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Sakoda, James M.

Diary (copy of selected portion)

1945-1947

\* JERS copy Bone Mass 6/14c, R20.81 (37 folders)

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J 3/9/45 Friday

1. Relocation Diary

Woke up in the morning in time to eat in the messhall. After eating Hattie and I went up to say goodbye to some of the workers in the messhall. Our general line of approach was: We've caused you a lot of trouble. We must leave our parents in your care. We hope to see you again someplace. Other people lingering in the messhall came up to say good bye to us. Some of them indicated that they would see us off at the gate. After doing our last minute packing and sending our checkable baggage to the laundry room for pick up, we began to make the rounds within the block. We said good bye to almost all of the block residents, or members of their family. Some of the parents thanked me in terms of all that I had done for their children. When we said that we would like to see them come out, too, some of them said that they would like to hear of any opportunity if I found any for them. One or two said that they thought it would be dangerous on the Coast yet. When I indicated that I was going ~~in~~ back to school, some hoped that I would succeed or at least said that they thought it was a good thing to study. Mrs. F. said that we might still meet in Japan after the war.

We received the inevitable farewell gifts--sembetsu. 24 persons gave us money in an envelope, amounting to \$34. Most of them contained a dollar bill. Four persons gave us gifts. The Young People's Club gave us a box of stationery. Tom Ogawa gave me a humidior, and Calvin a can tobacco. Father Joe had previously given me a can of tobacco, too, along with two pipes and a pouch. 14 of the gifts were from block residents, all of whom we got to know after we got to Minidoka a year and a half ago. It seems to show the solidarity of the block unit, since we did not associate intimately with the block people. Our next door neighbor hung around until we left to help us with whatever baggage we had. Tom Ogawa said that he would get us special transportation to Shoshone, which he did.

I went to the Relocation Office to pick up my leave permit and then to the Disbursement Section for ~~my~~ our order from the WRA for a coach fare and \$12 in cash for traveling expense. The \$50 grant would be waiting in the San Francisco office.

I went to Stafford's office to say good bye to the project director, but he was not in. I shook hands with Williams, Placement Officer, Folsom, Personnel Officer, ~~and~~ Jack Nichols, Assistant Project Director, and Barrett, Project Attorney. C. T. Takahashi was out by the road, and he said that he would be seeing me on the Coast. (Yesterday he wanted to know whether I would be interested in

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a job with the O.W.I. or whether I knew anybody else he could look up to offer jobs to them. I could not help him in either respect.)

About 30 persons came to the gate to see us off. Father Joe and Tom Ogawa, of course, were there. Elmer Smith took some time to show up, and we had to wait for him. Yuki and Mom cried on Hattie's shoulders. We left on a station wagon with two other couples.

At Shoshone I presented the order for a coach fare and bought a first class ticket to Berkeley. The difference cost me about \$25. Hattie and I ate at the Boston Cafe, and the grey-haired lady seemed tired at her work. A drunk was eating at the counter and shouting at her. Another man came in and nagged her for a package of cigarettes. The train was delayed almost an hour, but it finally arrived. Webb, from the Social Welfare office in Washington and another man were boarding the same train, and Newell was with them. Newell didn't even ask me how I got my train reservation so soon. When we got on the train we asked the conductor to sell us seats, which he did for \$1.50 to Pocatello. The trip was uneventful except for the fact that a talkative, but friendly, lady asked Hattie;

"Are you by any chance running away from Hood River?"

At Pocatello we got off, and I went to get my pullman reservation. It was waiting for me. We got on a train headed for Salt Lake City, and bought another seat in the Pullman section. At Ogden we had two hours to wait for our train to pull in, and the two of us walked up to the shopping district to look around. We ended up in Walgren and ate a Sundae. It seemed to me that we were accustomed to it all.

We boarded our train at 12.30 at night and went to sleep. The train did not leave the station until 4.00 a.m. The trip across the western states of Utah and Nevada was dull. There was nothing much to see out of the window except sagebrush and dust and an occasional cluster of houses when the train stopped. We were able to eat a breakfast and a dinner in the diner. The porter was nice, and H.K. thought that he was especially nice to us because we were Japanese. At any rate, we did not have any trouble on the train, except ~~f~~ with a crossword puzzle that we tried to do to while away the time.

J 3/11/45 Sunday

1. Relocation Diary

The train pulled into Berkeley on time--5.38 a.m. I wasn't quite sure whether Dorothy was going to meet ~~me~~ us at the station. I had sent both Dorothy and Mrs. MacFarlane a telegram to inform them of the time that I was arriving. I ~~figured~~ figured that the two of them would work out the problem for themselves. Dorothy was waiting for us at the station. Hattie declared that the air smelled nice, ~~xxxxxxsayingthatxxxxxx~~ It was early in the morning, but not too chilly. Dorothy had a taxi cab waiting, which drove us to her place. W.I. was up, and greeted us. They both made breakfast for all of us, after which we all pitched in on the dish-washing. It seemed strange to think of Dorothy cooking and washing dishes, but there she was. I also noticed that W.I. squeezed out the orange juice, cut the bread, and made toast.

It was cloudy when dawn broke, but we were surprised to see so much color about us. The peach trees along the ~~xxxx~~ street were covered with pink blooms. Trees were towering everywhere. On the hill the light green grass could be seen. We went into the garden in the backyard, and were surprised to see flowers growing at this time of the year. A geranium plant was growing higher than the fence and H.K. looked surprised. The houses along the street were pretty, colorful. We could not get over the idea of seeing so much pretty color around us--both artificial and natural.

We had some difficulty getting a taxi, and it was not until late afternoon that we got over to Mrs. Macfarlane's place. Through Dorothy we had arranged to stay in a room in the basement temporarily. Mrs. Macfarlane was very nice to us. She showed us the room, which turned out to be nicely furnished study turned in living quarters. She and her mother had put in a hot plate in the laundry room, where we could do some simple cooking. She proudly showed us her house, which was pretty. We went into the garden, where she had been working this afternoon. Flowers and vegetables were growing or planted. From her back window we could see the bay shimmering in the evening sun. Mrs. Macfarlane let us use cooking utensils, dishes, and linen. She wanted to know whether we wanted to work for our room, and we said that for the present we would prefer to pay for it. That evening she gave us some food that she had already prepared.

J 3/12/45 Monday

1. Relocation Diary

Hattie and I went to the University in the morning. Most of the morning was spent in becoming acquainted with people. We met Morton Grodzins and George Sabagh, whom I had met before, and also Mrs. Wilson and Johnny, a pretty blond girl. (Don't get me wrong.) Dorothy had gotten me the office of a professor who is now away on leave in which to carry on my work.

Housing Housing was our first main problem. Hattie indicated that she wanted a place where she could have a range and an ice-box. The pros and cons of furnished and unfurnished apartments were aired. Morton held out very firmly for an unfurnished place because:

1. It was cheaper in the long run.
2. It was fairly easy to furnish.
3. One had more liberty.
4. It was usually cleaner.

He was definitely against our doing housework in order to get a place to stay.

The possibility of getting a public housing apartment was discussed. Evidently this had not occurred to Dorothy before. She called up some place to find out what steps had to be taken to become ~~xxxxxxx~~ eligible for public housing. She learned that the first step was for the Study to be certified as an "essential" by the ~~the~~ proper authority. George Sabagh had been able to get a reconvered apartment in this way. After making a few phone calls, Dorothy thought that it would be possible to obtain public housing for ~~us~~ us. She was told that it would be easier to get newly built apartments than reconvered apartments because there was less likelihood of running into prejudice with the former.

Driver's License Dorothy wanted me to get a driver's license, in case I had occasion to drive. Morton took me to take the test. I nearly flunked the written test, but got my license without trouble. The policeman in charge was nice to everyone he handled, and the man who went around several blocks on the driving test was pleasant, also. He wanted to know why I was driving a University car, and I said (Morton had told me to say this) that I was a research assistant for the University. He also asked me how I was doing for housing, and I said that I was staying temporarily with a professor, and that I would have to try my luck with the others. I should have asked him whether he had any apartment to offer.

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In the evening we went to the Lincoln Market with Merton just as it was closing. We bought chops which were still in the glass case, and they turned out to be lamb chops. 38 cents and 9 points. Later we figured that we couldn't afford to buy lamb chops every night, both because of the money and points involved. We also bought supplies with which to make lunches for ourselves on the following day. Helped Hattie cook dinner. We'll get used to this business of shopping, cooking, and cleaning up. I've gotten into the frame of mind where I believe that I should pitch in wherever possible. Spent the evening writing a letter in Japanese to dad and mom.

J 3/15/45 Thursday

1. Relocation Diary--Housing

Our room at Mrs. Macfarlane's is working out ~~xxxxxxx~~ nicely. We have been eating breakfast and dinner at home, and taking a lunch to the University. However, we have already decided that our stay there can only be temporary, and that we must try to find something more permanent.

As I mentioned before, Dorothy decided that the first step was to try to make war housing available to us. She succeeded in making contacts over the telephone to find out what she must do to get the Study certified as "essential." She sent out a letter to the War Manpower Commission in San Francisco, describing the nature of the Study, and how it is to produce important results for post-war adjustment. Yesterday she received a favorable reply from the War Manpower Commission, and she was told to go ahead on making application for war housing if she pleased. She sent me over to the War Housing Unit here in Berkeley in the Greyhound Office, with a letter in my hand. A Mrs. Hausen, a pleasant lady, took care of me. She said that she knew the Takahashis and also the Obatas. I showed her my letter, and she looked slightly puzzled. She asked me if I cared to live in Albany, and I said that I preferred something here in Berkeley. She took out a card and took down my name and where I lived and when I arrived. She directed me to a Mrs. West of 1401 Spring Way. I asked her whether I could not apply for war housing. Dorothy had sent me there to get a V card. She said that employees of the University were not eligible for war housing. All applications for the V card must be made through a Mr. Anderson in the Oakland office of the War Housing Board. I called up Dorothy and explained my predicament to her.

Dorothy called up Mr. Anderson and learned that the application for the V card would have to be cleared through the regional office, and said that he would take care of the matter as soon as Dorothy sent through the desired information. Dorothy sent out something special delivery.

In the meantime she called up Jane Davis, the woman in charge of looking up houses for ~~xxxxxxx~~ returning evacuees. Since most of the housing that she had (20 or 30 according to Dorothy) required housework in return for the housing, she specifically asked for housing without work restrictions. Jane Davis directed us to Mrs. McKenzie, 2519 Etna Street, where a garden cottage was available for six hours of dishwashing. ~~Rxxxx~~ Dorothy thought that we ought to look into the offer and accept it if the housing were good. She called up, and found out that a certain Tsuchida had already moved into the garden cottage.

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Dorothy also called up Mrs. West, and reported that she was an interesting woman, but had nothing to offer. She was interested in setting up half a dozen international houses all over Berkeley, with not more than one Nisei, one Chinese, etc. in each house.

We discussed the possibility of calling on the WRA office in Oakland to see what it had to offer.

## 2. Yukio Kawamoto on Closing of Center

Yukio, who is a soldier overseas in the South Pacific, wrote to Dorothy that he was greatly worried about the prospect of the centers closing. He said that he had applied for an emergency furlough to come back to the states so that he would be able to relocate ~~xxxxxx~~ his two parents. Being the only son, he is worried about his aged parents. Yukio wanted some advice as to what he should do. Dorothy brought in the letter to show me, and wondered what we could do about it. The only person in Topaz that I could think of who might try to do something about telling the Red Cross to approve his visit was Kihel Ikeda, who works in the Legal Aid office. I asked Dorothy if she knew anyone in Topaz, and she thought that she could send a telegram to Miss Dickinson, head of the Relocation Division. She did.

## 3. Morton's Draft Status

Morton is leaving the study for a job in Chicago with some sort of research organization there paying \$5000. Morton has finished his work for his doctor's degree, except for his final oral examination. He has a little more work to do on the more recent material that he gathered together in Washington. ~~xxxx~~ He had requested his draft board for a change of job. This morning he received word from his draft board that they desired ~~x~~ to have him come him for a re-examination before he was transferred to another. Morton was classified 1-A Limited the last time he took his physical. If he cannot get a deferment on his present job, he wants to go into something else in which he can get deferment. Dorothy and Mrs. Wilson advised him not to call up his wife to tell her about the notice from the draft board but to tell her when he went home for lunch because she might worry over it. Nothing is certain these days.

## 4. Friendly Neighbors

Yesterday C., who occupies the next room and to whom I was introduced, dropped in for some matches. In the lavatory I met a young fellow who wanted to know if I were working for Dr. Thomas, asked some questions about where I came from, and said that he knew George Sabagh. He also wanted to know what aspect I was following, and he wasn't satisfied when I said sociological. I then said political.

J 3/16/45 Friday

1. Relocation Diary--Housing

Yesterday Dorothy called up Mr. Tuttle, the East Bay Relocation Officer, to ask him if he had any housing for evacuees. Tuttle wanted to know whether she was asking for the purpose of including it in a report. She said that she had an assistant who was looking for housing. He wanted to know if it were James. She said yes, but what about the housing. After a silence Tuttle wanted to know whether James' wife was willing to do domestic work. She said no. There was no housing available, she understood, which did not mean doing domestic work for it. While she was at it she asked whether Tuttle had any job for James' wife, and the answer was another silence.

Dorothy now figures that we've tried almost all of the sources that we know. The church people (Jane Davis is with the Inter-racial Committee, but Dorothy refers her as belonging to the church people) had only housing in exchange for domestic work, except for one requiring only six hours of dishwashing a week, and that was already taken. The WRA didn't have anything. Mrs. West didn't have anything either. Our only chance now is with war housing.

Dorothy did some more phoning for me today. She found out that the people handling reconversions do not have any vacancies at the present time. They do not have a waiting list either, and vacancies do occur occasionally, they said. She asked whether there would be any discrimination against an Oriental, and they said that the person would be given an address, and he would have to take his chance with it. At least the agency, so Dorothy feels, does not discriminate against an Oriental.

It seems that it is going to take a little time for us to get housing, if at all. After I get my V card, I'll have to wait for a vacancy at the agency. We still have to explore the possibility in public housing, for which I have to go to San Francisco.

2. WRA and Return to the Coast

Tuttle has the reputation of being paid \$380, but of not being able to relocate ~~ix~~ more than a single person in three months, although I don't know how true the story is. Dorothy asked him whether my grant had come through yet, and he said that it hadn't. That grant is what an evacuee is supposed to start his living upon.

3. Morton on the Closure Policy

Morton is inclined to believe that evacuees will not relocate of their own accord, no matter what the WRA offers. Therefore, he is inclined to believe that the WRA had good

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reasons for undertaking the present mode of relocation. I argued that more people could have been relocated if the proper incentives were offered to evacuees, although under no condition could total relocation be expected. Dorothy pointed out that the belief that Japan was going to win the war was a definite hinderance to relocation for many evacuees. Morton said that even if it were plain that Japan was going to lose the war the evacuees would twist the news as a reason for not relocating. We all agreed that the present program possibly could not succeed. When one couple has so much difficulty finding housing, how are the larger families going to manage. And the WRA hasn't even set up a temporary housing in the area.

J 3/17/45 Saturday

1. Tuttle and Relocation

I spent practically the whole day with Mr. Tuttle in his WRA office in Oakland. I took a street-car in the morning. ~~But~~ By luck I stumbled on the the right car by University Avenue. Except for the fact that I forgot to ask for a transfer, nothing out of the ordinary occurred on the streetcar. In fact, I was bored on my trip from Berkeley to Oakland. I saw three Oriental looking students waiting at one street corner, and decided that they were Chinese, judging from the number and from the looks. Not that I can tell a Chinese by looking at him.

Mr. Tuttle's office was not very difficult to locate. Tuttle himself came up from behind me, and greeted me as "Jimmy." I had met him once through Bob Spencer when I was in Gila in 1943. We went into an inner office and began to talk about things in general, and about my problems in particular.

I told him that we were looking for housing, that we didn't expect to do housework except as a last resort, and that I was hoping to get war housing. I didn't ask him ~~xxxxxxx~~ too many questions on my housing problem. I asked him what sort of jobs he had for my wife. He said that he didn't expect much difficulty for anyone to find a job. Stenographers' jobs were plentiful, he said. He cited the case of Sachi Matsumoto, who received an offer from the International House, which could not wait for her to get out here, even though they wanted an evacuee. (According to Dorothy, Blaisdell at first was seeking an evacuee and he had several applicants for the job, but for some reason or other suddenly decided to take a Caucasian instead.) Sachi had been offered a job by Teiko Ishida of the JACL in San Francisco. Some people ~~from~~ who she worked before in Mills College had already found her a job, and she decided to take that. I asked him whether the ship yards were accepting evacuees. I didn't see why they wouldn't, except for the fact that the ship yards were starting to lay off workers.

Concerning the employment problem in general, he said that there had been only two incidents in Oakland. In each case workers threatened to quit because an evacuee was hired. However, when a meeting of the workers was called by Tuttle and the Fair Play Committee, the evacuee was allowed to stay. Tuttle explained that the workers didn't know the difference between a loyal evacuee and the enemy. Also, he said that it was originally a policy to refer all job requests to the U.S.E.S., but this policy was changed so that now the WRA is looking for jobs on their own. He said that he did not know the reasoning behind this because he was not in on the

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discussion of policy in this region.

I asked him how many evacuees had returned to the area. He said that probably about 50 had returned already, although he didn't know exactly because he had no way of checking up on those who came back on their own. Several families, he said, had returned to the nursery business in the nearby rural areas.

I asked him whether temporary housing was available. He said that it ~~was~~ was. The Interracial Committee in Berkeley had always been able to put up evacuees in private homes temporarily. Also, the Methodist Church had been opened by Rev. Yamasaki, and was going to be used as a hostel.

I mentioned that it was necessary to have someone here contact evacuees in Topaz personally. He said that he did not think that this was a good idea because job offers in this area were being sent to the centers, and it was not wise to accept a job while in camp. It was better for them to come out and look over the opportunities for themselves. I disagreed with him on the ground that opportunities should be sold more personally to individuals.

He said that it was a WRA policy not to help those who returned of their own accord. After all, he said, the evacuees had to ~~learn~~ learn to be independent. Also, he said that if every evacuee were given too much help the rest of them who needed help would not be able to get it. He said that one man wanted him to write a letter to the telephone company to put in a telephone. He said that he himself could not get a telephone and the WRA would not write a letter for him. He was committed, it seemed to me, to a policy of minimum help for returning evacuees.

I asked about opportunities of relocating for my wife's parents. This was the only subject on which he could offer much help. He cited several offers of house-work for room and board and wages besides. He said that the prevailing wages was \$175-\$250 a month for a couple--according to the papers. He cited one case where a couple wanting to go into poultry raising (farming?) wanted \$1000 loan from the FSA. They could not get the loan because they would not be able to make ~~payments~~ payments during the year. Tuttle got something better for them, he said, and that was to do housework for room and board and about \$200 a month. In six or seven months they would be able to save a \$1000. Actually Tuttle had not gone out of his way to look for opportunities even in domestic work. A Mrs. Sturgeon had called him up to tell him that she was willing to go to Tule Lake to look for a prospective couple, although she was not quite sure when she could make the trip. I said that I would interview her just to find out the sort of offers that were being made in the domestic field.

~~Tuttlexxxxxxxxxx~~

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Tuttle's secretary, Mrs. McDuffy, went out to lunch early, and we had to wait until past one for our lunch. Tuttle said that he lacked sugar in his liver and had to eat several times during the day in small quantities, or else he had acute hunger ~~pains~~ pains. He said that he had only recently been rejected by the Army, probably because of this condition. His wife appeared for her weekend shopping. She was going to have a baby soon. Both of them told me about the Matsumotos, that were staying with them. Mrs. Matsumoto was taking care of the baby and doing part of the house work, and was to ~~remain~~ remain while Mrs. Tuttle was in confinement. Mrs. Matsumoto insisted on cooking rice for every meal, and Tuttle said that he was fond of rice, but was getting very tired of it. Mrs. T. was more nice about it, and said that she didn't know what to cook because they wouldn't tell her what they liked. I suggested that they cook rice as an extra dish, and go ahead and prepare whatever they pleased. Mrs. Tuttle said that she hadn't been aware that evacuation had been such a shock. One of the Matsumoto girls, 18 years of age, was afraid to take the street car up the hill and preferred to walk up. Even Mrs. Matsumoto urged her daughter to take the streetcar, she said.

After lunch I went back to the office, and Mrs. McDuffy in the front room asked me whether my name was Mr. Sakoda. I said that it was and walked past her to Tuttle's room. She follow me and shouted from behind me that Mr. Sakoda was here. I guess she wanted me to be very formal about the matter and ask if Mr. Tuttle were in. Such red tape. It amused me more than anything else. He said that he had an appointment for two o'clock, and said that he would go along with me to see Mrs. Sturgeon.

## 2. Matsumoto, Returning Evacuee

I came back to the office a little early and found two Issei men sitting in the waiting room. I went in, and one of them asked me where I had come from. I said Minidoka. When? Last Sunday. He said that he had come from Gila and was now staying with Mr. Tuttle. I asked whether He wasn't Mr. Matsumoto. He said that he was. I introduced myself. He introduced the other man as Mr. Sataka. Mr. Matsumoto/ went on to say that he had been out to the country around Concord where they had lived before. His Hakujin friends welcomed him and wanted him to work for them. He had been a farmer before and wanted to go back into farming, but he didn't think that the risk was worth taking now. It was too difficult to get labor and equipment, he said. Housing was also difficult to get, even in the country. I asked him about share-cropping. He said that he had a son in the Army and another one who might be drafted soon, since he had already received his questionnaire. This meant that

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he didn't have the help of any younger person. If there were some young fellow that he could work with he might try share-cropping, but he didn't think that he could do the major part of the hard work himself since he was too old now. Consequently he had given up the idea of farming and had decided to stay in the city for a while. I asked him whether gardening was not about the only thing that he could do in the city. He said that it was. He had done nothing but farming and didn't know anything else that he could do in the city, but gardening. He didn't want to live in the city, but it couldn't be helped. He didn't want to live with any Hakujin family, because he hadn't done it for so long. It would be too awkward, he thought. I said that the WRA should set up some temporary housing or many people wouldn't be able to come back. He said:

"Since we've come out, they'll do something for us. Mr. Tuttle is a very nice person."

I pitied his trust in the WRA. I said that hostels should be set up. He said that the WRA will do that for us. I said that the people left in camp will find difficulty in coming out. He said that they can't stay there forever. Weren't there many people who said that they were not going to budge? He said that they said that, but when the time came the Government was going to close the camps and they wouldn't be able to say anything about it. Here was a man, I thought, who was being too trustful. He asked me to come over to Tuttle's place to see him. I felt that we were on fairly good terms when we parted.

### 3. Dr. Iriki

A Dr. Iriki came back to Oakland (or Berkeley) and was visiting Tuttle. I met him for just a few moments as he came out of Tuttle's office. He said in slightly broken English:

"Everybody who has been living on the Coast wants to come back here again."

I guessed that he was a middle-aged Issei, on the younger side. He had been relocated in Cleveland, according to Matsumoto, but came back to the Coast. As we went out to his car, Tuttle said:

"You know, he wants me to get him a priority to remodel an office,"

as if the doctor had asked an impossible favor. I asked him whether priorities were very difficult to get. He said that it was, although a person could spend up to \$200 without having a priority. I couldn't help feeling that Tuttle should have been willing to see what he could do do for Dr. Iriki, even about trying to get a priority.

4. Mrs. Sturgeon, Seeker of Domestic Workers

Tuttle and I went into the hills of Piedmont, the classy district of the East Bay, to look up Mrs. Sturgeon, who was seeking Japanese domestic workers badly enough to be willing to drive up to Tule Lake for the purpose of interviewing some couples. The house was a big one, but we were more surprised when we went inside and found it immaculate and formal. The living room which we went into must have been almost fifty feet long. Mrs. Sturgeon was a pleasant woman, middle-aged, with poise. She carried on the greater part of the conversation, giving her point of view in a very pleasant manner. She said that she had employed a Japanese boy and a parttime girl before the war, and did not mind having a Japanese work in her home. Some of her friends and her neighbors understood that there were all kinds of Japanese, as there were all kinds of other people. They were not like the more ignorant people in the country, who were narrowminded. She wouldn't want to hire anybody in her ranch, she said, because she was sure that if they were Japanese they would get into trouble with the people around there. She and her next door neighbor were both willing to have Japanese couple, and in this way they could have the companionship that they desired. She was also willing to take the trouble to teach the couple the work that was to be done. It was worthwhile, she said, to learn the finer arts of cooking and of serving. The house was large, but was not difficult to keep clean. General cleaning was done only once a week, and this was not difficult because things did not become dirty. She was housing some ~~xxxx~~ aviators in one wing, but their rooms were cleaned only once a week. She was also letting out the room downstairs to a friend. This room and another room could be offered to a couple, as well as cooking facilities, if necessary. The man could do gardening work parttime for her and parttime for her neighbors, she said. On one point she was not definite. She would not say how much she would pay the couple because it depended on the couple she got and how much training she was able to take, how much she liked them, etc. I had a feeling that she would ~~xxxxxxx~~ willing to use a couple cheaply if she could. I said that I would write to my in-laws and find out how they would respond to the offer. Actually I did not think that I could offer anybody a position which did not state more clearly the ~~ex~~ amount of pay.

5. Mrs. Macfarlane on Prejudice

Mrs. Macfarlane, professor of psychology, with whom we are staying is a member of the interracial committee, and considers herself to be one of the more enlightened individuals on the matter of race relations. She said that Tuttle had come to see her once to investigate the housing which I was accepting, and had asked her whether she had

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investigated whether her neighbors would accept ~~an~~ evacuees in her home. She replied, she said, that she didn't think that this was necessary because this was a good neighborhood and she didn't expect any trouble from anyone. There could be trouble, she said, in the poorer and rural districts, but not around where she lived. Of course, she added, there were always "crackpots" anyplace.

J 3/18/45 Sunday

1. Jane Davis of the Inter-racial Committee

I still haven't gotten it clear in my mind what the Inter-racial Committee is like, although I do know that it has been finding housing and job opportunities for returning evacuees. I wanted to meet Jane Davis, evidently the Executive Secretary of the Committee, and discuss my own problems and the problems of returning evacuees in general with her. I phoned her up and learned that she would be able to see me in the afternoon. I found her home at 2634 Le Conte situated in the midst of a quaint and rambling garden. It was not one of these formal-looking houses with ~~grass~~ a lawn in front, neatly trimmed. The garden and the house looked old, but was not shabby. I knocked at the front door because a sign showed that the doorbell was out of order. Jane Davis sounded rather brisk over the phone. She greeted me, and asked me to sit/ down. She offered me a cigarette, and smoked one herself. I hesitated because there were only several left in her package, but I took one when she said that she had others on hand. I did not bring my pipe purposely because I had heard that she was convalescing from pneumonia. She was dressed smartly in slacks. I should say that she was in her late twenties, but my guesses are usually wrong. She was very straight-forward and informal in her approach.

We started out by discussing my housing problem. I stated just what Hattie and I wanted: a place where we could live and cook for ourselves and not have to do housework. Jane suggested a number of possibilities, but admitted that apartments were difficult to obtain. There was one lady, she said, who wanted to take in Japanese, but did not know how to get rid of her present boarders. She had a three-room apartment with bath. A professor had an apartment to rent with bath and kitchen facilities, but he lived in Lafayette, which was about 12 miles out of Berkeley. However, if transportation could be provided, even this might do for us. She also suggested that the fellow named Tauchida who took the garden cottage in exchange for six hours of dish-washing might be persuaded to swap the place for something else, since it was more important that a couple occupy the cottage. She also mentioned a place with kitchen privileges where the main obstacle was a mile's walk to the nearest carline. She also mentioned a lady who was willing to rent a room in exchange for some typing work, since I mentioned that Hattie did not want to do housework. While there was nothing that we could accept immediately, I was hopeful that she would be able to do something for us if we gave her some time.

Jane Davis had a card catalogue of places which offered either work, temporary hospitality, or a place to live. She had sufficient offers in most of these categories to take care of a number of people, but was deficient on apartments.

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We discussed the problems of returning evacuees in general. She recognized that housing was the main difficulty now. Some of the places that were willing to take evacuees in return for housework, were being filled with wives of servicemen. They had gotten <sup>the idea</sup> it seemed, that by doing housework they could get a place to stay. She was afraid that if this continued there would be less housing available even in exchange for domestic work. She mentioned, as everyone else does, that shipyard workers were being laid off fairly rapidly. According to Mr. Weaver, Jane's brother-in-law, he had heard from "reliable" sources that 20,000 had already been laid off and that more were going to be dismissed soon. He said that the traffic on the street had already been lightened noticeably so that it was possible to find parking space where it was impossible to find before. What effect this lay-off was going to have on the housing situation she could not say. Since there was going to be a conference in San Francisco in April, she was afraid that this would tighten up the housing situation. She was wondering what the JACL was doing in San Francisco because she had received a frantic call for help in finding in housing for a party who had returned to San Francisco. She thought that more public housing should be built in Berkeley, and remarked that it was unfortunate that the Berkeley Council opposed low-cost housing because the real-estate men did not want competition from them after the war.

Students Seiko Akahoshi from Topaz, a student at the University of California, walked into the room, and I was surprised to find her here. I meant to look her up some time, and was glad to get a chance to talk with her. She was a very lively girl, and served to break the ice for me. She was the daughter of the black manager of Block 25 in Tule Lake. I had gotten along well with her folks, who did not get along so well with the rest of the block residents, most of whom were from the Delta region. I asked Seiko what her folks planned to do, and whether she was going to urge them to return to Berkeley. She said that they did not want to come back to their cleaner establishment in Oakland because that district was now filled with poor whites and Negroes. (People speak disparagingly of the "Oakies," perhaps more so than they do of the Negroes.) I asked her whether she didn't want to have her folks back in Oakland, and she said that she preferred ~~them~~ to have them go out to Chicago. Ziggy, her brother who is married, and who is a 4-C, and a typical "hep-cat," as she explained to Jane, is now in Chicago, and wants to have his parents come out there. The father could work in a cleaner establishment and command good wages and her mother, being a professional designer and dressmaker, could make money on her own. She herself thought that she would like to go back East and attend some school out there.

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Mary Tamaki Mary, another student, came back to Jane's place after having visited several homes where she could get room and board in exchange for some work. She came back saying that she didn't want to go to the last place that she visited because the people there were old and they scared her. She had visited several other places, but she couldn't quite make up her mind which one to accept or whether to go out and look over more places. The more desirable places near the campus evidently had been filled, some by other returning evacuee students. Mary had been staying at the Chapman's, where she had too much work to do and besides had to attend many church functions. The Chapmans, according to stories, were very strict fundamentalists, and Mary was told that she could not even say "Oh, my" or "Oh, gee." Even Sunday was not her own because she was required to go to church. One Sunday she stayed home on the excuse that she had work to do, and she was required to listen to his sermon over the radio.

Students The students evidently were making a good adjustment. Seiko said that not many people paid much attention to them. Some people looked at them, but she thought that they did not know whether they were Japanese or Chinese. Some people that she thought was Chinese looked back at them, too, but they didn't seem to be able to know whether she was Chinese or not. She said that she used to think that she could tell the difference between a Chinese, but not anymore. She just couldn't tell on the street which was which. Seiko had a steady named Tubby, who was attending school, too, and so her social life was <sup>not</sup> neglected. Mary made some statement that made me believe that she went out on dates over the weekend. Seiko said that there were 11 girls and 13 boys of whom she knew. Including us and a few others she knew of 29 who were back in this area.

Number returning I asked Jane Davis how many had come back to this area. She said that it was difficult to say, but declared that they had helped at least 50 or 60. This included, evidently, those who come back on short-term leave. In other words, no one knows how many evacuees are back, and about how many are coming back. My impression was that the number of evacuees in the East Bay was fairly small--say about 40.

Dr. Iriki According to Jane, a Dr. Iriki came back and wanted to buy (I believe) a place, and the real estate people told him that they couldn't do business with him until they had investigated him. Davis looked into the matter and explained that the evacuees had all been cleared by a number of agencies. The reply was that they would have to do some clearing for themselves. Jane said that more work would have to be done on those people.

J 3/18/45 #1-4

Jane Davis I liked Jane Davis for the matter-of-fact and natural way she met evacuees. She sympathized for the students, for instance, and did not believe that they should do more than, say, three hours of work/ for room and board. She also said that evacuees should not depress the present wage rate, and said that \$100 plus room and board was the prevailing rate for housework and \$150 to \$200 plus room and board for a couple. They should not accept anything below \$150, she thought. She was opposed to the strict religion that Chapman represented, and I noticed that the books she had on her shelves represented "liberal" (but not radical) ~~thinking~~ taste. When I left she suggested that I bring my wife over and try some cooking.

J 3/24/45 Saturday

### 1. Housing in Berkeley

Jane Davis Jane called up at the office and said that there was an offer of an apartment up on Cragmont with a professor named Møller, which included cooperative or communal cooking. Hattie immediately came out and said that she didn't like the idea of cooking together, saying that she had too much of that in camp. So we didn't even go there to see what it was like.

V Card Friday I went to Oakland to get war housing, but forgot to take the letter which came from San Francisco stating that the Study was classified as "essential" insofar as housing was concerned. I was asked to come back with the letter. Anyway, the lady at the desk said, there was nothing that she could offer me at the moment. She also said that I could make an application for war housing at the Berkeley office if I cared to, and here the San Francisco office had insisted on my chasing all the way to Oakland.

Today I went to the Berkeley War Housing Center, and was told that there was nothing available in the way of housing. I said that I wanted to have a V card so that I could look for reconversions. I got my V card and was directed to two places. At Mason and McDuffy's I was told that they handled only 3 room apartments, completely unfurnished, at about \$55 a month. I then went to Mortimer's and received a courteous reception. A man told me that there was nothing available at the moment, but that I should keep coming in. He said that the best time was around ten o'clock when the mail came in, and also from the first to the tenth of the month. So I must try and try, because, as the man told me, there are probably 25 persons waiting for each situation.

### 2. Chapman Evacuee-Caucasian Social

Hattie and I were invited tonight to a social gathering, at which evacuees were to be introduced to "church leaders." Mary Tamaki, a student, who is staying with the Chapman's and whom I met at Jane Davis', was supposed to call me up on the phone. Not knowing where I lived, she asked Seiko Akahoshi, her friend, to relay the message that Hattie and I were invited.

Hattie and I weren't too anxious to be invited to church and church function, but we were interested in finding out what sort of affair this was going to be. Evidently this was the first meeting of a large group of Nisei here in Berkeley since the lifting of the ban. We had a little trouble finding the place, and was surprised that Rev. Chapman lived in such a huge house. I could understand why Mary felt that she had too much work to do around the place. I remember the advice of a school-boy when I was looking for work not to work for someone who has been in Japan because they'll work you to death.

When we arrived about half-a-dozen people were sitting stiffly around a circle in the living room. During the next hour others continued to drop in, until the number was swelled to about 40. Half of those present

were Caucasian, and the other half Nisei, plus one Chinese and one Issei. The Caucasians were missionary leaders from the Orient and their children, local church leaders, including some young people from the U.C. Bible League. The evacuees were mostly students of U.C., from Topaz, and former residents of this area. They included (from notes taken from introduction):

Teiko Hideshi-a, S.F., Topaz, U.C. student.  
Jane Hayashi, Berkeley, Gila (father a dentist,) U.C.  
Ruth Hayashi, Berkeley, Gila (sister to above), U.C.  
Taka Yoshida, S.F.  
Miyeko Takita  
Mr. Makamizo (Issai), arrived yesterday, to do housework and gardening.  
Isamu Nawa, ~~S.F.~~ attending high school in S.F.  
Jane Tawa, Poston, U.C.  
Mits Katsuura, Berkeley  
Mark Hayashi, Los Angeles, former U.C. student, in Ag. Econ. now.  
Joe Kaneya, from near Merced, Granada, U.C.  
Seiko Akahoshi, Oakland, Topaz, U.C.  
Teiko Uyeki, Oakland, Topaz  
Jiro Hayashida, Berkeley, U.C.  
Ben \_\_\_\_\_, Riverside, Calif., Poston, U.C.  
Taeko Sakiyama, S.F., Poston.  
Ayako Norita ?, Fellowship Church of All People, S.F.  
Eichi T. uohida, working in a optometrist's shop run by a white and a Negro. Deliberately chose a Nisei. Workers are Negro, White, and Chinese, and all "one-happy family."  
Kiyo Kawahata, S.F. Topaz, Electrical Engineering.  
Etsuke Honami, S.F. Topaz.  
Shiz Nishihara, Topaz.  
Mary Tamaki, S.F. Topaz.  
James and Hattie Sakoda, Hurt, Idaho.

The activities of the evening were directed personally by Rev. Chapman himself in a very business-like manner. It was done very mechanically as if it were only a part of his business to give the young people something that they liked to do. To get people acquainted "Zig-zap" was played. A game of forfeit, diversion of musical chair played by couples, wink, baseball with conundrums were all played in succession very successfully. Rev. Chapman showed some sign of liberalism when he stated that if the young people cared to use his house for a party or cared to come in to chat with their boyfriends it was perfectly all right with him.

Refreshments were then served, and this was made an occasion for an introduction from each individual as to where he came from and what he was doing. Rev. Chapman also passed the guest book around to be signed, and asked each one to put his address in the book, and also from which center he came. When one person forgot to put his address down, he searched him out to ask for the address. The church leaders were also given a chance to invite those present to their church functions. A naval student ~~was~~ from the U.C. Bible League then lead the group in inspiration.

At this point Hattie and I decided that we should be going on to the second function of the evening on our agenda. I explained to Mr. and Mrs. Chapman that we wanted to stay longer, but we had to attend another

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affair. At the door Hattie and I were asked what we had feared. What church did we attend and would they like us to have them introduce us to a church. I hesitated in my answer, and they handed me a program for the Calvin Club, with services at the First Presbyterian Church and at Westminster House. We were disgusted to find them so eager to sell us religion. We were glad to go on to the next place, even though we had to walk a little ways.

### 3. Drinking Party at Morton's

Morton, a member of the Study, gave a party at his apartment for more than a dozen of his friends. He had recently passed his examination for a doctor's degree, he had finished up his work for Dorothy, and he was leaving soon for Chicago for a well-paying job. Hattie and I were the only Nisei present. We were somehow out of place, not because we were Nisei, but because we didn't really drink very much, although we could have tried it. Morton had a group of friends whom I found difficulty in describing in one or two words. As Morton explained, they did not like one party in the same string of apartments because they were "snooty." With one fat couple Morton and Ruth shared music of an unconventional sort--neither classic nor currently popular. Some of them were American ballads, some were foreign, some like the anti-conscriptions songs were radical, and Morton played "Strange Fruit"--an eery anti-lynching song--with pride. George and Ruth also shared the music with the others. Bill and Mary, who were artists in the field of ceramics, according to Morton, were the only real artists among ~~his~~ his friends. They had presented the Grodzins with a distorted cat which looked like a cow, (to me) and a nude, which was a lovely piece of work. Bill had a growth of beard on his face which showed that he seldom, if ever, shaved. There was a quiet couple from next door, who drank little and said little, and seemed to feel slightly out of place. There was a chem student with a wife who spoke with an accent, who was the most successful at conversation. Rosalie was the most entertaining. Both she and Burling had had quite a bit when they came in, and she was ready to go into her repertoire of songs of the International Brigade, songs which were risqué, ballads, and also her demonstration of how they shout banzai at Tule Lake. Renee had just enough to feel a little tipsy when she stood up, and did some loud singing with the others. Hattie and I left around 3 in the morning, but I understand that the party lasted until past 5 in the morning. Morton drank steadily, but was sufficiently in shape to drive Burling back to San Francisco.

### 4. Burling on Center Liquidation

Hattie and I were going to leave at 2 a.m., when Burling came up and said that he wanted to talk with me. We sat and tried to exchange words on a serious topic, in spite of the music and Rosalie's songs and banzais. Burling kept repeating that he didn't know why such a smart fellow as Morton agreed with Myer on his policy of closing down the centers. He asked me if I thought Myer's policy was sensible. I told him that with the meager aid that WRA was giving, there would be a large surplus left in the centers. Most people in the center estimated around a fifty per cent of the residue population to be expected from this program. Burling said that he had heard the same thing. He didn't know

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why I was being so modest about the aid given by the WRA. It was giving no aid. The housing situation alone would defeat the aim of the WRA. It was difficult for Nisei to relocate, and the older folks would have a much more difficult time of it. Morton said that he didn't think the program was going to work, but he agreed with Myer on the idea of emptying the centers. That was about as far as we got with the conversation. Rosalie objected ~~xxx~~ to our conversing about serious matters and spoiling the evening. I didn't think that it was worthwhile to say very much, because others had had too much liquor.

##### 5. Methodology: A Note on Participant Observation

All of us on the Study who have been in the center have run into the question of participation v.s. observation. We started out strictly as observers in Tule Lake, where we took the policy of not becoming involved in camp politics, and to take a neutral job if it were necessary to have one. At Tule Lake we had the difficulty ~~xxx~~ of not being on the "inside" of matters, which was prevented directly by our policy of non-participation. We were participants only insofar as we were evacuees. Otherwise we were supposed to be strictly observers.

All of us who stayed in the center long enough eventually became involved more and more in camp politics. Nishimoto worked himself up to a position of power within the evacuee political hierarchy. Rosalie identified herself with evacuee leaders, with whom she shared their problems. For several months I became involved in Minidoka politics by becoming Labor Advisor, and identified myself definitely with Father Joe's "Free-thinking" crowd. Participating in politics gave me an opportunity to get first hand and personal ~~xxxx~~ knowledge of what was going on, but it also opened the way for possible defeat of ~~x~~ the ultimate purpose, which was observation.

To list some of the advantages and disadvantages of participation, we have:

Without participation:

1. It is difficult to know what's actually going on, especially behind the scene.
2. It is difficult to get firsthand information, documents, statements.
3. It is difficult to win the confidence of leaders without participation. This is especially true in Rosalie's case, where there is so much suspicion against a Caucasian. It is also true of an ex-Tulean in Minidoka, who does not have a job and who does so much typing. Participation is a means of maintaining status within the community among the majority of the people or the people who count in your work.
4. Through participation one can come to know the problems, not only of the group with whom you have identified yourself, but also with the problems faced by the opposition, such as the administration. The closer the contact, the more intimate the knowledge of the total situation.

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**By participating:**

1. An observer adopts a bias in favor of one group and against another. He is likely to become emotionally involved and be favorable to his own group and overly critical toward others.

2. He tends to get his story from only one side, and to hear very little from the other side.

3. He becomes tempted to influence the situation in a certain way, and to adopt a biased point of view.

4. He tends to over-estimate his own role in the situation.

5. At times because of participation the role of the observer is likely to suffer.

a. He does not record taboos of the group.

b. He tries to conceal facts about his close friends. One method of overcoming this situation is the use of pseudonyms.

c. He spends more time in participating in political action than he can really spare.

d. He endangers his neutral position as an observer by participating. He is likely to be definitely identified as an inu by the residents or an agitator by the administration.

In the final analysis the problem of participation v.s. observation is a matter of degree of participation. The amount and quality of the data gathered should determine the optimum degree of participation.

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J 4/4/45 #4-2

*Kuznetz*

called in the staff on hand--Rosalie, ~~Guzness~~ and myself-- to ask our advice. She said that these two men came and she got nowhere. They asked to see some of her case histories. Charlie's cases were on the table, and she told them to pick up one. Both of them fortunately grabbed case histories of single females. They were surprised to learn that Nisei could be so Americanized and so human. They kept saying: "Say, listen to this one," to each other. They were favorably impressed with Dorothy's thesis that Issei and Nisei were no more dangerous than any other group and that there was no necessity for further exclusion from the East or West Coast. When they went away they said that they had been "indoctrinated."

Dorothy had given some thought to plans of publication. She had it figured out that by and large it was best to publish the whole thing as a series after the war, possibly in two years. There was a great deal of pressure from Mor-ton to publish his thesis on the activities of the West Coast pressure groups at the time evacuation, but she was against publishing matters which were political in nature which would incur the wrath of a large number of people and damage the reputation of the Study. The material would not be suppressed, but it would have to appear as a part of a larger study of the whole evacuation process. Using that material for the purpose of social action, she thought, could not be considered at the moment.

However, the effect of the case histories on the two stubborn Army men had started her thinking. She was wondering whether or not selected case histories, which were to be published later as one of the series of monographs, could not be presented first as soon as possible. It would help to make Nisei understandable as individuals, where academic discussions would not succeed. Dorothy was willing to consider this aspect along with the professional question of the right time and method of presentation of the material. She had expected to present a comprehensive introductory, ~~xxx~~ volume, in which she would draw on all available data and state whatever conclusion she has arrived at. If the case histories were to be published first, an introductory section outlining the steps of the evacuation and resettlement process and reference to other volumes to be published would be necessary. Otherwise, the publication plans would not be upset a great deal by this change. What she was thinking of was not political propaganda, but sociological influence. At any rate, she has shown herself to be social-minded. All of us agreed that it was a good ~~xxx~~ idea. ~~Guzness~~ wondered whether or not a complete history of evacuation could not be presented at the same time to avoid the impression that the Study was represented by a mere collection of case histories. But Dorothy maintained that the whole history, which belonged in the comprehensive volume, could not be published at this moment. The Study is finally breaking out its ivory tower.

*Kuznetz*

J 4/4/45 #4-3

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Personal I was glad to hear that Dorothy considered publishing the case histories first. I have had doubts in my low moments whether all the effort that was being put into the study, aside from a scientific value, would do any good for Japanese in America as a whole. I felt this most when it was necessary to record protest against the draft, attachment to Japan, and the like. As an observer I had to be honest. On the other hand, as a member of the group I was touching on a subject which was often considered to a sort of a taboo to reveal publicly. On the other hand, at the time of registration many people indicated ~~ix~~ officially their stand by answering "no" to Question 28. Also, the amount of ignorance of facts about the Japanese, such as the difference between Issei and Nisei, and the common assumption that some Japanese were disloyal gave room to the Study to increase understanding through an honest study. It shall be a pleasure to point out to my friends that the case histories are being published first.

J 5/18/45 Friday

1. Nicky's Housing Problem

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

2. Mrs. Stansilowski on Housing

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

3. Rosalie Banished from Tule Lake

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

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

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

#### 4. Provinse on Return

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

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

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

J 4/8/45 Thursday

1. Discussion of Teaching Assistantship with Prof. Jones

Dorothy told me today that Prof. Jones, of the Psychology Department, wanted to see me for an interview. I went over, and found him to be a friendly individual. He asked me about my teaching experience in Tule Lake, and it was a surprise to me because I never imagined that the experience there would count for anything elsewhere. But come to think of it, it was teaching experience. He pointed out that the future in psychology was not especially hopeful, that a large number of psychologists in the Army would be returning to fill available positions. I said that I was thinking about taking an M.A. in psychology, and perhaps finishing up in sociology. I also said that I might keep up with Japanese culture and language, which might increase my chance for a teaching job. I pointed out that there were universities which might want to have one teacher give courses in both Oriental culture and language. He said that he thought that I might have a chance in the increasing relationship between America and the Orient. He asked me whether I could use the material that I had gathered for a M.A. thesis in psychology, and I said that it probably could. He said that there were teaching positions in the departments for which the present teaching assistants were asking for reappointment. However, he wanted to have my name presented along with the others. I thanked him and came back to report to Dorothy.

2. Dorothy on My Future Plans

I went to Dorothy and told <sup>her</sup> of my interview with Prof. Jones. She said that she sent me over there because she thought that it would be better for me to have a record of having taught in the university. For the first time, I outlined specifically what I was now aiming for. My interview with Prof. Jones seems to have crystallized some of the things that have entered my mind in the past. I was going to get an M.A. in psychology, because I couldn't get it in sociology. I was getting the M.A. first because conditions were so uncertain and it was better to have that than to try for a Ph. D. and not be able to get it. I did not want to remain in psychology, however, because my field of interest was social psychology--breaking the barrier between psychology and sociology. I could ~~get my Ph.D.~~ work for my Ph. D. with Dorothy in sociology, since she understood what I was driving at and she seemed to be striving for the same thing. At the same time I could keep in touch with the problem of the Japanese in America, especially the resettlement phase. A thing like that could go on forever. Also, I could make efforts to keep up on Japanese history, culture, language so as to be able to teach it. My training in social psychology should give me the necessary background for the interpretation of the ways of a group of people.

Dorothy said that she would be glad to have me in her sociology department, which she was trying to have set up as a regular department. I could use what material I

J 4/5/45 #2-2

gathered for a thesis. She pointed out the advantage of my taking a teaching assistantship in the psychology department--for the record and for the ~~ix~~ higher pay. I guess she didn't want me to ~~maximize~~ feel obligated to her. I told her that I preferred to work parttime with her as a research assistant, since I should be following the re-settlement phase of the Study, anyway. She said that I could make my decision when the Psych Department made its offer to me.

### 3. Hattie on Apartment

This morning Hattie went to see the apartment that we had been able to get only through pressure work by Dorothy and others, and came back with the report that it was dirty. She even started to cry, saying that we should have waited for something else. This put Dorothy and myself in a spot because both of us saw the place and thought that it was all right for our purpose. Hattie said that the toilet was broken, the ice-box door wouldn't close, the wallpaper was peeling. Anyway, it was filthy. As it turned out, the float of the toilet was broken, but Mortimer's promised to send the plumber down to fix it. The ice-box door only needed a little slamming. The wall paper was cracked at several points quite noticeably. Cleaning later made the place look clean enough. Dorothy later remarked that it was wartime and housing was very difficult to get. She asked me whether this wasn't a "typical evacuee reaction." I told her that Hattie was particular.

Later I told that to Hattie and she showed some of the "spunk", ~~at~~ which Dorothy had said she admired because it was not "typically Nisei." Hattie was slightly indignant about her behavior being called "typically evacuee." In the first place, she believed that it was not an evacuee reaction, but a Hattie reaction. In the second place, if it were "typically evacuee," whose fault was it for keeping them in camp for three years<sup>so</sup> that they didn't know what was going on ~~on~~ the ~~ix~~ outside. After all, she didn't ask to be relocated. The apartments in the center had at least been clean. I laughed and said that if she weren't sensitive to public opinion, she was going to be laughed at.

That night we cleaned the kitchen and the washroom, and the place looked fairly clean. The kitchen had a new linoleum, and looked very clean and pretty.

J 4/2/45 Monday

1. Dorothy on Eastern Defense Command

Dorothy said that she had a difficult time with an official from the Eastern Defense Command, who is an old friend of hers. He seemed to be convinced that Japanese were potentially dangerous. If they were not actually disloyal at the time of evacuation, they ought to be after the way they were treated. He did not seem to distinguish clearly between alien Japanese and Nisei. That his bias was anti-Japanese and not anti-Oriental was indicated by the fact that he thought that the Chinese were a wonderful people. The Eastern Defense Command is evidently thinking of following the example of the Western Defense Command to exclude certain Japanese from the eastern coast. This officer practically has not seen a Japanese before except at Geneva and recently at Tule Lake. Dorothy said that she did what she could to correct some of the wrong impressions that he had, and W.I. pitched in, too. But she doubts that she was able to make much of a dent in him. Evidently he is just as prejudiced as DeWitt, if not more so. The sad part of the whole thing is that one agency does its best to throw all of the inmates of the relocation centers out, while one division of the War Department attempts to restrict the movements of some of them. It doesn't make much sense, especially when the war in Europe is about to be ended. (That's what a lot of people expect, anyway.)

2. Grace Imamoto on People in Camp

Grace Imamoto dropped in to see Dorothy today about students getting out of paying the non-resident fee by having their parents sign a statement to the effect that they plan to return to California. Both Dorothy and I believe that the parents should be willing to commit themselves to this extent on paper for the sake of their children.

Grace is about 25 and is an active Christian. Her parents were Japanese school teachers in Norwalk, California, more educated and cultured than the average Issei family. Her father spoke English fairly well and attended the University of California. He is a soft-spoken and impractical sort of person. There are about four girls in the family. One of them is married, and the others are still going to school in various parts of the country. Grace was taking courses in education before the war, doing housework as she went to U.C. She did not seem to do especially well in school, although she seemed to be adjusted in terms of association with others.

Grace left camp (Rohwer) early to finish her education. Now she wants to do graduate work in social work, since it is desirable to have graduate training to go into this field. She seemed quite confident of her plans for the future in this line of work. She ~~thax~~ said that her parents thought that it was about time for her to go on with the more practical aspects of life and get a job. But she wants to get all the training that she can. Someone in Whittier evidently has given her an offer of some sort of assistance, and she

- 2 -

J 4/4/45 #2-2

was not until ~~after~~ about the 17th century that people began to think definitely in terms of different races. Two groups, the Negroes and the Mongolian, were given definite race characteristics, instead of conceiving of race as a range of various characteristics. In order to apply one name to those living in Europe it was necessary to allow a great deal of variation ~~within~~ in the racial characteristics within the group. He went on to explain that present day racial classification was largely a matter of prejudice and not scientific at all. He thought that very little could be done to wipe out the prejudice of adults and of children who were brought up by them. It could not be eliminated unless a social system like that of Russia, where class distinction was not allowed, was set up. He also attributed prejudice largely to economic competition between groups.

After the meeting many of the members stood around talking with each other. I went up to Miss Anderson to say "hello." I was introduced by Mrs. Macfarlane to Mrs. Stansilowski, and when I said that I was looking for an apartment, she said that they were difficult to find, but would see what she could do. I saw Tuttle, who introduced me to Sachi Matsumoto. I asked Tuttle about my check, and he merely said that he didn't know anything about it. I told him about the discrimination that I had run into, and he merely said that something should be done about it. I saw Dr. Iriki present with another Japanese, and I nodded to him. I didn't get a chance to speak with him. I also talked with Jane Davis.

I forgot to mention but Mrs. Stansilowski estimated that there were 40 or 50 in evacuees in Berkeley. Tuttle was asked to give his figure, and he said that there were probably 150 in the whole East Bay. I'll eat my hat if there are that many back in this area.

### 3. Ruth Hayashi

I ran into Ruth Hayashi helping a Chinese girl majoring in architecture to sketch a part of the building. I stopped to talk with her for a few moments. She wants to become a librarian, but is afraid that she might find difficulty getting a job in that field. She is wondering whether she shouldn't go into social work.

### 4. Study Publication Plans

Dorothy has been working on a colonel from the Eastern Defense Command who is supposed to be a good friend from way back. She says that she has never met a person who was so prejudiced against Japanese. He and a major came in to discuss matters with her. She didn't want to see them because she felt that they would be hopeless--anything that she told them about Japanese would have no effect. Today Dorothy

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Evacuation and Resettlement Study  
207 Giannini Hall  
Berkeley 4, California

March 15, 1945

Office of War Housing  
Berkeley, California

Gentlemen:

This will introduce Mr. James Sakoda, Research Assistant regularly employed by the University of California's Evacuation and Resettlement Study. This study has been interpreted as "essential" by the War Manpower Commission. Confirmation of this statement can be obtained by telephoning Mr. Ziesenhenné, Garfield 8985 (State Office, Northern California, 153 Kearny Street).

Issuance of a card entitling Mr. Sakoda and wife to war housing will be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Dorothy S. Thomas  
Director

Mr. Anderson Glen. 5631

Thomas to Sakoda

June 2, 1945

Dear Jimmy:

We were certainly sorry to hear that you missed your connection. I hope you have better luck on the return trip. Travelling is no joke these days.

Enclosed a notice re your garden. You are facing evacuation again.

Relocation from Minidoka continues to break all records. Note in the last community analysis report, which suggests a point you should follow up: "At Minidoka the council continued to discuss the school problem. Although it arrived at no new program of action, the rumor got out in the center that the Council was suggesting that residents having school children refuse to relocate because of what they felt to be pressure to force them out. Minidokans think that the issue of the schools may be one on which they can get support from people outside of WRA."

I have made considerable progress, I hope, in settling my difficult administrative problems. Frank's registration report received, and it is good, decidedly his best. I have set a July 15th deadline for his structural report and asked him to come out here on July 20th for a month during which we proceed with revisions and with coordination of his yours and Rosalie's. Absolute and unbreakable deadline for completion of all Frank's and Charlie's work on Chicago material including skeletal report by end of this year. If desirable (as I think it will be) Charlie to come out here a few months beginning January to do field work on Nisei resettlers in this area; you to work with him on your part-time basis by getting the Issei picture, etc.\* George to drop the plan for an economic monograph (since it is apparent we are not going to get the material we need for that segment, that is through no fault of his, but because we have started too late to get the essential facts into our framework, to concentrate on his studies until he passes his exam without pressure from me, later to help me on several chapters in which he has expert knowledge). Hankey seems to be coming out of the fog, and is writing her later material up in an excellent and clear way. Somehow I feel better, although I know I still have a hard road ahead.

I look forward eagerly to hearing how things are going with you.

Sincerely yours,

"Dorothy"

\*This, of course, subject to your approval. Details to be worked out later.

J 4/21/45 Saturday

1. Shopping for Furniture

Got a university car at noon to go shopping for furniture. I arranged with George Sabagh to go together. We picked up Renee, his wife, and Hattie, and first went out to the furniture factory on San Pablo Street. I picked out the largest desk they had for \$14 (unfinished). George and Renee picked out a chest of drawers. Renee said that she liked the book case with out in steps--something that Hattie wanted me to make, but which I refused to. We also went looking for bricks to two places, but couldn't find any. We then went to Sears in Oakland to see what they had. We saw a kitchen table and chairs for \$17, and decided to buy it instead of looking further for unfinished furniture. We also paid \$20 for a cotton shag rug, 4 by 6. After we got home we found that the side had not been cut straight, and I had to return it the next day. It's the same kind of rug that Renee has, and so I didn't feel so bad about paying so much for it.

2. Eating at Bertola's

George and Renee said that they were eating at Bertola's, and I insisted that we eat there, too. I wanted to know what the place was like so that we would have a place to take friends who drop in. We went a little before 5, and had to wait until it opened. If we waited till later, we would have had to wait. When we left there were about a dozen groups waiting in line to eat. The food was very good and very plentiful--all for \$1.

3. Renee on Rosalie

Renee said that she was shocked to hear Rosalie talk at Morton's that night. I guess most girls would be shocked at that.

4. Renee and George

Renee said that she had a lot of dance records, and seemed to be proud of them. George said that they had more classical records, and the two of them started a little spit. It seems like cultural conflict to me.

J 4/26/45 Thursday

1. What to Take

Last night it suddenly occurred to me that since I was fairly safe from being drafted that I could try for a doctor's degree without getting a Master's in psychology. Today I discussed the matter with Dorothy, and found out that the whole thing wasn't as simple as that. In the first place, even if I wanted to get a degree in sociology, I would have to have preliminary training in the field, which I haven't got. Even if I did, a lack of a sociology department makes it impossible to get training in that field adequately. Also, I would still have to make up my language requirements.

Dorothy suggested that it might be better if I did not try for a degree at all--not even a master's. She thought I might profit more from a course of study suited to my needs than a year of work in the psych department. She was thinking of the Japanese language and culture angle that I was trying to capitalize on, and she thought that this would be a very good idea in landing a job. We tried to think of some way in which this could be arranged. I was thinking mostly of getting a degree first, and Dorothy thought that a degree might not mean as much as the proper training. I was also thinking in terms of the three years that I had spent in camp, soaking up a lot of sociological training in the field. I would also be tied up attempting to write up the material for Dorothy, and it would be convenient if I could use some of it for a thesis. Still that would not get me on in the Japanese culture field. She thought of anthropology, but I haven't had any course in that field. Dorothy suggested that I go and talk with Howie about the matter, because I was in need of expert advice.

I thought about the matter during lunchtime. In the past my energies had been scattered in different fields, and the same is true now. I'm trying to go in too many different directions. I couldn't help feeling how really inflexible and so inadequate college education was. One thing that might fill the gap to some extent is research work in modern Japanese society. This will tie in with my teaching program in Japanese language and culture, if I care to go into that field. It will also serve as the connecting link with the present study of the Japanese in America. With that background I can also go into the field of international trade and cultural relationship. There might be a future in just doing research work in that field. The question then is, in what department can I fit in as a graduate student, and still be able to do that work? The only department in which I can do something like it and still get a masters is Oriental languages. The other alternative is to take courses without trying for a degree. I don't know what to do, but I think the thinking has done me good.

J 5/1/45 Tuesday

1. Visit to Minidoka

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

2. Frank's Report on Tule Lake

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

3. My Career

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

J 5/25/45 Friday

1. Evening at Sabagh's

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

2. Nikki Moves to Macfarlane's

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

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

### 3. Party at Rosalie's

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4. Evening at Spencers

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

J 3/26/45 Monday

1. Opposition to Myer's Closing Program

Burling and Chapman of the Justice Department are definitely opposed to Myer's closing program. Rosalie has encouraged them in their point of view, she says, and in fact feels somewhat responsible for having started them on this course. Cozzens brought the two gentlemen to see Dorothy. Dorothy agreed with them, while Morton upheld Myer's general policy of attempting to close the centers. Dorothy didn't think that Cozzens was very intelligent because he stated among other things that he thought the program could succeed because every evacuee family had 3 or 4 men in the Armed Forces and that evacuees ought to learn to find housing as the others now do.

The important point is that the members of the Department of Justice do not agree with Myer. I've been trying to find out what the conflict is all about. The problem seems to boil down to that of the residue population and what to do with it. The Department of Justice refuses to take anyone over who is not considered disloyal. On the other hand, Myer's plans calls for a total liquidation of all relocation centers. For one thing the Department of Justice (the above two men) are afraid that there is going to be a rush for renunciation of citizenship if it is discovered that this is the only means of remaining within a center. Evidently all those who have renounced their citizenship thus far are going to be taken over by the Department of Justice. What the Department of Justice is out to fight is Myer's impractical plan to close down all centers. Their line of attack may include the following:

1. Have the WRA give more aid to resettlers, and especially look into the housing problem.
2. Have the WRA set up a refuge center for certain classes of evacuees who cannot relocate.

Dorothy thought that it would be a good idea for Myer to admit that he had made a mistake in judgment and give in to some of the demands of the evacuees. It is no time to be saving face, she thinks. She's also afraid that unless Myer does this pretty quickly he is going to be forced to resign, which she thought would be unfortunate. But she did not think that it would be more unfortunate than to have his present plan go through as planned.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Note 9/28/45  
 Chapman - 5  
 Dept of Justice  
 who Burling  
 acting  
 Chief  
 Alien Control  
 Dept of Justice  
 Every  
 Dept of Justice

J 3/27/45 Tuesday

1. Methodology: The Journal

My research work is centered around the journal, which I have kept up more or less faithfully during my stay in the centers. It has never been very voluminous, but at least it was kept up. At first it was just a diary of random observations. Toward the end, especially after I arrived in Minidoka it became a chronicle of political and major events in the center. I began to leave out personal items, especially my relationship to Hattie. If I wrote about ourselves very much, I would have wanted to keep the journal secret, and that would have caused a rift between us. I let her read my past journal, but not my diary, and that was bad enough.

To get back to the point now. My work in the center is now being finished up. I want to get the writing up of the material over with as soon as possible, and anyway Dorothy has indicated that she would not be able to pay me beyond September. Maybe I shall be able to finish my work roughly before then and get on with my school work. However, the resettlement phase of the program can continue for some time, and I should keep as much notes as possible on what goes on around here. Dorothy has hinted as much several times now, saying that I ought to keep track of our own adjustment as a resettler and also she thought that I should be interested in June Tawa's problems. I have been keeping a rather sketchy journal since I have come out here, and I should certainly keep as complete a journal as possible.

If I am to stay in the research field, it is important that I learn to keep a journal faithfully, recording my observations as I go along. Since the study of Nisei adjustment can go on indefinitely, it is to my advantage to learn to keep faithful notes. If I don't want to be too personal in my writing, at least I can write my observation of what goes on about me.

2. June Tawa, Student, and her Problems

According to Dorothy, she heard about June Tawa from Miss (?) Anderson. June is from Camp 1 in Poston, is a Buddhist, and is doing housework for a Christian family while she is attending U.C. She has tried to get resident status to avoid paying \$150 per semester, which is quite a burden for her. Being a former resident of the state, all she needs to do is to have her father sign an affidavit stating that he intends to return to California. Her father, however, has refused to sign such an affidavit. June, according to reports, is finding difficulty with her studies, and is taking courses which might be considered difficult--Japanese, Chinese, and geology (?). Dorothy had told Anderson that June could be sent over to her office for advice. I was enthusiastic in offering my help. I think I'm gotten into the habit of wanting to help people out as a means of earning a good reputation for myself. I said

J 3/27/45 #2-2

that I would be glad to write a letter to her father for her. I felt that if the matter were explained in the right manner her father would be willing to sign an affidavit.

### 3. Housing

Yesterday I went to Mortimer's, and was told by the lady pleasantly: "Nothing today." I didn't feel bad about it at all, and said that I would keep coming in. Someone suggested that I could save time by calling up the place, but I forgot to do it this morning. I called up Jane Davis today to tell her that Hattie didn't want to consider the communal cooking arrangement that was offered to us, but no one answered the phone. I'll have to find out where she keeps herself during the day.

### 4. Charlie's Diary

Charlie's diary is now in the 7,000 pages. I read a part of it today and was struck by the detailed amount of material that he recorded from day to day. It inspired me to continue my journal more faithfully.

J 3/28/45 Wednesday

1. No Scholarship

Dorothy called me in today and said that I didn't get my scholarship. She said that she thought it was not discrimination (against race) because George Sabagh had nearly all A's and was turned down the first time he tried for a scholarship. She thought that if I had some graduate training already it would aid in my getting a scholarship. She immediately offered to take me on parttime, since I did not get the scholarship. I would not be able to devote full time to my studies, which she had thought might be better for me, but I would be able to take quite a number of courses. I wasn't very much surprised that I didn't ~~xxx~~ get the aid, and I don't think that I would have been surprised if I had gotten it, too. I immediately accepted Dorothy's offer to take me on as a half-time research assistant. If Hattie worked, we would be able to make ends meet. I would be able to keep actively in touch with Dorothy and her work among Japanese, and continue my work under her guidance. She said that there would be many things that I would be able to do for her, and I was glad to hear that. I really think that this arrangement is better for me and perhaps for Dorothy, except that it imposes a financial burden on the study.

I came home and told Hattie that she was right--I did not get the scholarship. She didn't seem surprised either. I told her that Dorothy had offered to keep me on half-time, and she thought we would be able to make ends meet. In fact, she nonchalantly remarked that even if I didn't have anything to do from which I could get an income, she thought that we could make a go of it. If she did housework, she said, she would probably be able to swing the financial end of our present--which means my education. I tend to think of Hattie as being fragile and undependable as a source of financial aid, but evidently she means to be a big help to me. I remarked to her that I might be able to get a little from the Student Relocation Council, and she immediately objected to it. She didn't say why. She doesn't mind carrying most of the financial burden. It just goes to show that things can be worked out.

2. Haircut, \$1.00

For several days now I have been thinking that I should get a haircut because I am beginning to look like a bear. I've been wondering where I could find a decent place to get a haircut. After lunch today I started down the street, and suddenly decided to look in at the barbershop in Stephens Union. They certainly would not ask a person his ancestry, even though he looked Oriental. Just as I thought. I waited a little while, a barber yelled "Next," and I got a haircut without any further ado. The barber seemed to take a professional pride in doing a good job. He charged me a buck for it, though. That's wartime prices for you.

3. Nisei, 4-P's, Girls

As I walked through the campus, I looked around to see if I could find any Japanese. There were three Oriental-looking girls, short enough to be Japanese, but whom I concluded for some reason to be Chinese. I passed by the semi-circular bench where I used to sit to eat my lunch during my undergraduate years. There was no one there that I could recognize. Not that I'm lonesome, but I certainly would have talked with a Japanese that I knew. I sometimes wonder why I don't run into Mark Hayashi because he's supposed to be in Ag Econ. I peeped into the Reserved Book Room, and found the place half-empty and only or mostly girls studying. I noticed that in the barbershop two of the fellows getting haircuts were cripple. And here a healthy specimen like myself is doing what he most wants. It doesn't hurt my conscience at all, because I haven't done any wrong at all.

4. Macfarlane and Walker

Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Macfarlane's mother, comes from Dinuba, where her husband (passed away lately) was something like a superintendent of schools (according to Hattie). She mentioned to Hattie that her husband used to speak of Japanese students as very obedient in school. She is very nice to us. Mrs. Macfarlane is very proud of her research work at the Institute of Child Welfare, is slightly brusque in speech, somewhat impatient at times, but considerate. I have a feeling that she likes to have her own way about things, and if she can't have it that way she doesn't like it. She took some pains to fix up our room and the temporary kitchen for us, and I have a hunch that she didn't like our wanting to find another place right away.

Tonight I went up to ask if we could take a shower. It's bothersome to have to ask each time, but once or twice a week we have to do it. She asked me whether I had heard about the meeting at which Dr. Thomas was going to speak, and said that she could invite me to attend. I said that I had already received an invitation. I said that Dr. Thomas said that she was going to speak on the methodological problems of her Study and that it should be interesting to anyone interested in research. "Am I interested in research," she said. "You ought to come and see what we're doing. It's been going on now for 17 years." I really must take the time out one of these days to find out what she is doing.

J 3/29/45 Thursday

1. Housing

I remembered to call Mortimer's today. The lady in charge of housing said that there were two vacancies available, which included some furniture for sale. I immediately walked down to the real estate agency to find out what sort of vacancies they were. The lady insisted on seeing my V card, saying that the only one in the University that had a V card were some students working in the cyclotron laboratory. I told her I had a regular V card, and asked her what kind of offers she had. She suddenly became more cooperative, and gave me the address of a three-room apartment on 2422 Bancroft. The rent was \$47.50. The party moving out was Huvanandana, who was moving into Kim's room. She must have thought that I was a Chinese and would get along with the others there. It didn't occur to me that the rent was too high. My only thought was that it was an apartment that was being vacated, and that it would be a wonderful thing if we could get it. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I asked about the other apartment and she said that it was down on Grove, and anyway the people were asking \$250 in cash for their furniture.

As I walked up Bancroft I thought that it was good that the apartment was so close to the university. I walked up the steps and rang the bell. There were four names: Huvanandana, Whang, another Chinese name and an American name. A slightly dark Oriental woman, young answered the door. She showed me the rooms without much emotion. There was a cute ~~little~~ baby in a crib in the bedroom. In the living room there was a couch. Both rooms were small. In the kitchen the husband was warming something, and did not say a word. I took a good look at the small refrigerator and the gas range. The bathroom contained a shower, no bath, and the plumbing was dripping water. The rooms looked neither too new or too old.

I went back to the university and told Dorothy and Mrs. Wilson about the apartment. Both of them thought that \$47.50 was too expensive for Hattie and myself. They pointed out that it was better to have one living room with a couch than two small rooms. George had one which cost only \$40. Dorothy thought that we should not take the first offer unless we really liked it. I felt somewhat let down, but decided to wait a little while longer for something better.

2. Mrs. Miyake on Relocation

Mrs. Miyake is an ex-Tulean in Minidoka, somewhat intellectual, slightly religious, and definitely different from most Issei in her outlook toward the relocation program. Today she wrote me a letter in reply to a letter I wrote to her, describing conditions here in the Bay Area. I told her that the housing situation was tight, but that there were domestic jobs available for those who cared for them. Quoting (in translation) the latter part of her letter:

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"I have sent a letter to my (eldest) son to have him return to camp once, but he has not done so yet. If he returns, he may say that he wants to return to California. (He is relocated in Spokane.)

"You are both busy studying and may not have the time, but please help the Issei who return to your area just as you did when you were in camp. You say that housework is available. For a while I think that it is better for Issei to do a thing like housework and wait (for something better).

"At the present time not many of the block people are relocating. I suppose it is going to become necessary to leave. In today's Irrigator it stated that the request for the continuance of the centers was rejected.

"I wish both of you would take good care of yourselves."

Sayonara,

Miyake-Hayame

March 20.

### 3. George Ura on 75¢ Chicken Dinner

In one of the recent issues of the Topaz Times Dorothy read a news item describing the conditions in the Bay Area. A fellow named George Ura had written to someone in camp a very optimistic report of conditions in this area, except that he pointed out that housing was difficult to find. He stated in his letter, which was quoted, that there were plenty of jobs at a \$1 an hour or up. He also mentioned that chicken and turkey dinners could be had for 75 cents, and T-bone steak for \$1. Dorothy thought that the report was too optimistic. I got ~~an~~ notion to write to the fellow to find out where one could get chicken dinners and T-bone steak at the price that he mentioned. In reply to my letter, he sent me the following answer:

COPY

Mar. 24,  
60 Roble Rd  
Berkeley 5, Cal.

Mr. James Sakoda

Dear Sir:-

Just received your kind letter of Mar. 20th.

As to the turkey and chicken dinners, I have eaten no. of times at 5-10-15 cents store restaurant. I did not notice the exact name of this store, but if I am not mistaken it

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was one of Woolworth stores.

The dinner was only 75 cents, but whether they have turkey and chicken dinners every day or not. You might try some day.

About T Bone steak. I have eaten one of those restaurants at down town. You might try one by one and you might strike at last.

Wishing you a good luckk.

Your sincerely

George Ura

END COPY

I got the feeling from the letter that George Ura was a bluff who was exaggerating the situation. A lunch at Woolworth's certainly couldn't be called a dinner. His T-bone steak sounds about as uncertain.

J 3/30/45 Friday

1. Methodology: Dorothy Reviews Study Methods at Psi Chi

Dorothy was asked to speak at a meeting of Psi Chi, a psychology honorary society. She had the ~~the~~ society invite George Sabagh and myself to the meeting tonight. About two dozen people were present at the meeting, including professors of psychology and students--probably graduate students. This was my first experience in a group of this sort. The students, as they came in, showed an air of confidence, I thought. The oft-made assertion that psych students were queer did not seem to hold. I noticed Dr. Carter's hesitant manners as we went up the steps.

Dorothy spoke on the methods employed by the Study in covering the evacuation and resettlement, but in the process gave a good review of what happened to evacuees. She managed to get in some good propaganda work on the problems faced by evacuees. She is a clear speaker, and gets her points over cleverly. The following is some of the main points that she made in her talk, especially those touching on methodology.

I was supposed to talk about inter-relation of social sciences. I am going to use ~~my~~ own study as a case history to show how barriers between disciplines are broken. About how a social scientist goes about making a study. There are cases when you can't employ a single discipline. What we have tried to do is to make ourselves competent in a particular technique and then extend ourselves into other fields and their techniques.

(then followed a review of the evacuation.)

We got into the thing very quickly in the early days, and set up a project which was definitely inter-disciplinary. It was an important social situation for which we had no standard technique. It was an unique incident in American life, but of considerable importance as a case history that might give us leads to some generalizations about other displacements of this sort. This was a mass migration, carried out suddenly, swiftly, radically, and completely. It is not a unique incident in Europe....If this situation could be investigated we might be able to find out something about what happens in such a situation.

I was not acquainted with Japanese before....

We approached the study from several different standpoints. Our staff has changed several times. In the first place my field of ~~competence~~ <sup>competence</sup> is population research. I saw it as a population phenomenon. Here was migration. But it was not a migration that we had seen before, which was selective.

Others, and myself, too, also saw it as an economic problem. 100,000 people who had been extremely productive were being pulled out. What was the effect on the economy and what happened to people when ~~xxxxxxx~~ they are pulled out of

J 3/30/45 #1-2

productive labor.

In the third place, it was looked at as a political phenomenon. Here was something extraordinary in American life. How had such a situation become accepted with considerable enthusiasm. There was the propaganda aspect. There was also the administrative aspects.

Then the anthropologists came in with their point of view. This was an acculturation phenomenon. Japanese come over and lived in tight-knit communities. There was also a second generation who had been brought up in American schools, who had not been back to Japan, etc., who behaved like Americans. There were also some people who were bi-cultural. You get a cultural island situation within the centers. Who wins out in certain respects. Do they become more Japanese or more American.

And finally an approach which was somewhere between sociology and psychology. How do people behave under these situation. What collective adjustments do they make. What individual adjustment do they make.

We started out assuming that we were going to have a rather quiet situation to observe. We worked out a schedule which could not be criticized from an a priori standpoint. How do people behave. What economic life do they set up....You had a very definite caste situation. Therefore inside the camp we attempted this ~~psychological~~ sociological, psychological, anthropological approach. What sort of economic set-up did they develop, what cleavages between cultural groups were there, what sort of education did they get....Look at any anthropological work for the headings--see Middletown. That stage lasted about three months.

At the end of three months things began to happen. There were strikes. They were publicized as riots. We got into a very highly dynamic situation in which all our concepts did not work. My observers nearly went crazy. They were looking for survival of Shintoism, ~~xxxx~~ child behavior, etc. Then you get these collective mass movements of people who are suffering from, you might say, frustration. I called this ~~this~~ the foreign correspondent phase of the Study. They recorded day by day what they could. They used the various informants they could get. Later we tried to analyze the types of things that happened.

After that we were able to try to control our Study a little better. There is a period when we got only an intelligent newspaper type of account. Not only did the situation in camp upset us, but the Government did not cooperate with us. They changed their mind too often. (She explains change in policy from permanent setup, to relocation, registration, and segregation.)

This forced us to go into another phase of the study. The "~~yes-no~~" "yes-yes" group can migrate and the "no-no" boys cannot. You come to the migration population again. What sort of people go out. How do they adjust themselves.

Shortly after that we had another change in Government policy which was more or less forced upon the agency concerned which was the segregation movement. The "no-no" were moved from 9 ~~XXXXXX~~ camps to Tule Lake and the "yes-yes" were moved to other camps. We have good statistical data on this phase. What factors are involved in the expression of certain attitudes--the problem of loyalty determination. We moved along to the new camps. It's perfectly obvious we could not have an observer in Tule Lake....

Then your final change in Government policy which we are now trying to follow is the rescission of the evacuation orders. At the same time that that order was issued, another was given--the camps were all to be closed. Our observational phase was to end with the lifting of the ban, expecting a residual population in camp. We revised our plans once again. One of the interesting things that is ~~ix~~ happening is the reluctance to leave the security of the barbed wire environment for the insecurity of the world we can offer them. That's the framework. I'd rather you'd ask questions on the methods, rather than the results, which are still being kept confidential....

Miss Macfarlane: Can you tell us more about the method that ~~you~~ actually did use.

Dr. Thomas: Participant observation. Half a dozen or more who were making day to day records of what went on in certain categories. We could have avoided trouble if we recognized the different groups. Our observers were mostly Nisei. It was difficult to get a competent Issei. As far as I know, this is one of the first studies in which actual participants have been used. People often go to some community and live 6 months and say they are participants observers, when they're not.... That immediately introduced the question of what sort of biases ~~gm~~ are going to develop under this tremendous pressure. I don't know whether we have. We had Caucasian observers, but I found that they were apt to get an identification with the person they were studying that was perhaps as extreme as that of the Nisei who were connected with the Study. They kept a sociological journal daily. That is absolutely essential. You can't do any thing like taking questionnaires, public opinion polls.

In Chicago it's different....

Many questions followed, mostly on specific facts, rather than on method. There was little discussion of the interdisciplinary approach of the Study. Dr. Warner Brown asked very intelligent questions. He seems like a likable person.

J 4/1/45 Sunday

1. Mark Hayashi on Japanese Consolidation of Power

On Friday afternoon I met Mark Hayashi in the hallway for the first ~~time~~ time, and I asked him to stop in my office. I was anxious to find out how he was becoming adjusted to school life. He ended up by expounding his philosophy to me.

I found out that Mark was staying at Oxford Hall, with about seven other Nisei. From what I could gather, they did not bunch together among themselves too much, and intermingled with others there. Mark knew that there ~~was~~ were others girls on the campus, but he didn't have occasion to meet them. Then he asked me if it weren't a good idea for Nisei to get together. I was noncommittal, but encouraged him to explain himself further. What did he mean by getting together. He explained that the for the future welfare of the Japanese it was best for them to organize themselves "economically and politically." The best place for such an organization was in a university. It didn't have to be open, but organization could be built up in such a way as to enable Japanese to work together. From now on we were going to enter an age of increasing cooperation. Japanese should be encouraged to get into medicine, law, and other important places, so that their services would be available to other Japanese.

I remained noncommittal, but I was thinking to myself. How angry Charlie would be if he heard this. It sounded slightly strange even to me, even though I believed that a person has a right to determine what sort of culture and social group he wants to live in. I would not have been surprised to hear a Nisei say that he's lonesome, and wants to have a dance. But for a college student to talk about the racial question in just that way was somewhat of a surprise to me. I asked him what he thought of the philosophy behind the dispersal policy--that it was the concentration of Japanese in tightly-knit groups that caused prejudice.

His come back was all mapped out. That's the point. The Hakujuin want to scatter us so that we'll be weak and won't be able to do anything. They don't want us to get together and organize. We're always going to be treated as Japs. If we want to get anyplace, we have to band together. That's what the Jews did, and look where they got.

I asked him whether he had talked with any of the other Nisei about this. He said that he did, but they were too young to understand. They just couldn't see it. (Mark is 25 years of age.)

2. Mark Hayashi on Background and Future Plans

Mark's point of view seemed to be influenced by his background, and also his future plans. He told me just a little about his background. He lived in Los Angeles, where his folks/ ran a fruitstand before evacuation. Three brothers

were in the Army, and two sisters were married. In camp he worked as a historian for the Reports Officer until the Community Analyst appeared. He became tired of camp, and worked in different places, going as far as New York. He said that he did not want to think about camp because it wasn't very pleasant. I asked him whether anything in particular had occurred. He evaded answering specifically, and said that it was just things in general. He didn't want to think about camp now. I suspected that he was denounced as a stooge. The camp that he went to, by the way, is Granada.

He was an Ag Econ major, and expected to get his AB in October. He spoke proudly of a farm planning project on which he was working, looking up costs, price, etc., for a group of farms in Santa Ana. He said that if anyone cared to make use of the data, he would be glad to pass it on to some farmer. The future in farming was poor at the present time, he said. Prices had gone up considerably, but cost of production had gone up more than the price. The latter could be expected to drop, and in fact the Government was thinking of subsidizing the farmers this year to keep them going. Anyone who had to invest money in order to start farming again had the odds against him. I asked what he planned to do. He said that he wanted to be a farm consultant. He was especially interested in marketing cooperatives, and thought that if farmers would get together on such a project, he could help them along with advice. He should get his M.A. first, but that depended on whether he would have to help his parents leave camp or not. I asked him whether it wasn't important, then, to keep in contact with returning farmers, and he said that he was still in the theoretical stage. I mentioned that I had a plot of ground for a victory garden, but he didn't take a bit of interest in that. It was important, he said, to get a good foundation in theory before proceeding with actual work.

I could see that his job hinged on the economic organization of Japanese farmers, according to his outlook.

### 3. Mark Hayashi on Forced Relocation

Mark was worried about his parents, who were still in the center. If the centers were to close, he would have to help them relocate. They could not start a fruitstand or a store of their own accord. He didn't mind spending a year or two of his life to help them get started. Then he might live with them and do his own special work, and give them technical advice when they needed it. He wanted to know how resettlement was coming along, and asked me to keep him informed on its progress. He really wanted to get his M.A. first, he said.

J 4/1/45 #4

#### 4. Victory Garden

I spent most of the day in my 20 x 30 feet plot of victory garden where the University employees had similar victory gardens. It had been raining steadily for three weeks now, and this was the first weekend since we came that the soil was anywhere near dry enough to spade over. Quite a number of persons were working on their garden. Everybody seemed friendly. One young lady passed by and said that I could use her wheelbarrow to cart the weeds she saw in my garden. Several men mentioned the good crop of weeds that I had in my plot. The man in the plot next to me said that the man who had my plot before put a lot of fertilizer into it, and got a lot of stuff from it, which was encouraging. He said that I could use his hose whenever I wanted to. I visited Mrs. Macfarlane, and she introduced me to another lady. She wanted to know what philosophy of gardening I had, and I suspected that there were jealousies on the home front. I said that I was seeking a way of gardening with the least bit of work. She mentioned one man in a nearby plot who just kept beating and beating his soil until there wasn't a piece of clod left. Mrs. Macfarlane joined in on the description. He even came to work ~~in~~ when it was raining. I asked whether he had a good crop. Mrs. Macfarlane said that he didn't have time hardly to plant anything. The other lady said that he hadn't turned up this season yet and suspected that he was all worn out. I guessed that they didn't get along with him. Reminds me of Dick Sato--always belittling other people--at least that's the way I picture this man.

The weeds weren't difficult to pull out, but the soil was difficult to break into ~~in~~ fine silt (?). I spaded up about one third of my plot, and ~~then~~ leveled the ground north and south. I didn't do a good job of breaking up the clods, and went ahead and made irrigation ditches and ridges on which to plant. I employed the method of irrigation that I used in Minidoka. I planted a short row of radishes and came home.

J 4/4/45 Wednesday

1. Getting Housing

Today we finally got an apartment, but it was certainly a lot of work for a lot of people. Practically all of the aid available to an evacuee was utilized, and we nearly failed at that. To review the whole situation over again:

When we arrived in Berkeley on March 11, Hattie and I decided that we wanted an apartment where we could have privacy, do our own ~~kk~~ cooking, and take showers privately. That was all we wanted, an apartment, but we discovered as we went along that it was a very difficult thing to rent. Before she turned us over to Jane Davis, secretary of the Interracial Committee, Dorothy decided to do what she could to obtain war housing. She was dimly aware of several kinds of war housing, including large public housing projects and reconversions. The first step was to get me a V card, and in the process of making inquiries she was able to get the Study classified as "essential/" by the War Manpower Commission. I think she was surprised herself to be able to get this.

COPY

War Manpower Commission

Dear Miss Thomas:

This is in reply to your letter of March 12, 1945 in which you request our interpretation of the essentiality of your activity.

We understand that you are engaged in studying the problem of the relocation of the Japanese evacuees.

Group 33, Educational Services in the List of Essential Activities includes, "educational and scientific research agencies," and by this inclusion, we interpret the activity of your study group to be essential for purposes of War Manpower Commission regulations governing employment.

Our interpretation does not necessarily reflect the opinion of Selective Service.

Yours very truly,

Sam Kagel  
State Manpower Director  
Northern California

END COPY

At first she thought it was best to look into public housing projects, and then she decided that if I were to leave the payroll of the Study when I went back to school, it would be better if I took a reconversion, since I would

J 4/4/45 #1-2

stand a less chance of having to move then. She sent me down to the War Housing Center in Berkeley to get a V card. I was told that I would have to be certified by the Oakland office. Dorothy got on the telephone again, and found out that the Study would have to be declared, not only "essential", but also eligible for public housing by the War Housing Authority. After about a week this certification came through. I went to Oakland and could not get a V card there because I forgot to take this War Housing Authority certification. However, I was able to get a V card at the Berkeley War Housing Center.

I then applied at W. E. Mortimer and Co. for a vacancy, and was told that I should keep coming back in for an apartment. Several days ago, there were two vacancies. The lady at the desk suggested that I go to look at the apartment on Bancroft Way, where the Kim's and the Wangs were and who were "nice people." At that time I thought that she had mistaken me for a Chinese, and even wondered whether the other tenants would be upset to have a Japanese move in with them in the same apartment house. The apartment in question consisted of two small rooms and a kitchen. It was not particularly attractive, the location on the streetcar line was not good, and it cost more than we could afford--\$47.50. I called up and told the lady that I was just a research student and was looking for something cheaper with one room and a kitchen. I couldn't figure out then why she wouldn't give me any information on the apartment on Grove Street, except that she thought it was too far away from the University and the people were asking \$250 for their furniture.

Yesterday, April 3, I had occasion to drive Dorothy out to San Francisco to see about possible deferment for Charlie. Dorothy thought it would be a good idea to look into the public housing because I did not get a scholarship and she was willing to keep me on the Study parttime. It was also supposed to be cheaper than reconversions. We went to what corresponded to the war housing center in San Francisco and inquired at the desk about the public housing project for which Dorothy understood that it was necessary to be certified in San Francisco. Dorothy could only give the information that the project was called Berkeley-Albany or Coconiches Village or something of the sort, and she wasn't even sure where it was located. The lady at the desk said that they did not handle it. We looked in the telephone book and were surprised to find that there were several agencies that handled housing, all listed separately. There was a National Housing Agency, a Federal Housing Agency, a Federal Public Housing Agency, and there might have been others. The lady kindly called up each one, and still could not tell us where to go in San Francisco. ~~She~~ She asked her boss, and he did not know about it, either. She gave us a telephone number, which she believed was the housing project to which we were referring.

J 4/4/45 #1-3

Dorothy then used up about four nickels to call up her contacts in the Federal Security Agency and other places, and finally found out that the ruling had been changed about signing up for public housing in San Francisco. We went back to Berkeley, and Dorothy called up the Berkeley-Albany Housing Project. She learned that it was now reserved for Navy employees, and, anyway, there was a long waiting list of war workers who wanted to live in the project. So that was definitely out for me.

So we were back to Mortimer's reconversions again. Dorothy suggested that I call up to find out if anything had come in. I asked for the lady at the desk handling rentals. When I asked whether she had anything, she said: "Nothing but a two room apartment on Grant Street." I asked how much the apartment rented out for, and she said, "\$40 a month." That sounded like something that Hattie and I were looking for. I asked if they were in charge of it and if they had the key to the place. She said that they had the key, and that if I cared to come after it, they were open until five p.m. Mrs. Wilson and I looked up the place, and learned that it was not too far from the University and Armstrong College. Dorothy said that her day was shot to pieces anyway and was going to come along with me. We still had the University car, and went down to Mortimer's. Dorothy introduced me to a Mrs. Bonsall, from whom Dorothy had bought her house, thinking that she might be able to help me get an apartment. She was very pleasant and said that I should keep coming in and they would do what they could for me. She turned me over to Mrs. Selzner, the lady in charge. She mentioned that she wished I had come a few days sooner because there was an opening on Bancroft Street where the Kims and Wangs lived. I explained again that it was too expensive for me. She said that if I kept coming in, she would let me know of ~~any~~ vacancies that occurred. Dorothy bluntly asked: "But what about the place on Grant Street?" Mrs. Selzner went into a huddle with Mr. Bailey, the Manager. I suspected that something was wrong. Dorothy said that she heard Mrs. Selzner say ~~that~~ "but he's working for the University." Finally she turned around and asked me what nationality I was. I had had the answer all figured out for just an emergency as this. I said: ~~XXXXXX~~ "American of Japanese ancestry." Mrs. Selzner then explained that they had two houses "for persons of various nationalities." One was on Bancroft where the Kims lived, and the other was on Dana Street. It was the ruling of the regional office in San Francisco that these two houses be set apart, and she didn't know whether it would be all right to let me consider any other place. Dorothy bluntly said: "I don't like this idea of segregation." Then she asked what agency it was that made such a ruling. I could tell that she didn't believe that such a ruling had been made. The lady answered that it was the Federal Public Housing Agency. Dorothy said: "I'm going to call up the FPHA about this. But why don't we take the keys and see the place just the same." Mrs. Selzner said: "I don't

J 4/4/45 #1-4

want you to see the place and then be disappointed because you can't get it, but you can take the keys and see it if you like."

So I paid a dollar deposit, and Dorothy and I went down to see the apartment. I was sort of numb. It was as if something that was expected had happened, and there was nothing much to become excited or angry about. It was just one of those things. Dorothy, however, was furious. She was fuming all the way and back. She was certainly <sup>to</sup> look into this matter. If Tuttle weren't so helpless, she said, she would tell him about it. We saw the apartment, and both agreed that it was just what Hattie and I wanted. There was one fair-size room, a kitchen with a range and an ice-box, and a toilet and a shower. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The view from the window showed the Bay, and it was nice. It was in a quiet and respectable neighborhood. I didn't say very much. After all, we could hardly count on getting the apartment. Dorothy said that even if I couldn't get that apartment, the matter ought to be looked into for the principle of the thing and for the sake of the others. It did not involve evacuees only, but also Chinese, too. We wondered how the poor Negroes were being treated. The real estate company had used priorities to "reconvert" and was getting a commission for handling the apartments. The matter could be looked into because it wasn't a private matter.

Back at the office Dorothy called up Mr. Tucker of the Federal Public Housing Authority, and told him the story. He said that it possibly couldn't be true that any order of that nature had been given by the regional office. He said that he would check the matter, and also suggested calling Omer Mills in the morning. Dorothy also called up Davis McEntire of the Berkeley Interracial Committee and told him the story.

I came home and told Hattie the story. She acted as though she had half-expected something of the sort. I told the story to Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Macfarlane with some zest, and they seemed at a loss to know what to say. Mrs. Macfarlane took me to the Interracial Committee, and I recounted my woes to Tuttle, who was there. He said that the matter should be looked into, but didn't indicate that he knew what he was going to do about it. I told Jane Davis the story, when she asked me how the "communal living" proposition that she had suggested had turned out. I told her that we were going to wait for an apartment. I met Lila Anderson, Chairman of the Discrimination Committee, and she heard about my predicament. I told her and Jane Davis that I would keep them informed of what progress Dorothy would be able to make. I was introduced to Mrs. Stansilowski, who was the Chairman of the ~~XXXXXX~~ Resettlement of Japanese-American Committee, and she raised a whoop when I said that I was looking for an apartment. However,

(Local  
Relocation  
Office of  
WRA)

young

J 4/4/45 #1-5

she said that she would try to find what she could for me. I told her, too, about the discrimination that I had run into. She thought that Miss Anderson should look into that matter.

In the evening Dorothy called up and advised me to hang on to the keys until she saw me in the morning. I went to work this morning as usual. I was wondering whether I shouldn't call up Mortimer's and tell them that I liked the place, and ask them to see if they couldn't get the matter cleared through the proper channels. Dorothy, however, had already gone ahead to call up some people. She called up Omer Mills, she said, whom she knows well. He suggested that she "go to the top." She tried to get in touch with Langden Post, Chief of FPHA. He was busy, but said that he would call back later. Dorothy called Cozzens, Regional Director of the WRA, to tell him what had happened. Cozzens begged her "to keep fighting for us." Post called, and said that he would "work" on the matter. He was evidently aware that some discrimination against certain groups was being practised, but said that it was definitely not an agency ruling. He suggested that Sakoda retain the keys until further notice. In the afternoon Post called and said that everything had been fixed. Mortimer's had lied about "Government orders." All Sakoda had to do was to go to Mortimers and he would be assigned the apartment.

Dorothy told me to go over to Mortimer's right away and come back and report to her immediately on what happened. Aside from the fact that this incident was "good material" for the Study, she was interested in seeing justice done, not only to me, but other minority groups. I was wondering how I should approach Mortimer's without antagonizing them. I walked in unchantly, and said: "I saw the apartment and like it very much. Do you think that--ah--I could possibly get it." Mrs. Stelzner looked slightly worried and said briefly, and shaking her head uneasily up and down. "Yes, I think so. We called up San Francisco and they said that it would be all right." She made out the forms, and I paid \$40 rent in advance and a \$10 deposit. I wanted to pay them before anything else went wrong. ~~It~~ She was evidently anxious to maintain friendly relationship with me because she remarked that it was a beautiful day. I made my gesture by saying at the end: "You've certainly been nice." She replied: "I'm glad that I was able to do it for you." I was feeling very good when I left the place.

Back at the office, Dorothy wanted to hear every detail. Mrs. Wilson, Joni, and Rosalie had picked up enthusiasm over the fight. They roared when I told them the approach that I had made and ~~they claimed~~ that they had arranged *Mortimer's* everything for me themselves. Dorothy thought that I was too nice about the matter, but agreed that perhaps I had employed the right approach in saving their face. It isn't the Japanese alone that needs face-saving!

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Dorothy called up Cozzens as she had promised. She told him what had happened. Cozzens then proceeded to tell her what he had told Post--that they couldn't do this to Dr. Thomas, that it was all wrong, etc. etc. Dorothy laughed and said that Cozzens would probably report the matter as having been solved by himself.

Poor Mr. Tuttle. He called up this afternoon to inform me that there was a possibility of an apartment vacancy. It was a three-room apartment. A Chinese clerk or proprietor at the Full Value Market had told Mrs. Matsumoto about the possibility of this vacancy. He thought that I should look into the matter.

I came home and told Hattie. She seemed surprised to know that we were actually able to get the apartment. But she wondered:

"I don't mind meeting some discrimination, <sup>and</sup> but I expect some of it. But I don't to move in with all of our things and have to move out because of complaints from the neighbors."

*Want*

I told Mrs. Walker, a lady of 80 years. She said: "Good" in a way that one felt that she meant it. Mrs. Macfarlane evidently had gotten into the spirit of the right after hearing that Dorothy had advised me to hang on to the keys because she was going to fight the matter. She told Dr. Brown in the Psychology Department about Dorothy, and he is said to have remarked that he wouldn't like to be the man in charge of housing with Dorothy on the war-path.

I called up Jane Davis and told her that our housing problem was over for the present. She said "Good." I said that it seems that when cases of discrimination in federal housing was met it paid to look into the matter.

J 5/4/45 Friday

1. Lowie

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

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

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

2. Rent

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

3. Rumor about War End

J 5/5/46 Saturday

## 1. Methodology

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

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

## 2. Rumor of War End

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

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

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

J 5/10/45 Wednesday

1. Discussion of Course with Kroeber

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

2. Discussion of Course with Boodberg

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

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

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

J 5/10/45 Thursday

1. Dorothy on My Course

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

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

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

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

2. Naval Officer on the Japanese

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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now, and are still fighting even on Saipan.

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

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

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

Jimmy

May 17, 1945

Dean J.D. Hicks  
Campus

Dear Dean Hicks:

I am writing to ask whether the program of the Graduate Division is sufficiently flexible to make possible the planning of a field of study for the doctorate which might be designated "Far Eastern Studies." This program would be comparable to the one now listed as "Latin-American Studies" in the Announcements in The Social Sciences of the Graduate Division.

I have a student who is well qualified to begin such a program of study, and who is deeply interested in getting adequate training in this field. He is an American of Japanese ancestry, who was in Japan from 1933-1939. While there he finished a three-year college course in Japanese and Chinese classics and ethics, and was able to obtain a first-hand knowledge of the customs and ways of thinking of the Japanese. He has a very good speaking and reading knowledge of the Japanese language. He is a graduate of this University, in the general curriculum, with special training in Psychology. For the past three years, he has carried on research in relocation centers under my direction (as a staff worker of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study). In this connection, he has obtained extensive first-hand knowledge of the patterns of culture and behavior carried over by Japanese immigrants to America. He anticipates some demand, after the war, for scholars competent not merely in linguistics but also in the culture and history of the Far East. I concur in his judgment in this matter, and would like to see a program worked out which would prepare him for a career in this field.

The program I have in mind would not fit into any one Department of this University. It should cut across the boundaries of four Departments (Oriental Languages, History, Political Science and Anthropology) and one additional field of study (Sociology). It should include training in the Chinese language in addition to Japanese, in which the student is apparently already fully qualified; training in historical, anthropological and sociological techniques of research; and study of the history, government and culture of the Far East. If such a program were approved, I suggest that a committee consisting of Professors Boedberg, Bingham, Kroeber, Mah and myself be appointed to work out the details.

If a program of this sort cannot be planned under present departmental restrictions, I believe that the whole matter is sufficiently important to warrant action by the Graduate Council. It is apparent that other qualified students will, in the course of the next few years, be interested in pursuing this and similar types of programs.

Sincerely yours,  
Dorothy Swaine Thomas

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

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

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

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

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6. Far Eastern Studies

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

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4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 6. Methodological Note on Minidoka Report

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

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

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

Administrative policy

Politics

Labor Relations

Community Welfare

Law and Order

Loyalty Issue

Leave Program

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

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

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

The periods finally chosen were:

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

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

~~It was the intricate section which caused the difficulty~~

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1. Berkeley Rest Camp

For some time Hattie, my wife, and I have been thinking of going away someplace for a vacation this summer. We've both been working hard and did not get a vacation last year. About two weeks ago Hattie went to the Travel Bureau here in Berkeley, and came back with a folder and the advice from the lady at the desk that we should make our reservations early. We went again Saturday before last, and a man waited on us this time. He asked us what kind of place we wanted to go to, and we explained that we were not sure, but wanted housekeeping rooms, if possible. They were hard to get, he said, and gave us a folder for a resort in the Santa Cruz Mountains. We told him that we would come back again. Before leaving, I asked him whether they handled the camps operated by Berkeley City, and he said that we would have to go to the City Hall for that. Since it was Saturday afternoon and the man thought that the office would not be open, we decided to wait until the following week. Hattie asked me why I did not tell her that Berkeley City was running a camp. I said George Sabagh and his wife Renee had told me about it, and that I thought that she had known all along. They seemed to have enjoyed themselves, and they had mentioned that the rates were reasonable.

Monday, May 5th, I went to the Recreation Department of the City Hall. A young woman waited on me and pleasantly gave me information about the three camps which the City ran. Tuolumne Camp at Yosemite was pretty well booked up, she said, but not Echo Lake, the one to which George and Renee had gone. She said

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that I would have plenty of time if I applied within a week or two. I took home a folder on the camps, and Hattie seemed to be satisfied with it. We figured up the dates carefully and decided to leave on August 2, and come back on the 14th. That would give us some time to recuperate before going back to work. Friday, the 9th, I went to make our application and the girl at the desk said that I would have to have an interview with Mr. Davis. Since he was not in at the time, I made an appointment for Monday morning. I didn't think anything about the interview. Hattie asked some questions about it, but evidently didn't give much thought to it either.

This morning I was at the office at 8:45 and waited for a little while for Mr. Davis to show up. In the meantime I was working at some statistical problems. The girl at the desk called me, and I went into Mr. Davis' office. He was not particularly impressive or antagonistic. He asked me when I expected to go to Echo Lake, and I said that we expected to go in August. I had heard about the camp from a friend at the University. He asked me who he was, and I said George Sabagh. What was he doing? He was a teaching assistant and a student. Mr. Davis cocked his head, but evidently didn't remember him. Then he went on to say that he thought it was only fair to warn me that we might not enjoy going to camp because some people might make it unpleasant for us. Of course, he said, if we wanted to apply, there was nothing that he could do about it since we were citizens of Berkeley and paid our taxes. For some time I couldn't get a word in edgewise, and sat and listened to him calmly. His line of reasoning was interesting.

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He said that they hadn't had any Orientals or Negroes in the camps run by Berkeley, and he didn't know how we would be received. Of course, the people of Berkeley were less prejudiced than people elsewhere. He himself, he said, didn't feel any prejudice. The class of people that went to the camps were neither extremely upper or lower class and not the sort to cause trouble. But some Chinese went last year, I believe it was, and the people made it uncomfortable for them and they came back before their time was up. I said to him about this point that we have never had any trouble in Berkeley and didn't expect to at the camp.

He then went on to explain how at Los Angeles the Negroes had made a test case of the city camps there and the white people stopped going there. Then they set up a separate camp for Negroes, but very few of them went. He explained that the camps could not be operated on a paying basis unless a large number of people went. It would be all right, he said, if there were enough Negroes, say, to support such a camp, but there isn't. They were willing to accommodate Orientals or Negroes or other groups if they could book the whole camp for a period. Church groups sometimes did that, he said. If the minority insists upon its rights, he said, then the majority would be deprived of their enjoyment of the camps. If the camps could not be made to pay, then they might have to be closed up. The issue probably would have to be met sooner or later, he said, and the outcome would only be known several years hence. I said that perhaps it was best to face the issue and see what happens. I said that he worried too much about the matter and that I didn't expect that we would have any trouble.

He tried again. The Negroes get very resentful when the

when the Orientals get some favors that they don't. After all, he said, we were fighting your people, and they don't understand why the Japanese should be allowed more consideration than they. He referred to the large number of Negroes and Orientals that have come to Berkeley lately. He asked me about the number of Japanese who returned, and asked whether it was not true that most of them had come back to the Coast. I said that probably about a half of them did. He pointed out that at the municipal swimming pool many white people did not enter the pool when only a few Negroes were there. They could tell because they came, poked their heads in, saw the Negroes, and then walked away. He told me how a light-colored Negro boy had been at one of the boys' camps and some parents had called up about the policy of the department. He mentioned again that we might not enjoy it and others might resent our presence. Food, for instance, was served family style at large tables, and it was more or less a family affair. I told him that at the Black Sheep Restaurant people were seated together during rush hours. I had a feeling he was trying to make me feel like a louse for even making an application, although he was trying to be pleasant about it. I told him that I didn't expect any trouble, and would let him know if there were any. I got up to go.

But he kept talking to me. He asked me what I was doing. I was a research assistant and a student at the University. Where was I working. For the Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Was I in the Armed Forces? No. I had a deferment. Was I born in this country? I said I was. Well, he thought that that would be different from being an alien. I left with the definite impression that

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he was afraid of having the Negroes make a test case on the camps and have the majority group deprived of the enjoyment of them.

I went to the desk and made my application as I had planned. The young woman at the desk was as pleasant as ever.