

Ishino, Iwao. Papers,
Michigan State University
John Donoghue correspondence, 1959-1961

Folder 3
Box 5385
Cell. UA 17.348

June 20, 1959

Dear Jack:

Thought you'd be interested in the enclosed letter from J.W.B. (Merry kindly copied it for me).

Two comments on this letter: (1) I guess you will not have the pleasure of J.W.B.'s company for the coming year. Does this effect your plans in any way? (2) It seems that Len Moss & Co. wants to publish the contents of that symposium. How would you like to take first crack at expanding the paper we submitted? JWB's comments in this letter provide some good leads. One idea for revision is this: JWB is a bit anxious about the "preconception" section. Of course, I sued this gimmick as a "tension-producing" stunt--you know, "is-it-this-or-is-it-that?" approach. To get around JWB's objections, what we can do is to put this "preconception" in the "mouths" of some anonymous person or somebody specific other than ourselves. I could, for example, state that Reischauer's "The United States and Japan/" book presents this viewpoint of Japanese peasantry.

Now for some other news. I got some money from Michigan State, so I feel more secure about making plans for the Kyushu trip. I suggest the following:

- (1) We go by train rather than by plane. Plane tickets are too expensive ¥23,940 round trip to Fukuoka for one person.
- (2) The money we "save" by going by train could be used to take along two student assistants. Then you and I can take a student apiece and do some interviewing on the "values" questions you wrote about in your last letter. Of course, in addition to this we will interview the village officials together in the same way we did for the nine previous villages.
- (3) The number of days spent in Suye and Honami should be the same as we planned when I was last in Sendai. But the specific day we leave for Kyushu is up in the air. Mrs. Maki called me yesterday and suggested that you and I might help the Kyoto American Studies Seminar by combining our visit and cramming our talks into one three day period. So, let us say if we lectured from July 20 - 22, we have roughly two weeks both before and after the Kyoto lecture series--one week for Honami and Suye and the other for Ebetsu. (Yokogashi remains as last scheduled). This is promised on the assumption that you and I want to give the lectures in Kyoto. Speaking only for myself, I have asked Mrs. Maki to request some responsible Sociologist or Anthropologist from Kyoto to write me directly about: (1) The lecture topics, (2) the days for the lectures, and (3) the participants in this seminar series.

When I get this information, I can decide whether I want to participate in that program or not. What are your feelings on this?

About the Yoshida and Nikaido statistics. As of yesterday, these materials have not been turned into me. Frustrating, isn't it?

About your "values" data as explained in your last letter. Sounds exciting. How much does the "values" of your Sendai sample represent a more educated group, a more economically secure group, and a younger age group than the Aichi sample? In other words, is the differences between the samples merely rural-urban or something more than this? I will ask David Lewis to see if he won't include the "values" question in his Futomi questionnaire.

Regards,

FACULTY OF ARTS AND LETTERS,
TOHOKU UNIVERSITY,
SENDAI, JAPAN.

August 28, 1959
60 Nin-machi
Sendai

Dear Iwao,

Enclosed is this signed thing for the Crowell Co. Do what you like with it, ie., if you want to have the paper published, send it on to them along with yours. If you think Draft # 2, which you have a copy of, is better, you might send them that.

I am in the process of fixing up a box to send to you with such things in it as additional field notes, that book I told you about on Rice cultivation in Japan, some punch cards, etc. I have not yet begun to write, because I want to finish as much field work as possible before the school term starts. Monday Mary and I are going to Ebetsu, where I have an ex-Hirosaki student who is working for the social research Division of the Hokkaido Board of Education. He will accompany me to the village for the usual interviews and picture taking. I'll send you this as soon as it is processed. Then on the 14th of next month Sasaki and I are going to Mizuake to get the personality and personal background stuff on Yachi, a history of the new projects and his relation to them, and some info on the Gappel if possible. I have about four hours of recordings in English of the stuff that Hara-san got. Really fabulous, and almost word for word. Sasaki took 24 pages of notes—in Kanji, too—There was so much good info there that it took hours to get it all down. I will also send you the translation of the Gyogyo kumiai stuff and the Yokogoshi and other Futomi stuff. I am planning on going to Saitama with George Saito and to Kawashiro and Nobuta with Tomoeda-san. Then, I will probably go down to Syye alone and contact Ushijima. That will probably be the extent of the field work unless new problems arise. I will be in the Osaka-Kobe area in October for the Anthro meetings, and at that Time I might take one of the students down to Obie for a couple of days. You recall those meeting are right after the Fulbright Orientation meetings in Tokyo. The rest of my time here will be spent writing (November to New Year) and in getting up-to-date national statistics and other things. Today, I finished reading Dore's Land Reform book. Our job would certainly be simpler if that book had not been written. He certainly hit on many of our findings and ideas. I think that our book will be, of course, broader, with change and change agents as the central focus and, to a certain extent more controled in terms of the comparison. He had the land reform as his basis, but most of his socialogical and political data are generalized notions of pre-War Japan. After I finished his book I felt a little upset, but then I looked at our outline and think that we still have something to say. I was a little disappointed in Dore's book for only one reason—as rich as his data is I think that he did not use enough of the kind we have, ie., quotes, interviews, etc. He has too much of an economic approach and too many national statistics and not enough corresponding village statistics. By the way, he uses an example from Tatara-buraku of Yoshida-mura—quotes a publication on it entitled Shimane-ken, Tanabe-ke no Kosei ???? and he claims to have visited there himself ???? Let me know if you have this publication and, if not, I will get ahold of it and have some translation done on it. By the way, you and Dave were right, my leg was infected and I have been going to the hospital for treatments everyday since you left. Nothing serious, just slow in healing. My slides on Futomi are the best ever. I am having some of the better ones duplicated for you. These will also be in the box I811 send....also of tanabata matsuri, which the Maki's came up for. We had an interesting time with them and Jack has some great ideas on traffic problems and the pushing on trains, which, someday, I811 write up for you. I know you won't agree fully, but they are provocative. Hope your trip back wasn't too bad. Our collective regards to you, Mary and the kids.

Jack

October 2, 1959

Dear Jack:

MICHIGAN STABLY NALIN READ from the shock of hearing from me, but please forgive me for not writing you sooner. I was hoping to write to you and tell you that I had made some definite progress on the village materials. DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY DEPT. MISS, I CANNOT PUT OFF THIS WRITING, even though I have nothing new to report on the research.

There are so many things happening here, I don't know how to express the problems that demand my time and attention. But let me start--let me tell you my troubles. Dean Cleveland of Syracuse has written me a letter asking me to come to Syracuse. Then he telephoned me long distance...Rick Adams (the senior anthropologist here) has been offered the chairmanship of the new anthropology dept. at Pittsburgh (where Miss Sue is). I've been trying to work up departmental enthusiasm to keep Rick here...Our department is in the process of re-organizing our graduate program--many petty jealousies and private problems need to be ironed out...We are still looking for a couple of anthropologists, because we need the personnel badly. Rick and Maxwell have been dragging their feet on the choice, partly because

C I was not here. However, it must be said that we almost got Erasmus and may be yet able to get him. This brings me down to your case. The members of the department have considered you. Let me put this straight to you because I think it is better to be perfectly candid than to beat around the bush on this kind of thing. The department is not favorably impressed. Rick, of course, is not in favor of getting a Japanologist; Maxwell is not either. So it goes round and round... To go on with my problems, Mary has been set on buying a house and this has disturbed me considerably especially with things so indefinite here. You know, the Syracuse thing pending, Rick thinking about the offer to go to Pittsburgh, and overtures from Ohio State for me to go there. By the way, have you sent in a vitae to look into the situation there? Well, on the house, we have progressed to the stage of putting in a bid for a certain house. We'll have to wait to see if the owners accept the bid.

P Y David and Heleann Lewis is now on campus. They said they were sorry not to have seen you in Ebetsu. We saw their pictures of the place the other night. Again a community that is markedly different from any other we have seen. Dave is back in the harness, teaching an introd. soc. course and the rest of the time on his coursework and research. Helenann is back in Pol. Sci. pursuing her doctorate.

Lloyd Warner is here and I met him just briefly at the President's reception. He spoke highly of you and Jim. Unfortunately, other members of our department was not here to hear it. He seemed to have found an apartment here in East Lansing and is probably finding it ~~un~~ rather pleasant here.

Our children are back into the neighborhood gang and ~~un~~ are kept busy. Mary is finding it hard to get adjusted to ~~un~~ maid-less housekeeping work. The neighborhood is much the same as we left it, except that we got another sociologist in the group.

I was pleasantly surprised to learn that we have about 25 Japanese students and professors on this campus. Before we left, there were only 3 or 4. I don't know how to explain this sudden increase in population.

The boxes of materials that you said you were sending have not yet arrived. I guess that mailing them by ship will take some time...Also we have not received the household goods that we sent with the Lewis' ~~household~~ shipment.

I have not heard from JWB since my return. Neither have I written to him...As for the paper that we wrote, I think I'm going to approve its inclusion in the Schuler, Gibson, Brookover volume...

10/23/59

Dear Iwao,

Sorry I haven't answered your letter til now, but I have been in Tokyo for the Fulbright meetings and in the Kansai for the Anthro meetings and the Science of Religion Meetings. In the latter I gave a paper on the Aioi data. Altogether I was away from Sendai for three weeks during which time I have done no work. In Osaka at the Anthro meetings I spent most of my time with Felix Moos (the Japanese anthropologists, such as Sofue, Aoyagi, Izumi and others held parties, but they were only for "indigenous personnel.") The bastards. In Kobe I spent most of my time with Dick Soder and wife and Ez Vogel and wife. Felix is in a unique position here because, even though he is an American, people really consider him to be a German and an Ally of Japan. Therefore guys like Sofue can tell him that after all "We Japanese don't really like America-jin." The Anthro people did it again this year, by the way, and invited another German, Catholic, Kulturekreise person (on Japanese expense) to come to read a paper and deliver the best wishes of the German to the Japanese. Felix thinks they do this every year because of that usual Japanese tendency to have mixed superiority and inferiority feelings. He thinks that Japanese anthro is so far behind US and British Anthro that they can never catch up and that the ones who are most aware of this are those Japanese who were educated in America. I was on a panel in Tokyo with John Tagliabue who says that he sees beauty and serenity in the quiet hearts of Japanese students. He said that the reason they don't answer the Profs.' questions in class is not because they don't understand the language or that they are stupid, as Felix thinks, but rather that, in the fashion of Zen, quietness and non-responsiveness are the ultimate and these reflect the true beauty of the Orient. I think this is nice. Rotwein warned the conference that they may have trouble getting their freshmen and sophomore students to class because they are killing each other on the subways getting from one demonstration to the next. Mrs. Maki liked John's sentiments better than Rotweins. John then read a poem that he ~~had~~ wrote (he called it a Chinese poem?) decrying the "ugly Americans" who in any way criticized Japan at the last Atami conference. Mrs Maki liked this, too. Did you know that our good Housing officer, Mr. Matzuzawa, is getting kickbacks on the houses he finds for the rich Americans? Mrs. Maki reiterated for the new and old grantees alike those simple Japanese truths that Mr. Nishimura had mentioned on the boat: don't take a bath in the bath tub, don't walk on the tatami with shoes, and don't blow your nose in front of Japanese persons. At this point I thought I should also help the new grantees get "adjusted" so I implored them not to be embarrassed if Japanese men piss on the street in front of them. Mrs. Maki likes Tagliabue's sentiments better than mine. So much for the unimportant things in life. I have not sent you the box of materials yet since I am still waiting for the translation of the Yokogoshi tapes. All the other stuff is ready complete with the punch cards etc. On the 27th of this month I am going to Mizuake for three days to work with Yagi-san. As soon as this is over, I am through with field work for a few months and I will get started writing. I got some excellent pictures of the Nagoya flood which I will send on to you. That was really something to see. You could hardly believe it. Sounds like you are really having your problems in your Department. Will Rick go to Pitt.? Will you go to Syracuse? You said they don't want a Japanologist. What is a Japanologist? Are you one? Seriously, does this mean a person who only knows about Japan, or does it mean an anthropologist who has studied in Japan? You say you want to be candid about these things and that the people are not "impressed." What does this mean? If you were more candid, like telling me why, it might aid me next January when I begin seriously to job-hunt. Vogel has found that Japanese women are happy, and a Japanese psychologist has discovered that most resident gai-jin in Japan are homosexuals. The latter is the guy Dave knew who was studying gai-jin. I met him in Tokyo a couple of weeks ago, though, and he told me he really liked gai-jin, some of them are his best friends. I think Vogel likes Japanese women, too. Isn't it nice, everybody likes everybody else. I got a letter from Muto (Kawashiro), and he said he is sorry they didn't send the forms, but

ここにも通信文を記載することができます

This space is also for correspondence.

that he had lost them. So I am sending him some more forms. That only leaves Saitama and the additional data from Yoshida. Sendai is taking on the airs of Tokyo. People want me to write articles for their journals, people are writing me up in papers, I am on the radio, and I am giving lectures to ladies groups and missionaries. Now the bunka center wants me to spend a couple of weeks going around the Tohoku districts to tell the natives about Japanese peasants and American Indians. I am glad that Mary (I.) likes East Lansing so strongly that she wants to buy a house. Buying is so much cheaper than renting in the long run. Did you buy a car yet? Have the kids and Mary adjusted to not having a maid yet? Mary and the rest of us send our love.

Jack

Donoghue
47-5 Rokku ju Nin-machi
Sendai



Dr. Tadao Ishino
Dept. Sociology and Anthropology
Michigan State University
East Lansing Michigan
USA

PAR AVION
航空

この郵便物には何物も封入又は添附できません
Nothing may be contained in or attached to this letter.

I too have not written or heard from T.W.B.

This space is also for correspondence.

此のスペースは通信文を記載するためのものです。

October 26, 1959

Dear MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

Man, what a depressing letter you wrote on 10-23-59. Are things that bad in Tokyo, or do they just look that way? I guess, after all, Sendai is the place to be, if one wants to live in Japan for awhile.

Dave Lewis and went to Urbana, Ill., to attend a "Conference on Asian Studies." I went there fore several reasons: (1) I was getting my expenses paid, (2) I wanted to meet with Shuichi Nagata, a graduate student from Tokyo Metropolitan, (3) I wanted to talk with Dave Lindstrom, a man at Illinois U. who was at ICU and did that re-study of Yokogoshi, Ebetsu, etc., and (4) to see what the various Mid-Western universities are doing in the way of Asian studies. Was able to see Nagata briefly before he left for a weekend dig in Southern Illinois; Did not see Lindstrom, altho he wrote me that he would like to see me and sent some of his materials to me; and was amazed at the fact that many small colleges in the midwest are hiring people of different national backgrounds to teach courses on Asia. I listened to an interesting paper by Bronfenbrenner (Marvin) on the productivity program in Japan. (This is the program that brought some Michigan U. professors to Waseda and some Harvard Profs to Keio. By the way, I have read Bronfenbrenner's report on his American Universities Program in Japan and Korea. While I have certain miggivings about the interpretations he makes, the study has all kinds of interesting things about US-Jpse relations ~~xxx~~ at the university level. I think the report is to be published soon along with other comparable studies (i.e., studies of other countries).)

PComing back to the Conference on Asian Affairs, I also heard a very stimulating address by C. Northcote Parkinson (Parkinson's Law) on the "Renaissance of Asia." The jist of his speech is that since the earliest days of civilization, the East and West ~~have been~~ ^{have} been ~~influence~~ influencing each other, e.g., the Renaissance in Europe was the direct result of the decline of Eastern influence on Europe.

VGlad to hear that you got the dope straight on Kawashiro data. Indeed very happy to hear that you are going to Mizuake...Have you seen the U. of Mich. volume on Village Japan? Pretty good stuff on depth (i.e., on a single village), but on the broad materials (i.e., covering the rural society as a whole), it is lousy. For example, they bring in the old Ariga materials which I included in my Ph.D. ~~thesis~~ thesis.

I just received some application forms from American Council on Learned Societies for a grant-in-aid. Hope to fill it out in time for the Nov. 1, deadline.

Now about your job hunting. By impressed, I mean that the staff here (specifically, Rick Adams) has read your "eta" paper and was not impressed, so he says. Another thing that held us up. Letter of introduction from Notre Dame was not favorable. I do not believe that the anti-Catholic feeling is at all important here, as Kout of Univ. of So. Illinois (he worked with you on the Philippines project) told me the other day at Urbana when he was discussing your attempt to get into Wayne.

Other info. Rick has decided to stay, so he got a substantial raise out of the recent threats to leave...The state is in bad financial crisis again. The one percent "use tax" was deemed unconstitutional and so ~~maxim~~ the legislature has to find another way to fill the

The Ishinos are having a fairly smooth transition back here at East Lansing. For awhile, Marilyh was worried about not getting back into her old clique, but that seems to have been worked out to her satisfaction. Mary is taking a Jpse lessons. The instructor is not very good however...The Takarazuka girls were in town for two eve. performances. It was pretty well filled, but I thought the performances were ~~funny~~ pretty awful.

Regards to Mary.

P.S. Please excuse the messy paper. I spilled some coffee on it.

Nov 9, 1959

Dear Iwao,

After telling you in my last letter that I was about thru travelling for awhile, except for the trip to Mizuake next week, I received a telegram from Fulbright saying that the Embassy at acquired some tickets for a number of us to go to Nara to see the National Treasures at the Shosoin. So I left here with Mary for Tokyo where she stayed with Ruth Soter while Dick and I went to Nara. As you might expect all the Treasures were in Big, closed wooden boxes. It was interesting to see the boxes though. After Nara we stayed one night in Kyoto and then went up to Nagoya for two days to see the city and the typhoon damage. Nagoya is a nice city, semi-provincial like Sendai. So Mary and I returned to Sendai on the seventh. Sasaki told me he would have all the translations done by today, so we will see. I sent about 25 pictures (slides) to Fuji to have them reproduced for you, and they should be here in a day or two, so you should have my little box in time to open it on Christmas.

When I returned home I found your last letter waiting. Things really ARE as bad as I painted them in my last letter. Your trip to the Conference on Asian studies sounded good. By the way, if I remember correctly (and maybe I don't) wasn't Lindstroms focus on the family in those villages? Did he also do Nikaido? If so, it would be interesting to compare his stuff on that village with the depth stuff that Hara reported on. I agree with you that Village Japan is pretty lousy. Enclosed is a rapid draft of the paper I read in Kobe and which I plan to expand after doing Mizuake again. In Mizuake (I hope) the agricultural and religious patterns are hantai from the patterns in Aioi and might make a nice comparison--you know no winter employment, and a series of village-wide festivals that still seem to be followed in the traditional manner with house visiting, sake drinking etc. I will let you know if this is the case when I get back from Mizuake on the 18th. Sasaki wrote to Yachi and told him that we were especially impressed with the rather progressive character of his village (economically, that is) and that we were interested in him personally as a change agent. So we told him we would like to spend some time with him. I have picked out some TAT cards and showed Sasaki how to use them. I hope to hell it doesn't snow again this year. Tell Dave that I sent his Ford papers back immediately with a good recommendation. Also tell him that I have some high school teachers collecting more data for him on the aspiration project. I have also been using the students of Nancy Reynolds, the missionary, to collect additional data on that value thing....patterns, patterns! I am giving a talk here in Sendai to a large group of missionaries who are assembling here from all over Japan to celebrate something or other. I have been asked to tell them why they have trouble converting people in the Tohoku district to Christianity. Of course I don't REALLY know why, but I'll "tell" them anyway.

To get back to your letter. Thank you for telling me more frankly about the job situation. I don't really care if Rick didn't like the Eta paper, that is legitimate enough an excuse. But the Notre Dame thing rocked me. One of these days I'm going to get bitter. John Kane, the head of the Department of Sociology at Notre Dame was at one time one of my "good" references. That is of course why I used his name, even if it did almost label me a sure Catholic which, as Charlie Kaut told you, is not always so helpful. John used to give me carbon copies of his letters of reference, so I know they were good. But all of this was before I got

Leo Despres a teaching fellowship at Ohio State. Leo was supposed to go on doing great things at Notre Dame and from the time Kane found out my role in getting him out of there he hasn't spoken to me. I didn't think that he would be so low as to let a personal thing like that change his opinion of my teaching ability and real popularity at Notre Dame while I was there. One other point, I was asked in front of Despres at the meetings in Chicago several years ago to consider coming back to N.D. At that time I said I didn't think I wanted to teach in a Catholic school again. Maybe they think I am anti-catholic. How fantastic. What a bind to be in with the Catholics and non-Catholics all thinking hantai things. I just think I'll become anti-American and drop the whole thing. Speaking of Leo D., I wonder what he will do about his PhD. now that John has left OSU. And speaking of JWB I wonder why neither of us have heard from him. And speaking of not hearing from people I got a letter from Karako and it seems everything is all ~~seaweed~~ screwed up. Hasabe said that he sent you the completed forms in Tokyo on the 21st of January. He told me, therefore, to write to you and ask you about the matter. Now, if you will recall that is the time when we were "on the road," and I have a feeling that those forms are lying around Todai someplace, maybe mixed in with some of our other research materials on the 3 villages we did in March. I will go to Todai the next time I go to Tokyo and try to find them. If I cannot find them, I will ask George Saito to accompany me to Karako and we will try to force them to give us another copy. I have had Sasaki write to Sugiyama asking him to try and fill in the Yoshida stuff more completely.

The weather is finally turning cool here and we have real heat this year with a sekiyu stove that works, a couple of denki stoves and our kotatsu. Everyone here is well and busy as usual. Are you also studying Japanese written language, or is Mary on her own? I'll write you when I get back from Mizuwake. Say hello to Mary and the girls.

As usual,

Jack

November 12, 1959

Dear Jack:

Just received your Nov. 9 letter. I'm getting so that if I don't answer the letters right away, I don't ever answer them. So here is my response.

Was pleased to receive a copy of your paper on "Changing Folk Religion..." It brought back memories of that long discussion we had on religion in Sendai--just after you, Dave, and I got back from Mizuwake. This paper reflects your position pretty much as you have stated it that night--namely, that religion is something you talk about in terms of rituals and behavior. The paper says very little about belief systems per se. In part I am responsible for this state of affairs, because in our design for research, I didn't insist on our looking into the beliefs and values concerning the supernatural. As I read the paper, I kept wondering if the Aioi farmer had the same view toward religious activity that farmers in China or the U.S. had. I wonder what kind of verbal replies we would have gotten from the Aioi farmer if we had asked questions such as this: What would happen to the village or to the farming operations, if the people suddenly decided to cancel all religious festivities? In Yoshida, one of my students reported that bad luck had come to one buraku because they had moved the local shrine.

Do not interpret the above statements to mean that I dislike the paper. I think the paper is a good pulling together of the Aioi material. I'm pleased that one of us, at least, is doing some work on the village materials. If you ever get an expanded version of it, can you send it to me? What would you think if I had circulated it among the staff here?

Now about your letter. I will relay message to D. Lewis. Boy, that Nancy Reynolds is a great help. Please encourage her to get that values material. It's the kind of stuff that is lacking in the materials I am reading about in other Japanese village reports, including the one from Lindstrom. Speaking of him, I do not find that he has done anything in Nikaido.

The visit to the Conference on Asian Affairs was a big disappointment. I didn't get to see Lindstrom for some unexplained reason. He was not at home. I heard that he was at the meetings, a few hours before my arrival there. I saw Nagata for a few minutes only, because he was off to an archeological dig in Southern Illinois. He seemed to be ~~very~~ happy. Yoneyama, who worked on the Nikaido buraku, was also there and he promised to send me a copy of his report on that buraku. I haven't received it yet.

Here in Michigan the weather is very cold and what's worse, the legislature is still haggling over money problems. It's disgraceful. The steel strike is temporarily ended, but the auto companies haven't got the steel, so the plants are being shut down. Man, it's sad...The Ishinos however are optimistic and am buying a house on borrowed money--every cent of it borrowed.

Regards,

Iwao

Dec. 5, 1959

Dear Iwao,

The box I was preparing for you is filled with David's questionnaires, so I thought I would send this rather important stuff via air mail. Read the paper on the Bus Affair, the rest are mostly field notes. You might find the Hara report and the paper on Ebetsu interesting.

Would appreciate your comment on the Bus thing.

Jack

December 8, 1959

Dear Jack:

Just received your package of welcomed materials. I haven't had a chance to read the newspaper clippings, but have read paper on "Bus Affair." It was written in an interesting manner and well worth publishing in the school paper. But that is not the reason for writing it.

I have no particular reactions to it except to ask you whether you have thought of all the alternative ways of coping with the busdriver's problem. Only one alternative is suicide. What about taking the matter to court and having the court ~~the~~ decide whether or not he should "pay his debt to society?" What about taking up Zen (escape through religion)? What about doing penitence (spelling?) some other way--working in the some public service agency for ~~free~~ free? If you want to follow up this study there are two broad approaches to follow: One is ~~to~~ to ask people about their beliefs (or attitudes) as to what should be done. This is essentially what you have ~~done~~ done. The other is to get a sample of people who had done things (like the bus driver) that led others to be killed. Interview these people and find out what they (i.e., interview those who did not commit suicide ~~or~~ successfully). Find out also how many of such people actually committed suicide. This then represents the behavioral data.

Well, I just finished my last ~~my~~ class for this quarter. Tomorrow we begin the final exams and after that I hope to be able to get down to serious work on the research materials. Nothing new to report, otherwise. Give our love to Mary and the kids.

Regards,

Iwao

P.S. Got a long letter from JWB. He still didn't say why he went to New York. This week he is at Antioch as visiting professor in a Ford-financed Far East program; "A pleasant way to earn a few hundred bucks," he says. The rest of the letter is his reactions to the St. Louis department, his thoughts about going to Syracuse, and his ideas about the Ishino-Bennett book.

Dec 18 (?)

Dear Iwao,

December 8, 1959

Just received your letter of Nov. 30. You sounded a bit disturbed. The thing with teaching is that you must continually put the politiking and things way in the back of your mind and only think that in the long run you might be doing something meaningful. I'm sure that by the time this reaches you, you will feel emotionally less discouraged. I was on a panel of foreigner in the Tohoku district on Saturday after noon and they kept asking stupid questions (Tohoku no kawa, yama, shima, etc. do desuka?) I felt crumby, but I met Sasaki-san and together we went to Mizuwake. Wow! Iwao, wait until you see this data. Sasaki-san turned into an excellent interviewer. We have $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours recording on Yachi, his background, his role in getting the dam, roads, nashi etc. introduced; The way he manipulated power groups, etc. The recordings are as clear as a bell. We have $\frac{1}{2}$ hour with the Nokyo-cho (he was son-cho when Raper was there) on general changes, etc. AND GET THIS—we then went to the kominkan where the male and female extension agents were having a slide show on dietary conditions, and fertilizer improvement. After the show the public health nurse took everybody's blood pressure. Needless to say I got pictures of all this with a flash gun. Then we interviewed the extension agents and the public health nurse and gradually everybody started giving their opinions. We asked such questions as "What if all matsuri's ended?" (Your questions) Wait until you see the answers. Also such questions as "What makes people happy." (Unanimously—Ningen kankei) We also asked about what Mizuwake will be like in ten years...All these and many more...you will be happy about the family data that came out—esp. daughter-in-law—mother-in-law relations—real tensions. We have $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours recording—again clear as a bell—on this free and open discussion. We then went to the Shrine (it was the day that all the ujiko members come to say a prayer—again excellent pictures—and we interviewed the priest and the head of the ujiko—terrific data (for example all present, about ten people, agreed that when a person dies, say your father, that they are still considered a part of the kin group and that they actively effect behavior of the living. The way Sasaki got this out was excellent.) We also asked the priest and others present about what would happen if all festivals ceased....again good responses, esp. with regard to the responses of the avg. farmer in kominkan. While we were there about 6 inches of snow fell, and, as you know, the place was absolutely beautiful. I can't wait to get the slides. When I do I'll send copies right off to you along with the others I have for you. We stayed for two days (about 16 hours of interviews. This time we commuted from Morioka (it was warmer there—and no snow) which meant that we had to get up at 6:30 every morning. We left to go back to Morioka from Shiwa-cho (the town that Mizuwake gapped with) so we could catch a late bus—around 8 PM. As we thought before, Yachi-san is really an idea man and can effectively put into action his ideas. (he was the joyaku at the age of 34—quite a thing for Japan). My interpreters (two young girls who are as good as Sasaki with English) are coming over this afternoon to work on the tapes. As soon as they are finished and I have it all typed up, I'll send them to you by air mail. I am really excited over this data, and hope that you will have time to go thru it as soon as it reaches you. The main reason is that I may want to go back to either Mizuwake or another of our villages, and I think you may have some good suggestions as to where some of our data holes are. Your last question on beliefs payed off, although Sasaki always asked the question after saying " Baka shitsumon desukara—" I think that I will send you the tapes, in Japanese, of the interviews in the kominkan. I want you to hear this with your own ears..fantastic. I also gave about fifty (maybe thirty) of Dave's interview sheets to the teacher of the chugakko in Mizuwake. He will send them down to me within the next couple of days. I also arranged to give the jisatsu questionnaire to the kotogakko in Shiwa-cho. I am going over this afternoon to see if they are printed up. Again will send you some copies. Maybe you could give an altered version to some of your students...I am sure we would get some interesting comparisons on concepts of death, afterlife, violence, jisatsu and ritual among others. Well, the whole point of this is that my emotional life was really given a big boost by this experience and I view the whole

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This space is also for correspondence.

world today quite differently than I did 3 or 4 days ago. (This is the manic stage, maybe). By the way, you don't have to answer all my correspondences, since very often they are written just to get something off my chest (tokidoki sabishii desu). By the way, my guess about the religious pattern in Mizuwake was wholly correct. Festivals have increased, as has attendance in the last ten years. This was the comparison I wanted for that paper on Aioi, which I plan on rewriting. Hello to the family from all of us.

Jack

折込欄



AEROPGRAMME

Donoghue
47-5 60 X 45
Sendai

DR. TAKAO TSUHINO
Dept. Sociology-Anthropology
Michigan State University
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN
U. S. A.

PAR AVION
航空

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折込欄

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Dec 2, 1959

Dear Iwas,

Thank you for your recommendation to the M54 advisory Group in Vietnam. I sent vitae both to M.S.A & to the people in Saigon. The job sounds very interesting and would give me a good chance to broaden my perspective on Asia. We are waiting to hear from them now.

Delays, delays!! I did not get up to Nagiwahe yet. I am going Sat (Dec 5), I hope. Last time Sasaki & hung up at the Shigakusho for not paying his some tapes. Nothing serious but it just delayed us. I have two girls working for me part time translating stuff. They are about as unreliable as Sasaki. I at line a work plan for a week and I'm lucky if I get $\frac{1}{10}$ of it done. On Dec 14-17 I have to give a series of lectures in Hirosaki & Akita - more time wasted. I am really eager to finish up this research in case I have to leave early to go to Saigon. The research on suicide is going extremely well. I'll send you a copy of our questionnaire - real good thing made up mostly by the grad students. I plan on making a batch to our friend in Saigon more & to my friend in Hokkaido for use in Chetzu.

Nothing ~~so~~ new, just wanted to thank you for your kind recommend.

Best regards to the family
Jack

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This space is also for correspondence.

Tomoyuki
77-1st Rokku jinmachi
Sendai

PAR AVION

航空

DR. Iwao Ishino
Dept. Sociology + Anthropology
Michigan State University
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

U.S.A.



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Sun 11/22

Dear Iveso,

I have about an hour before my train leaves for Morioka - same as last time - arrive in the evening & go to village tomorrow morning. I have been thinking about the paper I sent you and the revised paper will include more on beliefs. The last paper was too simple - the next one will present more of a dilemma. I do have some rather interesting data on beliefs from Aisi and I have made up a special interview on religious beliefs for Miyawake. Also my suicide research includes about 30 questions on beliefs concerning death, after life, rituals etc. Hori & the grad students here helped me make up the questionnaire, so maybe we'll get something there. I met a missionary - a good one - who runs an experimental station in a non-Gospelized village 15 minutes from here. He is trying to introduce dairy farming. He has taken courses in anthro at Berkeley and wants me to do some research in that village - I have been there before. The village is famous for "nashi" production. Will do mostly "beliefs" in that village and will give Davis' questions to them also. Tell Dave I have received about 100 forms from Sendai middle school students and have another 50 coming in on Thursday. Am also bringing about 50 to Miyawake. As soon as these are in I'll send them to him. As soon as my first stu

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questionnaire are printed up, I'll send you a copy. The first one's will only be for pilot study and will undoubtedly have to be revised so any ideas you have will be greatly appreciated.

Hori has a "thing" on T. Parsons, so in class he always wants me to explain this or that term or concept. As you know Parsons is rough

折込録



45
AEROGRAMME

Seoul
9.7.60
Korea
sent by

Dr. Iwao Ishino
Dept. Sociology & Anthropology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan
U.S.A.

PAR AVION
航空
郵便

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in English, but in mixed Japanese-English he is impossible. Dr. Delmar Brown of California is here this year - Japanese history. He heard me talk and afterwards asked me to apply for job at U.C. - he would write a letter of recommendation. He said that Nakao is on his way out. I told him that I didn't think I'd like U.C.

Jack

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MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

December 23, 1959

Dear Jack:

Happy New Year. Hope you've had a pleasant Christmas. We're looking forward to ours because we are now housed in a new domicile. It's a small Cape Cod and it's very comfy. Am getting more middle class everyday. I just like clean and comfortable living.

This acknowledges two letters, Dec. 2 and Dec. 8. (the last is probably a mistake; should it not be Dec. 18?)

I'm elated to hear that "baka shitsumon" on beliefs are paying off a little. What if all matsuri ended, what makes people happy, what happens when a member of the family dies, etc. are good questions. I guess the trick is how one asks the question and apparently Sasaki is developing a method for doing so.

Have not received a sample of the questionnaire on the "concepts of death, afterlife, violence, jisatsu," etc. I will try to run one in my primitive religion class, if it arrives here in time.

Regards,

Iwao Ishino

P.S. We received a letter addressed to you from Sibley. Enclosed please find.

November 30, 1959

Dear Jack:

Just received your letter of Nov. 22. I'm trying to keep to my resolution that I will answer a letter that comes to me on the same day as when I receive it--this is one way to avoid procrastinating.

I'm green with envy that you are still out in the field and able to do some meaningful work. The situation here, in my own work, seems utterly futile. I've been doing some serious thinking about what the hell I want to do (other than those which I am already committed to). Teaching isn't as rewarding as it once was. I see some ~~dangerous~~ signs of danger in our culture, both being reflected on TV and in our students. We're losing our moral fibre that we once had. We're becoming one of the most ethically spineless cultures that I know of. Charles Van Doren's case is only one example. Cheating, lying, misrepresentation, politicking, etc., that goes on among this university population is appalling. Maybe I'm naive and am only now facing up to some facts that were always present.

Two other pieces of information before I get to your letter. One is that John Bennett finally wrote me. He writes that he spent several days in New York last week (Nov. 23). ~~without~~ But other than the fact that he saw Michio Nagai and discussed the book that John and I were thinking about, he didn't mention what he was doing there. I'm curious to know, as you might well be. The other point is that the local office of the MSU Viet Nam Project asked about an anthropologist who might be willing to go to that country for a couple of years. I suggested your name, just in case you might be interested. My point was to get your name before them in somehow--in any event it doesn't hurt to be recommended to a reasonably interesting job.

Now about your letter. Here's hoping you've had good pickings at Mizuake. Got my fingers crossed...From this vantage point, I'm glad to hear that you are doing something more on beliefs. How about sending me a copy of the Donoghue-Hori questionnaire on beliefs? Also I suggest that you look up John Ladd's, The Structure of a Moral Code. This book is super, especially for contrast with Japanese culture...I will show your letter to Dave Lewis so he can see what you are doing for him...Excuse sentence three in this paragraph. I see you are going to send me a copy of same...You mentioned Parsons. He was here two or three weeks ago ~~out~~ for about three days. He has changed ~~out~~ many of his analytical concepts. I'm ~~out~~ out-dated on his stuff...Please let me know what you have done about writing to U.C. What's wrong with going there?

Regards to Mary and the kids from all of us.

Jan. 13, 1960

Dear Jack:

This is in response to your letter of Jan. 3 which tells of your decision to go to Saigon and which includes that wonderful feedback on Mizuwake.

Stan Gabis just told me the other day that he is no longer associated with the Viet Nam project--he's back full-time in the political science dept. He said that he expected you to be ~~there~~ down there in Saigon by the end of February. So I guess this means that you are rushing around like mad trying to get things ~~start~~ in order. He reminded me that you are putting down East Lansing as your home base so that you will get transportation all the way back here when your term ends in Saigon. If for any reason you want to use our home address and if you want to send things here for safe keeping (if it doesn't involve a whole van, that is), do so. My address is: 232 University Drive, East Lansing, Mich. Telephone, Edgewood 2-1179.

I have read the Mizuwake ~~xx~~ trip report no. 2. Excellent stuff. Yachi's life history makes sense and fits into a larger gestalt that I was hoping to find. He's a big fish in a little pond, but he is everything that we imagined him to be when we first saw him in Dec. 1958. One question in my mind is, in your opinion, is Yachi a good administrator--good in the American sense? Does he handle people tactfully and without rubbing them the wrong way--or does this criterion reflect an American bias?

Yachi's idea about running a farm as a business enterprise is almost too perfect. Are you certain you didn't put words into his mouth, just like I did with regard to the problem of roads in Nobuta village?

One small point. You referred to the "caretaker" in the Shrine activities as "Seiwanin". Are you correct about this? Should it be Sewanin? Other comments (small items) follow: ~~(pxxk7)~~ p. 19: Interesting answer to what makes an advanced or progressive buraku. Would the response be the same, if we didn't ask this of a person who was not in a position of leadership? p. 20 (re, decision-making on adoption of new methods): The response suggests that a more "democratic" process is being recognized. p. 24 (re the competitive position of Tohoku vis-a-vis Osaka region): is this the first time this kind of analysis appears in our interviews?

This is all for now. Please let us know when you are leaving Sendai for Saigon. If you see some of our mutual friends, tell them I send my greetings.

Regards to all,

Iwao

2/19/60

Dear Ivoos,

This is Friday and we are leaving Sendai on Sunday. We have had several snags in our arrangements, thanks mostly to the fact that M.S.U. People are really quite rural and un-cosmopolitan when it comes to international problems. But all appears to be worked out satisfactorily up to this point in time. All four goods have been shipped either to the U.S. or to Saigon and we have just returned from a couple of days of skating & skiing in an onsen near here. I have 400 questionnaires here from 5 or 6 different colleges in Sendai on the jisatsu mondai. My students have totaled them for me and I will run you off a copy of the results as soon as I catch up with my typewriter. Just received a letter from abegzler who is in Paris. He is taking over as personnel director for his company in either Paris or Brussels. Hopes to get back to F.E. eventually. By the way I'm not too happy with the suicide stuff, so Kori & Co. are going to continue with new techniques & send me the stuff. The last couple of weeks have been hectic with no less than 10 Bai Bai parties. Will get together with the Igumi's next week in Tokyo. We leave Tokyo on 2/25. Father Frank Lynch Ph.D from Chicago visited us for a couple of days enroute Philippines. I showed him some of our stuff & he was amazed. Of course Japan is so different from the P.I.'s He said of our paper at Madison "so fresh. You feel like you are learning about what is

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happening in Japan today. It was not like a stiff ethnographic report." The book should give this some impression. As of now you can write to me at 137, DUONG PASTEUR, SAIGON, Vietnam.

I really hate to leave Japan, but I have been asked by the Embassy in Korea to spend two weeks in a small village on the East coast of Korea giving lectures on Soc

郵便 振

Table of
Ethnographies.

Osgood,
Ingalik,
Yale

Goodenough's

Notes & Queries

Oscar Lewis
Tepoztlan
Dual division

Kluckhohn's criticism
of 'Chop' readings in
Ethnographies -

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PAR AVION

DR. TUNO ISHINO
Dept. Sociology & Anthropology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

U. S. A.

Japan
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send me



& anthro to university, & high school teachers who will assemble there in July. At that time I will get back to Japan. Plan to give our usual interviews in Korean village. More about this ~~letter~~ later. Our regards to Mary & the kids & the Lewis. Wish you could get over to Vietnam for awhile.
Best regards

Jack

This space is also for correspondence.

3/26/60

Dear Iwao,

Received your letter addressed to the APO the other day. Have not received anything yet from you addressed to Japan, but the mail service here is very bad and sometimes people get things months late. I am now preparing to go out into some villages in the southern part of this country in an area where security is really a problem. The success or failure of our work will depend to large degree on how effective we are in keeping the guards with the machine guns away from us. The gov't here does not want any Americans to get killed by the Viet Cong because this would cause an incident which could be looked upon as a sign of an unstable government. So when we leave Saigon we are always surrounded by boys with machine guns. South South Viet Nam is the worst place as far as security is concerned and some of our experts here think there is a fifty-fifty chance that the entire country side will be in the hands of the Viet Cong by the end of the year. Since December they have been stepping up their terrorism campaign. My part of this research is village and local group organization. The whole study, a joint effort with political scientists, is aimed at an analysis of Provincial, District, and Village government. We plan on having the results published by July.

Had dinner with Wolf Ladajinsky last night. He seemed interested in the Ishino-Donoghue research. He is the personal advisor of the President here and has been active in planning the present land reform. Says that the Japanese land reform went much more smoothly than it is here. Why? Different social organization. The Japanese had an on-going efficient bureaucratic system, etc., the Vietnamese don't. We should play up Japanese social org in our book and also stress the point that by and large the Japanese wanted the reforms; the powerful interests in Vietnam don't.

We have to get to work on this book. I have set aside about ten hours a week for this and am starting today on it. We can't wait too much longer to get something out. Linstrom from Illinois has been here for the past week attending a conference on Rural Life in Southeast Asia (also Larry Sharp). Lindstrom studied in Karako, Obie, Yokogoshi, Honami, and Ebetsu. He wanted to pick our brains, but I picked his instead. He has a book coming out on these villages which several publishers including Illinois turned down. He says some anthropologists, namely Julian Steward ripped it apart. Now some unknown press is putting it out, one which I have never heard of. His data is not worth much from what I could gather, and he did not use it like we plan to, so I am not worried about it too much. I will send you a booklet that he put out on a village in Ibaragi-ken, and I think you will see from that

1) whatever he puts out will not be too sharp, 2) his orientation is different from ours, and 3) his studies were done mostly in 1954 1955, and the difference between then and now is terrific. Remember I was in Japan in 1954 and I know that significant things have happened since then, ie., birth control, the ceasing of population growth in the villages, the gappi, a reorganization of the extension service, a tremendous rise in the standard of living, TV, transistors graduates from the first post-war "democratic" schools moving out into society, vinyl, kounki, etc, etc. He is still asking questions such as, "Do you think the land reform in Japan will work?" He also knows nothing about the new prosperity as it effects the salaryman. In short, other than points one and two, if nothing else his data is outdated. I don't want the same thing to happen to our data. I don't think that our data will be as effected by time as his is since he is doing a mere description of the things that are changing, whereas we plan to analize the process of change, the role of leadership in change etc. However, this all makes me worry, so I think the time has come to ~~me~~ get busy and get the thing out. As we planned it, I will write the first draft and send it to you. I have reorganized my original outline in leiu of our discussions on it and will go ahead on that. I plan to pitch it a little more towards the angle of "development" since in this conference held here people seem truly interested in what has happened to Japan and what has not yet happened here. I think that our book wuld have a rather wide audience among applied social scientists, social service workers and extension agents, as well as soc and anthroplogists.

Will write again when anything interesting comes up. You might look at my original outline and if you see anything that you think should defintely be added or subtracted let me know. Remeber that the things I have designated as Chapt. 1-3 are all very short and should not worry you too much. Our regards to Mary and the kids.

Best regards

Jack

Donoghue

MSUG - Box 34

A.P.O 143

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

VIA
AIR
MAIL

DR. IWAQ ISHINO
DEPT. SOCIOLOGY- ANTHROPOLOGY
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN



VIA AIR MAIL

MSU-V-32

May 4, 1960

Dear Iwao,

Enclosed are some notes that I think you will find interesting. The first part (Notes on My Thuan Village) was written partly by myself and partly by Miss Phuc. These are just raw field notes put into some order so please overlook the language. They are being written up for publication in a book now. The second group of notes were taken by a Vietnamese Prof. who sat in the village office with the chief for a week. I think you will find an awful lot of color in these if you read them thru. I want to get these to you for several reasons. In the first place ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ these will indicate to you the completely different situation we had in Japan. Secondly, this material, especially the security stuff, is hushed up around here and many of the people at MSU who have been over here would be amazed at what is going on here. When most of them left Saigon the villages were thought to be quiet little places. Now they are seething. You can use these as you see fit, academically or otherwise. You might even send them to the New York Times, but leave the source anonymous. If you saw the Vietnam piece in Time Magazine (May 2, 1960), this came from our field notes. (The stuff on Saigon in Time is wrong, but the village stuff is correct).

I am back on the Japanese materials now, and I have time to devote my office hours to it, so expect a roogh draft soon. Drop us a line and give ur love to Mary and the kids. Say hello to Dave and Hell An.

Jack

May 9, 1960

Dear Jack:

Received your manuscript on "My-Thuan". Have read only the "security" section. I find that it is supposed to be continued on a section entitled "Aggroville." ~~kyuyxuixixvmyxewyxxfrx~~

(I have interrupted the writing of this letter to read the ms. The following is some running comments and reactions:)

1. I like the "han" system of the village chief. Putting his finger print on the document that the janitor brought in. Clever. Is this a universal in Viet Nam?
2. Interesting functional separation between Farmers' Cooperative and Farmers' Association. Why?
3. The Farmers' Union (p. 23), if it is widespread, seems to me to be a particular nuclear unit that would be examining further. Is it a basic primary group, in Cooley's sense?
4. School (p. 25 ff). I think this approach to the understanding of the social structure might be meaningful. How important a role do the school teachers play as intellectual leaders? Can school teachers be used as informants?
5. Good stuff on the Hoa Hao and Huynh Phu S. pp 38 ff.
6. What is "Aggroville"? It's hard to figure out what it is from the cursory information you have provided. Who sponsors it? Why is it important?
7. Interesting note on the "lack of water". (p. 53). Sounds familiar.
8. The section on economics is good. If you can I advise you to get as much economic data as possible. The present theories in anthropology seems to be depending a great deal more on the analysis of economic data than ever before. My advice is to give this item high priority. Get data on how much is produced for the village as a whole; yields per acre; amount of crops consumed at home; amount sold outside; costs of farm production; etc.
9. Nice summary of economic problems. (p. 65). Of those listed, which factors as "causal" and which "consequential"? Which are basis or primary and which secondary? Why?

I have to go home now, so I will delay reading Prof. Giau's section. Let me briefly say that I have been greatly impressed by what you have been able to do in such a short period. My congratulations.

Give our love to Mary and the kids. We're okay here. Looking forward to the next communique (seven chapters of our book?).

Regards,

June 12, 1960

Dear Iwao,

Thank you for your last letter with the suggestions on the Vietnam village study. Last week I went back and followed up on your suggestions to follow up on the economics. Unlike Japan, of course, it is impossible to get any data at the village level. For example if you want to know something about the size of farm management, you must do sampling. I started this and got about 7 or 8 good interviews with farmers who farm various size farms. The interviews were aimed specifically at income and expenditures, time allotment, and techniques (i.e., use of fertilizers, weeding, irrigation, farm animals, and work force.) I think I have some real good stuff on this; at least some patterns started to emerge. I will send you a copy of this stuff as soon as I get it typed up.

The political situation here remains the same--ridiculous. You asked about the importance of agrovilles in your letter. Agrovilles are the Vietnamese counterpart to the "communes" in China and North Vietnam. They are being constructed by forced labor, and then they force people to live in them. We have a full blown study coming out on this. I will send you the unexpurgated copy. The village chief of my last notes has been fired. His son was found to be a Capt in the Viet Cong. Field work here is messy and emotionally upsetting to me. When I get home this time, I throw up all nite. I think I identify too closely with the farmers here, and the position they are in is inhuman. A small exodus is starting from the villages into Saigon. Especially young people want to get away from the forced labor and the forced marching and militarization in the countryside.

My trip to Korea has been postponed until the end of July, so I hope that I will be able to get a lot more work done on our book before I leave. As it stands I now have written about 80 pages. As soon as I finish the section that I am on I will send you a copy for your comments, if you want. The reasons that I have not done this so far are many. In the first place, Mary has been typing it for me and there are many mistakes that I must correct first. I would want to do this, but I hate to take the time out from the writing. Secondly, and more important, I am not really pleased with the outline I am following, nor am I at all pleased with my writing style. I realize this is only a draft, but how boring can the style be? I always find myself in the same stylistic position, i.e., "although it would seem....., it really is this way," or "such and such, and such and such, but....." It seems that when you are presenting a high number of facts, the style becomes warped. This leads me to believe that the outline predisposes the style to a great extent, and the net result in this case indicates strongly that the outline should be changed. The one good thing is that I am getting a lot down on paper. The punch ~~xxx~~ cards at this phase are invaluable...so were the national statistics that you copied out of Japan FAO, etc. When I get finished with the section on which I am now working, I will have finished the "intro.", "distinctive problems of Japanese farmers," "Attempts at overcoming the problems". These are all descriptive. The final part consists of sections strictly devoted to leadership and change in the 13 villages. The way I now see it, I can devote about 20 hours a week to the book from now until the time I go to Korea, so I should be able to get a good chunk of it to you ~~immediately~~ before then. Heard from Felix Mees. He has sent his thesis off to Washington and has accepted a job with U of Maryland in Japan for the next year or so. I will see him in August in Tokyo. I spent 3 days in Cambodia over Memorial day. Visited a village there. Will send you a copy of my notes when Mary gets them typed up. Mary and I send our love to you and the kids. What do you hear from JWB?

Jack

July 13, 1960

Dear Jack:

I don't know where the status of our exchanges in letter-writing is, but I'm putting down a few words here. Occasionally, I run into Ralph Smuckler and others who have been down there is Saigon with you and we talk about you.

I have your letter of June 12 before me and I have the awful feeling that I did not respond to it. In any case, let me get started. This morning Lloyd Warner gave a public lecture at the School of Educ. on the Business Elite and Federal Govt. elites. It was a lousy lecture, but he threw out a lot of interesting statistics. The sum and substance of his talk was that education, particularly the universities, was the "royal road to success" in the top ranks of the occupational world. Among the universities and colleges which provided the most training for these Federal Govt. elites were (1) George Washington U., (2) Harvard, (3) Columbia, (4) Chicago, (5) Minnesota, (6) Wisconsin, etc.

You asked in your letter about JWB. He's in Alaska this summer spending a few month digging with his son, Mike. He's president of the Soc. for Applied Anthropology and so he'll be somewhat busy with this organization next year.

I'm gald to see that the Japan FAO reports, the punch cards, etc. are turning out to be helpful in your writing...Tell me, when are you going to Korea? What are you dding there?

By the way, I'm committing ^{you} and myself to a paper entitled, "Culture as an adaptive mechanism" -- I ~~xxx~~ am planning to write a paper for the coming AAA meeting in which I use the village data to illustrate how this "adaptive mechanism" model might be used for analyzing social data. If you have any objections to having your name attached to it, please let me know. I ~~xxxx~~ felt that you have enough confidence in ~~me~~ me to let me go ahead on it without consulting you specifically about it. It isn't written yet, but I don't think it would be too hard to write.

Well, we've ~~xxxxxx~~ had a pretty rough Spring here in the Ishino family. First Susie came down with the mumps and two weeks later, Kathy came down with them. Now, thank goodness, we are back to a normal state of health. I hope the Donogues have been making out all right.

By the way, I see that Ronald Dore is trying to set up a special symposium on Japanese social structure. I believe you will be getting an announcement about it soon, if you haven't received one yet.

Regards,

March 7, 1960
Box 34
APO 343
San Francisco, Cal

Dear Iwao,

Just a short note before I leave the office. My typewriter has not yet arrived from Japan, so I have to write from the office. We had a good trip from Japan; spent four days in Tokyo and 4 days in Hong Kong. I went out to a village in northern Kowloon and even asked some questions in Chinese to some of the farmers. Will write all this out as well as my impressions of China and Vietnam as soon as my typewriter arrives. We have a real good deal here. It seems that just about everything is free; we are having trouble trying to spend money. So, we just bought a new Volkswagen. Michigan pays for its transportation from Germany. One is on its way, so we will have it within the next couple of weeks. Our house here is fantastic. Two bedrooms are airconditioned, but the rest of the house stays rather cool, too. The hot season is just beginning, and as soon as we get more sun tanned we will spend a little more time on beaches and at the country club. Sounds good, huh? We have a servant, a laundress and a male cook. All of them do very well, altho none speak English. I have started taking Vietnamese language lessons on the tape recorder (we can do this on company time, with company money). I will be glad when I can at least get along somewhat in the language. For some reason I feel silly using my poor French here, I would much rather speak the native's language. In a couple of weeks three of us are taking a motor trip (a field survey) up to ~~Hue~~ Hue, next to the 17th parallel. The trip will take us three days up by the coast, and ~~probably~~ probably 4 days back through the mountains. When we flew over the jungle it looked great from the traditional anthro view--slash and burn and all that stuff. Jerry Hickey has written a monograph on a rice village near Saigon, and the comparison with the Japanese villages looks interesting. He is the anthropologist, a Chicago grad., that I replaced here. My duties here are a little vague. So far, beside paper work and getting settled, my only instructions have been to get to know Vietnam. All of this is really interesting. Saigon is the cleanest and one of the most beautiful cities in Asia. A young Political Scientist here, Jason Finkel, and myself have submitted a proposal to the Ford Foundation (some of that \$5 Million that MSU has) for a study of leadership. What we are asking for is support for analysis of the data after we return to the States. We will be collecting it gradually over the next two years. I have a good schedule here, by the way (so far), and I plan to spend about ten hours a week on our Japan book. As soon as my typewriter and notes, etc. arrive, I'll start on that. Have you had a chance to do anything on that yet? Seems we haven't heard from you in ages. Drop us a line. In Tokyo I met Marion Levy who will be

in Japan for about six months. He is still interested in the industrialization problem. He is quite a character. Spoke well of you. I gave him some idea of what we did in Japan, and he gave me several warnings, if that is what you want to call them. (As we know) his point is that we can't just take Japan since the War. We have to think in terms of a period, he said, that starts sometime in Meiji. We agree with him, of course, but think maybe we better emphasize this point in the ms. Have you heard from Bennett? Have much I want to get down on paper concerning my impressions of here and Hong Kong before they become too commonplace, or while they are still rather fresh. By the way, I have the distinct impression from here, Hong Kong, and the Philippines (Had a long talk with Frank Lynch, an old Philippine hand on this problem) that one of the real major differences between these places and Japan is "acquisitiveness" maybe I wrote to you about this before, but even if I have, Vietnam and Hong Kong reaffirm my conviction. The Japanese farmer wants, wants and wants. You will remember that we got this in numerous interviews. To name but one Yachi said that the people "want" way above their means to satisfy them. This is not the case here, as I have heard it from the people involved in that kind of stuff here. The average farm is about 15-20 cho here. (There is a land reform going on now with which Wolf Ladijinsky is an advisor of some sort. I will get a chance to talk to him one of these days.) Here and in the Philippines the want level is low and the means of satisfying these wants, even if they were present, seems, to the peasant, to be remote. The Japanese farmer wants a TV set and the Japanese economy can provide them. Here the peasant thinks that such luxury items cannot be had, and of course the Philippine or Vietnamese economies cannot provide them. So the peasants in these societies do not work for such things but only for the day to day needs. They don't try to produce more than they need. Reminds me of some of Yachi's remarks about the Tohoku farmer, "some of them think that one crop of rice is sufficient to take care of their basic needs, so they don't try to experiment with new ideas and new crops, etc." Another thing that amazed Frank about Japan was the social organization as I explained it to him. In Japan the farmers belong to many organizations, coop, seinen dan, fujin-kai, tonari-gumi, Kairyo-kumiai, "memba" etc. In the Phil. it is much different. People are not interested in these things and when there has been experimentation with them, they fail. If they organize a group, it is for a specific function, say a dance, and when the function ends the group dissolves. The way we saw it, one of the reasons for rapid innovation in Japan was because of the participation of the farmer in these groups. That is communication, group pressures, meetings etc. stimulated innovation, whereas in the PI a couple of ~~friends~~ friend and a couple of relatives were the effective face-to-face group. There is no mura, or even buraku konjo. Another big difference in both the PI and in Vietnam is the effectiveness of the extension service. In the places the extension agent is considered an outsider, not one to take seriously. As you know this is a problem in Japan too, but the village leaders and the Nokyo ag specialists help these people and they are

effective in the long run. Again, the social organization is important here, because info from the experts is relayed thru these groups in Japan. Maybe more important than anything is the land reform in Japan. In the PI and in Vietnam, where the land reforms have not been as thorough as in Japan, the big landowners do not have to be as efficient as the Japanese farmer. Certainly the tenants are not much interested in agricultural innovation. Finally, the problem of leadership. In Japan, I think that you and I received the impression in almost every village that the people in the yakuba, the specialists, the extension agents, etc., all had the idea that they were trying to improve the village and indirectly trying to improve the nation. (Both Bando and Yachi talked about the farmer as being the backbone of the nation). As Sasaki often told me, "It seems that in each village that you and Ishino visited you happened to talk to one man who had the overall outlook, the big picture. I suppose there is one man like that in every village." If you will recall our interviews in three of the least progressive villages Suye, Nobuta, and Yokogoshi, the people we interviewed were interested in telling us all about the village and the gappei (in the ~~first~~ Yokogoshi and Suye) and the village problem of keeping the boys on the farm (in Nobuta). Now from what Frank tells me about the PI and from what I have read of the village studies here in Vietnam, this is not the case at all. Each person worries about himself. The leaders are interested in increasing ~~themselves~~ their own standard of living, but no one seems to think of the village as a unit, much less a part of the nation. No one plans for the whole village. They plan for themselves. People in leadership positions are usually large land owners. (In Japan Yachi and Bando had almost no land at all). The large land owners in Vietnam and PI are also the ritual and religious leaders, and it is the ritual, above all that ties the people together in these places....not territory, not economy, not kinship. A good example here is the problem of the gappei. In Japan, as we know, the gappei caused quite a to do in the villages. This is not the case in Vietnam. They had gappeis, but there was no problem at all. In Japan there were community interests involved in the gappei. In the vietnamese village there were not these strong community feelings and interests and the gappei went very smoothly (from what I have gathered, at any rate.. maybe when I get out in the villages I will find this is not the case). A gappei here did not upset community interests, because there were no community interests, only a small group of friends and relatives...the basic interaction groups. Now that I have gotten this far, I am sorry that I didn't follow the old Ishino advise of using a carbon... but I only was going to write you a note to tell you, that I had arrived. Write soon.

MSAG Box 34
APO 143
SAN FRAN.

Best to Mary & the kids
Jack

March 14, 1960

Dear Jack:

Wow, what an interesting letter you wrote on the 10th (the 10th was my birthday, by the way). I'm really happy to see that your spirits are high and that my maneuvering to get you to go to Saigon was not misdirected. The letter is full of insights on our study and shows that you can get a lot more out of a study if you have some kind of comparative orientation. I agree with you that the Japanese are terribly acquisitive--but isn't this desire on the increase the world over? Is this a function of greater mass communications and greater contact between the city and the village? Another thing of note is that the leaders in Japan were looking out for the welfare of the village as a whole; you say that this is not true elsewhere. "No one plans for the whole village. They plan for themselves." You know, in the United States, we have professionalized the role of a person who looks out for the welfare of the entire community. We call these professionals, "city managers." This burg of East Lansing has such a "city manager." Maybe you ought to suggest to the powers that be that a city or village manager system might be incorporated into the Viet Nam system of government...I was also interested in finding out about the guppei in Viet Nam. Can you write more about it next time?

statement

I don't know what you mean by the/~~fact~~ that I haven't written you for some time, unless my last letters did not get to you before you left Sendai. Well, anyhoo-o, things have been moving rather slowly here. I told you in one of those un-read letters that I went to Syracuse and now have turned down their generous offer. Also had a discreet inquiry from Rochester which I turned down without ~~any further~~ follow-through, such as I did with Syracuse...Dave Lewis is plugging away at his materials and is finishing up on his course work...We are about the end of the winter quarter and are getting ready for the final exams...The department is in the throes of trying to work out a general plan for the future--a veritable 5-year plan...My research on the Japan materials has been negligible. I have been doing some filing work, trying to put our various field records into place and in some kind of order so that I can refer to them when it comes time for writing. I am writing a brief paper to be presented at the coming Michigan Sociological Society that bears on our research. When it's finished, I will send you a copy. I also hoped to have something prepared for the coming Central States meeting, but this isn't working out according to schedule...Then there's that Beardsley book that I reviewed. You should see it ~~announced~~ in a forthcoming issue of the Anthropologist...Otherwise time seems to be passing by without our knowing about it.

Thanks again for the fascinating letter. Hope you keep it up. Even if you don't have a carbon copy of your letter, I'll keep your letters so that you can refer to them ~~in time~~ when you want to.

Regards to Mary and the kids.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
VIETNAM ADVISORY GROUP

MAILING ADDRESS : MSU - USOM
 AMERICAN EMBASSY
 SAIGON - VIETNAM

CABLE ADDRESS : MICHGOVBUR

GENERAL OFFICE:
 137, DUONG PASTEUR
 TELEPH. NUMBER : 22.022-21.528
 SAIGON : 383-384

November 8, 1960

Mr. Ishino Iwao
 Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
 MSU
 East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Iwao:

I have fallen behind in my correspondence lately due to the garbage one gets loaded down with here. At the present time, for example we are trying to evaluate the National Institute of Administration, the outfit we supposedly advise. In effect we are evaluating the failure of MSU's aid program. Everybody's temper is flaring and morale is low. I have done a couple of surveys by questionnaire on occupational aspirations will send you copies after we have it written up. We plan on doing some more village research North of Saigon but the security situation has worsened rapidly up there and we fear that by January, when we planned the trip, the central part of Vietnam may be as bad as they are in the South. The Vietminh killed an American advisor South of Saigon last week. Research is important, but it is getting so hot here that other things such as our lives, may be more important.

I was contacted by an independent research outfit out here to do some research in Burma (Mandalay) and in Malaya. These will each be 4 week stints. I am busy as hell around here with unimportant things, but I think I can get away for at least one of these trips.

I knew that Ed Norbeck was Leaving California; Delmar Brown contacted Horne and asked me to apply at U.C. I haven't done this because he was looking for someone fast. Since I won't be available until Sept. 1962, I haven't thought much about future employment. Let me know if you hear of anything, though.

Mary and the kids are still well and happy. Mary and another woman just returned from Phnom Penh where they observed a big festival. It is good to get out of Vietnam every once in awhile.

Re your remark about Nisei going to Korea, I think this will change soon, and when it does you ought to consider Korea as your next place for research. That way you don't have to learn a new language. I am working on Vietnamese now, and it a royal pain to learn another language at this stage of my life.

I have decided to take your suggestion and work on our Japan data in Japan during the month of April. At times I get around to it at nite here, but it is so difficult to get 4 or 5 straight hours that I don't get much accomplished. I definitely will have a draft to you before June so that you can work on it this summer. An SSRC grant should be easy to come by for such a noble project.

Tomorrow (or today) are the U.S. elections. Hope Kennedy gets it. Japan elections will probably support Ikeda, but Asanuma's murder won't help things. What a hunch of baka people those Japanese are!! I used to think the Japanese were bad, but after working with Vietnamese the Japanese are great. Some day I will write you a paper on some of the problems we (all Americans in Vietnam) ~~we~~ run into in technical assistance.

My best regards to Mary and the kids.

Sincerely yours

Jack
John Donoghue

7/20/61

Dear Iwas & all,

As you can probably tell from the paper used for this letter, I am back on the Japan data. I am now sitting alone in a Yashiki in Shiogama (a town just outside Sendai) trying to reimburse myself in Japan and our research. Believe me, it is not easy. When I stopped working periodically on this stuff, I lost the continuity and some of the ideas I had. Worse than this, however, has been the continual round of parties and greetings.

We left Saigon on a MATS flight on the 27th of March and arrived at Tachikawa on the morning of the 28th. We stayed at the Gajoen in Meguro for a few days and came up to Sendai. I was royally greeted by Hori and Ishiguro (who is ~~not~~ now the Dean of the Bungakubu). They set up parties every nite with various people, such as Tsubamoto, Takara, Sasaki, and Takeuchi. Then there were all of Mary's friends that had parties. It was so hectic that I left Sendai to return to Gajoen to try and write. In Tokyo I had the same problem with Igumi & Co., the Peatties (they are now in language school), Felipe Moes (who has finished thesis & is teaching with Maryland Dai), Stu Griffin etc. So I returned to Shiogama. Mary & the boys are now

if Tokyo and Mary's mother arrives tomorrow from the States. She will spend a couple of months with Mary and then we will decide what she + the kids will do. I am going to return to Saigon in the first week in May. They will stay on for awhile + then leisurely come back to Saigon via Taiwan, Hong Kong + Manila. We do not know yet whether they will return to Saigon. The situation there is terrible + the Viet Cong are terrorizing haphazardly. Thus it is not safe for children especially. Frankly, I am afraid to return myself, but I will. During the Coup d'etat for the first time I became scared. I had never been in a position to be shot before.

I have written up the data on the delta village and as soon as the Vietnamese censors get thru with it it will be published. Just before I left Saigon I led a research team of 6 into a Central VN fishing village. The data we collected during our two week stay is fantastic. I will write that up as soon as I return. Great things for anthropologists such as local endogamy, clans, whale worship etc.

Since lastly I have written Joe La Palombara has visited us in Saigon. He is a good guy. Give him my regards.

We are just concluding a great research job in Saigon on social class, mobility, occupational aspirations, income, family structure etc. I designed the research and it was done by a group called the "Center for Vietnamese Studies".

3.

and sponsored by USIS. We have 360 depth interviews which, when I left Saigon, were being tabulated. This may prove to be the best research done on an Asian city (Dore included). We have a stratified sample from all the social classes. I took Joe LaPal to several of the areas in the survey.

Art Thompson is returning to Japan this summer as a lecturer on the Omeyon Area Studies Seminar. I guess he set it up for them. His wife is not coming with him. Mary had a bar crawling session with Hosi & Nishiura (of Fulbright) in Sendai the other nite and he said they are encouraging former Fulbrighters to return to Japan. He said I could come back next year, if I wanted. Also implied you could return anytime. Thus, if life in East Lansing gets too bad, don't despair, you can always come back to the land of the Kami. (Soma). I am now enjoying some sashimi & sake - which you and Mary I. were here.

My kids completely forgot nihongo, but they're relearning at a rather amazing rate. Sasaki-san has bought a new car - a new Japanese car that is about half the size of a Volkswagen - very cute.

I understand that Makuchi-sensei is

at Chicago Dai - this year, succeeding Nakane - son, and that Ishida - sensei will come after Mabuchi. You should get a chance to see these people. I take it that Norm Martin & Lloyd Warner are still at M.S.U. - please give them my dozo yoroshikes.

I imagine that Maryng myself, Kathy & Suje have by now forgotten their Japanese. I was amazed at how rapidly Mike & Jackie forgot the language. Exactly one year ago they spoke nothing but Japanese to each other.

By June most of our academics here will have returned to East Lansing. I will be really sorry to see them go - they are good guys. After June there will probably be only myself, Lucy Fox (Poly Sci - as head of the group) and an In-service training specialist (also a good guy) plus a person from the administrative service (Dorothy) & a police advisor. My tour is up in February of '62, but there are pressures to extend until June. As yet I have not made up my mind. If Maryng & the kids can't go back to Saigon but have to live in Manila, Hong Kong, or Singapore, the incentives to extend will have to be pretty good. I understand from Joe La Pal that Gue Lewis' are well on their way to Ph.D.s. Please give them our yoroshikes.

Robert Bellah (Tobugawa Religion) is

Coming up to Sendai on ~~last~~ Sunday on the American Areas study program. We are having a party for him that night. He is a rather successful guy for only 33 years. Did you know him at Harvard?

The feelings are mixed here in Japan on the Reischauer appointment as Ambassador. (In newspapers living RA TAISHI; If you don't say this right, it comes out RATAI-shi (Mr. nude).) The intelligi expect too much, possibly, from Rataishi - they forget he does not initiate American foreign policy, but only executes it. Japan is looking more & more toward the neutralist position which maybe it should. They think Rataishi will aid them in this. However, it is to America's advantage to keep Japan on the side of the Angels, so Rataishi will have to attempt to implement this policy - even though he may personally think a neutralist position is better for Japan. When he doesn't come out strongly for the latter position the intelligi here will slay him.

I was in ~~the~~ a nom-ga-sans when he delivered his television address. (In Japanese). All the people in the joist said - "Ah Tora ne!" He speaks Japanese better than we do. Since he was my sensei at Habado Dai, I feel sorry for the position he is in. Everyone applauds

the appointment, but — watch. Some claim that the Japanese don't want ~~us~~, a Taishi that knows Japan & Japanese!!

The cherry blossoms were beautiful this year. We arrived just at the right time to see them here and in Tokyo. Here in Shiozawa they linger on.

I was, you wouldn't believe it (or maybe you would), every farm house seems to have a TV set. ^{even} I'll bet they are widespread in such a village as Sasebo now.

There is a labor shortage in Japan. Not enough young people to handle things in a Japanese way and in an industrialized way. Factories are ~~hiring~~ training of young people so that they are having trouble finding ^{escalator} girls, tea makers in offices, and ^{hostess} host girls.

This may lead to a major change in Japanese social life. I am sure this will alleviate farm ~~the~~ under-employment & hasten the process of out-migration from the villages. How will places like Nobita-mura survive?

You are not a very good letter writer, but try it once in awhile. Write in care of the APO (143, Box 34) as I expect to be back in Saigon within the next couple of weeks. Our best to Mary and the kids.

P.S.¹ I am going to write to JWB ^{Daik} today to break a 2 year silence.

P.S.² Now, if I can only think of the word for envelope?????

Saigon, Vietnam
27 September, 1961

Dr. Iwao Ishino
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Iwao:

Sorry for the long delay in writing, but until Jim Hendry arrived a couple of weeks ago I wasn't sure of my immediate future. It has now been confirmed that I will return to East Lansing and the department on time for the spring quarter. Mary and the kids and Mary's mother left a week ago for an extended trip through the Near East and Europe. From there they will go to Florida and live with Mary's mother until December when Mary will go to East Lansing house hunting. We hope to start the kids in school in January. I will leave here in February.

I want to thank you and Joe for anything you did in getting this appointment for me. I feel sure that we will be able to get something significant out on Japan when we are not five thousand miles apart. Jim Hendry said that he met you in Hawaii, and he informed me that your paper at the Pacific Science Congress was well received. Send me a copy. I am now completing a write-up of research on a fishing village. It should be finished within the next couple of weeks. The Government of Vietnam has refused to allow us to translate my monogram of the delta village. They have become touchy about a number of recent MSU publications. Hendry leaves for the States the day after tomorrow and can fill you in on these details and others. He is going to stop in Japan for a few days enroute. By the way, Jim's Japanese language is quite good.

In October I am going to Japan for a regional conference for two weeks. This will be my third trip back to the land of the gods since I have been in Saigon. I hope to get to see Izumi, Hori, and the rest of the To Dai people.

-2-

Mary D is looking forward to seeing you, Mary I, and the kids around Christmas time. If you want anything from Japan or elsewhere, or if you have any news, drop me a line.

J.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Dec 11, 1961

Dear Jack:

How time flies. So much water has passed under the bridge, I don't know just where to start our communication again. Let me start with the AAA meetings.

On the general problem--later will come some personal item--this country is in the midst of another nativistic movement. This movement has two prongs, one of which is a general drive toward conservatism and the ultra right. The other prong is directed toward racism and the superiority of whites. On this issue, the AAA took a stand--weak as it was--denouncing this tendency. This week's issue of Science presents a good summary of this action.

On the personal interest side, I've met Jim Abbeglen, Leo Despres and of course our friend JWB. Jim was a speaker on a panel devoted to the question of Economic Development. He represented the Japanese case and he did an eloquent job, pretty much off the cuff. He is so busy with the company he is with that he couldn't spend much time preparing for it. I spent about an hour and a half with him over several king size martinis. He was happy to hear that you were coming to MSU...Leo just returned from British Guiana and was full of descriptive statements about the socio-political situation down there. He is now at Ohio Wesleyan and is not satisfied there, but finds that he can keep up contacts with hospital group at Ohio State. Therefore he is hanging on to the Ohio Wesleyan job for awhile, although he was considering a "feeler" from So. Illinois. Leo has much material that should prove to be most valuable for a political analysis of that part of the Caribbean. ...JWB is active as ever, if not more. He has pulled together some interesting material in his summer trip to Saskatchewan (?). Basically this is a study of the social and ecological factors in economic development of the area. He is also 'hep' on ideas and concepts concerning energy, ecology, and economic development, not to mention the role of technology in cultural evolution.

So much for the AAA meetings. As for myself, I am in the midst of winding up my quarter's leave from teaching. As I look back on this time off, I have accomplished very little except a deep appreciation for the historical factors in the contemporary rural Japanese scene. The paper I prepared for the Pacific Science Congress is an example of the attempt to show how the historical factors must be considered in the evaluation of the present change process in the villages. I have not sent you the paper because I have been hoping to revise it. I have not yet done so, even though I had promised to send others a copy of it three weeks ago. When I finish revising it, you will get a copy.

Justin, of the Poli Sci department, tells me that you and Mary have already agreed to rent someone's house for the year. We in the ~~department~~ dept. have been concerned about this, but if what Justin says is true, then, everything is ~~km~~ A-o.k.

We look forward to seeing you soon.

Best regards,

CHANGING FOLK RELIGION IN JAPAN

In this paper I intend to point out several factors that are related to some recent changes in Japanese rural religious practices. The concern here is not with beliefs, then, but with religious rites and rituals. Japanese rural society is now undergoing a series of social, economic and cultural changes that may be of a magnitude to be called "revolutionary." One year ago, Dr. Iwao Ishino of Michigan State University and I came to Japan to observe and try to interpret these vast changes in rural districts. We chose as our sample the thirteen villages studied by Dr. Arthur Reper and his team of Japanese and American social scientists ten years ago. In this paper I would like to briefly summarize the changes that are taking place in one area of village life, the religious, in one of these thirteen villages.

Aioi-mura is a marginal, coastal village in Kagawa-ken. Ten years ago about 50 of the 600 households gained their major income from fishing. The remainder depended upon wet-rice cultivation, the average size farm being five tan, and, in the winter, wheat and barley production. In most respects Aioi was economically the poorest of the thirteen villages surveyed ten years ago. Not only was the soil sandy and unproductive, but there was a drastic water shortage, and during the typhoon season salt water from the Seto-nai Kai flooded the paddy fields along the sea.

Aioi is composed of six self-contained oaza, each with its own Shinto Shrine and burial grounds. Religious rituals and festivals were carried on within each oaza; there were no village-wide festivals. These festivals were rather typical of Japanese rural festivals, the majority of which were held in the summer and Fall months prior to and after rice transplantation and harvest, and in the New Year by the lunar calendar. In each oaza the toya system was well developed and held a central position in the dissemination of prestige and status in the oaza, and in validating the status of the household as "proper village members." One section of one of the oaza was considered a "tokushu buraku," and members of this community could not become toya, not could they

bury their dead in Aioi.

The fishermen in the community had their own Shrine, located in the small boat harbor, and their own round of religious festivals based not on the agricultural cycle, but on the fishing season. According to the Shinto priests, the fishermen of the village had always been more concerned with religious rites and festivals than the farmers, due supposedly to the dangerous nature of fishing activities. Thus, there were many fishermens' festivals and a large number of purification ceremonies (charai).

In the last ten years a number of social and economic events have occurred which have altered the traditional religious practices in Aioi. Economically marginal villages like Aioi are more likely to accept innovation more rapidly and readily than more prosperous villages, because they must be willing to experiment with change if they are to gain a livelihood. For example, villages in the Tohoku region with their larger than average size farm holdings do not find it as necessary to worry about such things as back-cropping, intercropping, and the use of vinyl coverings for the rice beds (nawashiro). They already have economic security of a kind. However, this is not the case in villages like Aioi. The farmers of Aioi have been eager to accept the advice of the agricultural experts of the Agricultural Cooperatives and the Agricultural Extension Agents. Shortly after the War, a large number of Manchurian repatriates settled in the mountainous, less desirable agricultural areas of Aioi. The agricultural specialists found the repatriates desperately in need of technical advise and assistance, and it was through them that tobacco, fruit trees, watermelon, pumpkin, and white potatoes, among others were introduced for the first time. Since these are all cash crops, the fortunes of the repatriates increased noticeably and rapidly. Immediately other farmers followed this lead and fruit and vegetable (Engi salamatsu) cultivation spread throughout the village. Other changes took place in the agricultural pattern, more or less as adjustments to these new crops. Some farmers found it advantageous to use early maturing rice varieties, other middle or late maturing, and most used all three.

Vinyl coverings were introduced for use both in the rice-seed beds and as coverings for young tomato and tobacco plants. Machinery such as the kounki (or hand tractor), which were inefficient and uneconomical before, because of the small size of the plots, became almost a necessity as a labor saving device.

Labor and time became the two most scarce commodities. The year could no longer be divided into a leisure season and a busy season. Every season was the busy season. In January vegetables, such as cucumbers and eggplant, ~~were~~ sown. In February, Watermelon and pumpkin are planted. When these are harvested in June and July, transplanting with late species rice begins in these fields. In March still other plots are planted with early maturing rice species, and when this rice is harvested in August, wheat is planted which will be harvested the following April. In May and June the wheat planted as a back-crop of the ordinary species rice is harvested. Thus the entire year is now given over to these various agricultural activities. Time has become an economic factor in Aioi as important as labor or seed and fertilizer costs. Thus, for example, 2-4-D weed-killer has recently become popular, since it frees the farmer to some extent from the time consuming effort of hand-weeding.

As one would expect in such a time conscious environment, the amount of time that can now be devoted to the preparations and exertion of religious ritual has become negligible, and communal religious activities have declined markedly. This is true not only of religious events but of all activities which necessitate the gathering together of people. For example, both the Young Peoples Association (seinendan) and the Women's Organization (Fujinkai) are plagued by the problem of attendance at meetings and the Women's Organization recently held a meeting to decide whether or not to disband because of this problem. Because of the crop diversification there does not appear to be any time when some members of the oaza are not busy. Thus, although the Toya still attempts to organize the festivals, people say, "I would like to participate, but I cannot give up my work at that particular time."

Fishing has declined in Aioi due primarily to unrestricted overfishing of the coastal waters immediately after the war, so that now only three families pursue fishing as a major source of income. The decline in fishing is also a result of the land reform and the introduction of new crops. Most of the fishermen were also part-time tenant farmers. At the time of the land reform they acquired land and because of the widespread cultivation of the new fruits and vegetables, they claim they have no time for fishing. Again, the festivals formerly attended by the fishermen have become non-existent. Presumably there was no reason to continue the rituals which surrounded the dangerous job of fishing when, in fact, no one was fishing.

c. It is apparent in the case of Aioi, and undoubtedly in many other such marginal villages in Japan, that recent technological and economic changes have seriously altered the nature of communal religious activities. But in Aioi the economic changes were accompanied by certain social changes which have also contributed to the decline in religious ritual. The prestige of the toya formerly rotated to a limited number of wealthy households whose responsibility it was to make preparations for the festivals. The land reform had the effect of generally equalizing the wealth in this village. But more important, the Manchurian repatriates gradually infiltrated the system and, after giving a large party or banquet, were allowed to become a toya. More recently, members of the tokushu-buraku were also made eligible to become toya, although none have thus far accepted this responsibility. Nevertheless, the old system of relationships based on prestige and hierarchy, and revolving around the shrine festivals has ceased to exist in its traditional form.

It can be expected that these changes in religious behavior will ultimately have further ramifications on the nature of oaza identity. Formerly, hamlet spirit (buraku konjo) was expressed through the shrine festivals. This "spirit" which has persisted since Meiji times has been an important factor in maintaining the social and political uniqueness of each of Aioi's six oaza. With the breakdown of communal religious activities, it is possible that the hamlet "spirit" may also weaken, allowing the hamlet members a broader community identity.

In this paper, I have tried to indicate the intimate relationship between the social organization, the economic system, and the religious practices. In an ideal, unchanging state, we would expect these aspects of the village culture to be in some sort of harmonious balance. But since they are, as I have tried to show, in some kind of functional relationship, large scale changes in the one may upset the balance and call for corresponding changes in the others. My concern, therefore, has been to analyze the process of structural change as opposed to understanding change as stemming from the alteration of beliefs or values concerning a given system, in this case, the religious system. I have reasons to doubt that the religious beliefs of the majority of the Aioi inhabitants have undergone any radical change within the past ten years. Yet the social organization of the shrine group and the religious rites and festivals have changed profoundly.