving on the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> of February.

The purpose of this special delivery letter is to ask you if it would be satisfactory to you if Hankey and I hold a "regional conference" in Phoenix for a day or two before returning to Poston. For one thing it would be pleasant to break my train trip and fortify myself for the Poston ordeal.

For another I doubt if X and I would be able to find time to visit Hankey in Sila in the next four or five months. I probably will live in block 45 (X's idea) after my return so I won't be able to invite Hankey to visit me in Poston. Besides I want to attach my report with the least interruption possible so I shall have something tangible to present to you before the Salt Lake conference. (Charlie informed me yesterday that we must have "finished reports" before then). I am writing to Hankey today asking her if she would like to meet me in Phoenix on Feb. 3 and to make reservations at the San Carlos Hotel. So - will you



let me know by return mail whether my suggestion  
meets with your approval ~~or not~~ so that I can  
notify Henley of your decision in time?

Will write you a longer letter before I leave  
Chicago.

Hastily,

Tamie



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY  
207 GIANNINI HALL  
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

Jan. 24, 1948

Dear Dorothy,

Just received your wire. I was debating whether to write you or not without waiting for X's letter when your wire arrived.

I'm in a hell of a fix. I don't know why I attract more trouble than others on the study. I wrote a letter to X Friday saying that I was returning on Feb. 3 or 5 depending on whether Hankey could meet me in Phoenix and the next day I received a letter from him saying his wife had opened my Jan. ~~15th~~ 15th letter informing him that I was planning to return by the middle of February. Apparently she had thought she had gotten rid of me when I left Poston in October and was quite disturbed about my intention to return. She demanded explanations from X and accused him of being in love with me else he ~~he~~ would not be working so hard on the Study. She threatened to expose the study and to spread malicious gossip about me throughout camp. This reaction was an entirely new one to me since I had assumed she liked me since she appeared very amicable to me whenever I encountered her in Poston. I thought it was quite evident to everyone that I had no more intentions on capturing X than marrying a hippopotamus but strange things happen in this world. Knowing X and his techniques I'm certain everything is under control but I dread the idea of facing an insanely jealous woman. I don't know if I had the choice of facing a lynching mob or a jealous wife which I would select.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you what I should do. Shall I go back to Poston and take the chance of endangering the study, or shall I remain in Chicago and write up the report without any disturbance? My return to Poston is further complicated by the shortage of apartments. Seasonal workers are not too anxious to go out again this spring and the blocks are still very crowded. Block 31 has only one large apartment vacant which X is certain I cannot get. Block 45 is closed to me because of X's wife who is reputed to be the block's greatest gossip. That leaves me only blocks where I know no one and it will take weeks before I can settle down and get work done. If I had my way I would like to have X continue his journal as usual and I remain in Chicago to finish that report without much loss of precious time. After that is completed I should like to throw in the sponge. I'm thoroughly disgusted with everything. I'm going to buy a small farm in Hawaii and raise vegetables for the duration. After that I'll head for my coral atoll. I don't want to deal with human beings again in my life. I have reached the conclusion the Japs in Poston do not care to be helped, do not want to be







January 26, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I received your letter of January 24, and am indeed sorry that you are having so many different kinds of trouble. Please do not worry about this situation, for I am perfectly content to have you stay in Chicago, as you suggest, and finish your overall report, letting "X" continue his Journal and get data that would fill in gaps that you need. I assure you that this is a perfectly satisfactory solution, so try to dismiss the thing from your mind. I know how disgusted you must be with people who misunderstand motives, but again I urge you not to worry about it, and by all means remain in Chicago where you can work without too much disturbance and get the report in hand.

After that you can feel perfectly free either to leave the study or to continue. The decision is entirely up to you. I merely repeat that I have the greatest admiration for your abilities and contribution, and hope that you can stay with us as long as you find it possible.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas




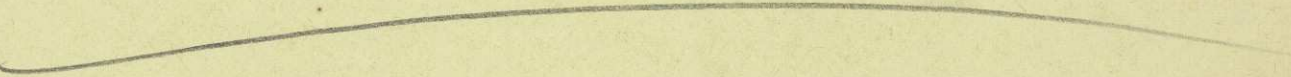
1/27/44

CHICAGO

D.S.THOMAS

POSTON UNDER CONTROL. CAN MEET ROSALIE SAN CARLOS  
FEB. 9 IF SATISFACTORY. PLEASE MAKE HOTEL RESERVATION  
AND WIRE BACK.

TAMIE





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ZA231. F. CD569 WUCA711 (NINE) 30 NL=WUX CHICAGOHILL 27

PROF DOROTHY S THOMAS=

JAN 27 PM 7 26

=207 GIANNINI HALL UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PREFER TO REMAIN IN CHICAGO YESTERDAYS WIRE WAS LAST  
ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE POSTON STUDY FOR YOU PLEASE DONT  
WRITE TO DICK UNTIL YOU HEAR FROM ME HAVE STARTED REPORT  
LETTER FOLLOWING=

TAMIE.

Sec  
939A  
MRA  
Mail

45-6000



JANUARY 27, 1944

DAY LETTER

TAMIE TSUCHIYAMA  
5455 DREXEL AVENUE  
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

CANNOT RECONCILE YOUR LETTER JANUARY 24 WITH WIRE  
TODAY. NO MATTER HOW WELL POSTON MAY SEEM UNDER CONTROL CANNOT  
SEE HOW YOU CAN WORK SATISFACTORILY THERE. MOST ANXIOUS AVOID  
COMPLICATIONS OF YOUR RETURN. YOU YOURSELF SUGGESTED SITUATION  
COULD EASILY MAKE WORK IMPOSSIBLE, AND ENDANGER ENTIRE POSTON  
STUDY. THEREFORE, YOU SHOULD FOLLOW ORIGINAL PLAN TO STAY  
CHICAGO AT LEAST UNTIL LARGE REPORT NEARS COMPLETION. WIRE  
REPLY.

DOROTHY S. THOMAS

*Sent 10:45*

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Jan. 31, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I had full intentions of writing you a letter immediately after sending you the wire Thursday evening but on second thought decided to wait a day or two for X's letter which might clarify matters. This morning I received one which makes no mention of the unfortunate incident and appears to be his usual gossip type informing me of camp affairs and inquiring when I am returning.

I am extremely sorry to have caused you that scare last week. But I was scared too. Apparently I made a mountain out of a mole hole. As far as X and his spouse are concerned it seems to be a closed incident. On Wednesday -- the first time after informing me of the incident -- he sent me a very brief letter saying: "Everything is alright out here. The weather is very warm. You should expect warm weather when you come back." On the strength of this I wired you that evening that Poston was under control and that I could meet Hankey in Phoenix on Feb. 9. You had just cause to assume that this was another tantrum of mine and that you should emphasize the seriousness of the situation. But the change in plans was motivated by something deeper than mere capriciousness. ~~At this time I am not in a position to discuss the matter further.~~ I've repeated to you on several occasions, if I recall correctly, that X had told me many times that he would "fold up" the day I resigned from the study. When I left Poston in October he asked me to inform him of my decision as soon as I decided not to return to Poston because he would quit then. His policy up to now has been: "I'm willing to help a Jap to the best of my ability to gather material to write up a history of the Japanese in California as the Japanese see it, but by God I won't lift a finger to help a Keto to do the same thing." Hence I was afraid X would resign as soon as he learned I was not returning to Poston in the spring. He would interpret such a decision as a desire on my part to pull out of the study as soon as the over-all report is completed -- which would be a correct interpretation for if I remain in Chicago until that time I would certainly have no desire to return to "The Black Hole of Calcutta" again. After I sent you that memorable Jan. 24th letter my conscience began to hurt because I knew deep down in my heart that I couldn't give up this easily, that I should make another attempt to keep that study going for you in Poston. I, by myself, could contribute very little to the understanding of the Jap. in California, but with X's help I knew we could produce something worthwhile. If this were so, then the only course for me to take would be to keep my promise of returning to Poston in February or March. When his letter arrived on Wednesday saying "everything is alright out here" I took for granted that I had exaggerated the seriousness of the situation and wired you that I could meet Hankey in Phoenix as originally planned. I hope this will explain to your satisfaction the incongruity between my letter of Jan. 24th and my wire Wednesday evening.



On Saturday I sent a registered letter to X asking him to answer frankly the following questions so that on the basis of his reply I could make up my mind whether to return to Poston to continue the study or to abandon it at this point. I requested that he answer by return mail since I had already bought a train ticket which will expire on Feb. 19, and since the Chicago WRA had already wired the project to expect me on Feb. 5th.

"1. If I remained in Chicago indefinitely to finish writing up the over-all report would you be willing to continue with your journal as usual, or would you resign as you have been previously stating? The chances of my returning to Poston at a later date to continue the study in this case will be practically nil.

2. If I were intending to return to Poston in the near future when is the most advisable time? Since I had planned to leave Chicago on Jan. 31st my things are practically packed and I can leave at a minute's notice.

3. If I returned to Poston in the near future will there be some sort of temporary housing for me until I locate an apartment somewhere? Some assurance of housing the first night is important since I arrive late at night.

4. How serious was your quarrel with your wife re my Jan. 15th letter? Do you think she will make it extremely unpleasant for me if I returned -- enough to endanger the future of the study in Poston?"

On His reply to these questions will give us an insight into the Poston situation to enable us to formulate our plans. If his replies are favorable I am perfectly willing, leaving all personal considerations aside, to go back and keep the study going for you, if you wish. We have some darn good material in our files and it would be tragic to abandon the study at this point. (i.e. if X sticks to his word and walks out on us). My return may mean some delay in finishing the over-all report but in the long run we may be compensated. It may be taking a chance, but -- between taking a chance to keep the study going and having to close it because of X's resignation -- it might be worth it.

I'll send you X's answer as soon as I receive it. Meanwhile I shall be interested in hearing your comments.

Sincerely,

*Tamie*

P.S. Please don't worry about my walking out on you in the near future. No matter what happens I'll finish that over-all report for you before I undertake anything "softer" in Hawaii or elsewhere. I have that much decency still left.



February 2, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I have received your letter, air mail and registered. It's a long story to explain the questions asked by you. But as it stands now, it might be deemed same as the time you left Poston. Her suspicion began with rumors about us in Block 31. And on top of it your letter of January 15 arrived.

Everything has been settled now, and I don't think it is necessary to go into them. I shall explain the detail to you when you come here.

About your residence in Block 31, there is some rumor as stated above. I don't think it is wise for me to contact James Fujimoto on your behalf. If, however, you don't mind residing in some other block, I will be glad to contact the manager. Let me tell you frankly, although it might hurt you, you were not a bit popular in Block 31. You seemed to have antagonized inadvertently quite many people, including the Takeda family.

As to your temporary apartment, there should not be any worry. There are many apartment vacant in many blocks here. I had suggested Block 42, because it is a mind-your-own-business block and Tom Sakai lived there.

Therefore, the Poston situation should not alter your plan in coming back here.

Hurriedly,

Feb. 5, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

Here it is. The decision as to whether I should return to Poston and continue the study or remain in Chicago and resign at the completion of my over all report is now in your hands. It's all up to you. My <sup>present</sup> feelings are the same as those expressed in my letter of Jan. 31. Please wire me your instructions upon receipt of this letter because my train ticket



expires on Feb. 19 and I must notify the  
project of my decision.

Regards to W. L. + Morton.

Sincerely,  
Tamie



NIGHT LETTER

FEBRUARY 7, 1944

TAMIE TSUCHIYAMA  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

YOU SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES, ONE, TO RETURN POSTON IMMEDIATELY AND  
CONTINUE STUDY, TWO, TO REMAIN CHICAGO AND FINISH REPORT THEN  
RESIGN. MORE SENSIBLE SOLUTION WOULD BE REMAIN IN CHICAGO UNTIL  
YOU HAVE FINISHED BULK OF REPORT MEANTIME ASKING NISHIMOTO TO  
CONTINUE JOURNAL THEN WHEN FIRST DRAFT OF REPORT IS COMPLETE  
DECIDE WHETHER TO RETURN TO POSTON TO FILL IN GAPS AND DECIDE  
AT THAT TIME WHETHER TO CONTINUE OR TO RESIGN.

DOROTHY THOMAS

EVACUATION & RESETTLEMENT STUDY



5455 So. Drexel Ave.  
Chicago, 37, Illinois  
Feb. 8, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

I infer from your wire today that you would rather have me remain in Chicago and finish the report at once than return to Poston in the near future (the only feasible way as I see it) and attempt to keep the study going for you there. If that is what you really want, that is perfectly satisfactory to me.

Living up to my promise made to X last October that I would notify him as soon as I decided to withdraw from the study, I am writing him today that I have decided to remain in Chicago indefinitely to write up the overall report and do not intend to return to Poston at a later date to continue my work. It is your job now as director of the study, if you desire to retain his services, to impress upon him the importance of the study and persuade him to continue his journal. I fear I am in no position to induce him to stay when I, myself, am planning to resign upon completion of my report.

Will you be kind enough to request the accounting department to mail all future checks to my Chicago address?

Very sincerely yours,

*Tamie*



February 12, 1944

Dear Tamie,

I was glad to get your letter of February eighth. I regret more than I can tell you that 2000 miles separate us at this time. Letters and telegrams lead to many misunderstandings that could be cleared up readily if we could talk the matter over. I most decidedly do not want to push you around, but I fear that is what you think I am doing. If you will reread our various communications to each other, you will, I think, recognize that I have issued no ultimatum. It is clear that, although I have indicated the plan I consider most feasible, the final decision as to where you will finish the report, and the degree to which you will continue to participate in the study must be your own. I have never deviated from my sincere admiration of your work, or my desire that you should arrange conditions of living and work in such a way that you could continue to give us the benefit of your unusual abilities.

The purpose of my telegram of February seventh was to indicate that you were setting up alternatives which not only did not exhaust the possibilities, but which did not include the one that seemed to me to be the most logical in view of the total situation.

Although you had earlier indicated a desire to return to Boston in February, and this had been arranged, you wrote me on January 24

"If I had my way, I would like to have X continue his journal as usual and I remain in Chicago to finish that report without much loss of precious time....If you insist on my returning to camp, I will do so but you will have to take the chance of my walking out on you without finishing the overall report if I get mad enough."

To this, I replied on January 26th

"I am perfectly content to have you stay in Chicago, as you suggest, and finish your overall report, letting X continue his Journal and get the data that would fill in gaps that you need."

On January 27th, I received a wire from you saying that you could meet Rosalie in Phoenix. This puzzled me, and I wired in return

"I cannot reconcile your letter January 24th with wire today...You should follow original plan to stay Chicago at least until large report nears completion."

To this you replied, the same day

"Prefer to remain in Chicago....have started report."



On February 5, you wrote

"The decision as to whether I should return to Poston and continue the study or remain in Chicago and resign at the completion of my overall report is now in your hands."

Which brings me back to my telegram of February 7th, where I said

"More sensible solution would be remain in Chicago until you have finished bulk of report meantime asking Hishimoto to continue journal then when first draft of report is complete decide whether to return to Poston to fill in gaps and decide at that time whether to continue or to resign."

It seemed clear that, since you had definitely started the report that an immediate return would cause you to lose momentum and lead to further feelings of dissatisfaction. On the other hand, if you could whip this report into first draft in Chicago, you would get over the worst of the hurdles. You would find then, almost inevitably, that there were various ~~ex~~ points that could not be completely developed because of lack of sufficient information. To return to Poston at that time, with a fresh outlook and new curiosity would, it seems to me, be pure pleasure to a scientist. You would have the burdensome part of the research out of the way. You could fill in gaps and follow new leads with renewed vigor.

I wish you would give serious consideration to this possibility. Under no circumstances do I want you to leave the study unless, as I told you before, the Hawaiian job cannot be put off. What I have tried to point out is (1) the only issue we have faced is with respect to when is the best time for you to return to Poston and (2) the issue of your leaving the study has nothing to do with this problem. The reasons for your remaining in Chicago at least until you have substantially finished your report seem more persuasive than those that would lead to your immediate return to Poston, and your own letters show that you have held this view yourself. As I see it now, you should be ready to return to Poston about September first, but I want to assure you that I shall be open to suggestion about any change you may want to make, e.g. regarding an earlier return. I shall, as you suggest, write X and ask him to continue sending the journal to both of us.

Sincerely yours,



February 16, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I received your letter of February 10 and the list of administrative instructions that you want. Frank obviously misunderstood the situation here. We do have a complete set of administrative instructions, but we shall be using them continuously and cannot let them go out of the office. It was for this reason that we sent as many duplicates as possible to Frank for use, not only of the group in the office at the Social Science Building, but also you and Jimmy Sakoda when, and if, you need them.

I am writing Frank by the same mail to clear this up, and I am sure that you and he will have no trouble in reaching an agreement as to who uses the instructions when.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

cc. Frank Miyamoto



March 8, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

It just occurred to me this morning that you might be wondering what I am doing since I have sent no formal reports to you for some time. I have been so immersed in my notes that I had completely forgotten what the receiving end might be ~~thinking~~. This is therefore just a month end statement on the progress of my report.

Most of February was spent in thoroughly analyzing my political notes and making out a number of questions to X requesting additional data and clarification on ambiguous or contradictory matter. I actually started writing a few weeks ago but I'm afraid I shall not be able to send you any material for another month or so. Since I have gaps strewn sporadically throughout my proposed outline, I have been working on those sections where X's aid is not needed. As soon as X begins answering the queries I have sent him I suppose I could send you sections as they are finished but it might be more advisable for me to hand in the political report in its entirety so that I can make corrections and additions as the report progresses.

I am enclosing a copy of the outline I am more or less following at present. Revisions will be made from time to time as the report progresses but it will give you an idea of what I am working on. If you have any criticisms or additions to be made on the outline I shall be glad to have them. I am trying to incorporate at least two-thirds of my notes into my political report.

Sincerely,

*Tamie*



March 11, 1944

Dear Tamie,

I was glad to get your letter of March 8th, with the enclosed outline. I have no criticism to make of the outline except one that can be made of outlines in general, i.e., that it seems too formal and static. I am quite sure the report itself will take care of this objection. From your various discussions, I infer that you will have a very complete analysis of the technique of informal political manipulation, of the role of yushi and the coordinator of yushi in molding public opinion, of the development of informal pressure groups, of the emergence and decline of leaders and the technique of attaining leadership, of the function of "morale builders" and so on. Your reports on the strike and its aftermath and particularly the Spanish Consul report are rich in the sort of thing I have in mind.

I appreciate the fact that there are gaps that must be filled in at all points, and I therefore agree that it will be advisable to send in the political report in its entirety.

Sincerely yours,



April 12, 1944

Dear Tamie:

You may have heard by the grape vine that I am planning to have a limited conference in Salt Lake City in June. The purpose of this conference is two-fold. First, to bring together Hankey, Sakoda and "X", so that they can discuss some of their mutual problems on the projects and so that we can get a better co-ordination of effort in certain respects. Second, to discuss some of the points in Morton's manuscripts on (a) the development of War Relocation Authority policies, and (b) some chapters in his pre-evacuation analysis. Point (a) will be particularly important, for it gives us the structure of WRA policy against which actual events and developments in the projects can be evaluated.

I wonder how you feel about taking off a few days to attend this conference. It is not necessary but, on the other hand, you might find it desirable to have a short break, and to be able to plan with "X" about some of the gaps that you need filled in. Since I am uncertain about the difficulties you may be facing in getting your report in hand, I leave this entirely to your own discretion.

We will begin making definite plans around the first of May, so I should appreciate hearing from you by that time. I may say "X" and Hankey and Sakoda are all set to come; that of the Chicago staff, Charlie will possibly come but the others will definitely not, due to the uncertainty of their draft status; and that Morton, who has received a limited service classification, will certainly come unless he gets an early call to enter the armed services. W.I. will, of course, be there.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas



April 17, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Thanks for the invitation to attend the Salt Lake City conference in June but if you don't mind, I'd like to be excused from coming. I have just got into the swing of writing after a great deal of difficulty and am afraid a long, tiring train trip will not be conducive to my attacking the report with "renewed vigor" on my return. I am just as anxious as you<sup>are</sup> to get the report completed as quickly as possible.

Sincerely,

*Tamie*



July 12, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

By some accident your letter dated June 24th just arrived this morning. With reference to question 3, I am greatly concerned with the slow progress of my report. Although I have been working on it conscientiously since March I have very little to show for it. It was encouraging to hear from Frank a few days ago that his output is also distressingly small.

My main problem is trying to ferret out the "correct" answer from the numerous contradictions in my files. Information gathered from X as well as from other informants at different intervals exhibits a surprising number of contradictions which I should have checked into while I was still in Poston. I am also finding X's contributions on the Nisei almost wholly unreliable which leads me to suspect that his knowledge of the Issei may not be as "perfect" as he would like to have us believe. Furthermore there is the constant necessity of toning down his accounts because of his addiction to melodrama and his tendency toward egotism. (You may not agree with me on this point but this was one point on which Spicer and I always agreed). While in Poston I could check my suspicions but I can rely only on hunches on data sent after my departure.

The real cause of my slow progress, however, I suspect is attributable to my having become "stale" from being in contact with the same subject matter too long. For this reason I should appreciate greatly if you would grant me a two-week vacation, without pay, beginning next Monday, to enable me to get away from the Japanese as far as possible and indulge in something more pleasant, e.g. working on my thesis which deals with North American Indian mythology, during the two hottest weeks of the year in Chicago.

My regards to W. I.

Sincerely yours,

*Tamie*



July 15, 1944

Dear Tamie,

Your letter of July 12th just arrived. I am removing you from the payroll for two weeks beginning Monday, July 17th. I will put you back on the payroll as of August 1st.

I am, of course, disturbed at not having received any concrete evidence of progress on your report. You will remember that you wrote on March 8 that you would probably not be able to send in any material for a month or so and that you preferred to send me the political report in its entirety. While I agreed to this at the time, I am now convinced that it would be a better procedure for me to receive your manuscript in parts, even though these parts must be considered subject to revision. This is very important for me from the standpoint of comparative analysis.

I am, therefore, asking you to send me by return mail the part of the manuscript you have already completed, and beginning August 1st, to send along additions once a week.

Regarding future plans, the matter of reappointment came up on July 1. In our correspondence of last February and March, you told me that you wanted to accept the job that had been offered you in Hawaii as soon as possible, and that you were planning to resign upon completion of the report that you are now writing. I have, therefore, put in your reappointment for the next six months only. I realize that your plans re return to Hawaii are very fluid, and that it is entirely possible that you may want to resign before the end of the six months' period. In this connection, I have a suggestion to make: If you find it impossible to complete the report before you return to Hawaii, a sensible procedure would be to come to Berkeley as soon as possible and spend a month or so here going over your notes in some detail with me. I know what high professional standards you have, and I am sure the notes will be in excellent condition. You will have fulfilled your obligation to the Study by handing in a partial report, supplemented by well-organized notes. If, among these notes, there are some that you want me to have copied for your future use, please be assured that this can be arranged.

If you are favorably inclined towards the Berkeley proposition, I will take immediate steps to obtain a special permit from the Western Defense Command. I shall, of course, make no move in this direction until I hear from you. There will unquestionably be a lot of red tape to cut, and negotiations will take time, so let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,



COPY

July 17, 1944

Dear Dorothy:

In reply to your letter of July 15 I am sending you by railway express, insured, all of my notes, including my field notes, as soon as Frank returns the notes he has borrowed from me from time to time. I have been trying to contact him all day but no one appears to have shown up at the office today.

Your letter of July 15 clearly indicates that you do not trust me and feel that a constant surveillance is necessary. Since it is impossible for me to work under the conditions you set forth, and since it has been my policy as long as I can remember never to work for an employer that distrusts me, I am resigning from the Study as of July 15, 1944.

Regarding future plans I had intended to remain in Chicago as long as necessary to complete the report to your satisfaction, and then resign. When the military authorities warned me in May that unless I returned to Hawaii then they could not guarantee passage for me for the duration, I forfeited my right to return for the duration so I could finish the report for you. After reading your letter of July 15, however, I feel that I am under no ethical compulsion to continue any longer. Furthermore, I consider a trip to Berkeley wholly unnecessary. From an ethical standpoint, I feel I am under no obligation to do so, and from the practical point of view, I believe that my field notes are sufficiently full -- perhaps too full -- for an armchair social scientist to evolve fanciful theories.

I am sorry that I have so little completed on paper (since most of my work has been confined to mulling over facts in my mind) but I am certain you or X can do a much better job in a much shorter time.

With best wishes for the success of the Study,

(sgd) Tamie Tsuchiyama



July 21, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Since the railway express office informs me that due to shortage of workers it will not be able to call for the box containing my field notes before the beginning of next week, I have decided to send the completed portion of my report separately. If there are any questions you would like to have answered after reading the report, I shall be glad to do so.

Tamie Tsuchiyama



July 21, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I am returning your letter of July 17. As far as I can see, this letter is in no sense a proper reply to my own letter of July 15. My letter was based on professional considerations; your reply seems to be based on purely personal factors. I would like to have you think the matter over, and answer my letter on a professional basis. I am interested in having you complete the Poston report, and I believe it will be to your ultimate professional advantage to have a job of that sort, in a finished state, behind you before you take up other activities.

You will, I am sure, understand the difficulties under which I operate in trying to administer a project at so many far-removed geographical points. It is for this reason that I must be kept in close touch with the progress of various segments of the study. This closeness of contact and organization from point-to-point is achieved only by frequency of reporting. Requests for reports, on my part, should not be interpreted by parties of the other part as lack of trust. I have heard from Charlie and Frank that you are actually all steamed up about writing the report and that your performance to date is admirable.

If you wish to continue on the study, I want to receive your report to date immediately, and to receive additions to it at frequent intervals as soon as you can conveniently manage them.

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas

Enclosure



July 26, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

If, after reading the completed portion of my report sent last week, you are still desirous of having me finish the Poston report I shall be willing to resume work on August 1, 1944, provided I do not have to send reports more frequently than once every two weeks. Having been accustomed for the last eight years to the working methods of the Department of Anthropology where accuracy of detail is highly stressed, I find it extremely difficult to conform overnight to the mass production techniques of some other departments.

I shall withhold sending my field notes to Berkeley until I hear from you again.

Very sincerely yours,

*Tamie Tanchey*



July 28, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I have received your letter of July 26. The completed portion of your report arrived several days ago. Upon receipt of the report, I not only read it with great care, but also reread in complete detail the series of reports you had sent in from Poston, beginning with the chronological account of the strike and ending with the report on segregation.

I must tell you frankly that, compared with the series of reports done while you were in Poston, the Chicago report is very disappointing. In fact, I may go further and say that the earlier series are of high quality on an absolute basis; while the later is distinctly below standard.

Comparing your manuscript with the outline that was sent in sometime in March, it is apparent that item B1 is considered finished, that A1 and B2 are barely started, and that other aspects of the outline are not touched upon. As far as B1 is concerned, it has no beginning, no end, and very little organization. It is not presented in any context. Names are scattered throughout, with no attempt to develop either the background or the dynamics of the roles the persons were playing in the Poston political set-up. Without a good deal of independent detail at hand, such as is furnished by X's Sociological Journal, it would be difficult to know what you are driving at in this section.

In regard to B2, it seems that you have got off to a better start. There is evidence of a more thoughtful organization, and a superior marshaling of detail. But it is difficult to judge this fragment of the whole, and I do not yet see its relevance to political developments in Camp I, since it relates entirely to the early history of Camp II.

A1 is almost too fragmentary to warrant comment. I might point out, however, that in a report of this sort the burden of proof as to the significance of documents used rests with the writer, and that, in this case, you have simply inserted documents in toto, without meaningful or critical analysis, and again without relation to the larger context.

In contrast to this fragmentary report from Chicago, the earlier reports are outstanding. In each case, you have taken a given subject and explored it thoroughly. There is background and a consistent follow-through.



Therefore, in considering whether or not you should continue on the study, I want to know whether I can count on a continuance of the performance which ended last October, or whether the work done in Chicago is a sample of what I am going to get in the future. Only if the former is true, do I want you to stay.

I may say that the interests of the study quite clearly call for "production." I would define "production" as a finished performance, utilizing all the wealth of detail that you must have at hand. I would naturally expect a report superior in both quality and quantity to the 40-odd pages that represent your total output over the last nine months.

If you are willing to face the implications of this situation with complete frankness and to do the professional job of which your earlier performance indicates you are capable, I hope you will continue. May I hear from you about this by return mail?

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas



July 31, 1944

Dear Dorothy,

Since I am reluctant to make any promises which I may not be able to fulfill to your satisfaction, I am requesting for the last time to be released from the Study as of July 15, 1944, to pursue other activities which are more acceptable to me. From the very beginning we have not seen eye to eye on how the Japanese should be studied so I see no advantage to you in my continuing further.

The railway express office has promised to call for my field notes within the next three days so they should arrive in Berkeley within the next two or three weeks. If there are any questions you would like to ask me concerning them I suggest that you contact me soon since I expect to leave Chicago before the end of August.

Very sincerely yours,

*Tamie Tsuchiyama*



August 2, 1944

Dear Tamie:

I have received your letter of July 31, and I am accepting your resignation from the Study as of July 31, 1944. In other words, you will receive your check for the month of July within a day or two.

Thank you for arranging to have the Railway Express call for your field notes. In earlier correspondence you told me that you had spent a good deal of time cutting up and classifying X's sociological notes. It would be very convenient if I could have this classified material, and I hope you are including it among the things you are sending us.

With every good wish for your future success.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Swaine Thomas



August 16, 1944

Dear Tamie,

The notes arrived in good condition. They are well-classified and will be very useful.

I was puzzled by the paucity of your own field notes. If you have any additional ones, I hope you will send them along. As I understood your report at one of our conferences, you indicated that you had very complete notes on your own block and that you were planning an elaborate analysis, along anthropological lines. Referring to my own notes on your plan, I find that you had the following; as ~~xx~~ a basis for your proposed analysis:

Everything in the census records; records of who visits whom, at what hours; what sorts of cliques and friendship are formed; all political activities of block residents; what sorts of physical improvements were made, and who was responsible; vital statistics; Caucasian contacts; case histories; rise of leaders; detailed notes on activities and personalities of children, up to adolescence; people relocating and going out on seasonal leave; messhall behavior; habits of bachelors; rural-urban contrasts; professional people versus farmers.

You also referred to rather complete notes which would form the basis of an analysis of family organization.

None of these notes seems to be in the files. Can you clarify the situation?

Sincerely yours,