

Informal meeting with Jacoby  
Dec. 7, 1943

Dr. J. - Now we have to resell resettlement idea in the middlewest. The hostels are allowing people to stay longer there. We don't know until two weeks after receiving the names whether they have arrived here or not. The interviews with employers are just getting started. We have sampled about 10%. The chief gripes of the employers is that the evacuees try to get better jobs. We have some 500 to 600 domestic jobs in our files. Yes, we check with the U.S.E.S. on salaries. Some salaries are frozen. Some mail order houses give 10-20% off in order to offset the salaries.

C.K. - The nisei think of their individual problems only. They have the problem of marriage as paramount and don't worry about the big problems. There are so many single people here. They lost track of the larger issue of race relationship. You can't organize a normal nisei into a normal society in an abnormal time.

S.M. - Get your equal number of nisei and Caucasians and normal relationships may work out.

C.K. - It won't work out. There are so many unattached single male persons here and a small percentage of single girls. The student group and married women don't have this problem.

T.S. - The WRA can be the baishakunin.

Dr. J. - The WRA is interested in this selfishly. If adjustment does not affect resettlement, we would not go into it, but the WRA will try to make resources available and help in relocation. The WRA had to go through a change in philosophy. The WRA attitude is still likely to change. We do not expect to set up services and help everybody and everything but be of service to the community. Let the natural action take its course. If we had everybody out of



the camps we may follow this course. We going to have extremes like the Church Federation and AFSC and the dance of Nov. 20 in the other hand. We have to take a positive approach, try to do something, looking toward integration.

C.K. - Inter-racial groups are too artificial.

DST - You get a too intense Caucasian groups, then you would not have a normal Caucasian society.

Dr. J. - Fairly normal persons have advanced social attitudes. They don't have anything in common with the people on North Clark St.

D.S.T. - Scatter them. Do it on an individual basis.

Dr. J. - What's the attitude of the Clark St. nisei toward the second generation Poles, Swedes?

F.M. - That depends on where you work and where you are.

C.K. - They generally lump them as one group, as Caucasians.

Dr. J. - The nisei wouldn't have interest in settlement ~~activities~~ activities. The settlements are struggling to find something to do to justify their existence. The settlement houses would greet the nisei and have them mingle with them or meet ~~there~~ for activities.

C.K. - The composition of the group they meet there would be abnormal. There is not much common interest.

J.S. - Then they would have nisei groups.

Dr. J. - The history of Chicago is a history of groups.

C.K. - Groups going there would not interpret it that way.

Dr. J. - They would be one group among a large number.

T.S. - The people in the settlement are the kind we don't have to worry about anyway.

Dr. J. - Here's a place where you can meet.

J.S. - There are two alternatives. Let them alone. Spend money



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and continue. Get them to realize social responsibility without parental control.

DST - If I were WRA, I would emphasize housing and adjustment. The effect of letters is enormous.

Dr. J. - The WRA is less concerned about personalities but the effect of community life and acceptance; get community resistance at certain points. Housing is tight all over the city. Brenton is now spending full time on housing. He writes letters and makes personal calls. What do you want us to do?

DST - Does WRA guarantee a job and housing to evacuees?

Dr. J. - If a large family came out and wanted to buy a house, arrangements would be made. This is a special case. The problem of housing is the problem of a newcomer, isn't it?

F.M. - No!

Dr. J. - There is a need for furnished homes. The housing project has mostly unfurnished houses for those in war projects. We have encountered some resistance here. I am sure we have enough housing to meet the demands.

T.S. - The nisei do find their own places. Some do get thrown out. If the WRA man went their first, it would help. The demand for housing always exists.

F.M. - The people will write to camp about their housing problems and some may be scared out and not relocate.

C.K. - Has the saturation point in housing been reached? Would you push to another locality now?

Dr. J. - Our office covers Indianapolis, Peoria, Rockford, Minneapolis and Fargo, Indiana where we have <sup>field</sup> ~~branch~~ offices. We could cover other areas. There is an abundance of jobs, the larger



the city, the less personal it is. I am interested in housing, whether to develop standards and scales.

F.M. - Togo said that one month he can find only one place worth living in and in another month he may find several places.

C.K. - The WRA has to reach a compromise point. It should have some sort of supply on hand so the individual can look for himself.

Dr. J. - We want a two-way report. We give leads to evacuees and many times they don't report back. Housing is really a big job. Since the Tule Lake riot we have had no new contacts on housing.

C.K. - Many people are badly misplaced in jobs. The WRA tends to condemn people who come back for second jobs.

Dr. J. - the WRA has been criticized for duplicating the work of the U.S.E.S. There are no duplications in housing. The real estates are not interested in rentals and rentals under \$50. Chicago's housing is basically atrocious.

F.M. - How much does one have to pay?

Dr. J. - They ask \$75-85 for a furnished house of six rooms. During the WPA period many buildings in Chicago were demolished. That created a great housing problem.



Staff meeting with Jacoby & Embree  
Dec. 8, 1943

Embree - Spicer did not lay any definite plans. How are adjustments going on here and what are problems arising out of people being thrown **here**? The attitude now is "outside the gate". Changes are going on all the time. The WRA is collecting evidence on this right now. They promise interest in a survey, something to be used as a basis of action. There is a need of a picture of early stages, not pre-evacuation but early stages of resettlement.

DST - Our group is studying individual and group formation here. It will be a summary of the group in Chicago and area.

Embree - We'd like a comparison of how far readjustment is "normal" and special with other immigrant groups. How much country people are coming to the city?

DST - In occupational mobility, we have extreme cases now. It is a normal part of an abnormal situation.

Embree - Compare these with other groups.

DST - Sociologists are not doing much in this line.

Embree - We can get some information from the Manpower Commission.

DST - Mobility in **Massachusetts** is available.

Embree - Burley Gardner can give you information. Anthropologists are interested in industrial groups here.

DST - The WRA should **get** basic data. We can help here. The WRA doesn't know the addresses of people here. Something **g** has to be done here. They don't know anything about people here.

Embree - The more figures you have the more the Government makes a fuss over them.

DST - Then why care about adjustment? You have to know about



~~adjustment. You have to know about them.~~

them. The whole business of relocation may stop unconsciously.

Dr. J. - Figures are kept at Topaz. The WRA plans to make a group of interviews and see every family and get an analysis of the problem involved. It will be a three to five months project. They will see what's left in the center. They want to get a snapshot picture of what's in the center. The WRA will work on addresses, we've got to know where the majority of the people are.

DST - Statistics are important, male, single, age. Statistics material is basic.

Embree - Addresses are hard to learn in a short time. Washington has them but they may change by the time we get them.

KJacoby - Cards are checked and forwarded to Chicago and checked in the city from where they moved and sent to the project.

Embree - Addresses are kept in Washington for legal purposes. Copying them would become an expensive job.

DST - Holland, Belgium and Sweden carry on a check system well.

Jacoby - This has been taken up with Shirrell but needs a formal recommendation. If the recommendation came from the Study and sent independently, it would strengthen the chances.

Embree - If the recommendation goes through, they may find that many cards are not in, then there would be excitement.

DST - The WRA claims they know where people are.

Embree - There is no penalty for not turning the cards in.

DST - We can't do much more unless we know where people are. We must find the essential basic facts about people.

Jacoby - I guess this calls for a special census.

C.K. - There is an emphasis of problems. You just get certain



groups. The leaders emphasize certain problems only.

Embree - How many are out in Chicago?

Jacoby - We know how many have been given indefinite leaves to Chicago only. We know there are about 3000 in Chicago.

Embree - We know certain industries have many nisei. There are many students out too. Take samples and get different relocation types.

DST - We need the total to get a relative picture. Just typing does not work. We must have ~~prop~~portion.

Embree - What created that situation?

DST - We want to know what caused them to be the way they are. It is unimportant if numerically we don't know what proportion they take. Take a few. If you get extremes you're distorting the picture. From the public relation point of view, if 600 were studied, it would be more important than only six.

Embree - The general problem is to know where the cracks are.

DST - We must know where they are working too.

Embree - We must find the difference of A and B.

Togo - The American Friends Service has 1700 names and addresses. These people have made from three to 20 calls. The total picture is hard as it fluctuates from day to day.

DST - Once you get your base you can check and add and subtract from the total picture.

Jacoby - Get a system so that hereafter the report can be made available to us.

Embree - Why adjustment work means field study? Go into the situation and study how they work and why not. Function smoothly.

Jacoby - Employment is only one phase. The Cuneo Press can be studied.



Embree - There is the neighborhood problem. Compare the two as a field study, two church adjustments. Don't follow the individual only. Trace into their background. The background should be varied.

Togo - The adjustment problem is important toward employment problems. The Government has done all it can.

C.K. - The Government can follow through.

Jacoby - There are no more ~~advice~~ domestic placements as no more persons want it.

Embree - The problem now is a complex one in making adjustments.

Jacoby - Some say they are getting good pay but are not satisfied because they're not learning a thing.

F.M. - Factory A pays well while Factory B has opportunities and don't pay as well. This creates a situation as far as evacuees are concerned.

Embree - The analysis is turned to you and you in the Study are in a position to judge.

F.M. - We must know what propaganda is going to that job. We may get the wrong propaganda for administrative purposes.

C.K. - How many work over time, at night, etc. We should find out how many are in this type of work.

Embree - In one month the job was done in Denver. Participating members of the group complained about the lack of figures in the Denver office.

DST - To get a composite picture, we are forced to an unrealistic composite because we haven't the figures. An aspect of dissatisfaction will be shown throughout.

Embree - Get some leads from it. Have things the office knew



but given ~~definitely~~ *definitely*.

F.M. - What questions were raised?

Embree - Get data on two groups, evidence for or against work.

Togo - ~~Transient~~, satisfaction of work evidences are available.

Embree - Lots of people in Chicago regard themselves as transient and later change. Are there individual cases on this?

Togo - Yes it is available. We can trace through a period of six months or more through the reports.

Embree - You have two types, do and don'tt? Check these and their background may be in common or a social situation in Chicago may determine their decision. There is a settle down group. It is hard to tell how they ~~really~~ feel since they won't commit themselves. WRA takes verbalizing at face value.

Togo - Are they that naïvé?

T.S. - In April, May and June the people who resettled out here oriented themselves with California. Now, not so much.

DST - It varies with newspaper articles too. Lip service which the nisei give to integration and yet long for nisei companionship. They almost assume that this is a general pattern.

Embree - ~~m~~Despite transiency, he gets deeply enmeshed in a local situation. The actual process going on now is not understood. Granted we haven't got the proportion.

F.M. - We are studying individual and group process. The difference in knowing the typical is the information we'd like.

Embree - There are two things you can to. (1) Area social situation (Woodlawn vs. Clark St. people), varied neighborhood area. (2) Varied economic situation they come into (factory, individual enterprises). How do adjustments vary in these compa-~~ara~~



tive situation.

Togo - You get only an approximate picture.

F.M. - In reference to movement, at Maple Manor the people stay there permanently. I don't know how true that is. There are hotels in the near northside. Where are they living on the near northside?

Embree - Pick an area where lost have resettled and one where there are few. Find the role which the older timers place, whether they can be more helpful, or have they? Those who became social conscious of the problem or not. Why don't we not come to a definite decision on this until Spicer comes.

DST - We can write memos on what we can reach.

Jacoby - I can see what you have and which need further work. What about the background study that we can make use of? Early settlement? Can you put them together? What about rural and urban migration into Chicago?

DST - There are no migration figures in the U.S. There have been immigrant groups only. There is the 1940 census but not analyzed. Some hid under housing. Burgess is making a study on marriage. The WRA is working on vital statistics which we can use and write up. The German immigrant got along with nisei.

J.S. - I've heard some nisei say, "I've come across varied nationalities and so I feel secure.

DST - The vigilantes were Italian second generation.

Jacoby - Broadcasts are made in various languages.

J.S. - You should know where you stand and go after what you want.

Jacoby - We want more than just addresses.



DST - We need the addresses even if they change. We can get the change in characteristics.

Jacoby - What group is moving out of Chicago after getting here? Theoretically Washington should have the records but they are not at the Chicago office.

Embree - We could get them from the Washington files.

DST - A master files is being compiled right now. What we would like is ~~their~~ names, addresses before relocation, when they got their leave and where they've gone.

Jacoby - In Tule Lake each person got two numbers. The WRA gave them one number and the Army classified them again, those 12 and over. The immediate preliminary steps are to be assigned.

DST - We must have the current picture from Washington, then we can compare them with Togo's files and those in the Chicago office and also ~~where they~~ we'd like to know where they are employed.

Jacoby - A few were placed through the U.S.E.S. We don't know where a lot of them are. Our office is now starting on the survey of the employer's experience with the nisei.

DST - Aren't these evacuees given cards which are to be sent back to the WRA?

Jacoby - We didn't want to keep an accurate account of a person. We wanted them to feel as free members of society.

F.M. - What about the WRA policy here?

Jacoby - There is a historical ~~change~~ development in the change in the WRA policy. A lot has been done by letters, phone and conversations.

DST - We'd like to pick that up as soon as possible. Corres-



pondence in the files can be supplemented and we can fill in the gaps.

Jacoby - You can find some in the office memos.

Embree - Relocation officers grew up and took on things on their own. This could be written too.

J.S. - How many who have come out on indefinite leaves have asked for return permit to camps?

Jacoby - Actually the relocation office can't prevent an individual from going back. The project director decides whether the individual can return or not. The relocation office gives recommendations. They don't all clear from this office. Health reasons are often given. An individual is asked to get a request from a physician and also get a release from his employment.

J.S. - Do these individuals have to be re-inducted? Are they on probation? Is a trial held to determine whether or not to accept him in the project? I've heard of some who have been turned back at the gate.

Embree - It would be interesting to track the background of those who do go back.

J.S. - Those who come out are of a certain group and of a certain age group.

Jacoby - There are about 10,000 out on seasonal leaves and about 17,000 out on indefinite leaves. I'm hazy on this but I don't think the soldiers who volunteered are included on the indefinite leave list.

J.S. - The soldiers are given certain privileges, such as an opportunity to return to camp any time they want to without a special permit.



Embree - The recommendations and conclusions you've arrived at will be useful. I might add that return to centers is being discouraged.

Jacoby - A few have come out to Chicago on short term leaves, seasonal leaves. The relocation officer is personally responsible for them and supervision is closer. Community acceptance is required.

J.S. - Are there restrictions on season leaves?

Jacoby - A certain type of subsidy is given to agriculture. It is a matter of a pressure group.

J.S. - If the seasonal leave was abolished, don't you think there would be an increase of indefinite leaves?

Togo - Seasonal leave gives an individual an opportunity to replenish his funds.

Jacoby - This report won't be ready by Friday then? In regard to Tule Lake, there are no evacuees working in the Ad building.

DST - Did many school teachers leave Tule Lake?

Jacoby - Yes, they are leaving. Many are tired doing clerical work and truck driving. They had to do this type of work because of the shortage of workers. The teachers arrived in groups of 40 to 50. They formed their own friendships and it was hard for the other workers to get acquainted with them. Housing for the administrative personnel is insufficient. They found some in one area which was isolated from the rest.



Staff Meeting  
Mar. 7, 1944

Togo: There seems to be a definite contrast between Shirrell and Kennedy. Kennedy places emphasis on public relations through newspaper articles. He encourages group formation among the nisei. He spends more time with the nisei group than Shirrell did.

Charlie: Kennedy stresses the union. Being a union man he is bringing pressure on the union to have the nisei accepted into their organization.

Togo: I have a feeling that the bottleneck in resettlement is in housing. The question now in the Friends' office ~~is~~ now is whether to enlarge the staff in housing. The needs have changed. It is getting to the point where larger quarters will be necessary to get the people out of camps. Evacuees who have been out here for some time are ineligible for help through the WRA office.

One of the criticism of the WRA is that the office is overcrowded all the time.

Brenton, who is in charge of housing, believes he is doing a good job. I know his list of apartments is not fit for evacuees to live in. Bob Fort has a good evacuation of housing and when he says it's bad, it really is bad. He took Brenton's leads and Fort said that three-fourths of them were poor. And when Bob says it's unfit for evacuees, we all know it's unfit. He asked Brenton how he set up his list. He has his girl clip out all want-ads from the newspapers and has her send form letters to all those who advertised. The ones who respond are followed up. Of the 200 letters sent out, only 14 replies were received, only 7%. There are other agencies which want to help. By agencies



I mean the Brethrens, Baptists, Friends, ~~and~~ Church Federation and the YWCA.

Dr. Jacoby raised the point: Should the WRA encourage resettlement in Chicago?

The group did not discuss the saturation point at all. Smeltzer said that group formation and integration were not working and we should discourage resettlement for a while. There are plenty of jobs but housing is bad. Unless something is done the saturation point will be reached.

Frank: Has there been a difference in housing and jobs after the atrocity stories came out in the papers?

Togo: Yes, I think so but there is a difference of opinion. Kennedy says that there has been no difference. The best way to find out is through ~~the~~ our cards. There are notations on the back of the interview cards and we can get evidence from that. My impression is yes, it has affected jobs, housing and the general comfort of the resettlers. Places like Maple Manor, Windsor Hotel and other places where there are a lot of Japanese congregated have felt it more and the resettlers are more conscious of it.

Frank: The same holds true with any critical hisei problem. Anti-Japanese publicity, the draft and other problems tend to make the groups more conscious of them.

Charlie: Types of personality also tend to group together.

Tom: The groups keep talking about the problems.

Frank: Fellows who live together are inclined to be worked up about things.

Charlie: When you get a group together the conversation tends



to be on nisei problems. They are subconscious about it.

Frank: Murdo brings out the same point in his report. The same holds true for the nisei. The Jews are the only minority group who are different.

Togo: I was at a Jewish Center on Sunday and I found the older Jew similar to issei and how much like nisei the Jewish young people are.

Frank: Are many people coming to your office?

Togo: We seem to be getting just as many people in.

Tom: The WRA is averaging 100 to 300 a week. Many are going back. They bring their problems. They want better jobs. They want ~~to~~ to go back to camp. They want advice on the draft, income tax and other problems.

Togo: We found that one-third of the people have been young fellows or girls usually unskilled and factory workers. They can't get settled here. They don't want essential jobs. They have the attitude "Got a job? I don't need help but will take it if you've got it." Usually they are through high school and in their late teens or early twenties. They are usually the only members of their family out and many of them are out for the first time. I get a feeling they are suspended in uncertainty. They are the kind most likely to go back to camp. They are shaken by the atrocity stories.

Tom: The majority of people who want to go back are those who came out in late summer or early fall.

Togo: The draft cause many of them to want to be with their families since the draft was announced. People have a fantastic idea of pay. They have no experience, no skill and yet they want



good jobs.

Charlie: They are thinking of defense jobs. The wage scale of other jobs are low. Many employers do want nisei because they can't get others. The nisei are not satisfied with 85 cents to \$1.00 an hour pay.

Togo: There are isolated exceptions, some seek \$500 a month jobs. They discount leads given by the USES, the Friends and other agencies. Most of them don't have the ability to buck prejudice and come back and are willing to take a cheap job. The Ruby Chemical Company is a good example. They hired a nisei and he was so good in his work that soon he was earning \$125 a week. One day he was fired and the nisei came to our office. McKee talked to the employer on the phone. He found that the employer was satisfied with his work and found nothing wrong with him. This employer finally admitted that he thought it wasn't humanly possible for a guy to make \$125 a week

Then there is the Kent Cleaners. We sent a nisei youth there. He worked there for six months and he asked for a raise since he was promised a raise when he first went there. His employer refused to give it to him. This nisei went around and found a better paying job so he gave his employer the usual notice and left the place. By that time there were five other nisei working there. The employer got mad when the first nisei left so he fired the other five. This employer told McKee that the nisei all quit on him and said they were irresponsible and not good workers after all he did in giving them a job. McKee talked to the boys and found out that they didn't quit but were fired. Then McKee talked to the employer again and finally got him to admit that he fired



the boys. When this employer couldn't get other workers he tried to get more nisei to work for him but the Friends crossed him off their list. It is not true all evacuees are irresponsible, some employers are irrational too.

Tom: We should make a systematic study of restless souls.

Togo: Restlessness is only a matter of degrees.

Frank: There is a difference in your floating type and the older group who may find a career for themselves. They try to work it out later on. The youngsters don't know what they want out of life. As a consequence they thry this and that and are not satisfied with anything. The older group may be trying out various types of work to see what they really want.

Tom: Is it possible to get the names of floaters?

Togo: You can determine whether they are floaters or not. Maybe we can interview a few of them. There are about 75 in the batch I brought today. I have others and I'll have them all completed in a few days. I have interviewed about 210 people since the beginning of this year.

Question: How about the issei?

Togo: We have many kinds of issei relocatees. I have a feeling that most of them are the floater type. They are either single men or women, people who were maladjusted in camp and floated out. We have one woman who is really a paranoid. She is beyond help. She is an extreme example of an issei who has resettled though. Half of the issei are lesser in responsiblity in camp.

Frank: That type of issei who go to your office may be a selective group.

Togo: The WRA says that the number of parents of children who



are coming out is negligible.

Frank: Many parents don't want to be dependent on their children.

Togo: The number of changes in jobs among the issei is almost as great as that of the nisei. They are just as much as floaters.

Charlie: The issei are unlikely to go out on their own and they have to depend on the agencies.

Togo: Many nisei don't know of the Friends.

Frank: Issei I know of don't take jobs immediately but when they go out they stick to the job they get.

Togo: Most issei have been in Chicago for less than six months.

Charlie: Many were migratory workers back on the coast.

Tom: Many nisei were ambitious or were misfits in camp, that's why they came out.

Togo: This woman I've been talking about, it's cruel to let a person like her out. I don't see how she did get out of camp. She's in her late fifties. She's a widow and alone out here. She has a son in Camp Shelby. She's hopeless. One issei minister was asked to try to help her and he said she was a mental case, showing the hopelessness of the case.

Frank: Do you have any neurotic cases among the nisei?

Togo: Yes. They see the extreme forms of prejudice and discrimination. After talking to them you get a feeling and know that it's there.

Frank: Have you noticed any particular type?

Togo: Very few are free in their conversation. Most of them don't say much. They are closed mouth and they can't seem to express themselves.



Frank: You get a cloudy mass here.

Togo: You get a negative feeling. You know what they don't like. Sometimes you sit there for several minutes listening to them without saying anything. You mention casually about discrimination. That establishes rapport and it's enough to begin.

Frank: The individual feels that he isn't getting the right treatment. You get that clearly defined in a person. The nisei has nothing to hitch to and it's harder for him to get a clear thinking.

Togo: Is resettlement in other areas going one? Have you any reports?

Tom: St. Louis is more receptive. There are a lot more "white angels" there. In Chicago there have been few wealthy people but in St. Louis it's different. The ordinary church-goer invites the nisei to dinner. In Denver it's different too.

Togo: Have you heard anything about the JACL in Chicago?

Charlie: All they do is to try sell the Pacific Citizen and associate memberships. Yatabe goes around making speeches. There is pretty solid sentiment against the Citizens League among the thinking nisei for different reasons. One reason is that it is a scapegoat.

Togo: Most criticism is unintelligent, like like anti-semitism.

Question: What about Jitsuo and his new church?

Togo: Jitsuo says he must save souls. He is sending notices to all nisei regardless of their religion. The thing is looked upon with disfavor by the Church Federation. Six months from now



he'll have his own church and will be preaching to them. Of the 65 churches I've been to most are fundamentalists. The others are called reactionary. Morikawa once said that the only thing to do is to accept Jesus and be accepted by him. If you believe that way, then this concern over integration is insignificant. To save a man's soul is primary. Morikawa's supervisor is John Thomas of New York. Before Morikawa was accepted as assistant pastor at the First Baptist Church, the matter was considered by the board, the pastor and the congregation and he was to come in as if his name were Smith. But what does Morikawa do, but hold special services for the nisei and the Caucasians don't come to these services. He is defeating the purpose for which he was installed at this church and ~~was~~ segregating the Japanese again. When he preaches he says something about "My poor, misunderstood people" and getting sympathy from the Caucasians. The Caucasians will soon have a patronizing attitude toward the nisei and not accept them as equals.

Togo: The Friends office is going in more for housing now. The WRA will tell you as a rule "it is better to sleep in a tent in Chicago than rot in camp. You're disintegrating there. Anything is better than staying in camp. The Friends say that's wrong. People would be far happier ~~in~~ in camp than struggling out here. There is a slight difference in opinion.