

Chapter III

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Agencies Assisting Resettlement and Resettler Adjustments

Voluntary evacuees arriving in Chicago from west coast cities in spring and summer of 1942 shifted for themselves without the aid of agencies now at work on resettlement.

The Y.W.C.A., with its Room Registry and placement service for young women resettlers, was one of the first to devote staff time and attention to the matter. The program of encouraging relocation from the centers had not yet been instituted by W.R.A., but over a score of resettlers, voluntary evacuees, had reached Chicago by May, 1942.

On June 26, 1942, the Advisory Committee for Evacuees was organized.

This committee represented over a dozen established agencies, staff members of whom consented to participate in setting up a program of aid to evacuees who were expected to soon arrive from the relocation camps.

Headquarters of the Advisory Committee were located in the office of the American Friends Service Committee, room 1010, Security Building, 189 West Madison street.

Thomas Holland, then chief of employment for the War Relocation Authority in Washington, D.C, encouraged the formation of the Advisory Committee and consulted with organizers.

Dr. Rolland Schloerb, pastor of the Hyde Park Baptist Church, was named chairman; other officers were Herman Will, Jr., of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, vice-chairman; Barbara Battershell, of the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, recording secretary; and Edwin C. Morgenroth, of the American Friends Service Committee, executive secretary.

Although the Advisory Committee seems to have originally been intended to be a coordinating, administrative, action agency in resettlement work, in practise it turned out to be what its title implied--an advisory body. Its actual work--in the finding of jobs, housing, and helping in the adjustment problems of resettlers--centered in the office of the American Friends Service Committee where paid staff persons were added to do the work.

Periodic, regular reports were made to the Advisory Committee, both by mail and at occasional meetings by the executive secretary. A large part of the time of the limited staff at the Friends office was devoted to what is described as "laying the groundwork for friendly community reception of evacuees." All community contacts were tapped by the church agencies. A listing of the ori-

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ginal members of the Advisory Committee shows that church interest was predominant then as it is now, in the non-governmental agencies working on resettlement:

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| Mrs. James Aldrich Chicago Y.W.C.A. | Mrs. Curtis Larson Fellowship of Reconciliation |
| Miss Alice Boynton In'l League for Freedom | Virgil E. Lowder Chicago Church Federation |
| Miss Helen P. Bill Chicago Y.W.C.A. | Frank W. McCulloch Mullenbach Institute |
| Emerson O. Bradshaw Chicago Church Federation | Sutherland D. Miller Chicago Y.M.C.A. |
| Leland S. Brubaker Brethren Service Committee | John L. Nelson Lawson Y.M.C.A. |
| Miss Lucy Carner Post War World Council | Dr. Russell S. Orr Chicago Church Federation |
| Mrs. Miette Cummings Chicago Y.W.C.A. | Dr. & Mrs. Albert Palmer Chicago Church Federation |
| Miss Ethel Dewey Chicago Y.W.C.A. | Rev. Don F. Pielstick Home Missions Council of N.A. |
| Merrill Enyeart Chicago Y.M.C.A. | Dean Robert Redfield University of Chicago |
| Rev. Harold E. Fey Christian Century | Wilfred S. Reynolds Council of Social Agencies |
| Sadie Ellis Garland Hull House | Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich Immigrants' Protective League |
| Miss Genrose Gehri Church Mission of Help | Mrs. Julia Ruopp Chicago Y.W.C.A. |
| John W. Harms Chicago Church Federation | Mrs. Elmer L. Shirrell Chicago Y.W.C.A. |
| Dr. S. I. Hayakawa Illinois Institute of Tech. | Mr. Elmer L. Shirrell War Relocation Authority |
| Joel D. Hunter United Charities | Dr. Howard Vernon Chicago Church Federation |
| Mrs. Edwin H. Kinney Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society | Mrs. George R. Wilson Chicago Church Federation |
| Henry J. Little, Jr. Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions | Rev. Aloysius J. Wycislo Catholic Charities |
| | L. E. Zeitz U.S. Employment Service |

After nineteen months, the Advisory Committee for Evacuees nominally still exists, under the continued chairmanship of Dr. Rolland Schloerb. Dr. S. I. Hayakawa has succeeded Herman Will, Jr. as Vice-chairman, one member of the original Committee has since died, several have moved to other cities, and several others have been added to the Committee. Meetings are held irregularly, once in three or four months; but periodic reports still go out from the office at 189 West Madison Street to keep members posted on the progress of the work. The nature of the Committee's function has changed in the 19 months.

In January, 1943, almost at the same time the Washington W.R.A. began assigning personnel to the newly designated Chicago W.R.A. office at 226 West Jackson street,

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the working staff of the Advisory Committee was bolstered with the collaboration of the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York with the American Friends Service Committee. For over a year now, the resettlement work of the Friends and the Baptists in Chicago has been a joint effort.

However each of these private agencies regarded its function and role in resettlement, their combined efforts were supplementary to the main program laid down by the Chicago W.R.A. office. Employers, landlords, government agencies, community resource people, and evacuees alike have regarded the Chicago W.R.A. as something of a fountainhead of authority, information, and the official word on matters pertaining generally to evacuees and relocation.

Like the religious agencies, the W.R.A. has found itself continually faced with new areas of needs from the outset; as a consequence its activities have expanded considerably--together with its staff--over the past year.

Absence of a well-defined program--and this is characteristic of every resettlement agency in Chicago--has tended to make W.R.A. the unwitting butt of unpopular sentiment among evacuees perhaps as much as any other factor. For instance, in February, 1943, resettlers arriving in Chicago generally had been led to believe--while they were still in camp--that the new relocation office in the Windy City was prepared to assist them in all necessary matters until they were "back on their feet". Such expectations, no doubt, were unjustified; but nevertheless they were very real. An evacuee who found himself a misfit on his first job almost invariably expected W.R.A. to help him find another. Apparently some individuals were being assisted at first; but as the stream of second and third job-seekers widened beyond the limitations of the office capacity, evacuees were soon told they could expect no more help on second jobs. If W.R.A. personnel has been able to know and define on any given date the extent of its ability to assist persons, newly-arrived resettlers generally have not.

Officially, W.R.A. pre-occupation in Chicago during the first part of 1943 appears to have been centered in widening the field of prospective employers and in gaining greater community acceptance of evacuees.

Both were areas of activity in which some earlier spadework had been done by the church groups.

In compiling a backlog of job offers to be relayed to the relocation centers, Chicago W.R.A. at first garnered a bulk of unskilled, labor openings. An understanding with the United States Employment Service to assist evacuees already arrived in Chicago seems to have been worked out in Spring of 1943. By and large, this arrangement appears to have been unsatisfactory. The number of resettlers who encountered resistance to their employment

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"on account of we're Japanese" was unpleasantly large (to the applicants). At any rate, by summer W.R.A.'s own job placement staff had expanded to being the largest full time resettlement staff of any agency in Chicago. Church offices were requested to refer job applicants to the W.R.A. Offers for work by this time were reported by Elmer Shirrell, head of the office, to be literally "pouring in, and we simply can't keep up with employer demands."

In February, 1943, the American Friends opened the first hostel in Chicago. All invitations to the hostel were telegraphed to the relocation centers by the W.R.A. A few weeks later, the Brethren Service Committee opened a second hostel; and the same procedure for bringing evacuees to Chicago was followed. Thus, most of the new arrivals into the city from the outset of '43 have had some occasion to call in person at the W.R.A. office, although apparently all have not.

Hostel resettlers, coming to Chicago without definite job offers, have in many instances found satisfactory placement through the W.R.A. In recent months, with leaves permitted from centers without jobs in advance, this number has increased. W.R.A. has probably been more successful than any other agency in widening the field of large plants, factories, and business offices where board meetings for policy making have been required to begin employing Japanese Americans. In doing this, the added responsibility of securing a cooperative willingness on the part of a qualified evacuee applicant has been undertaken by W.R.A. staff personnel. Thus, when W.R.A. was able to place evacuees in General Motors in Chicago, the area of employment opportunities was extended considerably. Lately, W.R.A. staff persons have been in contact with International Harvester Company among others to secure favorable policy on evacuee employment. These activities of W.R.A. are by and large beyond the immediate sight of resettlers; and being somewhat removed, there has been only limited appreciation of their significance by individual evacuees.

On frequent occasion, a W.R.A. job lead, while not materializing into an actual placement, has been sufficient for the applicant to get a start in a chain of employer interviews ending in a job.

As the main center of evacuee resettlement calls, W.R.A. appears to operate under handicap of personnel and time insufficient to meet needs of the large volume of callers; it is not uncommon for as many as fifteen or twenty evacuees to be waiting half a day for an interview; where an individual may require two or three visits before locating job or housing, frequent dissatisfactions seem to result on the part of resettler. Much of evacuee criticism stems simply from this situation.

An occasional criticism of W.R.A. assistance by evacuees is based on what is referred to as an alleged "lack of understanding" or "unfriendly" reception. In this matter, any government agency by circumstances beyond its control appears to suffer by comparison with the church agencies; and evacuees tend to compare without understanding themselves the regulations which may limit one staff and not

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another. At the same time, where similar criticism has been directed at the church and other private agencies--though perhaps in lesser degree--an emerging conclusion seems to be that the real source of the problem lies in the confused state of mind, characterized by anxiety and uncertainty, of the new arrival from relocation center life.

In the area of community relations, embracing as it does the general acceptance of resettlers in Chicago, the W.R.A. has shouldered a major portion of the responsibility. Whether it has done an excellent job or a mediocre one or a poor one may be debatable to the individual depending upon his circumstances and position. But the over-all record of resettlement here shows that there has been no organized political, economic or other resistance to resettlement. As official troubleshooter for a series of minor incidents which headlined newspapers--to the detriment of the relocation program--in the summer, W.R.A. successfully smoothed troubled waters, apparently working in cooperation with other federal agencies.

Thus, when a local restaurateur in Marengo, Illinois, a man who had lost a son in the Pacific, raised a town issue over the employment of resettlers on the Curtis Candy Company farm in that area, Chicago W.R.A. stepped into the breach on a ticklish public relations job. Working through the town's civic and church people of good will, armed with facts which cleared up misconceptions regarding evacuees, W.R.A. demonstrated the effectiveness of a government agency at work on a specific issue of public sentiment. The restaurateur's objections were withdrawn, the area was kept open for resettlement. Again, when a group of ex-Hawaiian evacuee merchant marine seamen became involved in an altercation with several Filipino U.S. Navy sailors in the near Northside saloon and tavern section, newspaper headlines carried with them somewhat foreboding threats to: (1) the morale and peace of mind of resettlers making their new adjustments to Chicago; (2) enthusiasm for relocation in the camps, already then flagging because of the fears of mistreatment "on the outside"; (3) acceptance of Japanese American applicants by "marginal" employers still debating the issue in their minds; (4) landlords and landladies harboring suspicions founded on headlines and a general unfamiliarity with facts. Early newspaper reports on this incident, especially those featured prominently by the Hearst Herald-American, carried versions distinctly unfavorable to the evacuees, a version denied by them; W.R.A. issued a correcting version, based on impartial official investigation, then the incident disappeared rather swiftly from the news columns. Rumors persisted among some circles for weeks that a cooperating wartime agency, for security reasons, had succeeded in squelching further play-up of the incident.

What W.R.A. has done and is doing in this area of its activities is almost completely unknown by those whom such activities are intended to benefit--the evacuees in the

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Chicago area.

An interesting typical reaction of one of the more extreme types of resettlers to W.R.A.'s presumed responsibility here--and its presumed lack of diligence in meeting it--is recorded in a documented conversation:

Evacuee A: "The goddam Dies Committee is spreading all those lies about us. Why doesn't W.R.A. do something about it?"

Evacuee B: "For cripes sakes yeah; they should never have made us come out here until they had cleared the way and educated people to accept us without discriminating against us on account of us being Japanese."

While this hardly appears to be a typical reaction, it is a vocal and a real one among resettlers, especially the younger group, pinpricked almost daily by little incidents interpreted as being matters of race prejudice and discrimination.

In line with this function, W.R.A. is the clearing house out of which issues the periodic releases of literature prepared by the Office of Reports in Washington. These go largely to employers, prospective landlords, church agencies and church pastors, to all interested citizens who request them, free of charge. Few resettlers ask for, call for or receive them.

It has been the expressed belief of some individuals in the private agencies assisting on resettlement that distribution of such literature among evacuees themselves would accomplish much good. First, it would reassure those who still carry mental chips on their shoulders in the belief that all people--especially Caucasians--are out to kick every evacuee around, that such is not the case. It would encourage the more responsible and more mature individuals among resettlers to take heart in greater cooperation in the relocation program; it would equip the uninformed evacuee with morale-bolstering information.

Verbal presentation of relocation facts, through speaking engagements scheduled before business, labor, civic, educational, church, professional and other groups has likewise been a time-consuming function of W.R.A. staff personnel. And within the limited time at its disposal, W.R.A. has done a good job in this sphere. Utilizing of evacuee talent--a singer or musician--was successfully introduced by W.R.A.

Although early recognition was given to job placement as a primary function of W.R.A., it was not until late spring of 1943 that attention was given to the housing needs of resettlers to the extent of adding staff time. The American Baptist Home Mission Society and Amer-

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ican Friends Service Committee initiated the program of aiding evacuees locate housing, motivated first by a desire to help new arrivals find suitable quarters in an overcrowded city and second, to encourage resettlers to disperse over as wide an area as possible, thus avoiding areas of concentration where racial tensions might arise.

W.R.A. assumed chief responsibility for housing assistance, but the large majority of resettlers now in Chicago have located their present quarters on their own. W.R.A. housing assistance in some measure has been indirect. No more than one person has been assigned, full time, to these duties from the outset. As a consequence, the amount of individual attention to requests for apartment "leads" that can be given is extremely limited. However, in pressing for education of landlords and landladies, of apartment house managers and, in rarer instances, real estate representatives to the facts of relocation, the way of the new arrival to adequate accommodations has been made somewhat easier. There is, of course, no method of measuring how effective this latter work has been. Left to the expressed judgment of evacuees themselves, opinion has varied from one extreme to another as to how much help W.R.A. has been in this field of activity.

In Chicago, no report of W.R.A. activities and function can be accurately made without inclusion of the supplementary activities of cooperating private agencies. On the whole, there has been, in the opinion of many observers, rather remarkable cooperation between government and private groups.

The twice-monthly joint staff meetings, held in a W.R.A. conference room, is possibly the most tangible evidence of this working cooperation.

While the size of the W.R.A. Chicago office staff fluctuates from time to time--as does those of the other agencies--at the first of the year, it was estimated that there were 38 full time staff persons employed in the city on resettlement. These were in the offices of: (1) W.R.A. (2) Church Federation of Greater Chicago, with representatives of Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, and Presbyterian boards; (3) Brethren Service Committee (4) Japanese American Citizens League; (5) American Baptist Home Mission Society (6) Young Women's Christian Association and (6) American Friends Service Committee.

Generally speaking, what the W.R.A. has been doing throughout the past year, all other agencies have also done the same thing. In one respect, there has been an overlapping of activities and functions; there has been considerable differences in emphasis, but the differences have been one of degree more than one of spheres of activities, for all the agencies, both government and private, appear to be one in the common objective: resettlement without trouble.

Take for example, housing. The Church Federa-

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ation of Greater Chicago, working through its affiliations with pastors of over a thousand churches in the metropolitan area, has certainly contributed a large measure of help in alleviating evacuee housing problems. To some extent also, the various ministers on the staff of the United Ministry to Resettlers have devoted part of their time in individual, personal aid to members of their respective flocks seeking quarters.

The Brethren Service Committee, centering its activities and contacts at its hostel, first at the Bethany Seminary on the west side and next at the North Sheridan Road address on the northside, has been instrumental in finding housing of a permanent or semi-permanent nature for many of its hostellers.

Both the American Friends Service Committee and American Baptist Home Mission Society have, throughout the past year and now, had at least one staff person devoting full time to housing assistance. During the summer and early fall months, the part time of four staff persons was given to housing. Members would canvass whole residential areas of the city, noting addresses of vacancies, making inquiries, talking to apartment managers, detailing descriptions of desirable and undesirable areas, mapping Chicago with a view to recording the dispersal of resettlers. In the early months of the year, before W.R.A. had assigned housing responsibilities to a staff member, the Baptist representative found it necessary on occasion to take individual resettlers, desperately unsuccessful and discouraged in apartment-hunting, in hand and go out with that person until quarters were found. On other occasions, deposits were placed on apartments and held for individuals.

Since the closing of the Friends hostel on November 30, 1943, the major portion of the former director's time has been consumed in walking Chicago's residential areas for housing "leads" which are listed both at W.R.A. and at the Brethren hostel.

One function in the area of housing assistance that apparently is regarded as important by the agencies is described in the annual report of the Friends and Baptists with the following comment:

"Efforts have been directed to gently urge people from the more undesirable sections, such as near Northside, into more pleasing and less depressed sections, even though obtaining openings in the latter is more difficult."

According to the same report, "resettlers now live in some 43 of Chicago's residential community areas, and in smaller numbers, in most suburbs." A "community area" map of Chicago shows that there are 75 such sections in the city; however, a dozen or more are actually business and in-

dustrial areas.

In directly accommodating young women resettlers, as well as in finding addresses when their own quarters are filled to capacity, both the Young Women's Christian Association and the Eleanor Association of Chicago have been of assistance. Again, in housing "leads" information, the Japanese American Citizens League office has, from time to time, been of assistance to a more limited number of persons.

As a consequence of these more or less parallel efforts in ~~this~~ one field alone by all the agencies, there is a natural tendency on the part of resettlers to seek out any one or all of them; where one may not give satisfactory aid at a given time, there is invariably a follow-up resort to another. In almost any other type of endeavor, under similar circumstances, it would almost seem as if competitive frictions would set in; however, this has been notably absent in the relations, by and large, between the various agencies. The joint staff meetings have developed out of a more harmonious inter-functioning of the various offices than out of their differences.

In the matter of temporary housing--for newcomers immediately upon detrainning in Chicago--two additional agencies played a part in the past year; one of them still continues to do so, the Y.M.C.A. The other, which has more or less slipped from the scene of official W.R.A. recognition, has been the hostel or rather hotel, opened by the Japanese Mutual Aid Society, representing a group of previously established Issei residents of the city.

It is probable that the Y.M.C.A. hotels, notably the downtown structure at 826 South Wabash, as well as the Division, Lawson, Professional, Sears, Hyde Park, Englewood, Duncan, have accommodated more resettlers, both men and women, than any other institution. It is estimated that over 400 evacuees may be found at the Y hotels at any given time. Most registrants, however, shortly move on to housekeeping rooms and apartments. By comparison in round numbers, the Brethren hostel has been the temporary residence of some 800 new arrivals, the Friends hostel received and assisted 360. Acceptance and friendly reception to evacuees by the Y.M.C.A. have not just happened, but rather this situation has grown out of planning, out of participation by the Y.M.C.A. in both the early Advisory Committee discussions and the subsequent W.R.A. joint staff meetings.

As many as 150 resettlers have been registered at one time at the Y.M.C.A. hotel on south Wabash alone; they have been invited, along with other guests, to participate in hotel programs and entertainment; they have full and equal use of all hotel facilities. Only on one occasion, and that was during the summer months at a time when, with the closing of the Stevens as headquarters for the Army Specialized Training Program air cadets, that a section of the Y.M.C.A. hotel was taken over for the armed

services, has registration of evacuees been curtailed. This curtailment affected everyone applying there for rooms, but the rumor soon spread that evacuees "weren't being accepted because there are too many now." Actually, there was no basis for the rumor; and, as the pressure on accommodations was eased with withdrawal of the army, the reports died.

Temporary accommodations were also provided by the Mutual Aid Service Society which took over what was generally acknowledged to be a class E or F hotel on the near Northside, regarded as an undesirable district. This hotel was for a short period advertised in the center newspapers as a "hostel", to the slight, apparent discomfiture of the other two hostels then in operation. Encouraged by W.R.A., the well-meaning Mutual Aid Service Society played host to several scores of evacuees. For a short period, its turnover was reported fairly rapid until two reports on the unfavorable side circulated the grapevine: (1) There were too many fleas and like fauna inhabiting the place and (2) The area was unofficially frowned upon by the United States Attorney's office, particularly as a residence for Japanese aliens. Whatever the truth of the rumors, W.R.A. discontinued referring persons to the place. By late fall, the "hostel" on north Wells street seemed to have dropped from the resettlement picture though no doubt it still occupies some place.

In this connection, mention ought to be made of the fact that, in the first full-blown year of Chicago resettlement activity, efforts of the organizations in the field have been mixed Caucasian-Japanese in personnel. An all-Japanese agency, of the type that flourished in pre-war communities on the west coast, has not been characteristic at all. The lone exception has been the presence of the Japanese American Citizens League; but here too, with the staff limited to an office representative and secretary, efforts and functions have been in tune with the general resettlement program of the combined agencies.

Operating under extreme limitations of staff, space, and time, the Chicago Japanese American Citizens League has nevertheless rendered genuine aid to a good number of individual resettlers. Scores of new job leads, discovered independently of W.R.A. or any of the other agencies, have been unearthed by J.A.C.L. Assistance has been given in house and apartment-hunting. Personal counselling, especially to J.A.C.L. followers and members, has been a function of the one-man office. A large measure of the time has apparently been devoted to public relations, in speaking before different groups. Underlying these activities has been the basic and acknowledged need of the League to lay foundations for its eventual financial support some necessary to its perpetuation. These circumstances, of course, have thrown a somewhat different light upon the nature of J.A.C.L. resettlement activities in contrast to the church groups as well as the government, both of the latter holding more or less that resettlement and their parts in it

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are necessarily temporary in character.

Like the W.R.A. which seems to have inherited the evacuees' acquired antipathy toward government in the camps, J.A.C.L. sometimes labors under handicaps of antagonisms that have become newly historical. The confusions and instabilities of relocation center life have dumped no little package of unpopularity in the J.A.C.L. lap. An observational note of interest here is that Chicago J.A.C.L. resettlement efforts have modified some of that feeling, eliminated it in many cases. It is common consensus that J.A.C.L. has tried to fulfill the role of the samaritan with outstretched hand, though the beneficiary in many cases has continued to reserve his suspicions as to motives.

No conspicuous attempt has been made by J.A.C.L. to exploit its resettlement assistance through solicitation of membership. Expectation of the formation of a chapter, typical of pre-war nisei communities, failed of fulfillment last spring. A factor, no doubt, has been the little spoken but firmly-felt attitudes of earlier agencies in relocation against the development of conspicuous racially-segregated activities. J.A.C.L. has, on the face of the record, not been slow to sense the pulse of community good will. The League has re-evaluated to some degree the nature of its functions and activities, has thrown emphasis upon breaking away from its Japanese exclusiveness, acquired an impressive list of national Caucasian "sponsors", and in Chicago, for the time being at least, pigeon-holed blue prints for extensive organizing.

There is no doubt, however, that the J.A.C.L. has both officially and informally been a factor in favor of the formation of evacuee groups of whatever nature that circumstances will favorably permit. At W.R.A. joint staff meetings, for instance, the voice of the J.A.C.L. can without deviation be counted upon to support activities which bring resettlers together. The most eloquent plea for social gatherings, a need recognized by all the agencies, is usually put in by the J.A.C.L. This position of the League is understandable in terms of the ear to the ground and the eye to the future which the League must keep cocked.

A factor in the present and likely future growth of evacuee interest in the J.A.C.L. appears to be the weekly publication of the League, the Pacific Citizen. While comparatively limited in ~~circulation~~ ^{subscriptions} among evacuee Chicagoans, it manages to circulate considerably beyond its paid readers and is frequently quoted. Curiously enough, it seems to be more popular than the organization it represents. It is not uncommon for complimentary opinion to be expressed regarding it, quite detached from less sugary words about J.A.C.L. itself. While resettlement information plays a decided second fiddle to the performances of Nisei in the armed services on the pages

of P-C, vital statistics, stories of activities, social and otherwise, both in the camps and outside in different relocation cities, as well as the usually disturbing news of west coast politics--all these--manage to keep alive the consciousness of the evacuee's recent past and his implied ties to others of his own race. Two functions which the Chicago J.A.C.L. undoubtedly hopes to be able to expand are: (1) Sign up more associated members and (2) Secure more paid subscribers to the Pacific Citizen.

The J.A.C.L. office is located on the 10th floor of the Security building, Madison and Wells, on the north-easterly edge of the loop, Chicago's downtown section. It adjoins the offices of the Advisory Committee, the Baptists and the Friends, ~~who three of which are~~ occupy joint space. While there has been little occasion for the J.A.C.L. and its neighbors to collaborate or share in specific matters of relocation, relations have been cooperative and cordial. There have been noticeable differences of opinion regarding procedures, *however*.

For instance, in the matter of public relations, J.A.C.L. technique has developed along lines of aggressively seeking attention. This approach is more or less frowned upon by the church service workers as not in their taste. Blowing one's own horn, at any rate, has never been particularly attributed to Quakers. ~~any way~~. Thus, when the Community War Fund campaign was under way, J.A.C.L. suggested that all Nisei who could be contacted should "chip in a buck or two to present separately to the Chicago War Fund." Why? the question was raised at a joint staff meeting. "So our people can get some publicity of a favorable nature in the newspapers," was the reply of the J.A.C.L. representative. This kind of motivation for giving was again out of tune with the basic philosophy of the neighbor church staffs, but no issue was raised. J.A.C.L. efforts for the next few days were directed toward collecting the contributions; if favorable metropolitan newspaper publicity was given to this singular deed, it was either not very conspicuous or no one talked much about it.

This "philosophy of service" upon which the church agencies place considerable importance in their resettlement activities is described in the report of the Friends and Baptists to which reference has already been made:

"Resettlement of American Japanese and Japanese evacuees to us has been a religiously-motivated service. These people have been in distress. They are in need of help. Christian faith impels us to respond. In the work of the year just ending, each of us has tried to live in the practise of our belief in the ultimate triumph of love over hate, in our faith in the Fatherhood of God and

brotherhood of man."

Neither the Baptists nor the Friends, working jointly through the Advisory Committee, has made any direct efforts to convert or gain members among evacuees. The same has been true of the Brethren Service Committee of the Bethany Church which has collaborated closely with both Friends and Baptists.

While the Brethren group has centered its main contribution to resettlement in the operation of its hostel, its activities have more or less paralleled those of the other religious agencies. Its record is almost one with the Quaker-Baptist statement:

"We have laid out no rigid program which we attempted to follow to the letter. Rather, our service has grown with changing needs, we anticipating them as resettlement expanded. Emphasis in allotment of time and effort has shifted constantly. As one of the early agencies in the Chicago field, we undertook activities which in time formed the pattern for others to enlarge and extend. For instance, the War Relocation Authority office in Chicago was set up nearly seven months after the first evacuee called on us for help in finding a job. The government was not engaged in employment aid at the first of the year. Our staff was composed of three persons then (Friends), but we undertook job placement at the request of the Washington office of the War Relocation Authority. Three months later, the government's employment program was in full swing. But a new need had arisen--housing. The full time of an additional staff worker (Baptist) was immediately placed in the field. Two months later, the government was at work on housing. In the fall, the need for adequate counselling facilities was felt. Our recent attention has been centered in the adjustment problems of resettlers, though earlier work on employment and housing has been continued. We were active in attempting to meet the spiritual needs of newcomers before the Church Federation fully assumed this responsibility through formation of the United Ministry to Resettlers. Our service is flexible. Our motivation is not."

Brethren Service Committee resettlement work in Chicago has centered around the personalities of its co-directors, formerly teachers at the Manzanar Relocation Center. Like the Friends hostel which preceded it by several

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weeks in opening and which closed last Nov. 30, the Brethren hostel is intended primarily to serve as a friendly, enlarged temporary home. By those who operate it, greater importance is attached to the hostel's function in providing a friendly, warm welcome to new arrivals than in affording a sleeping quarters. It is pointed out that a hostel is not a hotel. Hostelers are all supposed to share in chores around the house, thus cutting down on expenses.

On an average, hostel facilities have been taxed to capacity, frequently with latecomers sleeping on davenports in the living room and, in some extremities, on the floor. There have been occasions, particularly during the lull in the fall, when neither hostel was full.

Through periodic visits into all of the relocation camps, the Brethren hostel directors have kept open and alive channels of information between the Chicago relocation area and the centers. Reports, information bulletins, and a steady stream of correspondence have gone into the centers from the Brethren hostel as they have from the Friends hostel and the Advisory Committee office. There has been some duplication of effort here, but this has been considered necessary to reach evacuees in camp effectively.

There seems to be a feeling, based on the few individual case records in the different agency offices, that evacuees who have resettled through the two hostels, as a rule, adjust themselves more quickly to Chicago. It is claimed that a smaller percentage of maladjustments occurs among hostelers than among non-hostelers; directors of both hostels have statistics to show that the number of hostelers who failed to readjust successfully and who returned to camp is smaller than the over-all figure. *1/2 prepared*

This fact is attributed in large measure to the orientation program, involving counselling and the sharing of previous experiences, at the hostel. There is also some social life; and the financial arrangements do not produce the stresses and strains of higher-priced accommodations even as reasonable as the Y.M.C.A. hotel.

The directors of the Brethren hostel, having come into personal acquaintance and friendly contact with over 800 resettlers under comparatively favorable circumstances, occupy a peculiarly strategic position of influence with these new Chicagoans. The same would hold true with the directors of the Friends hostel who similarly came into contact with 360 newcomers. The Brethren directors, in particular, having lived for over half a year within a center, having kept up to date with changing conditions in all the centers by trips to them, and having come into the confidence as friendly advisors to individuals on the resettlement end, have been unusually well placed by experience to influence relocation policies in Chicago. Brethren representatives have been far from silent at the joint staff meetings held at the W.R.A.

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Further, in the field of organized church activity, the Brethren service committee, together with the Friends representative early launched the initiative in the program culminating in the formation of the United Ministry to Resettlers.

Almost as if in anticipation of a segregated Japanese town in Chicago, an anticipation viewed with much misgiving, the early participants in the Church ministry laid the groundwork for a program of integration of newcomers as against segregation. Weeks before the first evacuee Protestant ministers arrived, there had been reached a tacit, unanimous agreement that segregated mission churches would certainly not be encouraged, perhaps discouraged. Resettlers ought to go to the already established church of their choice in whatever neighborhood they lived, it was reasoned.

The viewpoint of the Chicago Church Federation in this matter was more or less first set down in writing on April 23, 1943, in a letter sent to over a thousand Protestant ministers under the signature of Virgil E. Lowder, secretary of the department of social service. This letter stated:

"Dear Brother Minister:

"This is an earnest request for your help in preventing the development of a grave social problem in Chicago. Here's how.

"The United States government is bending every effort to relocate the 70,000 nisei (American Citizens of Japanese ancestry) who were evacuated into relocation centers at the beginning of the war. It is only simple justice that it should be done, and we are doing everything we can to help.

"One of the main offices of the war relocation authority is in Chicago. This city, which is now in the grip of an acute labor shortage, can assimilate a considerable number of these hard-working, independent Americans. Every one who is released is of course given a record check by the F.B.I. and is completely trustworthy.

"A number have already come. Others are coming in increasing numbers every week. Now that the early comers have had a chance to show what they can do, it appears that there will be plenty of jobs open to them. But the big problem is housing.

"It is not news to you that Chicago

is packed. It may be news that the real estate people say that less than one per cent of our housing accommodations are unoccupied. This makes it a serious situation for anybody to find quarters. It is doubly serious for the nisei.

"Here is where the social problem comes in. Chicago does not want another segregated area--a little Tokyo. The government does not want segregation. The nisei do not want to be segregated. But segregation is coming unless we can find a way to prevent it before it gets started.

"It would be easy to take over whole apartment buildings and to fill them with these thrifty people. Such buildings are available. With government and industry determined to give them the opportunity to make their excellent abilities available to relieve the manpower shortage, with the nisei eager to work and able to do so for good wages, that solution of the problem will be used unless something is done, and soon. But everybody recognizes that one such center will be the beginning of what is almost certain to become a segregated area.

"The alternative is in the hands of the people of good will in Chicago. Will they help provide housing in which the nisei can live like other citizens? Will you of the churches open your homes, allow them to rent your apartments, to rent or sublease your rooms? Many of them are faithful members of your own church. Will you help to create a friendly public attitude toward people who were born in America, who know no other country, and who are ready and able to pay their own bills like anybody else?

"The answer must be given in deeds, not words. And it must be given soon. Whether Chicago is to have another segregated area, with all the evils that arise out of such a situation, is being determined now and within the next days and weeks.

"Please read the enclosed leaflet. How many such leaflets will you agree to distribute in your church? They will be supplied free.

"Will you place the problem before the people of your church? Many people who have not hitherto rented rooms or apartments must do so if this situation is to be met.

"If you want a speaker, either a nisei or another American, please let us know.

"Will you select a committee to canvass the women of your church concerning this immediate need? People who have rooms may call or they may write Miss Mercer, War Relocation Authority, 226 West Jackson, ANDover 3600, Ext. 197. This letter is being sent to you at the request of the War Relocation Authority and the Advisory Committee for Evacuees.

"You may indicate how your church will help by returning the enclosed post card to us.

"Thank you for joining in this outreach of good will to our fellow Americans.

"Sincerely,

VIRGIL E. LOWDER
Secretary, Dept.
of Social Service"

Response to this missive was somewhat disappointing to the more optimistic souls, as far as immediate results. As a matter of fact, approximately 10 per cent of the ministers so reached were able to produce available rooms or apartments from among their congregations immediately. About half failed to respond at all, although in the subsequent months, resettlers in various neighborhoods originally contacted by the Church Federation through this letter, received calls and invitations from local church ministers.

Whatever the significance of this letter and others of like nature which followed, all the church agencies working on resettlement in Chicago, without exception, have placed emphasis upon the absorption of resettlers into established and on-going activities; there has been stress placed to discourage segregated activity. Nowhere has this issue been brought into sharper focus and subjected to closer scrutiny than in the Church Federation's United Ministry to Resettlers.

On June 28, 1943, a year almost to the day after

formation of the Advisory Committee for Evacuees, the Church Federation released the following list of persons as comprising the staff of the "United Ministry to Evacuees", recently changed to the United Ministry to Resettlers:

NORTH SIDE

Rev. T. F. Rutledge Beale, Pastor
Wellington Ave. Congregational Church
619 Wellington

Friends Service Committee hostel
350 Belden

Harry Hashimoto
957 W. Belden

Sumio Koga
2330 N. Halsted

Akira Kuroda
957 W. Belden

Rev. C. Kuzuhara
1120 West Fullerton

Kenji Nakane
350 West Belden

Mrs. Harold Ruopp
2701 Eastwood Ave.
Evanston, Illinois

Rev. H. G. Thietmeyer
Grace Lutheran Church
Belden & Geneva Terrace

Rev. Aloysius J. Wycislow
126 N. Desplaines

John Yamashita
Garrett Biblical Institute

LOOP DISTRICT

Dr. Charles Ray Goff
First Methodist Church
77 W. Washington

Friends Service Committee
189 W. Madison St.

WEST SIDE

Brethren Relocation Hostel
3435 West Van Buren

Rev. Charles C. Hoskinson, Pastor
Warren Ave. Congregational Church
Warren Ave. & Albany Ave.

Rev. Raymond H. Laury, Pastor
St. Paul's Methodist Church
608 S. Asland Ave.

Rev. Harold L. Lunger, Pastor
Austin Blvd. Disciples Church
427 N. Humphrey, Oak Park

Rev. Harper S. Will, Pastor
First Church of the Brethren
Congress & Central Park

SOUTH SIDE

Dr. Harold L. Bowman, Pastor
First Presbyterian Church
6400 S. Kimbark Ave.

Rev. J. Richard Drees, Pastor
Hyde Park Methodist Church
E. 54th & Blackstone Ave.

Rev. Kenji Kikuchi
5757 University Ave.

Rev. Ai Thi Sai
5757 University Ave.

Rev. Holland W. Schloerb, Pastor
Hyde Park Baptist Church
5600 Woodlawn

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SOUTH SIDE (continued)

Dr. Eric Titus, Pastor
First Baptist Church
935 E. 50th St.

Michizo Uratani
5757 University Ave.

Rev. Masao Wakai
5757 University Ave.

Rev. John M. Yamazaki
5540 S. Woodlawn

The list has changed in the past half year, chiefly through additions of Chicago pastors and new arrivals among evacuee ministers.

The coming of the latter produced in late fall a number of policy-making meetings at which sharply divergent views were expressed over the question of setting up churches for all-Japanese congregations. The United Ministry as it ~~was~~ was already set up, had taken a stand against such church projects. One of the chief objections was on the ground that such segregated churches were a step in setting a pattern of Japanese segregation comparable to the west coast situation.

Thus, in June, 1943, accompanying the list of United Ministry staff members, went the following letter to every resettler whose address was available from all the agency offices:

UNITED MINISTRY TO EVACUEES
of the
CHICAGO CHURCH FEDERATION

77 W. Washington st
PH. FRANKLIN 2236

Co-Directors:
Rev. Ralph E. Smeltzer
Rev. John M. Yamazaki

Dear Friend:

"The churches of Chicago are pleased to extend to you a hearty welcome as you come to live in our city.

"We hope you will very soon feel yourself at home in our community, in every way one of us.

"It will almost certainly help you in becoming acquainted if you will seek out and attend a church of your choice and make yourself known to the minister there. A cordial invitation and welcome await you at all the churches.

"If you will call the Chicago Church Federation, FRANKLIN 2236, we shall be glad to suggest a nearby church. Enclosed you will find a list of ministers and counsellors who will be happy to counsel with you concerning your religious, social, vocational, and personal desires or problems. Call upon the one nearest you.

"We hope to have a friend, representing all the churches and the United Ministry to Evacuees, call upon you soon.

Cordially yours,

Ralph E. Smeltzer
John M. Yamazaki

Advisory:
Virgil E. Lowder"

One section of evacuee minister thinking insisted that these efforts were insufficient. This thinking was reflected in an attitude tending to discount both the importance and effectiveness of the house-to-call calls and ministry. Further, it was claimed that "the average Nisei does not yet feel at home in a Caucasian Church and we are neglecting our sacred duty as clergymen to win more souls into the Kingdom of God." Interestingly enough, this viewpoint found its chief exponent in one of the younger ~~Canadian~~ Nisei ministers, a Canadian born citizen of the Dominion whose theological training, acquired in the south, has a touch of fundamentalist approach. No great evil is seen in segregated church existence, and expressed concerns over this problem are usually dismissed as "sociological issues" by this section of evacuee minister opinion.

Most evacuee ministers in Chicago who are serving through the United Ministry, are paid by their respective mission boards: Baptist, Episcopal, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian. While organized under the Chicago Church Federation, each of these ministers is also tied to his immediate superior in the home missions organization of his denomination; these superior officers in the church organization are in turn members of the Protestant Commission, formerly of the West Coast where the whole situation was one of segregated Japanese mission churches. By and large, the weight and influence of the Protestant Commission have supported the evacuee ministerial contention that "we may have to set up our own Japanese churches for our people." The opposing point of view, expressed clearly by the Chicago Church Federation, has thus far successfully resisted the transplanting of the west coast pattern to

the midwest. Chief proponent of the idea of integrating resettlers into already established churches as against segregating them in their own new churches, among evacuee ministers, is an older man, an Issei with two sons in the ^{armed} services, who for a quarter of a century was pastor of a segregated mission church in Los Angeles.

The issue, however, is not clearly defined, nor is it as simple as being a question of one or another kind of activity. The question is frequently raised as to whether Chicago, with one pre-resettlement all-Japanese church service, is going to get others.

Recent attention of the United Ministry has been concentrated in the area of counselling; office space at headquarters of the Church Federation having been designated, an enlarged staff has directed these activities.

There is no doubt that most, if not all, evacuee ministers themselves miss their pre-war Sunday roles at the pulpit and the opportunity of leading their own compact little flocks from church buildings identified with themselves. Some have reconciled themselves to the new role they are now playing. Others appear not to have. One minister at a recent meeting remarked: "Sure, I'd like to have a church of my own and be able to resume preaching, but I think it is really more important that we devote our energies toward integrating Nisei into the whole community instead of drawing them apart." Another minister, however, was not so certain of his agreement with the latter half of that statement.

Whatever the degree of unanimity here, evacuee ministers have adjusted themselves, temporarily at least, to fulfilling functions which in large part are outside the physical plant of a church building and more in the neighborhood. Planning of social activities such as parties and dances for resettlers has recently occupied the time of some ministers. Meeting trains, writing to relatives (in Japanese) still in the relocation centers, acting as counsellors and generally ministering to individual, personal needs and problems are all part of the United Ministry staff member's day-to-day functions. Running through and underlying all these somewhat secular activities, of course, is an apparent awareness on the part of the ministers to fulfill their roles as clergymen.

Recognition of the need for normal social outlets for young people, through planned and organized affairs, has found the United Ministry working closely in hand with the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A. and the settlement houses, notably Hull House.

The Y.W.C.A. was the first agency to place a full time staff worker, brought to Chicago from Denver, Colorado, to tackle the job of providing adequate social life

for resettlers. A series of orientation teas, held in pleasant surroundings of the Y.W.C.A. loop center, followed a number of dances for servicemen; all these were well attended by a preponderance of evacuees, but never without some sprinkling of Caucasian faces. These affairs represented, in varying degree, the pronounced effort ^{of the agencies} to have resettlers intermingle with non-Japanese in their social contacts.

There appears to be close cooperation between the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. in the sponsorship of these socials. Dances and parties at the different 'Y' residences and hotels in every section of the city, inviting participation of resettlers, have become a near-fixture on the scheduled program. It is characteristic of these affairs to: (1) cost those attending very little money, (2) encourage wholesome recreational enjoyment in an atmosphere conducive toward non-segregated activity. Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year events were observed with such socials at many 'Y' locales, at Hull House, at numerous neighborhood churches. One of the most recent, a "get acquainted" dance and party sponsored at the Y.M.C.A. hotel at 826 South Wabash on January 19, was attended by approximately 400 persons, a fourth of them Caucasian, three-fourths nisei. It was generally pronounced an enjoyable success though some feeling was voiced that its success might have been greater if it could have been divided and held in two different places with half as many at each place. An interesting disclosure made by the Y.M.C.A. hotel program office after this social revealed that a "public opinion poll" had been taken in the hotel lobby where several scores of guests were questioned individually. Did they object to the presence of Nisei on the premises? What was their feeling about Japanese Americans? Would they be interested in participating in mixed socials?

The response to these questions was "highly encouraging," according to the Y.M.C.A. program office. There was not a single discouraging, abusive reply. One Sioux City, Iowa, farmer who had brought a load of cattle into Chicago and was staying at the hotel over the night, admitted that "this is the first time I've ever seen any Japanese American." After joining in the hilarity and entertainment of the social, he commented: "Say, they ought to bring some of these youngsters to Sioux City; we'll sure welcome 'em."

The possibilities in a constructive public relations program through well planned and acceptable social affairs have been demonstrated on more than one of these occasions.

It appears to be common consensus that efforts by individual evacuees or pre-war Chicago Japanese residents to sponsor group socials--chiefly public dances--have differed from those of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and

churches in a number of respects. For one thing, they have cost more to persons attending. For another, there has been no apparent effort to bring in Caucasian participation; the segregated pattern has been in evidence. Feeling is general that in some instances, the efforts have been commercial ventures, not uniformly successful as money-makers. Nevertheless, they have served a function on the fringes of the growing need for wholesome recreational outlets for resettlers in Chicago.

The expressed attitude of W.R.A. toward these activities of agencies and private individuals in the field of resettler social life has undergone several stages. In the early months of '43, comparatively little concern was displayed, for obviously, it was pointed out, "we'll help evacuees get jobs, then they can stand on their own feet." The fact that the wife of the W.R.A. relocation supervisor was an active member of the Chicago Y.W.C.A., however, contributed toward a greater degree of interest than might otherwise have been shown. With the passing of months and the increase in both numbers of resettlers and attendant W.R.A. functions, added concern began to be shown by W.R.A.

Here again, in policy-making discussions, the issue of "integration vs. segregation" was raised. One episode, indicative of the desire of most of the agencies to prevent patterns of segregation from hardening, involved the shift of church agency staff personnel to work temporarily full time on urging the 'Y' groups to plan 'mixed' socials. The present programs are a development of these discussions.

Both the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A., particularly the latter, have been quite active in the direct employment of resettlers in a variety of positions and capacities that cuts pretty well across the organization's employment list. Gymnasium instructors, stenographers, cashiers, laundry workers, elevator operators, linen service check room workers, cafeteria attendants, desk receptionists are some.

For the most part little known to the average resettler are literally scores of agencies in the city of Chicago rendering aid and assistance in the relocation program.

Their cooperation has been solicited and received by virtually all the agencies, government and private, having full time staff personnel on resettlement. The Friends and Baptists, for example, acknowledge the indispensability of these various cooperating agencies with the statement: "Realizing the necessarily temporary character of our work, we have felt the need of calling upon on-going community agencies to help in resettlement. We have served as a clearing house to channel requests

into expert and qualified hands, recognizing limitations of our personnel and time."

A typical example would be the part that Traveler's Aid Society has accepted as its contribution to Chicago resettlement. Both the hostels and the W.R.A. consumed a large part of its staff time last spring and summer in meeting trains. Weary, bewildered, frequently timid relocatees, still strange to their sudden projection out of barbed wire enclosures into a large, ~~unfamiliar~~ impersonal city, were regarded as individuals much in need of being met at the station. Often, the dispensing of simple information regarding taxi, luggage, hotel or hostel was all that was required. Traveler's Aid Society undertook this responsibility, thus releasing the church and government workers for other duties. Traveler's Aid likewise employs resettlers in its Chicago offices.

The Chicago Council of Social Agencies, the United Charities, particularly its Legal Aid Bureau; the Chicago Teacher's Union, Chicago Dental Society, Institute of Psycho-Analysis, Illinois Division of Rehabilitation, to name just a few, have all contributed directly or indirectly in assistance to evacuees arriving in Chicago. The Council of Social Agencies has been a clearing house for numerous problems of adjustment growing out of the counseling program of the full-time agencies.

When an evacuee family in late summer reported to both W.R.A. and the Friends office the claim that it ~~had~~ had been discriminated against in the matter of obtaining medical facilities at a local hospital, the matter was fully studied after the immediate need for the individual patient was met. A Friends representative, contacting the American Hospital Association, found that body not only cooperative but sympathetic. Direct conversations with several leading hospital directors resulted in a listing of over 60 physicians & surgeons and dentists available for resettlers.

The National Student Relocation Council, with headquarters in Philadelphia, has designated ~~was~~ Baptist representative in the Advisory Committee office in Chicago to counsel evacuee students. Over 150 individual in-person requests, made at the 10th floor office of the Committee, were answered and met during the past year. The representative's comment on this phase of resettlement: "We are finding the need for more careful attention to secondary school pupils who generally have greater difficulty in adjusting themselves to resettlement than their more mature friends. Some of these cases have required intensive work and concern, beyond the normal needs of educational guidance. Catalogues are on file from some 50 colleges and universities. Assistance to about 25 students in obtaining part-time employment has been given. Opening of half a dozen hospital nurses' training schools to resettled young women is a recent

encouraging development. We are looking and working for more of the barriers to be removed."

In practically every field of action where the Protestant groups have thrown their resources, the Catholic Church has likewise cooperated in resettlement, though in large measure independent of the other agencies. The facilities of Catholic Charities have notably been made available. In the case of most Catholic resettlers, direct introduction from the centers to Catholic clergyment in Chicago has helped simplify the new start in the new community to which importance has been attached by evacuee counsellors. A priest formerly with the Maryknoll Mission in Los Angeles, chief center of Japanese Catholic activities in Southern California before war and evacuation, is now located in Chicago. The Catholics have been represented on the Advisory Committee from the outset. The number of resettlers coming into contact with Catholic participation in the program, however, is comparatively limited.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation likewise has, within the limits of its resources, aided resettlers. Dependent from time to time upon volunteer effort, it undertook to extend the area of housing assistance, job placement, and good community relations for newcomers. Its representatives and staff made speeches, wrote articles, published bulletins in a general program of enlisting sympathetic understanding of people of good will. Fellowship groups, known as cells, meeting in various districts of the city, have gone out of their way to extend welcome into their social and regular meetings to resettlers. Its publication, F.O.R., like the Chicago-edited-and-published Christian Century, has been in the vanguard of militant crusaders for resettlement.

The Illinois Association for Crippled is one agency with which an almost negligible number of resettlers~~sh~~ will ever have dealings ~~with~~. Yet, on more than one occasion has it come to the direct aid of an evacuee applicant in job placement, and this assistance was apparently rendered in a spirit that brought cheer and encouragement to recipients.

Area resettlement in the Hyde Park southside section of Chicago has centered, curiously enough, around evacuee connections with the University of Chicago. This has been despite the fact that ^{this} institution, as of this date, still remains on the proscribed list of colleges and universities which have been closed, by military order, to ~~all~~ evacuee students. Only admittance to the theological seminary is permitted evacuees at the present time, but this situation is in contrast to the presence of half a hundred Japanese faces regularly on the campus. It is no exaggeration to state that the University has

in effect been an agency of assistance in resettlement. Employment of evacuee young women as stenographers and office workers preceded the placing of qualified resettlers as instructors in the Army Specialized Training Program intensive language program. International House adjoining the University has employed a steady number of evacuees in unskilled capacities, largely in the mess hall. The University of Chicago Settlement House has two nisei young women on its regular staff. The University's placement bureau has cooperated with the downtown church agencies in employment aid. Housing assistance has been rendered for those resettlers with some employment connection with the University. On the person-to-person level, encouragement and sympathetic reception from faculty members and University officials on the whole ~~has~~ have been uniformly warm.

International House has also become something of a periodic center of social activities on the cultural and intellectual side for evacuees so inclined. The program director of the institution includes a fair number of resettlers in the neighborhood on the regular mailing list of weekly announcements. This hospitable atmosphere in the University area has spread into nearby institutions and agencies. Brent House, for instance, is an old, established residence and neighborhood center for Oriental students; it has been the gathering place for several evacuee socials, and invitations to its other functions go to resettlers as well. The Hyde Park Council of Church and Synagogues has contacts directly with both the University and the Chicago Church Federation. The Hyde Park Cooperative Society, operating a large market in the University area, has likewise become, inadvertently perhaps, an agency assisting in resettlement. This has come about, it is pointed out, through employment of resettlers and efforts to get additional applicants in the relocation centers, and also through membership of resettlers.

The number of such agencies and groups helpful to the resettlement program is multiplied many times over by the number of individuals who have taken an interest ~~in~~ and acted, above and beyond the usual response of persons of good will. For the most part, these individuals have been Caucasian, but they have also been Japanese. An established pre-war resident of Japanese descent, a successful dentist with mostly Caucasian practice, donated over a hundred dollars to one of the Church agency loan funds for evacuees; a faculty member at one of the universities, also of Japanese descent, likewise contributed several hundred dollars to one of the groups working on resettlement. Both have assisted numerous individual evacuees.

A Glencoe matron, ^{a Caucasian,} with fairly extensive pre-war familiarity with the Japanese American situation, early

last year undertook the then rather unique project of forming an informal group of evacuee domestic workers into a Thursday social club; the idea was to help dispel the loneliness which seemed to creep upon isolated girl houseworkers. With the cooperation of Y.W.C.A., church and social agencies, the idea has managed to survive some criticism about "segregated clubs" and has expanded into mixed groups.

Church ministers and church members in every part of the city have played host to individual resettlers and groups of them at gatherings, dinners, teas, and discussions within their homes. Faculty members of colleges and universities have been almost as active in responding to these activities. One music professor at Goshen College, Indiana, made several trips to Chicago for the express purpose of finding an evacuee student to live with him in his home; he was motivated, he said, by a desire to introduce the resettlement program to his home town; he did. The student, a young man from Southern California, is pursuing his studies at Goshen. Instances like this one are too numerous to list.

Church people and educators have not been the only ones to individually angel the cause of resettlers in Chicago. Perhaps equally energetic in the field have been employers, managers, personnel officers of firms that have had satisfying experiences with evacuee workers.

Last spring, the personnel manager of a trailer manufacturing firm employing about 300 workers was prevailed upon to try out an evacuee applicant. The guinea pig turned out to be an ~~ava~~ energetic, skilled busy bee. Half a dozen more were put on. By this time, when an issue was raised by one-old-time employee over the acceptance of the newcomers into the union, the firm's management threw its weight with workers who wanted to welcome the evacuees. The nisei stayed on. The personnel manager, interesting himself in the program, approached both government and church agencies, participated in their joint discussions, soon had opened office jobs for evacuee young women. When he eventually severed his own affiliation with that firm to take a position with another, he carried his newly acquired interest in resettlement with him. Result: evacuees were accepted as applicants in another company.

Recently the employment manager of a transportation maintenance firm has devoted a part of his after-office time in helping a number of his resettled employees find better housing. On his own he has approached private landlords and real estate people.

An operator of a southside garage who has interest-

ed himself in the program after meeting a number of evacuees, employing several, and inviting a number into his home for visits, has utilized his membership in a dozen civic, business, church, and fraternal organizations to make speeches on relocation.

A large proportion of these efforts, of course, can be traced to the quite obvious motive of keeping employees under conditions of acute shortages; it may be correctly said that neither humanitarian nor unselfish thoughts prompt such individual assistance in most cases. But neither does this detract from the vigor with which employers go about helping resettlers get established in Chicago.

Evacuee Attitudes toward the Agencies:

Evacuee attitudes toward the agencies of resettlement are as unpredictable to the staff workers of these agencies as Chicago weather is to the arriving resettler. And they are equally far apart in their extremities.

There is neither absolute nor relative measure of evacuee attitudes of friendliness, disillusionment, hostility, or disgust toward any of the agencies.

But there is little doubt that W.R.A. gets talked about the most. The government agency has dealing and contacts with more resettlers than any of the supplementary or voluntary groups.

Criticism and disparagement of W.R.A. is generally far more vocal than praise and commendation. As is the case in such circumstances, the dissatisfied are so much quicker to speak up than are the grateful. And perhaps this is at it should be in terms of getting the job done.

A large majority of evacuees regard W.R.A.'s function as being that of a responsible cure-all for their current problems. If an evacuee doesn't have a job, the W.R.A. office is there to find it for him. If he is not satisfied with his present job, the W.R.A. ought to help him get adjusted by finding a better one. If he runs into discrimination in an employer or in his landlady, the W.R.A. should do something about it. If he runs out of money, the W.R.A. ought to help him get back on his feet. While this may not be true, specifically, for many evacuees, it nevertheless conforms generally with the expectations of most new arrivals. W.R.A., of course, faces an extremely difficult task in measuring up to these standards of expectations. It is the exceptional resettler who does not pass judgment upon the Chicago W.R.A. office on the basis of a single experience with a single member of the staff. And further, it is common for W.R.A. to acquire reputation among newcomers purely on the basis of extended rumor. "Naw, you won't get any help there," and the

initiate into resettlement never so much as pokes his nose into the W.R.A. office.

A recent case illustrates the point. A young relocatee arrived in Chicago Jan. 3. Friends told him he would be wasting his time at W.R.A. He set out on job-hunting, reporting alternately to the church agencies and the United States Employment office, answering want ads and consulting friends. After two weeks, he was still unemployed. Out of curiosity, he called at W.R.A. By one of those rare strokes of good fortune, he had a job in ten minutes. This experience, of course, altered the picture in his mind. His experience in landing a job so quickly through W.R.A. may not be typical, but his avoidance of it for 14 days at the advice of his buddies may be.

The addition of an Issei counsellor in the W.R.A. office toward the end of the year has been a boon to the older relocatees, particularly those faced with language handicaps.

An observational note made by most agency staff workers, after a year of resettlement work, is that the newly-arrived resettler, in the process of shedding his camp-acquired anxieties and fears, still feels insecure. His whole attitude reflects this insecurity. His mind and thinking has not been conditioned favorably in many cases toward government agency functioning; there's always "a lot of red tape and things move so so slowly". W.R.A. in Chicago becomes the heir apparent to expressions of these feelings.

This does not mean that the Chicago W.R.A. office, of its own performance, has not invited and deserve much of the more reasonable criticism voiced by resettlers. The flea-bitten group of young men sent to the North Wells street "hostel" by the W.R.A. blamed their swollen cheeks and arms on the government rather than the Mutual Aid Service Society; this was in the days before W.R.A., for this and other more valid reasons ceased referring persons to the place. Occasional alleged "mishandling" of admittedly difficult cases is heard of, but the area of definition between the ^{W.R.A.} incompetence that is charged by evacuees involved and the neurotic behavior of these resettlers is both controversial and debatable.

Probably second only to the W.R.A. in actual numbers of in-person callers at its offices is the Advisory Committee for evacuees, staffed by the American Friends Service Committee and the American Baptist Home Missions Society. Its files show that 1900 individual resettlers called at its quarters in 1943, of whom 360 came through the Friends hostel. Evacuee attitudes toward this agency have compared favorably, to a degree, with those toward W.R.A. The differences, however, are only that of degree. The Church agency resettlement office

has dealt with a relatively select group; its relocation center representatives have established a reputation of sympathetic understanding and beneficence as contrasted with the kicking around the W.R.A. comes in for in the centers. Furthermore, by and large, it deals only with those individuals who of their own volition seek out assistance from a church agency.

There are curious exceptions to this latter kind of applicant in the Friends and Baptist office, however. One day a group of three young men, new arrivals from Poston, presented themselves at the Advisory Committee Office and, announcing that they were broke, asked to borrow ten dollars apiece until "those lousey slow pokes at W.R.A. come through with our grants." The loan was made to each. Two weeks later, an envelope with money order for thirty dollars was received at the office. It was addressed to the "American Friends Loan Association".

The more or less stereotyped concepts of religious workers held by the west coast Japanese Americans are fortunately (for the effectiveness of the work) absent from the Advisory Committee office. With the possible exception of a six-inch sign which requests "No Smoking Please" and the once-a-week Thursday afternoon meeting for worship to which all visitors are welcome, there is little to indicate--to the nisei--that he is in a church office or religious agency.

Not all praise and honeyed words of gratitude from resettlers have been the reactions registered with the staff in this office, however. The identical kinds of criticism levelled against W.R.A.--"no help in getting a job," "waited around all day without getting anywhere", "got the run-around" etc.--are occasionally heard about this office, though noticeably in lesser degree. Obligated to deal with a smaller volume of callers, the Advisory Committee office has been at an advantage in devoting greater amounts of time to the more difficult cases, involving extended counselling and personal interest.

Evacuee attitudes toward the two hostels have conditioned some of the less complimentary expressions heard on occasion in private conversations as well as most of the more generous statements of appreciation and gratitude. By and large, evacuees regard their temporary residence at the hostel as a not-too-unpleasant interlude where their lack of privacy in quarters was more than made up by the friendliness of people and the atmosphere generally. And judging from the large number who maintain contacts with the directors long after they have left, the hostels have created some lasting bonds of friendship. But the two hostels have not been without their share of disparagement and criticism, stemming, it seems, from rather unusual and sometimes unexpected sources. For instance, one extreme-

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critical man didn't like the place "because they make me wash dishes, I'm no woman"; another objected to the smoking of the directors; ~~of one of the~~ this latter person himself did not smoke, felt it was all right for others to do so, but "my gracious, not the directors of a hostel run by church people!" An occasional complaint about food or heating, or the lack of it, about hot water in the bath tub or some such details appear to be factors influencing evacuee attitudes; but on the whole these appear to be minor in the over-all picture.