

Introduction to the Study of Resettler Group Life

In making observations among the persons of Japanese ancestry who have resettled in the Chicago area, one gets the impression that their contacts with Caucasians are of a very formal and superficial nature and that most of their meaningful relationships are with fellow resettlers. Because of this, it might be said that the resettlers are gradually developing a society of their own in spite of the fact that there is as yet no center of residential concentration. Resettlers are by no means united into a single group, but ~~there seems to be~~ ^{and} a definite in-group feeling ~~and~~ there seems to be developing certain practices which are apparently peculiar to the Nisei. ¹ What seems to be common to most Nisei is their preoccupation with such problems as the special ~~and~~ selective service regulations, parents and friends in the relocation centers, and other matters which virtually all Nisei have in common and which are ^{at the same time} peculiar to ~~them~~ ¹ ~~resettlers~~. Because of this and because of certain similarities in their backgrounds of experience it seems only natural that the resettlers should get together and that their meaningful associations should be with each other. Although one cannot predict the manner in which adjustments will be made, it would seem that ^{one of} the most fruitful manners in which a study of resettler life could be made would be to orient the project in such a way that observations can be made of the manner in which sentiments become crystallized, ~~and~~ the manner in which individuals develop their perspectives, and the manner in which various practices become conventionally ~~are~~ accepted.

With the exception of occasional recluses, one finds the vast majority of resettlers in the Chicago area living and working in groups. For the purposes of field work, it was found convenient to divide these associations--ranging from relatively stable ones

to those of an ephemeral character--into six tentative categories:

- (5) ~~Friendship groups or cliques~~
- (2) ~~Associations formed by virtue of living in the same building, residential groups~~
- (1) ~~Associations formed by virtue of working in the same plant, occupational groups~~
- (3) ~~Religious groups~~
- (4) ~~Collective enterprises, generally economic~~
- (6) Families

These categories are not mutual exclusive; there is considerable overlapping. Many of the associations cannot be identified as social groups in a strict sense that all members identify themselves with each other and partake in joint activity. This is particularly true of the large occupational groups. However, this breakdown is convenient for the purposes of making field observations.

~~The general problem around which the entire study~~

Since these groups do exist, it would seem reasonable to assume that some significant consequences may develop from these associations. The general problem around which the entire study of ~~groups~~ resettler groups is oriented is: what is the function of group life in the adjustment of resettlers to the new situation?

Since individuals respond to situations as they see them, the emphasis in this study is placed upon getting accounts of their experiences from the resettlers themselves. *as they see them.*

Considerable effort will be expended, however, in gathering ^{objective} background data to provide the general setting.

PART I

The Study of

Occupational Groups

A. The Resettlers

1. Introduction

Resettlers in Chicago Industries

Several of the large factories and hotels in Chicago have adopted the policy of hiring large numbers of resettlers, ^{and} there are some firms with over 100 persons of Japanese ancestry in their employ. Although these aggregations of resettlers cannot be referred to as groups in a strict sense, the very fact that so many resettlers are working together might have some significant consequences with reference to the ~~eventual development of~~ patterns of adjustments which are eventually made. The object of this exploratory study, then, is to make a preliminary survey of the field to see what functions are being ^{per}formed by these ~~ag~~gregations.

In studying occupational groups, certain additional ^{questions} ~~problems~~ arise which are of interest and ^{are} of relevance to the ^{general} problem. The introduction of any new group into an industry involves certain problems of mutual adjustment. The sharing of locker rooms; the fact that new workers, particularly in wartime, get almost as much pay as those who had been with the firm for 20 years; ^{ignorance of} existing understandings about work; and a number of other points of friction appear. ~~These problems must be kept in mind.~~ In what way

do these difficulties affect the adjustment of the resettlers? In what manner are the Nisei being initiated, & how are the Nisei reacting to the process of induction?

Source
2. ~~Method~~ of Information

Since there are hundreds of occupational groups in Chicago, ranging from groups of three or four working as a team in garges to those of over 150 as is the case at Stevens Hotel, it was decided to begin the survey with the larger units. Through the War Relocation Authority, the American Friends Service Committee, some of the private employment offices, and through the "grape-vine", an attempt was made to get a comprehensive list of all firms hiring more than 20 resettlers.

Whenever possible, the Nisei labor recruiter was interviewed first in order to get a general picture. Then the personnel man or some other official in the plant was approached for a statement of employment policies and practices, work arrangements, and the circumstances leading to the employment of Nisei. An attempt was made to get statistical data on the composition of the resettler workers and on the occupational turnover. This information, ~~provided~~ when supplemented by material from the files of the W.R.A., provided the background data. Whenever possible, an attempt was made to get some picture of the existing ~~work~~ understandings about work among the former employees, such as the amount of production per hour considered desirable and the attitudes ^{generally held} toward the employer, in order to get a better picture of the situation in which the resettlers were placed.

The major emphasis, of course, was placed upon the experiences of the individual resettlers. ~~An attempt was made to get the names of all, ~~resettlers~~ resettlers in the plant, & a sample of their activities and feelings about working in the plants.~~ ^{An attempt made to get the} ~~sample was selected for interviews.~~ ^{In the interviews} questions were directed toward the end of getting at the perspectives of the resettlers — their work experience from their own point of view. Because of the ~~general~~ ^{general} nature of the general problem, the emphasis was placed upon the associations of the worker with others in the plant.

~~3. The Nisei in Chicago Industries~~
~~3. The General Background~~
~~3. Historical Background~~
~~3. Historical Background~~

The available statistics seem to indicate that large numbers of ~~the~~ resettlers are working in types of industries in which they have not had past work experience. According to the data compiled by the Chicago W.R.A., approximately seven-eighths of the resettlers are native-born.¹ (No accurate statistics on the number of Japanese in Chicago can be offered since there is a constant movement in and out of the city. Tabulations made from the departure notices received in the Chicago W.R.A. office of the evacuees who left the various centers indicating that they intended to settle in Chicago give ^{only} a rough estimation. These figures fail to take into account those who chose Chicago for a temporary destination as well as those who went elsewhere first and then settled in Chicago. However, these figures constitute the best now available.)

A survey of the occupational distribution of the in California² Nisei/in 1940 indicates that the vast majority who were gainfully employed were in agriculture, domestic service, and retail food business. ^{As Table I shows, native-born men} Of the ~~males~~, 52.1% were engaged in agricultural work; 7.2% in wholesale trade; 14.8% in ~~food~~ retail food stores; 5.9% in domestic service. ~~Relatively few have had experience~~ ^{native-born women} Relatively few have had experience in factory work. Of the ~~females~~, 26.6% were engaged in farm work; 9.4% in retail food stores; 6.2% in other retail trades; and 27.9% in domestic service. While many Nisei girls were trained for stenographic work, only a few were able to find employment in offices in the pre-evacuation days. Many of the girls who worked in [packing sheds and canneries during the summers were employed in conditions somewhat resembling factory work, but this number was relatively small. Those resettlers who are now engaged in the same type of work that they had prior to the ~~war~~ ^{war}, therefore, are limited to those in domestic service, those who are farming, those who are mechanics, a few who are cleaning and pressing, and ^{a limited number} ~~some~~ of ~~the~~ professional men.

^{in the 3 Pacific Coast states,}
2. Of the 48,691 persons of Japanese ancestry, ^{over 14 years of age,} listed as gainfully employed in the 1940 census, 40,374 were in California, 1,771 in Oregon, and 6,546 in Washington.

Coexistent~~ly~~ with the constant complaint on the part of Nisei is the ~~constant~~ ^{widespread} complaint on the part of employers that the Nisei simply do not "stick with their jobs". W.R.A. employees are ~~constantly~~ ^{continually} complaining that the employers call them up and say, "They're good workers, but they just don't stick." Reference is frequently made to "60-day Japs" or "Six-week Japs" and the Nisei themselves jokingly recognize the reputation they are earning. As one 23-year old Nisei remarked:

"I'm out of work now. I was working as a shipping clerk but the work was too boresome. I'm like these other Japs. I walked out in two weeks." ³(Field Notes, January 22, 1944) - *footnote*

Although it is generally assumed that the Nisei have an exceptionally high occupational turnover, there are no statistics confirming this. Considering the fact that most Nisei who were gainfully employed prior to evacuation willingly worked for 10 hours a day at 25 or 30 cents an hour, this reaction may seem strange. However, there are several factors which must be taken into consideration.

Table I. Japanese Employed Workers* by Sex, Nativity and Selected Major Industry Group in California, 1940**

Employed (except on public emergency work)	Total		Male				Female			
	No.	%	Native-born		Foreign-born		Native-born		Foreign-born	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	19,289	41.8	6,191	52.1	9,570	52.5	1,407	26.6	2,121	42.6
Forestry and Fishery	727	1.8	171	1.4	543	3.	4	.1	9	.2
Food and Kindred Products	595	1.5	63	.5	141	.8	108	2.0	283	5.7
Printing and publishing.	251	.6	83	.7	123	.7	27	.5	18	.4
Wholesale trade	1,880	4.7	831	7.2	764	4.2	185	3.5	80	1.6
Food and dairy-product stores	4,101	10.2	1,755	14.8	1,442	7.9	499	9.4	405	8.1
Eating and drinking places	1,572	3.9	231	1.9	724	4.0	249	4.7	368	7.4
Other retail trade	1,626	4.0	416	3.5	694	3.9	326	6.2	190	3.8
Finance, insurance, and real estate	448	1.1	66	.6	293	1.6	39	.7	50	1.
Automobile storage, rental, and repair	256	.6	184	1.5	67	.4	5	.1	—	—
Domestic service	4,393	10.9	702	5.9	1,599	8.8	1,476	27.9	616	12.4
Hotels and lodging	787	1.9	53	.4	406	2.2	80	1.5	248	5.0
Laundering, cleaning and dyeing	1,085	2.7	301	2.5	442	2.4	154	2.9	188	3.8
Miscellaneous personal services	631	1.6	70	.6	242	1.3	201	3.8	118	2.4
Professional and related services	1,097	2.7	211	1.8	453	2.5	246	4.7	187	3.7
All Others	1636	4.0	535	4.5	724	4.0	276	5.2	101	2.0
Totals	40,374	100	11,883	100	18,227	100	5,282	100	4,982	100

** Adapted from: U.S. House of Representatives, Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, ~~Washington~~ 77th Congress, 2nd Session, House Report No. 2124, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), Page 108.

Original Source: tabulations furnished to committee by Bureau of the Census.

* All workers 14-years of age and over, except on public emergency work.

~~Total 118,591~~

~~Calif 10,374~~
~~Oreg 1,771~~
~~Wash 6,546~~

most frequent topics in the
Undoubtedly one of the ~~outstanding characteristics of the~~ ^{constant} conversations ~~taking place~~ among the resettlers is the ~~continuing~~ and ~~unmitigated~~ complaints about low wages. One might go so far as to say that it is "fashionable" among the resettlers to complain about salaries and about prospects for new jobs. In spite of these complaints, however, there are many who will admit in more sober moments that the positions that they hold now are far more promising ^{There are numerous rumors about unusually successful adjustments} than any job that they had held prior to evacuation. Some individuals with excellent training have been unable to find positions worthy of their background, but by and large the Nisei are earning far more ^{now} than they had ever earned before. Most Nisei will admit that ^{on the Pacific Coast} the racial discrimination/that prevented them from getting jobs for which they had been trained exists in Chicago only to a slight degree--generally ^{only} with reference to positions requiring considerable skill, training, and "front-office" contacts. The discontent, therefore, does not seem to be based upon a comparison of present positions ~~which are held~~ with the jobs held prior to the war. ~~Several factors may be taken into consideration.~~

----- (add ~~next page~~) -----
For one thing, the resettlers have new conceptions of their position in the labor market. There is a definite recognition of the fact that labor is scarce and that employers are willing to pay more dearly for workers. Since the resettlers realize that their labor is in demand, they are constantly seeking higher-paying jobs or jobs which are more likely to further their personal ambitions. They conceive of themselves as being in a position to bargain and to quit whenever something is unsatisfactory.

Furthermore, ^{for the first time} many Nisei had opportunities to work in fields in which they were trained for the first time in the relocation centers. This was particularly true of young women trained in clerical work.

Many had felt that it was useless to apply for ^{outside the Japanese Communities} jobs ~~in fields for~~
~~which they were trained~~ because of real or imagined discrimination. Rumors about men with Ph.D.'s picking grapes in Lodi further reinforced the feeling of hopelessness. It was in the relocation centers that many ~~for the first time~~ were able to experience working in positions for which they considered themselves trained. Once they had this experience, many were not ~~wi~~ willing to go back to their old make-shift jobs.

Another factor that must be taken into consideration is the nature of employer-employee relationships on the Pacific Coast. Most Nisei had been employed by Japanese, and frequently their employers were friends of the family. There was consequently a network of mutual obligations that were developed, and the young worker was actually in no position to bargain with his boss or to complain. The absence of this relationship in Chicago may be of some importance.

Finally, many of the resettlers are quite young and have never worked before other than in work gangs on the farms during summer vacations. Many have just finished high school and have never before held the responsibilities that go with work. For many, the first work experience they had was in the W.R.A. centers where a "devil may care" attitude prevailed. Very few individuals, other than those working in service units such as food and lodging departments, ever took their work too seriously. Consequently, these individuals are likely to be impatient with jobs that are not "fun," and are inclined to quit with the same carefree attitude they held about changing jobs in the relocation centers.

~~All of these factors undoubtedly have entered in to color the types of adjustments made by the Nisei in Chicago industries.~~

Without question the background of experience of the resettlers enters in~~to~~ to exercise some influence upon the patterns of adjustments that take place. ^{However,} [^]One cannot accurately speak of a shared perspective from which most resettlers are inclined to interpret situations. The conceptions of the resettlers vary. However, there are certain sentiments ~~that~~ are sufficiently widespread to merit attention. A few which are particularly relevant to the consideration of occupational adjustments may be ~~taken into consideration~~.

Many of the resettlers arrived in Chicago with the feeling that they had been unjustifiably persecuted. Some went so far as to feel that Caucasians were to be distrusted and that they were constantly seeking ways in which to take advantage of the helpless Nisei. This extreme view was not as common among the Nisei as ^{it was} among their parents. On the whole, however, the people were inclined to look upon themselves as an unwanted minority whose fate rested upon the trends of public opinion. The Nisei expected discrimination, and in a sense they were sensitized to cues ^{for acts} [^]that might be interpreted as discriminatory. The ~~sometimes~~ extreme timidity of ^{some} ~~the~~ Nisei therefore, which definitely enters in as a factor in adjustment, cannot be interpreted simply in terms of objective social conditions.

Another factor of importance is the traditional Nisei position in regard to labor and unions. Unions had always been in disrepute among the Nisei. Many who had had experience with unions were willing to admit that unions performed a valuable function in raising wages and improving working conditions, but the Nisei generally sided with the employers and outlawed union men as "communists." This strong prejudice against labor has sometimes tended to ^{bring about} [^] ~~bring about~~ difficult situations in Chicago, as in the case of the difficulties that arose at the Lakeside Press early in 1944.

Among the firms that have hired at one time or another at least 20 Nisei workers are the following:

- Alphabetical*
1. Stevens Hotel (21)
 2. Curtiss Candy Company (6)
 3. Bloomfield Industries (2)
 4. Sherman Hotel (18)
 5. Andes' Candies (1)
 6. John F. Cuneo Company and Cuneo Press (5)
 7. McClurg's (13)
 8. Edgewater Beach Hotel (9)
 9. Shotwell Candy Manufacturing Company (19)
 10. General Motors (12)
 11. Sovereign Manufacturing Company (20)
 12. Transportation and Maintenance Company (23)
 13. Tuttle-Kift Manufacturing Company (25)
 14. Superior Pipe Company (22)
 15. Club Aluminum (4)
 16. Gage Structural Steel (11)
 17. Midland Structural Steel (15)
 18. Duffin Iron Company (8)
 19. National Tea Company (17)
 20. Mohr Lino-Saw Company (16)
 21. Transportation Equipment (24)
 22. Drake Hotel (7)
 23. Universal Batteries (27)
 24. Chicago Mail Order Company (3)
 25. Twentieth Century Glove Company (26)
 26. Michael Reese Hospital (14)
 27. Florence Arts (10)

Introduction to the Study of Resettler Group Life

In making observations among the persons of Japanese ancestry who have resettled in the Chicago area, one gets the impression that their contacts with Caucasians are of a very formal and superficial nature and that most of their meaningful relationships are with fellow resettlers. Because of this, it might be said that the resettlers are gradually developing a society of their own in spite of the fact that there is as yet no center of residential concentration. Resettlers are by no means united into a single group, but there seems to be developing certain practices which are apparently peculiar to the Nisei and a definite in-group feeling. What seems to be common to most Nisei is their preoccupation with such problems as the special selective service regulations, parents and friends in the relocation centers, and other matters which virtually all Nisei have in common and which are at the same time peculiar to them. Because of certain similarities in their backgrounds of experience it seems only natural that the resettlers should get together and that their meaningful associations should be with each other. Although one cannot predict the manner in which adjustments will be made, it would seem that one of the most fruitful manners in which a study of resettler life could be made would be to orient the project in such a way that observations can be made of the manner in which sentiments become crystallized, the manner in which individuals develop their perspective, and the manner in which various practices become conventionally accepted.

With the exception of occasional recluses, one finds the vast majority of resettlers in the Chicago area living and working in groups. For the purposes of field work, it was found convenient to divide these associations--ranging from relatively stable ones to those of an ephemeral character--into six tentative categories:

- (1) Occupational groups or associations formed by virtue of working in the same plant
- (2) Residential groups or associations formed by virtue of living in the same building
- (3) Religious groups
- (4) Collective enterprises, generally economic
- (5) Friendship groups or cliques
- (6) Families

These categories are not mutual exclusive; there is considerable overlapping. Many of the associations cannot be identified as social groups in a strict sense that all members identify themselves with each other and partake in joint activity. This is particularly true of the large occupational groups. However, this breakdown is convenient for the purposes of making field observations.

Since these groups do exist, it would seem reasonable to assume that some significant consequences may develop from these associations. The general problem around which the entire study of resettler groups is oriented is: what is the function of group life in the adjustment of resettlers to the new situation?

Since individuals respond to situations as they see them, the emphasis in this study is place upon getting accounts from the resettlers themselves of their experiences as they see them.

Considerable effort will be expended, however, in gathering objective background data to provide the general setting.

PART I

The Study of Occupational Groups

A. The Resettlers in Chicago Industries

1. Introduction

Several of the large factories and hotels in Chicago have adopted the policy of hiring large numbers of resettlers, and there are some firms with over 100 persons of Japanese ancestry in their employ. Although these aggregations of resettlers cannot be referred to as groups in a strict sense, the very fact that so many resettlers are working together might have some significant consequences with reference to the patterns of adjustments which are eventually made. The object of this exploratory study, then, is to make a preliminary survey of the field to see what functions are being performed by these aggregations.

In studying occupational groups, certain additional questions arise which are of interest and are of relevance to the general problem. The introduction of any new group into an industry involves certain problems of mutual adjustment. The sharing of locker rooms; the fact that new workers, particularly in wartime, get almost as much pay as those who had been with the firm for 20 years; ignorance of existing understandings about work; and a number of other points of friction appear. In what way do these difficulties affect the adjustment of the resettlers? In what manner are the Nisei being initiated, and how are the Nisei reacting to the process of induction?

2. Sources of Information

Since there are hundreds of occupational groups in Chicago, ranging from groups of three or four working as a team in garages to those of over 150 as is the case at Stevens Hotel, it was decided to begin the survey with the larger units. Through the War Relocation Authority, the American Friends Service Committee, some of the private employment offices, and through the "grapevine", an attempt was made to get a comprehensive list of all firms hiring more than 20 resettlers.

Whenever possible, the Nisei labor recruiter was interviewed first in order to get a general picture. Then the personnel man or some other official in the plant was approached for a statement of employment policies and practices, work arrangements, and the circumstances leading to the employment of Nisei. An attempt was made to get statistical data on the composition of the resettler workers and on the occupational turnover. This information, when supplemented by material from the files of the W.R.A., provided the background data. Whenever possible, an attempt was made to get some picture of the existing understandings about work among the former employees, such as the amount of production per hour considered desirable and the attitudes generally held toward the employer, in order to get a better picture of the situation in which the resettlers were placed.

The major emphasis, of course, was placed upon the experiences of the individual resettlers. An attempt was made to get the names of all resettlers in the plant, and a sample was selected for interviews. In the interviews questions were directed toward

the end of getting at the perspectives of the resettlers--their work experience from their own point of view. Because of the nature of the general problem, the emphasis was placed upon the associations of the worker with others in the plant.

3. The General Background

The available statistics seem to indicate that large numbers of resettlers are working in types of industries in which they have not had past work experience. According to the data compiled by the Chicago W.R.A., approximately seven-eighths of the resettlers are native-born.¹ A survey of the occupational distribution of the Nisei in California² in 1940 indicates that the vast majority who were gainfully employed were in agriculture, domestic service, and retail food business. As Table I shows, of the native born men 52.1% were engaged in agricultural work; 7.2% in wholesale trade; 14.8% in retail food stores; 5.9% in domestic service. Relatively few have had experience in factory work. Of the native-born women, 26.6% were engaged in farm work; 9.4% in retail food stores; 6.2% in other retail trades; and 27.9% in domestic service. While many Nisei girls were trained for stenographic work, only a few were able to find employment in offices in the pre-evacuation days. Many of the girls who worked in

1. No accurate statistics on the number of Japanese in Chicago can be offered since there is a constant movement in and out of the city. Tabulations made from the departure notices received in Chicago W.R.A. office of the evacuees who left the various centers indicate that they intended to settle in Chicago give only a rough estimation. These figures fail to take into account those who chose Chicago for a temporary destination as well as those who went elsewhere first and then settled in Chicago. However, these figures constitute the best now available.

2. Of the 48,691 persons of Japanese ancestry in the three Pacific Coast states, over 14 years of age, listed as gainfully employed in the 1940 census, 40,374 were in California, 1,771 in Oregon, and 6,546 in Washington.

Table 1. Japanese Employed Workers* by Sex, Nativity and Selected Major Industry Groups in California, 1940.**

Employed	Total		Male				Female			
	No.	Pct.	Native-born		Alien		Native-born		Alien	
			No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Agriculture	19,289	47.8	6,191	52.1	9,570	52.5	1,407	26.6	2,121	42.8
Forestry and fishery	727	1.8	171	1.4	543	3.0	4	.1	9	.2
Food and kindred products	595	1.5	63	.5	141	.8	108	2.0	283	5.7
Printing and publishing	251	.6	83	.7	123	.7	27	.5	18	.4
Wholesale trade	1,880	4.7	831	7.2	764	4.2	185	3.5	80	1.6
Food and dairy-product stores	4,101	10.2	1,755	14.8	1,442	7.9	499	9.4	405	8.1
Eating and drinking places	1,572	3.9	231	1.9	724	4.0	249	4.7	368	7.4
Other retail trade	1,626	4.0	416	3.5	694	3.9	326	6.2	190	3.8
Finance, insurance, and real estate	448	1.1	86	0.6	283	1.6	39	.7	59	1.0
Automobile storage, rental and repair	286	.6	184	1.5	67	.4	5	.1	---	---
Domestic service	4,393	10.9	702	5.9	1,599	8.8	1,476	27.9	616	12.4
Hotels and lodging	787	1.9	53	.4	406	2.2	80	1.5	248	5.0
Laundering, cleaning and dyeing	1,085	2.7	301	2.5	442	2.4	154	2.9	188	3.8
Miscellaneous personal services	631	1.6	70	.6	242	1.3	201	3.8	118	2.4
Professional and related services	1,097	2.7	211	1.8	453	2.5	246	4.7	187	3.7
All others	1,636	4.0	535	4.5	724	4.0	276	5.2	101	2.0
Total	40,374	100.0	11,883	100.0	18,227	100.0	5,282	100.0	4,982	100.0

* All workers 14 years of age and over, except on public emergency work.

** Adapted from: U.S. House of Representatives, Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, House Report No. 2124, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), Page 108.

Original source: tabulations furnished to committee by Bureau of the Census.

packing sheds and canneries during the summers were employed in conditions somewhat resembling factory work, but this number was relatively small. Those resettlers who are now engaged in the same type of work that they had prior to the war, therefore, are limited to those in domestic service, those who are farming, those who are mechanics, a few who are cleaning and pressing, and a limited number of professional men.

Undoubtedly one of the most frequent topics in the conversations among the resettlers is the constant complaints about low wages. One might go so far as to say that it is "fashionable" among the resettlers to complain about salaries and about prospects for new jobs. In spite of these complaints, however, there are many who will admit in more sober moments that the positions that they hold now are far more promising than any job that they had held prior to evacuation. There are numerous rumors about unusually successful adjustments. Some individuals with excellent training have been unable to find positions worthy of their background, but by and large the Nisei are earning far more now than they had ever earned before. Most Nisei will admit that the racial discrimination on the Pacific Coast that prevented them from getting jobs for which they had been trained exists in Chicago only to a slight degree--generally only with reference to positions requiring considerable skill, training, and "front-office" contacts. The discontent, therefore, does not seem to be based upon a comparison of present positions with the jobs held prior to the war.

Coexistent with the constant complaint on the part of Nisei is the widespread complaint on the part of employers that the

Nisei simply do not "stick with their jobs". W.B.A. employees are continually complaining that the employers call them up and say, "They're good workers, but they just don't stick." Reference is frequently made to "60-day Japs" or "Six-week Japs" and the Nisei themselves jokingly recognize the reputation they are earning. As one 23-year old Nisei remarked:

"I'm out of work now. I was working as a shipping clerk but the work was too boresome. I'm like these other Japs. I walked out in two weeks."³

Although it is generally assumed that the Nisei have an exceptionally high occupational turnover, there are no statistics confirming this. Considering the fact that most Nisei who were gainfully employed prior to evacuation willingly worked for 10 hours a day at 25 or 30 cents an hour, this reaction may seem strange. However, there are several factors which must be taken into consideration.

For one thing, the resettlers have new conceptions of their position in the labor market. There is a definite recognition of the fact that labor is scarce and that employers are willing to pay more dearly for workers. Since the resettlers realize that their labor is in demand, they are constantly seeking higher-paying jobs or jobs which are more likely to further their personal ambitions. They conceive of themselves as being in a position to bargain and to quit whenever something is unsatisfactory.

Furthermore, in the relocation centers many Nisei had opportunities to work for the first time in fields in which they were trained. This was particularly true of young women trained in clerical work. Many had felt that it was useless to apply for

3. Field Notes, January 22, 1944.

jobs outside the Japanese communities because of real or imagined discrimination. Rumors about men with Ph.D.'s picking grapes in Lodi further reinforced the feeling of hopelessness. It was in the relocation centers that many were able to experience working in positions for which they considered themselves trained. Once they had this experience, many were not willing to go back to their old make-shift jobs..

Another factor that must be taken into consideration is the nature of employer-employee relationships on the Pacific Coast. Most Nisei had been employed by Japanese, and frequently their employers were friends of the family. There was consequently a network of mutual obligations that developed, and the young worker was actually in no position to bargain with his boss or to complain. The absence of this relationship in Chicago may be of some importance.

Finally, many of the resettlers are quite young and have never worked before other than in work gangs on the farms during summer vacations. Many have just finished high school and have never before held the responsibilities that go with work. For many, the first work experience they had was in the W.R.A. centers where a "devil may care" attitude prevailed. Very few individuals other than those working in service units such as food and lodging departments, ever took their work too seriously. Consequently, these individuals are likely to be impatient with jobs that are not "fun," and are inclined to quit with the same carefree attitude they held about changing jobs in the relocation centers.

Without question the background of experience of the resettlers enter in to exercise some influence upon the patterns of

adjustments that take place. However, one cannot accurately speak of a shared perspective from which most resettlers are inclined to interpret situations. The conceptions of the resettlers vary. However, there are certain sentiments that are sufficiently widespread to merit attention. A few which are particularly relevant to the consideration of occupational adjustments may be considered.

Many of the resettlers arrived in Chicago with the feeling that they had been unjustifiably persecuted. Some went so far as to feel that Caucasians were to be distrusted and that they were constantly seeking ways in which to take advantage of the helpless Nisei. This extreme view was not as common among the Nisei as it was among their parents. On the whole, however, the people were inclined to look upon themselves as an unwanted minority whose fate rested upon the trends of public opinion. The nisei expected discrimination, and in a sense they were sensitized to cues for acts that might be interpreted as discriminatory. The extreme timidity of some Nisei, therefore, which definitely enters in as a factor in adjustment, cannot be interpreted simply in terms of objective social conditions.

Another factor of importance is the traditional Nisei position in regard to labor and unions. Unions had always been in dispute among the Nisei. Many who had had experience with unions were willing to admit that unions performed a valuable function in raising wages and improving working conditions, but the Nisei generally sided with the employers and outlawed union men as "communists". This strong prejudice against labor has sometimes tended to bring about difficult situations in Chicago, as in the

case of the difficulties that arose at the Lakeside Press early in 1944.

Among the firms that have hired at one time or another at least 20 Nisei workers are the following:

1. Andes' Candies
2. Bloomfield Industries
3. Chicago Mail Order Company
4. Club Aluminum
5. John F. Cuneo Company and Cuneo Press
6. Curtiss Candy Company
7. Drake Hotel
8. Duffin Iron Company
9. Edgewater Beach Hotel
10. Florence Arts
11. Gage Structural Steel
12. General Motors
13. McClurg's
14. Michael Reese Hospital
15. Midland Structural Steel
16. Mohr Lino-Saw Company
17. National Tea Company
18. Sherman Hotel
19. Shotwell Candy Manufacturing Company
20. Sovereign Manufacturing Company
21. Stevens Hotel
22. Superior Pipe Company
23. Transportation and Maintenance Company
24. Transportation Equipment

25. Tuttle-Kift Manufacturing Company

26. Twentieth Century Glove Company

27. Universal Batteries

B. Larger Occupational Groups

5. Cuneo Press and John F. Cuneo Company

One of the most widely discussed factories in Chicago within Nisei circles is the Cuneo Press. Most Nisei are of the impression that hundreds of persons of Japanese ancestry are employed there. One frequently hears jests about "any Jap" being able to work at Cuneo. Those planning to quit jobs without something definite to which they can turn are frequently heard to comment "Oh well, I can always get a job at Cuneo's. There are hundreds of bookies there already and a few more won't make any difference." This popular belief, however, is not substantiated by the facts.

First of all, most Nisei do not know that the Cuneo Press and the John F. Cuneo Company are two independent organizations. Cuneo Press is a corporation, with Mr. Cuneo as its president, and is engaged in the printing and binding of books and magazines. The Press hires approximately 5,600 people. The John F. Cuneo Company, on the other hand, is a private company owned by Mr. Cuneo. It is engaged primarily in book-binding and hires a little over 200 people. It was at the Cuneo Press that an attempt was made at a wholesale importation of Nisei labor and it was the Cuneo Press that earned the unfavorable reputation among the Nisei. The occupational turnover of Nisei at the Press has been almost 100% and there are only about one or two Nisei left. At the John F. Cuneo Company, however, the turnover has been relatively small and the 25 or 30 Nisei who are employed there are relatively satisfied there.

*during
what
period
may be
John
Cuneo*

Early in 1943 the Cuneo Press, because of the acute labor

shortage began a large-scale campaign to recruit workers for their plant. At first, a group of 20 Nisei were given trial employment. Their work was so satisfactory that the president decided to hire about 100 more. He declared, "We are anxious to do this in the interest of the Nisei's future as well as our own."¹ At the time that this campaign began, lack of housing was the major problem confronting resettlers. Representatives of the company, being cognizant of this fact, went so far as to make arrangements to lease a 35-room hotel for their Nisei workers. They laid plans to remodel the main floor so that there would be two large rooms, one for recreation and the other for a dining hall where Japanese food cooked by a Japanese cook could be served. It was pointed out to the potential workers that under this arrangement the workers could save the time required by shopping, cooking, and washing dishes and would there ^{have} fore/more leisure time. Mr. Takayoshi Karakane, who was interested in managing a hotel, was engaged by the company to go on a recruiting trip to all the centers with the agreement that if he were successful in getting enough workers, the Press would hire him to manage the hotel.²

What do you mean by "fore/more"?

However, Mr. Karakane's trip was a complete failure. When the nisei had first begun to work at the Press, they were not familiar with the high wages paid in some of the other firms in Chicago. However, in time these men had learned from their friends of what they might earn elsewhere and had become dissatisfied. Consequently, they not only began quitting in large numbers, but

1. Mr. Cunco's statement in "WHY WE WELCOME THE NISEI", 1943-44.

2. Ibid. and W.R.A. memorandum, Sept. 30, 1943.

they also wrote to their friends in the centers telling them of the unfavorable working conditions and the low rate of pay. By the fall of 1943, when Mr. Karakane made his trip, therefore, Cuneo Press had earned a reputation sufficiently unfavorable so that only a few were willing to accept the job sight unseen. The rate of pay which was offered was:

MEN

First week	50¢ per hour for 50 hours	\$27.50 per week
Second week	62.5¢ " " " " "	\$34.38 " "
Eighth week	67¢ " " " " "	\$36.85 " "
Overtime after 40 hours time and a half		

WOMEN

First week	50¢ per hour for 40 hours	\$20.00 per week
Fourth week	55¢ " " " " "	\$22.00 " "
Guaranteed 40 hours of work		
Occasional overtime at time and a half		
After experience, can at option do piece work, can make \$35.00 per week		

Mr. Karakane's trip was given widespread publicity in all of the relocation centers and consequently led to many difficulties. Some of the resettlers arrived in Chicago, expecting to have housing provided for them if they accepted work at the Cuneo Press. However, inasmuch as the recruiting trip had been a failure, the company did not take lease of the hotel and the housing was not available. This misunderstanding apparently added considerable damage to the already unfavorable reputation of the company.

During the winter of 1943, there was some excitement among the Nisei when word got out that several individuals had been asked to leave the Press by the Army. Since the company was working on war contracts, several individuals who could not get the approval of the Sixth Service Command were forced to quit.

Since the labor shortage continued to be acute, the company continued to recruit Nisei workers in spite of the difficulty. The following letter indicates to some extent what the company was willing to do to get workers:

*How many
could
come*

"... We were terribly disappointed with the results of Mr. Karakane's trip. He had promised 50-100 recruits and on this basis we were ready to take over the Cermak Hotel. Nothing like this materialized.

"... In the meantime I have arranged to house the Nisei in a good hotel able to accommodate 150 people. It is much better than either the Cermak Hotel or the rooming house at 2022 South Michigan Avenue. Several of our employees have given it their unqualified approval... We have made arrangements at our own cafeteria located at our plant to provide a Nisei special breakfast and dinner. They will have the regular lunch with the other employees. We will serve breakfast and dinner every day except Sunday. Those who are light eaters can eat well at \$1.10 per day for three meals. The cost to those who want more will not exceed \$1.50 per day. The above arrangement is definite. I am not making promises based on other people's promises to me. We are ready to go on this basis."³

In spite of all these efforts, all attempts were unsuccessful. Finally, in December, 1943, War Relocation Authority decided to open Cuneo Press to the seasonal workers. This would enable the evacuees to accept employment without forfeiting their right to return to the centers at the end of their contract. Immediately more people than could possibly be employed volunteered. Three days after the change of policy the offer had to be closed. The following letter indicates to some extent the nature of the negotiation taking place at the time:

"We are writing this letter to acquaint you with more detailed facts about the John F. Cuneo offer because we realize that our teletype of December 22 must have brought up many questions and is probably still causing a great

3. Letter from James P. Blaine to Wade Head, project director of Poston, December 22, 1943. Mr. Blaine is executive vice-president of Cuneo Press.

deal of indecision at the center, on the part of persons who are interested.

"As you know, the John F. Cuneo Company and Cuneo Press have both been negotiating with the W.R.A. for a period of months. At present they have about 40 men and women of Japanese extraction, who seem to be managing very nicely, and apparently like the work. Many have been employed three or four months and earning much more than the original maximum hourly rate. Because of the company's experience with this group, and because the company needed additional labor, we were asked to furnish about 100 more people, early in September.

"At that time we suggested that offer would be more attractive if some provision could be made for housing. Officials of the company took action and several days later leased a 35-room hotel in the neighborhood. The plan was to remodel the building to include cooking facilities, making it possible to house and feed employees at cost. Notice of this fact was immediately sent to all projects. When housing failed to bring results, we suggested that the company employ a reliable man and send him to several centers to explain the offer in more detail. This was done and still the results were negligible. Obviously, the company spent a considerable sum of money in these operations and could not afford to spend additional funds remodeling the hotel unless assured of tenants. As a final result the lease was cancelled and management made an agreement with the rooming house operator at 2023 South Michigan Avenue to house and board evacuees for \$9.00 per week. We are certain that the company was acting on this plan in good faith.

"With the revision from indefinite to seasonal leave, unexpected things happened. A large group immediately expressed willingness to leave the center and after final clearance with the company officials with respect to housing, arrangements were made to absorb 10 men a week for five weeks. Almost simultaneously the owner of the rooming house was taken to the hospital and therefore unable to proceed according to the earlier understanding. After a great deal of work on the part of the executive vice-president, James B. Blaine, a substitute arrangement was made whereby the men could be housed and fed for \$12.50 to \$13.00 weekly. As the matter now stands, some of the men are satisfied and willing to accept the offer while others are as yet undecided.

"The management of the plant points out that attempts are still being made to accommodate employees

at 2022 South Michigan Avenue on the \$9.00 per week basis and expects to know definitely in a week or 10 days."⁴

low way?

During the spring of 1944 the W.R.A. regulations concerning seasonal leaves were revised and that type of leave was replaced by trial indefinite leaves, wherein evacuees were permitted to leave the centers for a given period of time at the end of which they could decide whether they wish to apply for an indefinite leave or return to the center. In spite of all efforts on the part of the W.R.A. in behalf of Cuneo Press the number of workers diminished progressively until at present there are only a few left. The following telegram from a relocation officer in one of the centers, give some indication of the general disrepute into which Cuneo Press had fallen:

"REUNTEL APRIL EIGHTEEN CUNEO PRESS OFFER HAVE VERY UNFAVORABLE REPORT UNLESS THIS OFFER HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY INVESTIGATED RECENTLY AND CONDITIONS CHANGED WE ARE UNABLE TO RECRUIT ANY MORE WORKERS"⁵

In spite of the difficulties encountered by the Cuneo Press, the John F. Cuneo Company has managed to keep most of its employees. With regard to the latter firm, Miss Midori Sugita of the personnel department had the following to say:

"I think the reason why we have been having difficulties is that people confuse us with Cuneo Press. Although we occupy the same plant, we are actually a different company altogether. The Cuneo Press got a bad reputation and we have suffered as a result of it. We have from about 25 to 30 workers, but the Press has only one or two left. The turnover there has been almost 100%. Almost no one is there now. I guess at one time they must have had 30 or so. In our company we once had about 50, but the people were restless and dissatisfied, or else they

4. Letter from Elmer Shirrell of the Chicago W.R.A. to Guy Robertson, project director of Heart Mountain, Dec. 30, 1942.

Post
5. Telegram from one of the relocation centers (signed by Morris Buage), April 20, 1944.
Buage

were drafted. Most of the people who had any intention of leaving are gone and those who are left are fairly steady.

"Neither the Press nor the company has a Nisei recruiter. At the time that we were considering leasing a hotel, we sent out a recruiter to get about a hundred men. He got only three or four so the company didn't take the lease. A lot of people heard about the hotel so they came out later. When they found no hotel, they were disappointed and sore. In our company, there are only 230 on the total payroll. Since about 30 of these are Japanese, the percentage is actually pretty high. We are interested right now in taking replacements. I don't think we need so many people and whatever overflow we have, we send over to the Press.

"Our company is engaged in book-binding and is a private firm. The Cuneo Press is what the name says it is. They are engaged in printing and it is a corporation. J.F. Cuneo Company is much smaller and I think that is why we have been able to keep our workers. The Press has several thousand workers. They can't be looking after every single person in there. Whenever any Nisei had any grievances, all he could do was to see the personnel man who can't do very much anyway. His hands are tied. He can't give raises left and right. In the John F. Cuneo Company, if anyone has any gripes, he goes in to see Mr. Blaine, the Vice-president. He can get an answer right away, yes or no. I've worked with Mr. Blaine for quite a while now and I know what he has gone over backwards to set the fellows straight. He can hand out raises too. You know how it is. The Press is just larger and unwieldy.

"Our plant is non-union. We have no racial discrimination. All races start at the same pay and get same automatic raises. There is no discrimination in policy. The Negro workers just are not efficient enough. I know that the Urban League had some bad reports about us and they were very cold. But we had them send a man down to see the plant and now they are very cooperative. There is no discrimination against Nisei whatsoever. I know that some Nisei have gone up to 75 or 80 cents an hour. After the automatic raises everything depends upon merit and some of the fellows have been very good.

"I don't know how it was that the company first started hiring Nisei. I know that they started very early. One thing I do know is that Mr. Blaine is a close friend of McClurg. As you know, McClurg's is

one of the first companies to hire nisei. McClure is a very alert business man and when the labor shortage came he knew all about the W.R.A. I guess he told Blaine about it and Blaine being very acute caught on right away. We are not doing very much anymore in the way of making special efforts to recruit Nisei. Mr. Karakane is no longer with the company. He went out to recruit and he failed and he left the company. I have been going to the W.R.A. every Monday morning to see what I could do.

"The people are not working in any concentrated group. They are just scattered all over the plant. Some are in the shipping department, others operate the folding machine, and they are doing all kinds of work.

"So far as I can see, there has been no objection from the Caucasians. We have had quite a turnover but I think that is because the fellows take jobs directly from the camp. When they get out here, they hear of better paying jobs and they become restless. They are not adjusted. I think though, that the fact that the majority of the workers have been as satisfactory as they have more than compensates for those who griped and quit. Some of those fellows were impossible. They griped so much that they were transferred to new departments. When they still weren't satisfied they were transferred to the night shift. No matter what they do, it's no use. But those people are in the minority. Mr. Blaine has been very fair. He is not disgruntled. We realize that the pay is very low but pay is not the only thing that matters. The fact that several of the fellows brought their friends out from camp to work with us is a good sign. Some people with foresight realize that pay is not important.

"There are not many colored people in the part where the Nisei work. When the Nisei do come in contact with others, they seem to be getting along all right. We don't have any Issei as you know, we have an ordnance division and the Army will not allow aliens to enter the plant.

"We have a large cafeteria in the plant, and most of the workers eat there. They all seem to eat together. The colored people eat together in one part of the room but that is not because they are restricted. They are free to do as they wish but they prefer to eat with their friends. The Nisei do not eat in large groups. Sometimes they eat with their friends but generally they are with Caucasians who operate the same machine. They are

never noticeable. The same is true in the rest periods. The people are allowed 15 minutes between shifts, but I have never seen Nisei together. We never have difficulties over lockers because each person has his own. The colored people have their lockers in a special section.

"We have very few women working for us. I think there are only about three or four. The rest are young men. They're all pretty young. I'd say they are all in their early twenties."⁶

Thus the evidence seems to point in the direction quite contrary to that of popular beliefs about Cuneo Press. Neither the W.R.A. records nor those of the Cuneo Press show that there was ever more than 100 Nisei employed by Cuneo.

The following are accounts by the workers themselves of their experiences in the plant:

6. Interview with Miss Sugita on June 12, 1944.

B. Larger Occupational Groups

6. Curtiss Candy Company

The Curtiss Candy Company is an established corporation engaged in the production, processing, manufacturing and selling of food and candy. The company has 17 factories in Chicago and other cities, and 62 farms totalling 10,000 acres. At present Nisei are being employed in five of the plants and are engaged in the manufacture of confectionary and beverage. Only one of the farms is at present run by the Nisei. The company generally has a total of about 3600 employees, but at present over 900 are away on duty with the armed forces.

Curtiss Candy Company was one of the first firms employing resettlers. Early in 1943 three persons of Japanese ancestry were engaged by Mr. Marshall Clark, head of the agricultural division, to work on the company farm in Marengo, Illinois. Not long after their arrival the announcement that the Tokyo fliers had been executed in Japan was released by the press. On April 24th there occurred one of the very few anti-resettler incidents of 1943. Actually not much had happened, but the incident was given considerable publicity by the Chicago Tribune. According to the newspaper releases, Ray McAndrews, a restaurant owner whose son went down with a bomber on December 26th, warned that unless the Japanese-Americans were removed, "hell will be a poppin'".¹ Following the flare-up Mr. Elmer L. Shirrell and Mr. W.W. Lessing of the War Relocation Authority attended an open meeting held at the public auditorium to discuss the situation.

1. Pacific Citizen, April 29, 1943.

Mr. Lessing gave the following report of the meeting:

Who's
Hicks
"... Mayor Miller opened the meeting and invited Mr. Shirrell to briefly outline the purposes and background of this program. At the termination of Mr. Shirrell's talk, Mayor Miller spoke on his own behalf, designating the situation as a tempest in a teapot and criticizing the 'Tribune' for numerous misquotations with reference to the entire problem. Mayor Miller also read a number of newspaper clippings, including General DeWitt's familiar remarks, those of Senator Chandler, and others. He further stated that in his opinion the incident would have caused no excitement if there had been sufficient advance publicity. The next speaker was J.W. Hicks, who described the holdings of the Curtiss Candy Company and stated that no decision had been made as yet with regard to the utilization of Japanese-American farm labor.

"Marshall Clark, the farm superintendent, then presented a complete history of the case, explaining how and why the company acquired the land and how and why the decision was made to employ Japanese-American farm help. The talk was very well received and created favorable comment.

"Mr. Hicks again took the floor and made a number of very confusing and contradictory statements about the situation with apparently no concern for the interests of the Curtiss Candy Company so far as their farm program was concerned. He stated that in a private poll conducted by men in his employ, it was determined that 60% of the population of Marengo were against the use of this type of labor. He avoided the issue, however, when one member of the audience asked that a poll be taken to see how many in the audience (which numbered about 100) had been approached by the Curtiss Candy Company. After Mr. Hicks completed his talk, there were a number of questions typical to W.R.A. At the end of the discussion, the entire group was polled with the result that 62 voted in favor and 21 against.

"As the case now stands, the Curtiss Candy Company is in conference to determine whether they will continue with their plans inasmuch as one-third of the population (according to the poll) appear to be opposed to the use of evacuee labor in Marengo."²

According to Mr. Shirrell, a meeting was held soon after the arrival of the news of the execution and demands had been made for

2. Office memorandum of the War Relocation Office, May 5, 1943.

the removal of the Japs. However, Mr. Shirrell emphasized, the reaction of the people of Marengo was directed primarily against the Curtiss Candy Company and only incidentally against the evacuees. The resentment had been fostered by one of the chief competitors of the Curtiss farm. Once the incident received nationwide publicity, civic officials became very concerned over the unfavorable publicity for their town and began making efforts to minimize the importance of the conflict.³ The following press release was distributed jointly by the War Relocation Authority and the Curtiss Candy Company, giving an account of the final disposition of the conflict:

"The three Japanese-Americans recently employed by Curtiss Candy Company for work on the company's farms near Marengo will be withdrawn immediately from the Marengo district, according to a statement by Otto Schnering, president of the company.

"This action is being taken, Mr. Schnering said, because of resentment on the part of citizens of Marengo and vicinity to the presence of Nisei farm laborers in their community. This resentment is based on the fact that the general public has not become sufficiently acquainted with the Government's relocation program for American-born Japanese who are citizens of the United States.

"The company will file a request with the War Relocation Authority to temporarily delay assignment of 13 additional Japanese-American farm workers who now are en route from California to Marengo until time permits a more complete understanding by the general public of the reasons for utilizing this type of farm help and the manner in which it is to be allocated in conformity with the War Manpower Commission's plans for the relief of the farm labor shortage.

The action Curtiss Candy Company will take in temporarily withdrawing the Japanese-Americans from the company's farms at Marengo and the request to the War Relocation Authority for delaying the arrival of additional workers of this type at the Curtiss farms opera-

3. Field Notes, April 26, 1943.

tion is voluntary on the part of the company after it had requested a hearing Sunday with W.L. Miller, mayor of Marengo, and Charles H. Doolittle, president of the Marengo park board and past commander of the American Legion Post.

"A large number of Marengo families have boys in the service," Mayor Miller said, "and resentment has been running high here, as it has in other sections of the country, ever since news of the Japanese atrocities in Tokyo was released this past week. I am definitely opposed to Japanese employment until the situation is clarified to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, as well as that of the general public. I believe this can be accomplished through an educational program and that by such means the War Relocation Authority can do more justice to itself, as well as to the several organizations that are being given an opportunity to use this type of labor."

"It was pointed out to the mayor and civic leaders of Marengo, by representatives of the Curtiss Candy Company, today that the War Relocation Authority had solicited the Curtiss company's cooperation in helping to provide employment for Japanese-Americans who are citizens of the United States. These people, who are commonly referred to as Nisei, have been thoroughly investigated by the War Relocation Authority and their records checked against F.B.I. records to make sure of their loyalty to the United States. The company agreed to employ a limited number of this type after conferences with the War Relocation Authority, the War Department, Navy Department, Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Justice, Mr. Schnering said.

"Curtiss Candy Company," Mr. Schnering said, "now will request an opportunity for its representatives to appear with representatives of the War Relocation Authority before civic leaders and business groups in Marengo for the purpose of explaining the manner in which Japanese-American labor employment is a means of alleviating the manpower labor shortage on farms, and further solicit the cooperations and understanding of the public in the company's desire to help produce the maximum amount of war food and its efforts to comply with the Government's war food program."

In spite of these difficulties, the Curtiss Candy Company continued to recruit nisei workers. Early in the spring of 1944, Mr. Shirrell resigned from his position as relocation director in

Chicago and accepted a job as director of the personnel department for Curtiss. And about the same time, Harry Mayeda, former director of community activities in Tule Lake, became the Nisei recruiter for the firm. Curtiss then began a systematic campaign to recruit resettlers, both for their farms and for their plants. The following is an excerpt from one of their recruitment handbills:

"... The personnel policies of the Corporation are directed toward maintaining fair treatment of all employees, good working conditions with just salary rates and promotional opportunities. The high percentage of employees who have been with CURTISS CANDY COMPANY for from 10 to 25 years is a result, we believe, of the fair policies and honest dealings of MR. OTTO SCHNERING, the founder and President of the Curtiss Candy Company.

"Over 100 Issei and Nisei men and women are now employed by Curtiss Candy Co. and seem to be happy in their work. There have been no difficulties and because of the success these first employees have made the Company has decided to proceed with its plan to hire more evacuees at a gradual pace. This is permanent employment with post war possibilities.

<u>ADVANTAGES</u>	1. Rest Periods
	2. Cafeteria Service at Low Prices
	3. Modern First Aid Facilities
<u>OF</u>	4. Vacation with Pay
	5. Group Life Insurance
<u>FACTORY</u>	6. Group Health Insurance
	7. Pension Plans
<u>EMPLOYMENT</u>	8. Retirement Income Profit Sharing Plans
	9. Post War Employment

<u>FACTORY</u>	:	
	:	50¢ per hour - first 30 days
<u>WAGE SCALE</u>	:	Then 55¢ per hour - next 30 days
	:	Then job classification
<u>FOR</u>	:	Time and a half for over 40 hours
	:	Extra pay for night shift
<u>WOMEN</u>	:	Some jobs pay bonus for piece work

<u>FACTORY</u>	:	
	:	63¢ per hour - first 30 days
<u>WAGE SCALE</u>	:	Then 65¢ per hour - next 30 days
	:	Then job classification

FOR	'	Time and a half for over 40 hours
	'	Extra pay for night shift
<u>MEN</u>	'	If experienced pay is higher ⁵

By June 1, 1944, there were 48 persons of Japanese ancestry employed in the plants in Chicago. Many more were working on the farms. Of the 48 in the plants, 37 are American citizens, and 11 are aliens. Of the citizens, there are nine men whose average age is 30.4, and 28 women with an average age of 23.6. Of the 11 aliens, there are four men with an average age of 36, and seven women with an average age of 44.8. All of the aliens are married. Of the citizens, three men and four women are married. One man is a widower, one is divorced, and four men and 24 women are single. Tabulation of incomplete data show that of the citizens, all 37 are high school graduates, 26 of them having no additional training. Five have had trade school training and four are college graduates. Of the aliens, five had elementary school training, one finished high school, two women attended trade school, and one man attended a seminary. A tabulation of incomplete data (36 out of 48) indicates that the vast majority of the workers in the city plants arrived in Chicago during the past six months. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that the Curtiss plants were not opened until this year, when many who had arrived earlier had already found other jobs, and partly by the fact that the Nisei recruiter made good-will tours to the nine relocation centers in a special effort to get workers directly from the camps.

5. Leaflet of the Curtiss Candy Company, 1944.

Harry Mayeda, the Nisei recruiter, had the following to say:

"The Curtiss Candy Company is engaged in the production of food. We have 17 plants, making confectionary and beverages and nisei are being employed in five of these plants. We also have farms and poultry farms. We have 62 of these but nisei are working in only one. Some of our plants and farms are not yet open to nisei workers. We are still trying to do some public relations work to gain acceptance of the Japanese.

"So far as I know, the company does not have a discriminatory policy in employment. All groups have an equal opportunity for advancement. The Negroes, I think, are in a slightly different position. I want to emphasize though that they get the same wages as the Whites. They just get placed in different types of jobs. I think that the war has accelerated the acceptance of Negro and Nisei workers. If it weren't for the war and labor shortage, neither group would have had much of a chance. Even though they are replacements, I don't think that they will be fired with the peace. When the war is over, the people who have made good will stay. There will be no wholesale release of any group. One thing that I don't like about it is the segregation of Negro workers. The Nisei are classified with the Whites. In fact, the company insists on the Nisei mixing with Caucasians. Even though we have many Nisei workers, there is no single production unit composed entirely of Nisei. The Nisei workers are sprinkled in throughout the various parts of the plant and there are rarely more than two or three Nisei working together. The Negroes have their own units. The excuse given for maintaining these all-colored unit is that the co-workers would object.

"We've had some trouble, but not very much. When the Nisei first worked there, they sometimes worked too much. During the first week some of the Nisei don't understand the traditions of the plant and they work like hell. But they soon catch on and they cut down. My main trouble is with the Issei. The Issei won't do this. That's where the difficulty comes. They come to me and tell me that the next man doesn't work hard enough and when I tell them that they ought to take it easy too, they feel very resentful and tell me that they are not accustomed to working that way. Those guys have been working hard all their lives and I guess they will keep working that way no matter how little you pay them. They think that work is work and even if the boss doesn't care and even if they hated their boss, they don't feel right unless they put in their full effort. Caucasians don't like it, but so far there has been no open protest. I think one reason why overwork has not led to trouble is that the plants are not unionized.

"Curtiss has been hiring nisei for a long time. We got in our first wedge at Marengo. Marshall Clark, one of the assistant heads of the agriculture division, is a university educated man and he was following the evacuation program in the news. When the manpower shortage became acute, he was already familiar with the fact that there was a reservoir of labor in the camps. So he contacted Mr. Shirrell and a job offer went out to Tule Lake. Louis Ishino, his family and some friends from Tule came out to Marengo. The community rose in protest. Shirrell and the heads of the township went down and held a meeting with the people. They found out that there were only two men agitating against the Nisei and the whole difficulty was ironed out almost immediately. Ever since then the relationships between the Japanese-Americans and the Marengo people have been okay. Having once employed Japanese and having seen how well they worked, the company decided to take more. The next step was the opening of Arlington Heights. Harry Makino from Tule Lake was hired as foreman on the poultry farm. The company was still short of labor and the shortage became especially acute in some of the plants. At first they tried out some Nisei in the shipping department, in Plant two. They sent the Caucasians with experience in shipping elsewhere. This was the first trial of Nisei in the city plants. They were good! Then they tried out some girls in the production of Miracle Ade. Then they opened up the CORN MUFFIN MIX section. Then they opened up Plant Three and Plant Four. That's where they make marshmallow pecan and beverages. We are now trying to open up some other plants. Plant One is anti-Negro and anti-everything else. But once they try the Nisei they always ask for more.

"The process of opening a plant is not too hard. They call in the superintendent, the foreman, and the forelady and some member of the personnel department gives them a talk. We tell them that the nisei are American citizens and that many have brothers and sons in the U.S. Army. Then these people go back and ask some of the workers how they would feel about having Nisei work there. There are no objections as a rule and so far we have not had any kick-backs. We generally set some limits to the number of Nisei to be hired in one plant. For example, in Plant Two we have 18 or 19 Nisei already and we feel that we have reached a saturation point for that plant so I go easy about getting people to work there. The only difficulty we have had so far was when one forelady went around the plant telling the other workers that the Japanese-Americans were the best workers around. She was convinced that 'Niggers were no good'. I think she meant well and she was trying to help out the Nisei, but you can imagine what the reaction of some of the people must have been. When we heard about that, we called

herein and put a stop to it.

"My work, at present, is that of recruiting, selecting, and placing Nisei and Issei in all departments where openings exist. Various departments send in their requests and I do my best to fill them. I've visited the centers too. I don't hand them any 'line'. I don't want to make the mistake of over-selling a job. I try to be factual because I figure that if I exaggerated anything, it'll catch up with me. If it ever gets out that I misrepresented facts in any way my reputation will be mud, and my value as a recruiter will be nil. I would say that my work has not been a success from the point of view of immediate placement. The work has been classified as non-essential and the non-essential wages have been frozen. You just can't get people to come out to work for these low wages even if they'd never earned that much in their lives. Yet, from the future and a long-range point of view, I feel that I am accomplishing something just by going around and talking about it. They hear what I have to say about the outside and they come out of the centers to have a look around. They stick around for about a couple of weeks and they find out that they can't get a job paying \$1.25 an hour or for that matter even a 90-cent job. After they scout around for a while, then they come in to see me. I don't have any difficulty then because they already have in mind our wage scale. I don't have to sell them again because they already know what I have to say. That's the first part of my job.

"The second part consists of working with the W.R.A. interviewers. I place all of the job offers with the interviewers and when they find a potential worker, they send the guy to me. The third part of my work consists of personal contacts. You know how they do it. It's just among friends. Jack has no job and one of the fellows who already works in the plant comes to tell me that his friend wants a job.

"On the farm in Marengo the Nisei work in truck gardening. There are some farm mechanics, four tractor drivers and some general field workers. They grow soy beans and potato. We have a 1000-acres farm all assigned to Nisei. The place in Arlington Heights is all poultry. The company buys chicks and the Nisei feed, water, clean trays, wash out, control the temperature, slaughter, clean, and prepare the chickens for the market.

"In the candy factories a lot of the girls are doing piece work. Some of them make as much 60 to 80 cents an hour. We have girls in the BABY RUTH wrapping

department and some in the chewing gum department. They just feed the gum into a machine that wraps them. They earn about 75 cents an hour. We also have some girls in the CHICOS NUT line. They seal package and pack the nuts. There are other girls in the MIRACLE ADE department, sealing and packing the powder. We also have them working on CORN MUFFIN and in the marshmallow plant.

"The men are mainly in the shipping department. We have some who are order pickers. All they do is throw the orders on the conveyance belt. They take the order, for example, if somebody wants eight boxes of BABY NUTH and twelve boxes of nuts. They just take the stuff and throw it on the belt. Then the order filler gathers all the stuff on the belt that belongs in one order together into one pile. Then the stenciler marks on all the signs, such as, 'CANDY KEEP DRY' and 'HANDLE WITH CARE'. Then we have checkers. We have three sets of checkers and the man at the end of the line, the third checker, has a lot of responsibility because his okay means that the order will go out as it is. Generally all the mistakes are picked up by one of the three checkers. The one on the end though, has to be pretty experienced and pretty reliable. We have four nice checkers in the plant already. Three of them are at the end of the line, and one is at the beginning. All of them are about 35 to 40 years of age and they are Los Angeles produce men who are pretty sharp about that sort of thing. I think the reason why they are all L.A. men is not that L.A. men are necessarily smarter, but that the first guy who got in got his friends in too.

how much?
"I think that the major difficulty for me is trying to adjust to the desire on the part of the workers to move on to better paying jobs. They hear of some friend earning 80 or 90 cents and they want to go. Not many have quit though; in fact, our turnover is very small. I think the reason is that I let them shop around on their own first before I approach them. I don't just grab anybody that comes along. After they shop around first, they know how tough it is in a high paying job and they're not so likely to quit the first time that they hear of someone else who's earning more than they are. My placement record is not high numerically, but the fellows I've put in usually stay. If they do quit, they let me know about it. I don't blame them so I tell them when I put them on that if they want to quit it's okay with me, but I wish that they would let me know so that I could do something about replacing them. Some of them call up and say that they are going to leave. I tell them that they shouldn't let me hold them up and that it's all right as long as they give notice. But I always ask them why they are quitting. I find that some are ready to leave after a couple of

months but when I ask them why they are leaving, I find that they are dissatisfied about their particular job that they were doing. So I get a better job for them in the plant and they seem to be satisfied.

"We have some Nisei boys in the shipping department where we also have some colored help. On the whole, they get along pretty well. I don't know of any outright discrimination against the colored people by the Nisei. We have a CARTON SALVAGING plant on Ohio Street for reconditioning cartons. All the workers there are colored. I notice recently that they are pulling some Negroes from the shipping department and sending them over to Ohio Street. They are trying to replace Negroes with Nisei.

"Among the girls, there isn't any after-work contacts with the other minority groups. But on the surface there is an air of friendly feeling. The girls are mainly among the Caucasian workers. They work on the same level when they are paid by the hour but it's a little different when they are being paid at a gang rate for piece work. You see, the girls are put into units and the group is paid for its average. That's why the Nisei girl who works hard gets in well with the Caucasian girls in her gang since she raises their pay.

"I know that the company has been planning a meeting of Nisei workers but I am against it. I see no point in having a meeting. No outside-of-work socials have been sponsored by the company. After all, they have 3,600 workers and it would be a little difficult to hold any kind of a party. We have to work pretty steady too because it is a war plant, 60% of the stuff we make goes overseas.

"For lunches, the company maintains a cafeteria in each plant. I see that the Nisei go to the cafeteria in Plants Three and Four. In Plant Three the Negroes are allowed to go in too. They all eat together and there is no segregation. So far as I can see, people eat with members of their work group. Once they are in the cafeteria, they can do as they want and Negroes and Whites generally separate. It's not a rule or anything, but people naturally like to eat with their friends. The Nisei generally eat with the Caucasians or in a group with three or four. Some of them eat with their work gangs. There is much less segregation among the Nisei than there is among Negroes. The plant, as you know, is non-union.

"We don't have any trouble from the sharing of wash rooms and locker rooms. The old-time employees share their lockers with others who have been around for

an equally long period. The new people share lockers with each other and we have had no trouble.

"We have two rest periods, 10 minutes in the morning and 10 minutes in the afternoon. I have noticed that during each rest period the Nisei girls segregate among themselves and gossip, but that the boys go to get their cokes with their co-workers.

"Wages that are paid are standard rate. The only difference in the amount of pay comes in piece work where no one blames anybody else for working too hard. I get the feeling that some of the old timers resent the fact that a new Nisei does in three months what it took him five years to do. Some Nisei who've been there very short while are drawing almost as much pay as some men who've been there for over five years. Nisei are just good workers. There hasn't been any open expression of this, but now and then I get the feeling that there is some resentment. On the whole, I think the Nisei are getting along pretty well."⁶

Mr. Mayeda, inspite of his prestige and inspite of the important positions that he has held, is one of the more popular of the nisei in Chicago. He seems to be playing a definite role in the Curtiss Company. He serves, not only as a recruiter, but as an intermediary between the Nisei workers and the company, and handles numerous grievances ordinarily taken to the personnel department. He also serves as a counsellor. Some of the workers make it a practice of consulting him on matters notconnected with their employment. Finally, it seems that he has built up numerous personal ties and some of the workers are held at the plant inspite of desires they may have about getting better jobs because of personal obligations to him. He is, therefore, much more than simply a labor recruiter. With a somewhat paternal attitude, he is very much concerned with the general welfare of the workers.

6. Interview with Mr. Mayeda, May 31, 1944.

The following are some of the workers' accounts of their experiences in the Curtiss plants: