



SCHOOL of
GRADUATE STUDIES
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

East Tennessee State University
Digital Commons @ East Tennessee
State University

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Student Works

5-2023

Japanese Canadians in World War II: Neglected Historiography

Clayton Huff
East Tennessee State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd>



Part of the [Political History Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Huff, Clayton, "Japanese Canadians in World War II: Neglected Historiography" (2023). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 4178. <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd/4178>

This Thesis - unrestricted is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Works at Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University. For more information, please contact digilib@etsu.edu.

Japanese Canadians in World War II: Neglected Historiography

A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of History

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in History

by

Clayton Huff

May 2023

Dr. Henry Antkiewicz, Chair

Dr. Brian Maxson

Dr. John Rankin

Keywords: Japanese Canadians, historiography, Japanese Americans, family history, internment

ABSTRACT

Japanese Canadians in World War II: Neglected Historiography

by

Clayton Huff

During World War II, Japanese across North America were forced into internment camps out of suspicion and wartime hysteria. The historiography has chosen to focus specifically on Japanese Americans and their experiences. Academic and popular history is overwhelmingly focused on Japanese Americans, with minimal discussion ever given to Japanese Canadians or Mexicans who were interned. Tens of thousands of Japanese Canadians were interned during this tumultuous time. By ignoring their testimonies and hardships, history has forgotten these oppressed people. This thesis seeks to examine the current historiography of Japanese Canadians and compare it to that of Japanese Americans while also exploring the importance of including Japanese Canadians in the historiography. By tying together family history and academic research, this work seeks to bring greater attention to this subject so that the plights of these innocent people are no longer forgotten.

Copyright 2023 by Clayton Huff

All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

For Susan Masters, my *sosobo*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When such an endeavor of this magnitude is undertaken, one cannot do it without the support of others. Therefore, thanks and appreciation should be given to those who have helped me. First, I would like to thank my friends, Derek Court, Paul Fine, Stephanie Hall, Shannon Hall, and Luke Young, who have motivated, challenged, and supported me. Additionally, without the help and daily reminders to work on this project by Gabryella Milam we would still be staring a blank screen with a blinking cursor. It is her support that helped push me to get this done and for that, I am eternally appreciative.

Furthermore, thanks should also be given to the professors who helped coordinate this research. Their encouragement and drive for academic excellence made me aspire to create the most outstanding academic achievement I could. Therefore, gratitude is expressed to Professor Zachary James (aka Zach Sensei), Dr. Julie Fox-Horton, Dr. Elwood Watson, Professor Jody Bryant, Dr. John Rankin, and Dr. Brian Maxson. With a tremendously thankful and humble heart, I want to thank Dr. Henry Antkiewicz most of all. I am truly honored to have been able to work with him and be able to share in his vast knowledge and gracious compassion.

However, the most thanks should be given to the family who supported me, inspired me, and allowed me the opportunity to tell our story. For that, I thank Dr. Victor Young, Brad Shaw, Landon and Kaitlyn, Vicci Shaw, and Linda Young. I am incredibly grateful and honored to have been able to interview Susan Masters. Her story has inspired me for nearly a decade, and I hope it inspires countless more. Without her, this project would never exist. Lastly, I want to thank my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, who brought me from my own camps of misery to glorious freedom.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	2
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	7
CHAPTER 2. HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	22
CHAPTER 3. THE JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE.....	45
CHAPTER 4. THE JAPANESE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE.....	51
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION.....	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	64
APPENDICES.....	69
Appendix A: Nishizawa Family Photo.....	69
Appendix B: Photos from Family History book.....	70
Appendix C: Entering into Camp Tashme photo.....	71
VITA.....	72

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

It was the cloudy Friday morning of March 18th, 2022, as I visited ninety-year-old Susan Masters at her Sulphur Springs, Tennessee home. The weather itself seemed reflective of the dreary topic discussed. We made small talk and greetings after not seeing each other in almost three years. Almost equally excited was her miniature schnauzer, who had accidentally relieved herself as I sat down. Susan grabbed a chair from her dining room and took it to the card table she had set up, where she did her puzzles. After joking around, we began discussing the topic that had brought us together this morning.

“What do you remember about life before going into the camps?” I asked. Susan began looking into the distance as she recalled the events that happened eighty years ago. Mrs. Masters said, “Well, I was only about seven or eight years old when they sent me to the camp. And you know, I was taking Japanese and English at school. So, I don’t remember too much about the Japanese school. I just went to the second grade.”¹ Although Susan stated that she was only about seven or eight years old, her daughter argues that she would have been about eleven years old since Susan had been born in 1932 and internment in Canada began in February 1942.² She had been learning English and Japanese at school but did not recall much about the Japanese school. However, she soon began to reflect on the lovely house in the quiet country she grew up in. “But it was nice where we used to live, you know? It was out in the country, and everything was quiet. My father raised all the vegetables and stuff.”³ I never pressed the issue, but it does not seem that Susan and her family were subsistence farmers, according to the family stories

¹ Susan Masters, in discussion with the author, Sulphur Springs, Tennessee, March 18, 2022

² Forrest E LaViolette. “Japanese Evacuation in Canada.” *Far Eastern Survey* 11, no. 15 (1942): 163–67. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3021723>. 164

³ Forrest E LaViolette. “Japanese Evacuation in Canada.” 164

surrounding Susan's upbringing. Nonetheless, this seemed to recall some painful memories, and we did not dwell on it for too long.

While Susan's experience differs from that of other Japanese interned on the North American continent, she also had a tragic experience reflective of many others. She and many other Japanese immigrants had been treated quite nicely before being forced into the camps, and the wartime hysteria began to settle in. After February 27th, 1942, Ottawa officials stripped Japanese citizens of their rights and privileges; they started to be mistreated.⁴ "Oh, we were treated right before we were hauled to this camp in a big ole truck. Before we went to the camp, they put me in a horse stall for about a week or two. We lived there in a horse barn. My mom and dad did laundry there and everything. I don't remember much about being there because we were all out there playing. Of course, my parents had a rough time."⁵ Although very young, she remembered being told she could only take what she could carry. In our interview, she says she wishes she could have taken more such as the stove and some cast iron skillet. However, as a child, she did not regret it much. Like so many other Japanese, she was forced to load up in a truck and be taken off to a makeshift home before going to the camps built by the Canadian government. In their family's case, they were placed in a horse stall. Like most children of that age, she was primarily focused on playing and enjoying herself.

Ultimately, Susan and her family would be moved to Tashme Hope Camp in British Columbia, Canada. She remarked on the irony of the name, "There wasn't much hope."⁶ Though she does not recall the exact year she was taken there, she knows she would remain there until

⁴ Forrest E LaViolette. "Japanese Evacuation in Canada." *Far Eastern Survey* 11, no. 15 (1942): 163–67. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3021723>. 165

⁵ Susan Masters, in discussion with the author, Sulphur Springs, Tennessee, March 2022

⁶ Susan Masters, discussion, March 2022

1946. She had fun moments as a child during those three to four years. Despite the government's attempt to make everything feel normal by installing a butcher shop, a school, and a church, life was far from ordinary. "There were twelve rows of houses, and we were on the seventh. And at the end of each row was a bathhouse where we would go to bathe. Our family was big. We had nine to eleven people, you know? And the rest of them had maybe one or two. In between the two houses would be a spigot of water. You would have to carry the water to the house. I remember carrying buckets of water."⁷ The Canadian government was determined to keep the Japanese confined to their location in the camp. They had provided everything they could need while there. It was a camp in every sense of the word, albeit a center with a fence that prohibited you from ever leaving unless the government told you that you could. "There was a gate, and you had to have a pass to get out. Other than that, everything was there, though. Of course, food was rationed. We had plenty. As I said, there were shops and places where you could buy stuff. But the main food like rice and potatoes were rationed."⁸ During our interview, Susan recalled several stories of juvenile mischievousness alongside her siblings that got back at bullies or light-hearted fun.

One story recalls how Susan and her brothers got childhood revenge on an unsuspecting bully within the camp by piling snow into an outhouse commode in the dark. When the bully had to relieve himself by sitting down, the snow caused an unpleasant problem for him. However, the snow was only sometimes enjoyable. Photos of the camp reveal that it was often covered in snow and undoubtedly cold. The housing conditions were log houses, which one may argue provided more shelter than the American camps, where the walls were often thin and offered little against

⁷ Susan Masters, in discussion with the author, Sulphur Springs, Tennessee, March 2022

⁸ Susan Masters, discussion, March 2022

the elements. Furthermore, families in Camp Tashme Hope were supplied with bunk beds that were considered surprisingly comfortable. However, despite the decent living conditions the Canadian government provided, Susan, recalls feeling no patriotism towards either Canada or Japan.

While in the camps, Susan and thousands of other children her age entered the camps without toys. What fun they could have out at the camps had to be through imagination or the toys her brother skillfully made with his hands. She recalls that he made everything from sleds, skis, radios, and even a guitar for them to entertain themselves. Childhood in the camps was made more enjoyable by not having to do any chores, but the children were expected to attend school. According to Susan, all her teachers were second-generation Japanese internees who had also been interned. The school did not bring anyone else from the outside for the student's education.

The Nisei, or second-generation Japanese, also provided religious services. Consolation for the traumatic experiences was undoubtedly needed, and the need for answers in an uncertain time would be able to bring many comforts. She recalls going to the church in the camp but does not recall much about it other than the Nisei pastor. A small book unpublished by a family member on her brother, Eiichi or Ed, reveals that Anglican monks had severely mistreated him, ultimately turning him away from faith entirely. Neither Susan nor any of her other siblings besides Ed met such mistreatment by any clergy. Susan remains faithful to this day.

The experiences in the camp made Susan hardworking, determined, strong-willed, and proud of her Japanese heritage. It is evident when one looks around her home with Japanese home decor, plants, and art skillfully placed around the nicely kept house. Yet the experiences also show how her life unfolded after the camps. After the war ended, she went to Japan and

worked several jobs. She did everything from making ropes to housekeeping, working in a souvenir shop, working a switchboard, and working at the United States Postal Service. She recalls the time of US occupation in Japan like how she views the camps: “some good, some bad, but mostly good.”⁹

Susan tells the story often, but one moment of frustration that shows precisely her cool-mannered nature is when she was working for the Postal Service. In this instance, she went out for her lunch break. Upon returning, she discussed that her chair had been filled with thumbtacks by a mean officer of the United States Army who had hoped to get a laugh out of the injury. Instead, Susan pushed her chair back in, left, and never again returned to work for the Post Office.

Her kind heart was on full display as our interview began to close. She said that to this day, she does not believe that the United States nor Canada are racist nations, as many social activists of the present day would have one believe. She does not hate anyone or blame anyone for what she went through. She wishes she could have avoided name-calling, which was the worst part of everything. Not only did she have to experience awful racial slurs and defamation, but so did her children, which she wishes her kids did not have to endure. When reparations were being made to former internees during the 1980s, Susan lived in the United States. At the time, reparations in the United States were 20,000 dollars per individual, according to the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. However, since she was interned in Canada, she received roughly 18,000 dollars.

⁹ Susan Masters, discussion, March 2022

Soon after our interview wrapped up and more conversation was made, I left Susan and began reflecting on the discussion and everything she said. She was someone to be admired and respected for all she had endured. Former internees often refuse to discuss their time in internment for fear of being seen as unpatriotic. In a world full of fear and mistrust, the Japanese internees did not want to further add to their burden of suspicion. Still, after eighty years, Susan is just a tiny fraction of those former internees who have shared their stories. Furthermore, she was a strong, funny, confident, and wise woman whom the present generation would benefit from knowing her story and what she had said to me. Truthfully, however, I was very honored that she is my great-grandmother.

Susan Master's story is not atypical of former Japanese internment victims; thousands were removed from their homes, allowed to take only what they could carry, and forced into horrible conditions. The governments in charge claimed that this was being done in the name of protecting the Japanese immigrants. Families would never again be able to get back their old personal belongings that they had lost. They had come seeking a better life in North America, though they would be treated much harsher in a twist of fate. After being released from the camps when they had no longer been thought possible traitors or spies for the empire of Japan, many returned to Japan or chose to stay in the very lands that had forced them into camps. Surprisingly, they overwhelmingly stayed loyal to a nation that did not remain loyal to them.

While many historians choose to focus immediately on Pearl Harbor and the direct aftermath of attacks on Japanese Americans, it is often overlooked that exclusion and resentment of those of Asian descent had begun long before. The Japanese were targeted in the late 1800s and early 1900s because of rising "Yellow Peril" paranoia, but the first legislative acts against Asians were committed against the Chinese. To properly understand the internment experience,

historians must first look back at the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and other anti-Asian laws that were passed that laid the unfortunate groundwork for the internment of Japanese Americans and Canadians.

The immigration ban on the Chinese was the first significant move by the United States government against those of Asian descent. Before the immigration ban was implemented, Americans welcomed massive numbers of Chinese to help contribute to the enormous labor force needed. Still, once they had arrived, they were treated with violence and discrimination. Historians have generally believed that the growing anti-Chinese beliefs were due to competition in the job market between white Americans and the increasing number of Chinese people entering the labor force. Recent studies suggest that this generalization of the historical event does not account for business owners' desires to have cheap wages, which the Chinese were more accepting of than the white Americans in the area. Because of business owners' willingness to pay the Chinese less than white workers, many business owners and shopkeepers opposed exclusion.¹⁰ Another factor to remember is the depressed labor market of the 1870s, which ultimately led to further competition between the white and the Asian communities.¹¹

The California Gold Rush was a massive economic boom resulting in the mass immigration of people from all over, hoping they would become prosperous. The Chinese were no exception to this. They settled in California and the surrounding area from China and began work as miners. In the early years of the gold rush, it was suggested that the white miners opposed exclusion, and it would not be until work had become scarce and labor reform had

¹⁰ Mark Kanazawa. "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California." *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 780

¹¹ Mark Kanazawa. "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation" 780

occurred that miners began supporting exclusion.¹² However, workers were conflicted during this time, and things may not have been as clear-cut as previously thought. White American miners would now argue they had better chances to find gold with the reduced competition. On the other hand, Chinese workers contributed significantly to tax revenues and asked little in return.¹³ The white Americans in California may have felt threatened by the Chinese presence because, in some mining communities, nearly a quarter were Chinese immigrants.¹⁴ The Chinese were also viewed as “inassimilable, inferior, and immoral.”¹⁵ However, it is essential to note that many did resist and attempt to fight against the exclusion acts, though to little avail.

As economic conditions improved and people did not want job competition, more voices demanded Chinese exclusion. Throughout the 1850s, several acts of persecution and mistreatment were taken against the Chinese. One such instance occurred in Nevada, where the sheriff of Shasta County asked for the state governor to send aid to put down a mob that sought to drive out Chinese immigrants from the county.¹⁶ Meanwhile, California had begun to recover from a brutal recession, thanks to the Chinese laborers aiding in state and local tax revenues and generally not partaking in costly public services like schools or hospitals.

¹² Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 780

¹³ Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 780-781

¹⁴ Robert Wilson. “Landscapes of Promise and Betrayal: Reclamation, Homesteading, and Japanese American Incarceration.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101, no. 2 (2011): 424–44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27980185>. 428

¹⁵ Erika Lee. “‘The ‘Yellow Peril’ and Asian Exclusion in the Americas.” *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007): 537–62. <https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2007.76.4.537>. 547

¹⁶ Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 783

Dr. Mark Kanazawa of Carleton College states, “Exclusion of the Chinese became politically feasible in California only after the state had managed to put its fiscal house in order.”¹⁷ California began recovering financially but saw a growth in anti-Chinese policies and actions. The state began taking legal measures to exclude the Chinese from the workforce. The first would be a tax on “foreign-born” miners. Historians have suggested that this is one of many successful attempts to remove the Chinese from the mining areas.¹⁸ Another attempt from the Californian government to limit the Chinese from entering the country was known as the *commutation tax*. This tax was placed on each foreign passenger that a ship brought in.¹⁹ Undoubtedly this encouraged captains not to bring any foreign passengers into the state. The law was amended several times over the years, extending to tax anyone who had hopes of becoming a United States citizen to the last amendment being made regarding a total ban on Chinese immigration that could have resulted in imprisonment if one brought in a Chinese immigrant.²⁰

As time went on, more restrictions were placed against the Chinese. Ultimately the United States passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, effectively banning all Chinese laborers from entering the country. These restrictions would increase illegal immigration into the United States and other countries like Canada and Mexico.²¹ The Chinese would not be the only Asian ethnic groups excluded from the government. The Japanese and Korean immigrants would also

¹⁷ Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 781

¹⁸ Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 784

¹⁹ Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 786

²⁰ Mark Kanazawa. “Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California.” *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>. 787

²¹ Erika Lee. “The ‘Yellow Peril’ and Asian Exclusion in the Americas.” *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007): 537–62. <https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2007.76.4.537>. 543

be excluded from the United States due to an immigration restriction in 1907. This restriction would cause Chinese and other Asian immigrants to immigrate illegally from Canada and Mexico into the United States. The issues of immigration would affect other countries besides the United States. Canada would also enact immigration bans for those who arrived from Asian countries.²² As with modern-day illegal immigration, politicians and political rhetoric would undoubtedly fuel the flame of anti-Asian sentiment. It would not be for another sixty years that the Chinese Exclusion Act would be repealed. The Chinese could finally enter the nation unrestricted, even if the exclusion act had been abolished in response to Japanese propaganda. As the second world war raged on, Japanese propaganda continued to point out that despite being allies in the conflict, the United States still excluded the Chinese. It was a political embarrassment to the United States. Until 1943, when the act was reversed, the Chinese Exclusion Act was used to weaken ties between the United States and China during World War II.²³

Japanese American internment began in February of 1942 after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941. The United States, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, led the charge and interned upwards of 120,000 Japanese Americans into military zones, forcing them to live there for the duration of the war. Shortly after, Canada and Mexico also began internment programs that saw the Japanese rounded up and forced into internment camps. None of the centers created by any North American countries was paradise. All the campsites were placed in sterile, undesirable, and inhospitable conditions. The Japanese within these camps were forced to do the best that they could despite the horrible conditions that they were in.

²² Erika Lee. "The 'Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion in the Americas." 543

²³ "Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1943," U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 23, 2021, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/chinese-exclusion-act-repeal>.

Yet, despite all the challenges the Japanese internees faced, the historiographical conversation has primarily been that of the American internees, thereby neglecting the stories of Japanese Canadians within history for no logical reason. One is left to guess why historians of the last eighty years have failed to tell the stories of the interned Japanese Canadians. This work hopes to examine the Canadian camps in-depth. It shows that there is no good reason for historians of the modern era to continue neglecting the Japanese Canadians who were forced into internment. This work will try to highlight that the experiences of the Japanese Americans and Canadians are similar, yet different enough to call for research and examination.

It is worth noting that the historiographical trend on Japanese internment has been mainly on the wording and phrasing. Previously historians had often referred to the Japanese internment location as concentration camps. Recent historians have neglected to use the term any longer because concentration camps usually have a negative connotation associated with Nazi death camps. Unlike the Nazi death camps, the Japanese were not executed, nor did they experience widespread extreme torture. While the conditions were less than ideal and treatment was not great, no evidence suggests any systematic extermination as in Nazi Germany. This is not to say that people did not die, but often it was a result of rioting and civil unrest. For this reason, this work will continue the trend of exclusively using internment regarding the detention of Japanese within North America during World War Two. Furthermore, this work will utilize words like bases and centers when referring to the camps. Historians may disagree on the usage of such wording. Still, in the eyes of the author and many other academics, there appears to be no significant distinction in the words to prohibit their usage here.

Furthermore, there are other words and phrases that will be used throughout this work that should be defined now. One such term is public history. This will be in reference to a

popular work of history which includes, though is not limited to, biographies and memoirs. Popular history in this work best refers to works that are written and published with the goal of making money and selling copies rather than engaging in a historiographical conversation. This is not to say that popular history cannot be of value. Meanwhile, academic history is more focused on engaging in the historical conversation of professional historians unlike popular history.

Another aspect should be noted about this work. The story of Susan Masters is personal, and it is what interested me first. My bias is towards America and Canada and their efforts in the internment of the Japanese. While this paper will focus on these two countries, sadly, this work will not discuss Japanese Mexican internment. Ideally, more historiographical emphasis will be placed on the struggle of Japanese Mexican internees in the future. There needs to be more academic research on the topic. Perhaps one day, a future historian will endeavor to push for more outstanding research into the Mexican internment. However, until that day, the study conducted by professional historians is far too scarce to be noted in this research.

Internment is an integral part of history. It affects every North American country and thousands of lives. How can historians continue neglecting Canada and Mexico in the historiographical conversation? Historians of the last five to six decades have been focused on telling untold stories of minorities. Yet, internment is undoubtedly one aspect of history where all sides have been neglected and forgotten. This discussion must be changed to include Canadians and Mexican Japanese who were interned during the Second World War. Without a doubt, American internment is an essential aspect of the story of internment since America led the charge in forced internment. Therefore, this paper does not look to exclude American internment altogether. The author hopes that by comparing the stories of American and Canadian

internees, one will see that they are not too different after all. The stories should be included together.

This thesis will use the personal testimonies of former internees, academic historical research, and government documents. Microhistory will also be used during this paper to show that one's struggles may represent the struggle of Japanese Canadians or, at the very least, those in British Columbia. The primary goal is to argue for the inclusion of Japanese Canadians into the historiographical conversation. The secondary goal is to bring to light the struggles and testimonies of Japanese Canadians. When diving into this goal, one must ask: "Why should Japanese Canadians be included in the first place?" To answer this question, this work will highlight that American internment has been the primary focus of historiography. The first chapter of this work will focus on the historiographical conversation and the popular discourse on Japanese internment. It will examine how authors and historians have decided to focus on the issue of internment and how they have conducted this work. Notable works will be discussed thoroughly, and how they play a significant role in how this topic has been discussed in history. This chapter will emphasize that American internment has primarily been the sole focus of historiography.

Yet upon further examination, it becomes clear that the testimonies of internees of the two countries are not so different. Therefore, there is no reason to exclude Japanese Canadians from internment historiography if they are similar. If one refers to the story of Susan Masters, then one will see that she was placed in Camp Tashme in British Columbia. Photographs (which can be found in the Appendix) will show frigid and snowy conditions. Japanese Canadians had it much more challenging because they were forced into much harsher environmental conditions than Japanese Americans. This does not diminish that Japanese Americans were placed within

barren environments with extreme temperatures, but it does show that both were forced into extreme conditions that made life challenging. One does not build by knocking others down. So, this thesis also looks to maintain the value of Japanese American testimonies and experiences to publicize the Japanese Canadian experience. For this reason, a chapter will be devoted to including the experiences of Japanese Americans and how similar it is to the Japanese Canadians.

One should not assume that Japanese Canadians and American experiences are so similar that there is nothing to lose by neglecting Japanese Canadians. Japanese Canadian internment differed significantly from American internment. Everything from how the government forced internment to the stories of those interned varies considerably. No two struggles are the same. While the chapter on American internment will focus on the experiences of Japanese Americans and the similarities of those experiences in Japanese Canadian camps, the chapter on Japanese Canadian camps will focus on the differences between the two camps. This chapter will also include more about the story of Susan Masters and her family, particularly that of her and her brother. What little historical work has been done on Japanese Canadian internment will be specifically highlighted here.

Lastly, the concluding chapter will focus on including the Japanese Canadian struggle in the historical discussion. In this chapter, the argument for historical significance will be focused on the battle of those who suffered. Historians have, in the past, been accused of being activists for a political agenda. It is not the goal of this author to be an activist historian but rather to show the struggles and hardships these forgotten prisoners face. Should these stories be forgotten in history because they were harrowing stories? Because they challenged the national (or, in some cases, international) narratives? Certainly not, and a great many academics would likely agree.

Japanese Canadians have been ignored, omitted, and excluded from the historiographical conversation. More research, time, and effort have been granted to Japanese American internees for reasons one can only theorize about. Perhaps because prominent celebrities once interned have brought much interest to the topic, historians have gravitated to the subject more. History can no longer ignore the plights of so many that lost so much in the name of fear, paranoia, and wartime hysteria. Within these pages, the author hopes to begin a new historiographical discussion that refuses to neglect the other struggles of those who had endured these hardships. American internment is not to be ignored but shown comparatively alongside Canadian internment. It is time that historians looked at the stories of Susan Masters and many others who were interned in harsh Canadian camps. Finally, it is time that the conversation amongst historians focused on the struggles outside of what academics have long since become comfortable with.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORIOGRAPHY

A simple search of Japanese internment on any popular search engine will undoubtedly pull up dozens of books about American internment. Often these monographs are classified as popular history, a type of history generalized for the public and generally steers clear of contributing to historiography. When considering historiography, one must remember how historians have discussed internment through the years. Instead, these published works focus more on appealing to a popular audience. One such piece comes to mind titled *They Called Us Enemy*²⁴. This work is significant because it is an autobiographical account that Hollywood actor George Takei told in a graphic novel format. Takei, himself, was placed into an internment camp. Thus, his story should be noted. However, Takei's graphic novel is even more noteworthy because it suggests one more significant problem in the historiography of Japanese internment: the focus on popular history rather than academic history.

Takei's book is focused entirely on his experiences in America. After all, this is where he was interned. But his graphic novel adds to the current focus on the American internment experience. Canada is left out and neglected. Returning to a search engine, one would be very hard-pressed to find any books on Japanese Canadian internment. At this time, only a few notable works have been conducted on Japanese Canadian internment. Many contributing books on Japanese Canadian internment should be examined and analyzed to explore how each monograph has contributed to the historiography.

It is troubling that most of the work done on Japanese internment has been considered popular history. It shows a problem with how historians have chosen to write on the topic. They

²⁴ George Takei. *They Called Us Enemy – Expanded Edition*. Marrietta: Top Shelf Productions, 2020.

are entirely neglecting the stories of Japanese Canadians and instead choosing to focus solely on that of American internees. Only those works deemed popular history have chosen to break this mold and had the desire to focus on the left-out groups. Few academics like Greg Robinson have decided it is time for those interned in Canada to have their voices heard.

Authors and their works that have focused on Japanese Canadian internment will be highlighted first for the sake of relevancy. From there, other works will be analyzed and broken down, as well as examine their contributions to the historical discourse surrounding Japanese internment. It is essential to remind the reader that many works will focus on something other than Japanese Canadian internment because it has been left out of the historical discourse.

Greg Robinson's *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* sits at the forefront of Japanese Canadian historiography.²⁵ Greg Robinson is a professor of history at the University of Quebec in Montreal. His work has made him the premier expert on Japanese internment. *A Tragedy of Democracy* breaks down previous beliefs about Japanese American internment. It is, in a way, a model for this thesis. It expands the conversation to include the Japanese who were interned and mistreated throughout the North American continent. While this thesis's goal is only to look at two of the three countries in the North American continent, Robinson's work could help lay the groundwork for further research and historiographical insight and looks at all three. As the leading historian in the field, he points out that "no work has ever been published that looks at the history of Executive Order 9066 and the camps in the United States alongside that of the Canadian government's wartime removal and confinement of

²⁵ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Japanese Canadians...”.²⁶ While his work ignores previous historiographical discussions and relies on new research, it does not detract from the work conducted. Sometimes, one must separate themselves to explore a topic properly with fresh eyes. Additionally, the monograph examines the irony between the United States, which claimed to be a government devoted to humanitarian aims and fought a war on behalf of freedom while partaking in a sizeable anti-democratic campaign to deny the freedom of its very own citizens.

Although Robinson seeks to break away from previous historiography and refocus the study, his work recognizes the historiography of Japanese incarceration. There may be little to no mention of any historians within the work, but that is to be expected with Robinson’s goal of shifting the lens. Robinson relies “mostly on secondary sources, and on published primary materials and memoirs where available, rather than repeating research by others in scattered archives.”²⁷ This is indeed problematic. Primarily, the issue becomes the lack of focus on the experiences of Japanese Canadians, which has already been discounted and has become more focused on the historical debate. Thus, the plight of those affected seems second to the historical discussion rather than for remembrance and honoring. Robinson argues that he chose to ignore the primary sources in favor of the secondary because there are numerous books on the camps and very few archival collections. Therefore, he claims that this makes obtaining items for primary research harder. Yet, he also states, “Vast numbers of newly declassified or digitized documents have become available, and family and oral history archivists have put together innumerable testimonies by Japanese Americans that shed light on particulars of their

²⁶ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 16

²⁷ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 17

experience.”²⁸ Though, again, it seems that this decision has challenges and should be questioned by academics. Is there not enough work conducted on Japanese Canadian and Mexican internment for a significant, contributing piece to be crafted? This is not the case considering that Robinson has done incredible research on Japanese internment with his other publications like *By Order of the President*.²⁹ Why, then, rely on secondary sources when these vast numbers of declassified documents are available for usage and would help shift the historiography? These are all questions that academics must consider when analyzing their work.

Furthermore, one must ask themselves if the narrative of teaching Japanese internment could change without relying upon evidence from those who were there and relying on secondary sources to shift the narrative. There are indeed some who would take issue with Robinson’s decision. His decision is unlike previous historical works that aim to avoid secondary sources and instead focus on the former internees’ primary sources. This is not to say that he does not rely on any primary sources, but his outright acknowledgment of doing so is undoubtedly peculiar.

Despite his reliance on secondary sources, Robinson’s struggle to bring the overall treatment of Japanese immigrants throughout North America into the historical conversation is undoubtedly admirable. Historians have generally focused solely on America and paid little attention to internment in other countries. *A Tragedy of Democracy* is the first of the books discussed in the historiography section of this work because it is so unique in its approach to studying Japanese internment. Beyond focusing on the other countries which forcibly interned

²⁸ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 14

²⁹ Robinson, Greg. *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

citizens of Japanese ancestry, Robinson's monograph contributes significantly to the historiographical context by accounting for new information and correcting misinformation.

Robinson's argument within the monograph is made up of three parts. Robinson argues that the Japanese confinement has far too often focused solely on America and properly honoring the Japanese immigrants' sufferings. Therefore, it is essential to remember the struggles of those in other parts of the North American continent. Secondly, Robinson argues that it is vital to examine the events before the Second World War and long after the last camps close to understanding the event correctly. Third, Robinson claims that the "wartime confinement of Japanese Americans remains not only a critical event in the Asian American experience but a resonant point of reference and touchstone of commemoration for diverse groups of Americans."³⁰

Interestingly enough, Robinson's monograph explores the United States government constructing the camps to hold the Japanese Americans while supplies had been rationed out for the war effort. This further supports Robinson's claim that interning the Japanese in America hurt the American war effort.³¹ This aspect of internment has not been explored in previous works and shines a new light on understanding what happened behind incarceration.

While in most works on Japanese internment, America tends to be the focus, Professor Robinson refuses to ignore the plights of the Japanese Canadians and spends considerable time writing about their experiences. Robinson shockingly exposes Canada's horrendous move that

³⁰ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 13

³¹ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 2

forces the Japanese Canadians to pay for their internment.³² Additionally, Robinson claims that his monograph is the first to examine the political climate and the building momentum for the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor.³³

Greg Robinson showcases his expertise in the Japanese internment field by forcing historians to focus on the entire North American continent rather than just the internment enacted by the United States government. Robinson's monograph places the mass removal of Japanese Americans from Latin American countries, which resulted in mass refugee trials and the Canadians' option of resettling in a camp on the West Coast or being forcibly deported to Japan alongside the American internment option. As previous historians have done, Robinson points out, the terminology at the time was intentionally meant to be confusing and vague to make the law bend in whatever way was needed to justify the government's actions. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* observes a continent-wide mistreatment of an entire ethnic group. At the same time, creating questionable research methods by focusing on secondary sources.

Ken Adachi's *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* is another work that should be analyzed when reviewing the historiographical trend of the Japanese Canadian internment.³⁴ This book examines the Japanese Canadians before and during their forced confinement. Adachi argues that the Japanese Canadians were highly assimilated into Canadian society. Japanese Americans had also integrated but were still considered to be different. Japanese Canadians, however, had far more integrated into society. They were deemed

³² Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 5

³³ Greg Robinson. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009. 4

³⁴ Ken Adachi. *The Enemy that Never was*. Toronto. McClelland and Stewart. 1976.

far more socially equal than their American counterparts. Adachi's work provides excellent groundwork for why Japanese Canadians should be included in internment historiography. *The Enemy that Never Was* shows that while Japanese Americans and Canadians had lots in common, they also had societal differences that set them apart.³⁵

Though Adachi's work does seem to be popular history rather than academic since Adachi is not a trained historian, it is a work that has been highly cited in Japanese Canadian historiography. Additionally, Adachi becomes a complicated figure in terms of his writing. Adachi was interned with his family at Slocan Camp in British Columbia. Adachi's professional career was extraordinarily complex. He was accused of plagiarism twice as Book Editor at the *Toronto Star*, leading Adachi to commit suicide in 1989. Nonetheless, his work remains of great interest in the historiographical conversation and has often been hailed as one of Canada's most definitive books on Japanese internment.

Masako Fukawa and Pamela Hickman's *Righting Canada's Wrong: Japanese Canadian Internment in the Second World War* is another work considered popular history because neither Fukawa nor Hickman are trained historians.³⁶ Again, this is problematic in the historiography of Japanese internment because very few academics have elected to write on this issue. Popular history is not necessarily the worst way to write about internment, but historians almost entirely neglect it as sufficient to warrant research. It seeks to open up the popular discourse around a topic but does not seek to engage in deep, meaningful academic research. Additionally, this work becomes problematic because of the previous experiences of the authors. One of the authors was interned in Canada, which could provide a conflict of interest as they may be attempting to

³⁵ Ken Adachi. *The Enemy that Never was*. Toronto. McClelland and Stewart. 1976. 215

³⁶ Masako Fukawa., Pamela Hickman. *Righting Canada's Wrongs: Japanese Canadian Internment in the Second World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 2012.

promote a biased viewpoint or a distant memory that may have become corrupted over time. Meanwhile, the other author is known for children's literature, which further causes concern over the academic strength of the monograph. This work is primarily only included among these sources because it provides a unique perspective on life in a Canadian camp compared to an American center.

Rhonda L. Hinthier and Jim Mochoruk's *Civilian Internment in Canada: Histories and Legacies* is among the most recent books on this list of historiographical books.³⁷ This monograph examines the state's right to suspend the civil liberties of certain groups. It looks at the laws, rules, and regulations for civilian internment in Canada. It seeks to tie the past and the present together by also seeking to connect with modern-day regulations. This work is only two years old as of 2023, and it is unclear how it will affect the historiography. Though, utilizing this monograph can be beneficial to examine just how much Canada has learned from the past mistakes of internment, if at all. It was written during the political turmoil of 2020 and therefore has been influenced by the social and political movements of the time. This becomes increasingly evident since the monograph discusses modern laws that still discriminate against certain minority groups, a topic often brought up by Black Lives Matter in 2020.

Another book examining the legality of internment in Canada, written in 2020, was *Landscapes of Injustice: A New Perspective on the Internment and Dispossession of Japanese Canadians*.³⁸ The book aims to show how the Canadian government dispossessed the Japanese Canadians of their belongings. Their property was destroyed, and so was any hope of the future.

³⁷ Rhonda L. Hinthier, Jim Mochoruk. *Civilian Internment in Canada: Histories and Legacies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2020.

³⁸ Jordan Stanger-Ross. *Landscapes of Injustice: A New Perspective on the Internment and Dispossession of Japanese Canadians*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020.

This work, crafted by the descendants of those interned, makes it quite apparent that the Canadian government had no intention of allowing internees to return to their homes, as many were destroyed, and the land was sold. The work analyzes the laws and actions taken by the Canadian government that deliberately and permanently prevented Japanese Canadians' home ownership.

Kirsten Emiko McAllister's *Terrain of Memory: A Japanese Canadian Memorial Project* follows the story of Japanese Canadian leaders who together built a memorial to the remembrance of the hardships they faced during internment.³⁹ In 1994, the author wrote about the struggles and challenges these people faced to memorialize and remember their efforts in a British Columbia internment camp. McAllister, a third-generation Japanese Canadian, highlights the roles played by the communities, government, and other entities in the memorialization process, even if it was not always positive. Notably, the author writes that the government wanted specific terminology to be used for the site despite the desires of the Japanese Canadian community. Furthermore, those who sought to remember were labeled as trying to rewrite history in a negative light. It should be noted that McAllister is not a trained historian. Her work is primarily as a social activist or a professor of memory studies, political violence, and racism.

Another work that is not necessarily academic but does contribute to the acknowledgment of Japanese Canadian internment is Roy Miki's *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*.⁴⁰ Roy Miki's work is enjoyable in various aspects. First, Roy Miki was placed in an internment camp in 1942. Secondly, he was a significant player in the Canadian redress movement, which sought reparations for Japanese Canadians. Third, Miki is a poet and not an

³⁹ Kirsten Emiko McAllister. *Terrain of Memory: A Japanese Canadian Memorial Project*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

⁴⁰ Roy Miki. *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*. Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004.

accomplished historian. This work chronicles the redress movement by tying Miki's experiences with the movement in a work that blends memoir work and historical documents. Reparations are not exactly something to be explored in-depth during this work, as far better work examines these efforts. They will be mentioned briefly later, however. Miki's *Redress* is mentioned in this analysis of the historiographical discussion because, as Robinson had previously claimed to have done, Miki emphasizes the struggles of Japanese Canadians before the internment. The book recalls the Japanese Canadians and their fight to resist racist laws that sought to tear apart the communities.

Continuing with Japanese Canadian sources not written by trained historians, another work that has gained some notoriety is Mona Oikawa's *Cartographies of Violence: Japanese Canadian Women, Memory, and the Subjects of the Internment*, published in 2012.⁴¹ Oikawa contributes to the historiography of Japanese internment by examining the treatment of women. Furthermore, this work is included in this list as it must be noted that the books focused on Japanese Canadian internment are minuscule compared to Japanese American internment and, therefore, worth mentioning. Typically, those works written on Japanese Canadian internment have little to do with engaging with the historiography. Yet within the introduction, Oikawa immediately references authors briefly examined in this historiographical overview, such as Ken Adachi and Kirsten Emiko McAllister.⁴²

Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century, edited by Gail M. Nomura and Louis Fiset and published in 2005, is another

⁴¹ Mona Oikawa. *Cartographies of Violence: Japanese Canadian Women, Memory, and the Subjects of the Internment*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

⁴² Mona Oikawa. *Cartographies of Violence: Japanese Canadian Women, Memory, and the Subjects of the Internment*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. 4

work worth seeking to contribute to the historiographical conversation of Japanese Canadian internment.⁴³ It should be noted that Nikkei is used in the work's title. For those unfamiliar with Japanese, this is the word for someone of Japanese ancestry who lives in a different country. *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest* has often been presented that the interned Japanese peacefully accepted their fate and were interned. Yet work argues that many Japanese Canadians and Americans resisted the forced internment. Historiography in Canada continues to hold to this inaccurate narrative that Japanese Canadians were helpless and complacent in internment. This work seeks to break that narrative by highlighting the means of resistance that Japanese Canadians took. This collection of essays explores how Japanese Canadians resisted through widespread organized efforts. While their actions may not have been successful, they put forth worthwhile efforts through passive resistance to political protesting.⁴⁴

Interestingly, Ann Gomer Sunahara's *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* adds a unique perspective to the ideology and thoughts behind Japanese Canadian internment.⁴⁵ Sunahara is a retired historian and continues to release new editions of this book, the most recent being in 2020. Sunahara's monograph argues two significant points. First and most evident, Sunahara argues that Japanese internment was racially motivated. However, where the work begins to differ from other works and meaningfully contributes to the historiography is that the piece argues that detention was conducted at the behest of police, military, and political groups. Initially published in 1981, the work examines how certain politicians used Japanese Canadians as scapegoats to hold on to their power. Her

⁴³ Louis Fiset, Gail M. Nomura. *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

⁴⁴ Louis Fiset, Gail M. Nomura. *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005. 17

⁴⁵ Ann Gomer Sunahara. *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 1981.

work has also been tied to the Redress movement in Canada in the late 1970s to 1980s. This movement sought to pay reparations to the Japanese Canadians interned during the war.

The last work to significantly contribute to Japanese Canadian internment is Andrew Theobald's *"Dangerous Enemy Sympathizers": Canadian Internment Camp B, 1940-1945*.⁴⁶ This work deals with a camp in Canada that interned supposed enemy sympathizers. Little work has been done on what North America's governments did to those they believed were traitors. Theobald's work is not limited to Japanese Americans, however. It also highlights that this camp held Nazi sympathizers, those who resisted the war, and Jewish refugees.

These works have been highlighted to showcase specific works on Japanese Canadian internment. Those interested in further research may wish to examine these works for themselves. A brief overview was given to showcase the results and what they discussed. Compared to Japanese American histories, it is evident that the scales of historical literature favor Japanese American internment. An examination of Japanese American internment works is in order. Yet out of a desire to not overburden the reader with an exhaustive list of books, the author wishes to highlight only a few Japanese American works. This is not to say that these are the only ones worth mentioning, nor is it to say that these are the only books written, but to give the reader and other academics an idea of how Japanese American internment historical works compare to Japanese Canadians. Thus, it is worth repeating that these are a select few Japanese American historical works, not an exhaustive list as done with Japanese Canadian research.

Greg Robinson appears once again at the forefront of Japanese internment historiography. Professor Robinson's first work, titled *By Order of the President*, examines Franklin Roosevelt

⁴⁶ Andrew Theobald. *"Dangerous Enemy Sympathizers": Canadian Internment Camp B, 1940-1945*. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2019.

and how he viewed his internment policy. Within the monograph, Robinson discusses President Roosevelt's reason for the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor. Robinson explores why the president, which history has accredited with a celebratory dedication to human rights and commitment to creating social programs to help serve ordinary Americans, would go and sign Executive Order 9066 into effect. An Executive Order that would have stripped away the dignity, liberty, and personal freedoms of over 100,000 Japanese Americans. The book immediately opens with the question, "Why would Roosevelt do this," and begins to address this by examining personal factors, leadership and administrative styles, and wartime morale. Robinson argues that Franklin Roosevelt's decision to intern the Japanese Americans can best be understood by examining his motives, which often conflict with the democratic principles that Roosevelt so often claimed to be a champion of. Moreover, Robinson argues that history has carefully protected the president from the responsibility for this action and instead placed the blame on other factors like pressure from the military and government leaders, wartime hysteria, and the actions of lesser officials.⁴⁷

The book begins by exploring how the American people viewed the Japanese and how it may have affected Roosevelt. Robinson claims that because of Japan's growing military and economic power, many Americans began to feel challenged because they believed in white racial superiority. Additionally, Americans were still living under the previous notion implanted by European settlers and traders that Asians were barbaric and backward. Prominent Americans would begin to claim that the Japanese sought to expand into the US, creating the so-called "Yellow Peril" that threatened the Anglo-Saxon-American way of life. On the other hand, the Japanese felt incredibly insulted by these ideas. They viewed the failure of national and racial

⁴⁷ Greg Robinson. *By Order of the President*. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 2009. 6

recognition on the world stage as insulted honor, which the Japanese highly regarded in their Bushido way of life. Thus, beginning to develop animosity between the two nations.

Professor Robinson notes that Roosevelt grew up when Japan had become a significant player on the world stage and yet was often overlooked by the awe and envy of many Americans with Chinese civilization. There was a personal connection between China and the Roosevelt family. FDR's grandfather had been involved with Chinese trade and had helped create a deep interest in the Chinese culture in Franklin. The same grandfather had also partially owned the boat that brought over the first recorded Japanese to settle in the United States, a hundred and one years before FDR would sign the order to intern them. Though he may have been a Sinophile, Roosevelt also had a deep friendship with several Japanese men from college. The book claims that Roosevelt would lean on his Japanese friends and their insider knowledge about Japan and their politics and policies to help shape public opinion towards the Japanese. *By order of the President* argues that these aspects indicate that Roosevelt did not share the popular anti-Asian racist views that many had. However, he was still cautious.

Brian Hayashi's *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* examines both the Japanese Americans' view of internment and American politicians' views on forced removal. The book explores the American political and wartime ideology behind the forced internment, which includes everything from the possibility of a prisoner exchange with Japan to the fear of a commando raid on the West coast. Hayashi forces the reader to take a more comprehensive look at internment rather than solely focusing on the event as a civil rights issue and makes one consider how the government enforces rules that affect the political rights of minorities. While race and wartime hysteria certainly play a factor in the work, Hayashi argues that other factors contributed to the internment of the Japanese other than the previous argument

put forth by historians that claim race and wartime hysteria as the bedrock for the internment of the Japanese. The book revolves around international and internal factors that have been ignored by historians who have researched the topic.

Hayashi's book contains a twofold argument. First, Hayashi argues that life within Japanese American internment was shaped by many factors, much more than race and hysteria alone. Secondly, the book argues that while the Japanese Americans sought peaceful confinement where they could show their loyalty and patriotism, there were often harsh conditions and strife that made camp life challenging for those there. While the author argues that there is much more to internment than race and wartime hysteria, he does not shy away from highlighting the race-based language used to justify the imprisonment of the Japanese because their race was the "...enemy race," according to General John Dewitt.⁴⁸ Immediately within the book, Hayashi breaks the traditional mold of portraying the first generation of Japanese Americans as stoic, the second generation as loyal, and the third generation as rebellious. Stereotypes have been unnecessarily pushed in historiography.

Brian Hayashi's work utilizes previous work conducted on Japanese American internment by social scientists, administrators of the camps, and the internees—something essential to beneficial academic work that seeks to add to the historiographical conversation positively. The book explicitly states that, unlike previous works, it will heavily rely on camp newspapers and personal interviews. However, this kind of research is not unique to this work. Hayashi correctly points out that previous historical work heavily relied on camp newspapers and personal interviews; however, the author is unique from the last historiographical practices

⁴⁸ Brian Masaru Hayashi. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton. Princeton University, 2010. 3

because he believes that the camp newspapers failed to report significant events like riots. Hayashi ensures that the reader understands camp newspapers were often heavily censored, profoundly political, and given the sole purpose of weakening their sentiments and making the internees more “desirable residents in the United States.”⁴⁹

Additionally, the author argues that personal interviews can be problematic as the interviewees often recall memories based on memory patterns that shape a story for faster recollection. Anxieties over how people have remembered events in life may be worth noting further for the author’s interview with Susan Masters at the introduction of this thesis. Concerns from other members of Susan’s family have raised a similar point and expressed fears over how events have shaped memory. This is not to discount memory and interviews as a whole since great historical and academic work can be generated from such, but it is an aspect that should be emphasized once more. Moreover, Brian Hayashi notes that interviews can be a problem as sometimes someone’s story may be molded and shaped further by something they had read or heard elsewhere.

Uniquely, the author continues to break ground in new ways by examining camp politicians’ role in the camps and argues that they have been mainly ignored in previous historical works. The primary focus is generally upon that of the internees themselves, not the ones who governed them. In this work, Hayashi argues that these camp politicians, who were often bilingual, could secure goods and supplies that otherwise might have been difficult.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Hayashi contends that the Japanese American internees did not believe they would

⁴⁹ Brian Masaru Hayashi. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton. Princeton University, 2010. xvi

⁵⁰ Brian Masaru Hayashi. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton. Princeton University, 2010. 108

achieve any sense of freedom or political victory if the Allies won the war, which directly conflicts with previous historiographical work. Previous historiographical work argues that the Japanese Americans believed that they would be able to reintegrate into society after they had supposedly proven their patriotism and loyalty. Karen Inouye's work on the memory of Japanese Americans, *The Long afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration*, highlights this point that Hayashi argues against.⁵¹

Another work deeply entrenched in the historiographical conversation of Japanese American internment is Matthew Briones' *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Briones examines the efforts made by the Japanese Americans, primarily second-generation men and women, who fought to enter the political discourse, fight against the mainstream racial beliefs alongside other racial minorities during the 1940s, and document the democratic processes that supposedly represented them. The author provides a microhistory of the Japanese Americans' lives during the Second World War and then heavily focuses on the post-internment life of the former internees by focusing on the life of one individual, Charlie Kikuchi. Briones heavily draws upon a Marxist/cultural historical interpretation as class, labor, and culture are intertwined. The author relies upon Kikuchi's diaries to paint a picture of internment and the aftermath of the disastrous event. This monograph spends much of its time following the story of Mr. Kikuchi in Chicago and the experiences with downtrodden, marginalized minorities, particularly the African American community in Chicago. *Jim and Jap Crow* illustrate an incredibly overlooked coalition of Asian Americans and African Americans

⁵¹ Karen M. Inouye. *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2018. 6

who fought to be adequately represented within the American democratic system during the ever-changing world of the 1940s.

Briones lays out his argument at the beginning of the book by stating, “Admittedly, I am arguing for the exceptionalist quality of the 1940s, documenting this home-front culture of and historicizing the era as a significant shift in democratic race relations.”⁵² Briones’ monograph is undoubtedly a product of the time of its publication. It came about when domestic fascism from the American far right had become a national hot button in the American political discourse. Furthermore, he continues a larger conversation about security over liberty, which had been in progress shortly after 9/11. Briones incorporates this into his work.⁵³ as there are numerous references to a government that “prioritized the paranoia of internal security over the principle of civil liberty.”⁵⁴

Briones’ argument revolves heavily around the connections between the Japanese Americans and the African American communities, but also upon the idea put forth by the leading figure in the book: “the workingmen and workingwomen would be the catalyst and force for freedom.”⁵⁵ Briones further reasons that the Japanese Americans sought out African Americans because the Nisei had viewed the African Americans “as a model minority to emulate and follow into the promised land that could be the new multiracial American democracy.”⁵⁶ Briones’ training as a historian is clearly on full display. The monograph is deeply familiar with

⁵² Matthew M. Briones. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Princeton University Press, 2012. 6

⁵³ Matthew M. Briones. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. 6

⁵⁴ Matthew M. Briones. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Princeton University Press, 2012. 5

⁵⁵ Matthew M. Briones. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Princeton University Press, 2012. 9

⁵⁶ Matthew M. Briones. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Princeton University Press, 2012. 12

the historiography of Japanese American internment and African American cultural icons. In the introduction's beginning, Briones references previous historians such as Michael Denning, who described the 1940s as a decade of working-class culture. It is clear from the work that Briones writes from a Marxist historical interpretation. Like previous historical accounts of Japanese internment, Briones notes social scientists and their importance in recording it. The author begins to break with other historians by focusing on an individual he claims to have been part of a multicultural, progressive intellectual coalition. Previous historical works have made little mention of an active intelligentsia among the Japanese American community during the Second World War. It is also within *Jim and Jap crow* that Briones connects his monograph to other historians like Michael Warner, who have written on the public figures who created tension with the larger public by going against what the majority has to say about a particular topic. Briones' monograph is well-versed in the historiography of Japanese American internment, American labor during the Twentieth Century, and African American culture and discussions during the 1940s. The monograph contributes to the historiographical context of the internment by highlighting a lesser-known figure that Briones argues deserves much more credit for the intellectualism that Kikuchi brought to the Japanese American internment and ideological discussions during this time.

Matthew Briones develops the book in a way that is woven between the author's own biases and the personal story of Charlie Kikuchi. It is difficult to distinguish between the author's thoughts about labor and its impact on the movement of history and the views of the primary figure within the book's narrative. However, the blurred lines between the author's opinion and the central character do not take away from the deep historiographical research that had been done for the book. Briones' monograph does not deal too profoundly with Japanese internment

itself. Instead, the author focuses more on the before and primarily the after. Matthew Briones' historically rich work on Japanese Americans and their work to break into American democratic discussions is an exciting interpretation of life after internment.

Perhaps one of the most unique and insightful books featured in this brief list of Japanese American internment is Anne Blankenship's *Christianity, Social Justice, and the Japanese American Incarceration During World War II*. The monograph, initially published in 2016, examines the efforts made by Christians to challenge government policies on race and how Christian leaders responded to the incarceration of Japanese Americans. The author provides insight into the response and reaction of the Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor and again after the Japanese internment. Blankenship heavily relies upon her research focus regarding the role of religious responses to social injustices. This publication focuses much of its time on Catholic and Protestant denominations, focusing heavily on the Japanese American pastors who led congregations during this time. The author notes that much work has already been done on Buddhism and Shinto within the camps and acknowledges that this work is one of the first to dive into the Christian faith. Blankenship states that Mormons, Jews, and predominantly African American denominations are rarely mentioned because of little to no support for the Japanese Americans. Notably, this conflicts with Matthew Briones' work which was previously mentioned. Though, it must be stated that Briones does not say much about African American churches supporting Japanese Americans. *During World War II, Christianity, Social Justice, and Japanese American Incarceration* illustrate an incredibly overlooked alliance of Nisei or second-generation Japanese American pastors and white pastors who challenged the racist government

programs and policies. Blankenship argues that this political and religious movement during the 1940s led to and began influencing the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.⁵⁷

The central argument is laid out at the beginning of the work: “The Japanese American incarceration tested the willingness of Christians to challenge government policies on race and ultimately convinced many individuals to join secular and religious social justice and civil rights movements after the war.”⁵⁸ Blankenship directly ties the internment of Japanese Americans to the Civil Rights movement by arguing that it was through the same Christian leaders who witnessed Japanese internment that they would vow to fight all forms of social injustice within the United States. Blankenship believes Christians were more than willing to challenge the government to secure the blessings of liberty for all.

Anne Blankenship’s training as a historian and religious studies professor is fully displayed in her work. The monograph is well connected to the historiography of Japanese American internment and historical religious literature. Blankenship opens the monograph by stating that her work will contribute to the historical understanding of religion during this time by expanding Christianity in America beyond white/black relations. The monograph also seeks to compliment the work of David Hollinger, Matthew Hedstrom, Lon Kurashige, and Elesah Coffman. Blankenship successfully aims to give Asian Americans a recorded voice within the Christian narrative. Previous historical accounts of Japanese internment ensure that personal testimonies and stories are told from specific internees; Blankenship certainly does this.

However, she makes an interesting twist on the usual historical work by focusing primarily on

⁵⁷ Anne M. Blankenship. *Christianity, Social Justice, and the Japanese American Incarceration During World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2016. 3

⁵⁸ Anne M. Blankenship. *Christianity, Social Justice, and the Japanese American Incarceration During World War II*. 3

the Nisei pastors' and their families. The author begins to break with other historians by concentrating on the Christian faction of religion since most historical work does not mention it. Blankenship's monograph is incredibly knowledgeable about the twentieth century. The monograph contributes to the historiographical context of the internment by highlighting Christianity in the camps. As Blankenship mentions, "most books about the incarceration mention the three authorized religions in the camps – Buddhism, Protestantism, and Catholicism – but no one has looked inside the church doors to see what was happening, why it looked the way it did, or what happened afterward."⁵⁹ Blankenship certainly does so, but it examines lesser examples of Christianity within the Quakers, Church of Christ, and inter-denominational churches.

Ann M. Blankenship develops the book in a way that intertwines Christianity's social justice movements with the Japanese American internment, unlike any previous historical work on either topic. Blankenship makes little mention of conservative Christians within the monograph. Instead, the author chooses to focus on progressive Christians. It is worth noting that the author believes that most conservative Christians supported Japanese internment and therefore did not seek to challenge the social injustice. Blankenship only briefly mentions previous historical works during the beginning and then makes little to no mention throughout the rest of the work. Blankenship's monograph deals extensively with racial prejudices and injustices before, during, and after internment. Blankenship notes that many Christian groups who actively challenged internment also challenged decades of racial and ethnic immigration bans into the United States. Ann M. Blankenship's historically rich work on Christianity in

⁵⁹ Anne M. Blankenship. *Christianity, Social Justice, and the Japanese American Incarceration During World War II*. 3

Japanese American internment, the influences of the Civil Rights movement, and the Christian response and backlash to internment break insightful new ground within the discussions of Japanese American internment.

All these works are essential to the historiographical conversation. Although the American internment sources were brief compared to the comments regarding the Canadian internment experience within this work, it differs from the historiographical discourse. Japanese Canadian internment is significantly pushed out in favor of the American internment narratives. The purpose of this general overview of Japanese American internment sources was to give insight into what was being discussed within the literature to help give the reader an idea of how the discussions look on the flip sides of the conversation. When examining the works, one can easily see specific trends and conversations. For example, determining terms utilized within the results is one common direction. Each author decides to focus on exact wording to fit their cause. Additionally, there is a problem with American and Canadian internment literature becoming dense with popular history rather than academic work conducted by historians.

The subsequent chapters will examine the experiences of Japanese Americans and Canadians. When looking at both incidents, the reader is encouraged to look for anything that would warrant the Japanese American experiences to be more exceptional than it would deserve to be the sole focus of Japanese internment historiography. The primary goal of the following two chapters is to examine an overview of experiences with various witnesses and sources to give an idea of what internment was like in both countries and then to seek to understand why it has been left out of the spotlight of historical focus.

CHAPTER 3: THE JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Once the Japanese had been placed inside the camps, they were not met with excellent, comforting conditions. Instead, they faced challenging experiences that left them traumatized for decades. The Japanese Americans within the camps would carry these haunting experiences with them for the rest of their lives. The racism they faced penetrated the camps as citizens who may have never committed a crime; they were face to face with some of the ugliest treatment that one could ever see in life. One of these individuals has been noted previously. He is famously known for his role as Mr. Sulu on the Star Trek series and his activism for the LGBTQIA+ community; George Takei recounts his story of being in the internment camps. Takei writes in his autobiography that the fence around the camp was “man-proof.”⁶⁰ Furthermore, he states that being inside the center was like being placed inside a full-scale prisoner-of-war camp. Takei states:

“The guard towers were turrets equipped with machine guns. The outer perimeter was patrolled by a half-dozen tanks and armored Jeeps. The guards were battle-ready troops at full battalion strength. All this bristly armament was positioned to keep imprisoned people goaded into outrage by a government blinded by hysteria. Half of the 18,000 internees in Camp Tule Lake were children like me.”⁶¹

Takei writes that during this time, he could identify with movie characters who suffered because of one thing or another. One such instance was the deformed Quasimodo in *The*

⁶⁰ Lawson Inada. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*. N.P.: Heyday, 2014. 121

⁶¹ Lawson Inada. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*. N.P.: Heyday, 2014. 121-122

Hunchback of Notre Dame, where Takei said that he empathized with the “deformed cripple whom people scorned and insulted.”⁶² No doubt this was undoubtedly the case. As examined above, Americans had extreme views of the Japanese for decades. By the time they were thrown into the camps, there were all sorts of highly racist depictions of the Japanese in American pop culture and propaganda, reaching as far as Superman comics published by DC Comics.

While many comics showed superheroes going to war to fight the Axis powers (especially Captain America, who famously leaps across the page of Captain America Comics #1 to punch Adolf Hitler in the face), comics also included plenty of racial stereotypes. An example of this would be depicting the Japanese with overly exaggerated slant eyes, buck teeth, and yellow skin and often referred to as “Jap”. Even Superman, known for standing up for “Truth, Justice, and the American way,” had racial stereotypes of the Japanese in his comic books. In one comic strip published from June 1943 to August 1943, Superman disguised as timid reporter Clark Kent, goes to a Japanese internment camp to examine the center's conditions. Clark Kent is told that the United States government “has done all but lean over backwards in its desire to be humane and fair.” Within the comic strip, Superman stops an attempt by some menacing-looking internees to escape.⁶³ This is also incredibly and tragically ironic, as the popular Superman radio show from the 1940s controversially featured a series of episodes where Superman battles the Klu Klux Klan. With racial depictions and terrible stereotypes being made in all sorts of pop culture and even in children’s comic books, it is no wonder that George Takei and other

⁶² Lawson Inada. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*. N.P.: Heyday, 2014. 123

⁶³ Lawson Inada. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*. N.P.: Heyday, 2014. 123

prominent Asian Americans could see themselves as a character whose physical features were meant to be mocked and scorned.

Mary Matsuda Gruenwald tells of a similar story within the internment camps. Mary's story also recounts how she had become entirely shocked by the militarism of the camp. She writes of "steel wire fencing topped with three rows of barbed wire," further illuminating how "man-proof" the fences were that George Takei had described earlier. Additionally, she notes that large searchlights rotated on the guard towers.⁶⁴ The Japanese Americans were treated with such hostility that they were treated slightly better as prisoners. However, what Mary notes about internee resistance mainly shows how Japanese Americans were treated.

Through tons of research, there has been little to no mention of riots or resistance to being interned or the conditions of the camps. It almost seems that the stories of the internees and the work of historians have been covered up to look more idealistic and to avoid painting the conditions as anything less than humane and friendly. The story told by Mary Matsuda Gruenewald is about a rioter who was killed during some riots in Manzanar. The riots erupted over an internee accusing one of the white officers in charge of the camp of stealing internee provisions and selling them on the black market. This accuser had previously fought with the pro-American side of the Japanese American Citizen League over a different issue. This league had sought to help the Japanese Americans but occasionally stirred up trouble by providing information about potential "trouble-makers."

Nonetheless, the accuser was eventually arrested, thus leading to protests and demands for release. Troops had been summoned to quell the protests, but as demonstrations often do,

⁶⁴ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005. 47

they got out of hand and turned violent. The American soldiers opened fire on the crowd, killing two internees and wounding nine others. The Manzanar camp would be locked down under martial law for two weeks.⁶⁵

Mary Matsuda Gruenewald also recollects various riots, strikes, and protests at other camps due to their treatment. The Japanese Americans were tired of being pushed around and told, “*Shikata ga nai, desu,*” which translates to “It cannot be helped. That’s the way it is.”⁶⁶ Increasingly unrest increased in Minidoka, Poston, and other camps nationwide. When it started to quiet down, the American government realized it needed more servicemen for the war effort. On January 28, 1943, Secretary of War Henry Stimson announced the creation of a combat team of Japanese American men to return internees to normalcy.⁶⁷ As a part of the requirements, men had to answer the following question: “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any other foreign government, power or organization?”⁶⁸

Though they may have been allowed to enter the armed forces and fight against the Axis powers, the Japanese American soldiers were treated with suspicion and fear. As indicated by this question in the enlistment form designed explicitly for the *Nisei*, the United States government deeply distrusted Japanese Americans. Many internees believed it was a trick

⁶⁵ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. 47

⁶⁶ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005. 49

⁶⁷ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005. 49

⁶⁸ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005. 114

question because of how it was phrased. It seemingly indicates that whoever filled out the question had, at least at some point, some allegiance to the Japanese emperor.⁶⁹ It is important to note that the Germans and Italians did not have similar questions about their loyalty to Hitler or Mussolini on their enlistment questionnaires. As if to add insult to injury, *Korematsu v. United States* reached the verdict that the United States was free to incarcerate anyone in declared emergencies. As one author would put it, “The court essentially said that racial discrimination is constitutional in cases of ‘national emergency.’”⁷⁰

It must be emphasized how the *Issei* were treated with the most suspicion by the United States government. All the skepticism surrounding the Japanese Americans had been built on lies, fear, and racism. The United States believed that these citizens would hold the most allegiance to the emperor of Japan. The Americans on the west coast believed in what has often been called the “Yellow Peril.” This fear was based on the xenophobic belief that the Japanese, Chinese, and other Asians posed a threat to Western civilization. The first generation was targeted because they may not have been “American” enough. As one may recall, the *Issei* had been denied the ability to own land.⁷¹ Furthermore, once the camps had begun, the *Issei* would be interrogated about their allegiance to the United States or Japan.

Jeanne Houston recounts how her father had served as an interviewer for the Justice Department for a brief time. The Japanese who worked at the Justice Department made rice wine

⁶⁹ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005. 116

⁷⁰ Mary Matsuda Gruenewald. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005. 122

⁷¹ Roger W. Lotchin. “A Research Report: The 1940s Gallup Polls, Imperial Japanese, Japanese Americans, and the Reach of American Racism.” *Southern California Quarterly* 97, no. 4 (2015): 399–417. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/scq.2015.97.4.399>. 403

to get through the difficult day of questioning, which almost turned Houston's father into an alcoholic.⁷² She includes a transcript of an interview that reveals just how suspicious the government treated the first generation of Japanese Americans. The *Issei* were asked about their reasons for leaving Japan, if they had any relatives in the military, and if so, who, and then if they had contacted anyone in Japan recently. Furthermore, they were asked their thoughts on Pearl Harbor and the American military. Perhaps the most telling questions were about the interviewees' loyalties and if they genuinely wanted America to win the war.⁷³

It is evident from the interview questions that the United States extremely distrusted the *Issei*. They believed that they held ties to Japan. It is unclear at this time if any of the first-generation Japanese Americans were accused of being traitors and declared to be spies or potential saboteurs. Though it is certainly possible, it seems reasonable to conclude that the treatment of Japanese Americans was based on race because of America's unique and offensive nature towards the Japanese precisely.

⁷²James D. Houston, Jean Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment*. Bantam: Bantam, 1973. 58-59

⁷³James D. Houston, Jean Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment*. Bantam: Bantam, 1973. 59

CHAPTER 4: THE JAPANESE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE

Susan Master's story was never told in an academic, historical light before this time. Her story was the focus of the introduction and will not be the focus of this chapter. Instead, this chapter will focus on someone else in Susan's family who was interned alongside her. This would be her brother, Ed. Years ago, a relative named Arlene Holek endeavored to craft a family history and collection for Uncle Ed, as family members called him. These stories were eventually compiled with and placed in an unpublished family book with family photos. The manuscripts for the book were placed alongside the text, neatly tucked away in the pages of photos. The following story is just one of the many told within the book about the life of Ed. This particular story is one that Susan had briefly mentioned in the interview and is elaborated on further by Ed through Arlene Holek's work.

Alongside the rest of the world, Canada also suffered greatly at the hands of the Great Depression. No country was exempt from the sufferings of the Great Depression, which resulted in lots of traveling and immigration. Entire families began packing up, searching for a more prosperous and hopeful life. One such family would be Ukichi and Haruko Nishizawa. The only relative that this young family in Canada was Seitaro, Ukichi's older brother. Seitaro was a successful, wealthy businessman who owned Nishizawa Imports and Exports. Through his business ventures, Seitaro could afford luxuries that many other families during the troubling times of the 1930s could not afford. For example, he once bought a red toy truck for his nephew's birthday, but with the stipulation that the toy had to be shared with his other siblings.

Another expensive gift Seitaro bought his family was a graciously commissioned photo of his brother, Ukichi, and his young family featuring Seitaro in the back right of the picture.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, Ukichi Nishizawa's family struggled to make ends meet with what was produced on their farm. The quaint two-bedroom farmhouse was forced to accommodate five family members. This included Ukichi, the father; Haruko, the mother; Eiichi (later known as Ed); Susan; and Grace. All the kids were incredibly young as the family began finding new roots in their Canadian home. Before the internment, however, they enjoyed the time out in the strawberry fields even if they did not like pulling up the weeds associated with the process.⁷⁵

Despite being young, Eiichi was still responsible for caring for his younger sisters. While the parents went out before the break of dawn to begin working in the fields, Eiichi was accountable for his two infantile younger sisters, Grace and Susan. As Arlene Holek notes in her work:

Each morning, Ichy [another nickname for Eiichi] awoke early, ate breakfast, washed, and dressed himself because his parents had to leave before daybreak to work in the fields. Caring for his baby sisters, Grace, an energetic two-year-old, and Susan, barely one, were Ichy's responsibility. A job he enjoyed. He fed them and changed their diapers before making a small nest of blankets around them on their parents' big bed. Next, he barricaded the bed with chairs and dressers to prevent the babies from falling off while he attended school. He was the last to leave in the morning and the first to return each day. Although careful, he routinely found both babies on the floor when he arrived.⁷⁶

The education was relatively simple and ordinary compared to the primary education of the time. Rows and wooden desks face the teacher's significantly larger desk at the front of the classroom. Rather than have a picture of the president, the Canadian classroom three miles from the Nishizawa home was decorated with a portrait of King George V above the chalkboard.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Arlene Holek, "Make it Worth it" (unpublished manuscript, unknown date), typescript

⁷⁵ Arlene Holek, "Make it Worth it"

⁷⁶ Arlene Holek, "Make it Worth it."

⁷⁷ Arlene Holek, "Make it Worth it"

Punishment with a dunce cap in front of the classroom was expected within the school. Unfortunately, according to Arlene Holek's writings, Eiichi was prone to receiving this punishment for acting out during class. In one such instance, Eiichi cuts off one-half of a girl's braids because of her continued annoyance.⁷⁸

While Arlene Holek's first unpublished manuscript provides an inside look at life before the internment, Holek typed a second manuscript that served as a family history and was also unpublished. This second manuscript examines the internment and the Nishizawa family's experiences in Camp Tashme, British Columbia. Susan and Grace have grown significantly and are no longer the toddlers discussed in the first manuscript. They are now getting into mischief of their own. Holek also briefly fills in some gaps between the two stories. Within the second manuscript, the reader can learn more about the life of Eiichi Nishizawa, his education, and the early childhood of the rest of the family. Holek writes:

Eddy [Eiichi] had learned English quickly, and changing his name to Edward Eiichi Nishizawa made it easier for teachers and classmates to spell and pronounce. By the end of elementary school, he spoke without an accent, had gained many friends, and earned the respect of his teachers. His younger siblings learned English from him, but his parents, who worked seventy-hour per week on the strawberry farm, had no time for English classes. Despite lacking an English education, they established themselves in the community and provided for their children.⁷⁹

As rightfully pointed out by Holek, "Ed's parents had not come to Canada thinking life would be easy, but they did not expect to become enemies of the state."⁸⁰ William Lyon MacKenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, had ordered the internment of Japanese Canadians roughly around the same time that Franklin D. Roosevelt had signed Executive Order No. 9066. Treated with suspicion and distrust, the Nishizawas and thousands of other families of

⁷⁸ Arlene Holek, "Make it Worth it"

⁷⁹ Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully" (unpublished manuscript, unknown date) typescript

⁸⁰ Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully"

Japanese descent were thrown into internment camps throughout the country. The destination for the young Nishizawa family would be that of Tashme in British Columbia.

British Columbia during the winter is not ideal for a young family, nor any human to be in. The conditions are far worse when people are forced to live in barely livable homes. Some nights the temperature would get down to seven degrees Fahrenheit.⁸¹ Despite having nine children now and two parents, the hastily constructed internment home was only heated by a potbellied stove in the middle. Yet, it failed to keep anything warm. The newspapers used to fill the holes in the walls were also inadequate to protect the house from the frigid weather. Newspapers and plastic bags would also be used to insulate winter boots.⁸²

Despite being interned in prison-like conditions, the children still made the most of their situations. Ed, always the resourceful teenager, crafted skis using only his pocketknife and some wood they could find in hopes of one-day skiing down the big hill nearby. Yet again, teenagers were bound to find themselves in some trouble. One day, Grace, now thirteen years old, walked up to Ed, covered in snow. After demanding what happened, a disheveled Grace revealed that some local boys were causing trouble by pushing Grace and Susan into the snow and pulling their hair.⁸³ These were not boys from beyond the camp walls but fellow Japanese Canadian internees who caused trouble. This is rarely discussed, but internal strife often exists among the internees. Former internees have attested that groups are usually quickly assembled like camp gangs. While a neighborhood bully was far from a gang, this internal violence is not something that rarely occurred and should not be ignored. Nonetheless, despite multiple interventions by

⁸¹ Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully"

⁸² Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully"

⁸³ Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully"

Ed, the local boy named Dennis “enjoyed tormenting his schoolmates: stealing lunches, and candy and bullying to get what he wanted.”⁸⁴

Soon after being told all about the mistreatment of his sisters, Ed sent his sisters home for lunch. Seeking some payback, Ed thought of ways to get back at the rude bully. After looking around, he quickly got his idea. He found a thick, durable branch and walked to the family outhouse that Dennis and his family used. From behind a pile of snow, Ed patiently waited until Dennis went to relieve himself. After shutting the door behind himself, Ed quickly leaped into action. He took the sturdy tree branch and wedged the branch against the door preventing the door from opening. After a quick test to ensure his plan worked, Ed happily went to lunch with Dennis trapped.⁸⁵

Arlene records that “Dennis was in there for quite some time. His calls for help went unheeded as everyone was eating. Having not taken a hat or gloves with him, they said he had developed early frostbite by the time someone released him. Grace and Sue [Susan] laughed with glee when they heard what had happened, but they laughed too soon.”⁸⁶ Dennis came back the next day seeking revenge. He harassed the young girls and pulled several buttons off their only coats in a fitted rage against them. Ed’s protective nature was ready to avenge his sisters.

“He told the girls to say nothing to the neighbors, no matter what happened. They were to know nothing of the plan.”⁸⁷ Ed’s secret plan to avenge his sisters would take several days to enact. They needed to wait until there was much more snow. After a few days had passed and

⁸⁴ Arlene Holek, “Never back down from a Bully”

⁸⁵ Arlene Holek, “Never back down from a Bully”

⁸⁶ Arlene Holek, “Never back down from a Bully”

⁸⁷ Arlene Holek, “Never back down from a Bully”

much more snow had packed in, Ed was ready to get retribution on Dennis. Before creeping to the neighbor's house, he waited until everyone was asleep. While on his way, he continued to roll a snowball. Holek said he got the snowball roughly two feet in diameter.⁸⁸ The payback went precisely as desired.

He lifted the snowball into the outhouse and packed it firmly into the hole in the latrine seat. Using a cedar bough, he retreated home, covering his tracks as he went. During the night, so I've heard tell, Dennis' father, having a bout of diarrhea, attempted to use the outhouse, but to his dismay, when he sat down in the dark to relieve himself, his bottom kissed the cold, packed snow. There was much yelling, swearing, and teeth grinding but no evidence of how the snowball came to be there.⁸⁹

Regardless of stories like these, it is essential to remember these stories of hard work, perseverance, and triumph despite difficult odds. The Nishizawa family story is representative of so many Japanese Canadians who had struggled to live in the camps and faced challenges from all sides. Stories like these could have been told for decades, yet they have been ignored or never told. As with the case of Susan Masters, the experiences in the camps were too traumatizing to be discussed openly. Nisei, second-generation Japanese children, may have known of the incident from their parents, but other than a brief surface knowledge, not much else would be known. The Canadian and American governments sought to bring shame among the Japanese immigrants, and it worked. Unfortunately, it worked too well as the internees were too ashamed to speak of the experience for decades out of fear of being seen as unpatriotic.

⁸⁸ Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully"

⁸⁹ Arlene Holek, "Never back down from a Bully"

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Japanese Canadians suffered alongside the Japanese Americans due to the racial prejudices and wartime hysteria that ensued shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941. Both suffered horribly and were faced with indescribable hardships. Yet, professional historians and those who write for public entertainment on the subject focus primarily on Japanese Americans instead of the Japanese Canadians who also suffered. The reason for this is hard to tell and not exactly something that can be pinned down precisely. While that can certainly be frustrating to some, the goal of this thesis is not to argue the origins of the focus on American internment. Instead of answering the question, the purpose of this thesis is to ask the question as to why they have been left out and to open further dialogue in the historiographical conversation that will hopefully pave the way for future research to be done that would allow for the Japanese Canadians to be placed within the focus of Japanese internment conversations rightfully. In this chapter, the importance of including Japanese Canadians in the historiography will be explored and examined, and they should be included in the first place. This will tie in aspects from the past, such as both suffering racial injustices throughout the decades to the present-day issue of anti-Asian sentiment.

When beginning with the importance of including Japanese Canadian internment, it must be remembered that this entire group of people has been forgotten. When mentioning Japanese internment camps to the public or even the creditable historians, they often do not realize that Canada had internment camps. This is a problem. A whole group of people and their struggles have been forgotten by history because it is a blight on the historical narrative. As often happens when seeking to highlight the oppressed peoples of society, such as when the Smithsonian Museum tried to highlight the victims of the Enola Gay atomic bomb drops, one will be accused

of re-writing history. Furthermore, it is seen as a political move that can often be labeled as partaking in “woke ideology.” They are told that they are creating a false narrative. However, that is hardly the case here.⁹⁰ History does not need to be rewritten, nor is this a political move.

The human mind often has trouble fathoming what a large group of people look like when the number is over 150. Many people can imagine several people below that, but once the number of people begins to rise above 150, then it is challenging to picture this in one’s mind. Because of suspicion, it is challenging to make people recognize that 140,000 American and Canadian citizens were interned, imprisoned, and forced to live under less-than-pleasant conditions. Historical work has often tried to tie faces to those interned to properly connect readers and academics to the people. It is another reason why the victims have written so much of the works conducted on Japanese internment in internment camps. This is to say that each one of these 140,000 and countless others interned in Mexico was forced to uproot their lives. They were stripped of everything. They were stripped of their property, livelihoods, and now historians who should know better have deprived them of remembrance.

Nonetheless, the point is that historians must face the 20,000 Japanese Canadians who have had their stories forgotten and ignored. Susan Masters and her siblings lost their childhoods and were left with deep scars because they were suspected of being possible traitors, spies, and enemies. Is this something that the world wants to continue doing? Reparations have already been paid to both Japanese American internment victims and Canadians, but does that solve the problem? Are both nations now absolved of their previous sins because they have paid their

⁹⁰ Tom Engelhardt, Edward T. Linenthal. *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*. New York City: Henry Holt and Company, 1996. While this work may not have a significant historical contribution to Japanese Internment, it still offers exciting and thoughtful commentary on the battle between preserving history and sharing that history with the public despite the ensuing conflict revolving around the public perception of history and the historians’ desire to display all the facts.

dues? Perhaps to some extent. Yet, as the old historical trope goes, a country that does not remember its past is doomed to repeat it. The United States and Canada have already seen a resurrection in anti-Asian sentiment.

Despite a long-standing resentment against the Asian American community, many have fought back since the sixties and seventies. Actors like Bruce Lee, George Takei, Dean Cain, and Simu Liu have brought Asian American characters and elements to life on screens for decades. They have often spoken out against the mistreatment of Asians in the United States. While these three actors have been Asian themselves, others have large platforms they use to speak out against racial injustices. Those who have spoken out against this hate should be recognized as they are fighting inequalities and violence that should have been erased from American history long ago. Despite facing extreme prejudices, they have stood firm in the face of adversity and opened the conversation of anti-Asian sentiment that has been around for over a hundred years.

On the other hand, the traumatic experience left thousands unwilling to discuss it. For years the stories of internment and the Japanese Americans who experienced it would go ignored. The Japanese Americans slowly transition back into their ordinary lives, though they may have faced prejudices on new levels. Others moved back to Japan and began new lives there after the war. The United States government probably felt assured in their belief that some Japanese Americans had held connections to Japan over their lives in America. Life went on for the Japanese Americans who had been interned, and the time in the camps was no longer to be brought up in society. It would be through the *Sansei*, the third generation, that the stories of their parents' incarceration would be told. It has been suggested that because of the *Issei* and

Nisei's silence, the *Sansei* would become curious, frustrated, and politically active.⁹¹ It would also be the *Sansei* who began traveling to the camps to teach about the events there.⁹² Indeed, this attempt to remember a blight on American history would be an uphill battle. There were many political pushbacks as the *Sansei* battled to keep the internment stories alive and remembered in history. The third generation of Japanese Americans wanted to showcase Japanese culture and history and teach Americans about the violations against civil rights so that they may never happen again.

It would not be until the 1960s and 1970s that discussions regarding internment and the history that should be taught began. As the third-generation Japanese Americans sought to teach future generations about their families' struggles, students began rallying on college campuses to have studies that reflected minorities' history and culture.⁹³ They believed that by doing this, they would counteract the narrative told by those at the top and disrupt any historical racism that may have existed. During this time of education upheaval, the coalition of college students, professors, civil rights activists, and Japanese Americans sought to change the narrative that they claimed had dehumanized the Japanese Americans who had been placed in the camps. Furthermore, they added that by tearing down the descriptions put into place by those in charge, they could accurately tell the stories of those who had been interned and give their stories a face.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Karen M. Inouye. *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2018. 119

⁹² Cherstin M. Lyon. "Portals and Praxis in Japanese American Public History." *Southern California Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (2016): 259–74. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26413379>. 259

⁹³ Cherstin M. Lyon. "Portals and Praxis in Japanese American Public History." *Southern California Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (2016): 259–74. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26413379>. 261

⁹⁴ Cherstin M. Lyon. "Portals and Praxis in Japanese American Public History." 261

The efforts of this coalition of academics and children of former internees would not go unheard of, especially by the Japanese Americans who had lived during the time of internment like that of prominent Senator Daniel Inouye. The United States government began discussing what could be done to right the wrongs. President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 would remain law until President Gerald Ford formally rescinded the rule on February 19, 1976.⁹⁵ In the late Nineteen seventies, acts began to be passed that would start to observe the violations made, and the first "Day of Remembrance" would be held.⁹⁶ Senator Inouye and Matsunaga would lead the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in 1979 and 1980. This commission would be vital in providing Japanese Americans with the reparations they became entitled to.

Before signing the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, President Ronald Reagan stated, "Yet we must recognize that the internment of Japanese Americans was just that – a mistake. Throughout the war, Japanese Americans in the tens of thousands remained utterly loyal to the United States."⁹⁷ Shortly after, President signed the Act, which would grant monetary compensation for the time Japanese Americans were interned. In some, it was not enough to be completely forgiven of the violations, but in the eyes of others, it was a step in the right direction. The United States has been righting wrongs committed against the Asian American community after decades of offense. The culture has pushed back and rejected depicting Asians as they once did.

⁹⁵ Leslie Hatamiya. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. N.P.: Stanford University Press, 1994. xix

⁹⁶ Leslie Hatamiya. *Righting a Wrong*. xix

⁹⁷ "President Reagan's at [sic.] the Japanese-American Internment Compensation Bill signing on August 10, 1988". 00:08:52. Reagan Library. June 20, 2016. <https://youtu.be/kcaQRhcBXY>

The apology and reparations issued by the Reagan administration were the first steps in a long path to fixing the racial problems of the United States against the Japanese Americans.

Similarly, a Redress movement occurred in Canada in the late 1970s and 1980s to pay reparations to Japanese Canadians who suffered from the experience. The Redress movement sought to apologize but also to pay reparations to those who were interned. The movement will sometimes also apply to the push in the United States to do the same, which President Reagan would eventually do in 1988. It was a movement involving numerous political and social figures and organizations.

It may be challenging for some to wrap the concept around their minds. Still, in truth, the lives of the Japanese Canadians were not utopian or idealistic after the internment. It was challenging for so many to pick up and start life anew. In a tragically ironic way, many found better hope in returning to Japan than in the beginning again in Canada or America. The horrible treatment of the Japanese continues long after the camps. Once again, the story of Susan Masters is relevant to this topic. Upon marrying and returning to the states with her husband, Bruce, Susan was mistreated harshly by her in-laws. One of Susan's daughters, born in 1955, Linda Young, continued to face horrible racial slurs and vile comments throughout grade school. When Japanese Canadians are forgotten and left out of the historiographical conversation, generations and their struggles are ignored. The plights of so many are left to pass away as mere memories, never to be recorded for posterity's sake.

In conclusion, Susan Masters and many of the Japanese Canadian community must be remembered just as much as the Japanese Americans who also faced internment. Historians have ignored the triumphs and tragedies of the interned Japanese Canadians. The historiography has been focused solely on Japanese American internment, yet by doing so, leaving out thousands

who also faced difficulties and tragedies. In truth, the difference between the experiences of Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians during the internment and post-internment experience is not different enough to warrant solely focusing on one over the other. Hopefully, future historians will utilize this work to promote education on this topic and eventually elect to concentrate on aspects of internment that may have been ignored, such as the Japanese Mexican internment experience. History must not forget the horrible injustice to these innocent Japanese immigrants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Blankenship, Anne M. *Christianity, Social Justice, and the Japanese American Incarceration During World War II*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2016.
- Briones, Matthew M. *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America*. Princeton University Press, 2012
- Engelhardt, Tom, Linenthal T., Edward. *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*. New York City: Henry Holt and Company, 1996
- Fiset, Louis, Nomura, Gail M. *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans & Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Fukawa, Masako., Hickman, Pamela. *Righting Canada's Wrongs: Japanese Canadian Internment in the Second World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 2012.
- Gruenewald, Mary Matsuda. *Looking like the enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps*. Tillamook: NewSage Press, 2005
- Hatamiya, Leslie. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1994
- Hayashi, Brian Masaru. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton. Princeton University, 2010.

Hinther, Rhonda L., Mochoruk, Jim. *Civilian Internment in Canada: Histories and Legacies*.

Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2020.

Houston, James D., Houston, Jean. *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American*

Experience During and After the World War II Internment. Bantam: Bantam Press, 1973.

Holek, Arlene. "Make it Worth it" (unpublished manuscript, unknown date), typescript.

Holek, Arlene. "Never back down from a Bully" (unpublished manuscript, unknown date)

Typescript.

Inada, Lawson. *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience*.

N.P.: Heyday, 2014

Inouye, Karen M. *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration*. Redwood City: Stanford

University Press, 2018.

Kanazawa, Mark. "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold

Rush California." *The Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 779–805.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3875017>

Langowski, Eric. "Education Denied: Indiana University's Japanese American Ban, 1942 to

1945." *Indiana Magazine of History* 115, no. 2 (2019): 65–115.

<https://doi.org/10.2979/indimagahist.115.2.01>.

LaViolette, Forrest E. "Japanese Evacuation in Canada." *Far Eastern Survey* 11, no. 15 (1942):

163–67. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3021723>.

Lee, Erika. "'The 'Yellow Peril' and Asian Exclusion in the Americas." *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007): 537–62. <https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2007.76.4.537>.

Lotchin, Roger W. "A Research Report: The 1940s Gallup Polls, Imperial Japanese, Japanese Americans, and the Reach of American Racism." *Southern California Quarterly* 97, no. 4 (2015): 399–417. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/scq.2015.97.4.399>.

Lyon, Cherstin M. "Portals and Praxis in Japanese American Public History." *Southern California Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (2016): 259–74. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26413379>.

McAllister, Kirsten Emiko. *Terrain of Memory: A Japanese Canadian Memorial Project*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

Miki, Roy. *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*. Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2004.

Oikawa, Mona. *Cartographies of Violence: Japanese Canadian Women, Memory, and the Subjects of the Internment*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

"President Reagan's remarks at [sic.] the Japanese-American Internment Compensation Bill Signing on August 10, 1988". 00:08:52. Reagan Library. June 20, 2016. <https://youtu.be/kcaQRhcBXY>

"Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1943," U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State), accessed November 23, 2021, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/chinese-exclusion-act-repeal>.

Robinson, Greg. *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America*. New York City: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Robinson, Greg. *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Scott, Steven M., Eisinger, Justin., Takei, George., Becker, Harmony. *They Called Us Enemy – Expanded Edition*. Marrietta: Top Shelf Productions, 2020.

Stanger-Ross, Jordan. *Landscapes of Injustice: A New Perspective on the Internment and Dispossession of Japanese Canadians*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020.

Sunahara, Ann Gomer. *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 1981.

Susan Masters, in discussion with the author, Sulphur Springs, Tennessee, March 2022

Takei, George. *They Called Us Enemy – Expanded Edition*. Marrietta: Top Shelf Productions, 2020.

Theobald, Andrew. *"Dangerous Enemy Sympathizers": Canadian Internment Camp B, 1940-1945*. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2019.

Wilson, Robert. "Landscapes of Promise and Betrayal: Reclamation, Homesteading, and Japanese American Incarceration." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101, no. 2 (2011): 424–44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27980185>.

Wollenberg, Charles. “‘Dear Earl,’ The Fair Play Committee, Earl Warren, and Japanese

Internment.” *California History* 89, no. 4 (2012): 24–60.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/41853220>.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Nishizawa Family Photo



Appendix B: Photos From Family History Book



The loading of
Canadians of Japanese
descent onto cattle
cars, wearing their
Sunday best.



Skis made by Ed and his
friend.



Photo taken by
Ed from a
nearby treetop.

Appendix C: Entering Camp Tashme Photo



VITA

CLAYTON HUFF

Education: M.A. History, East Tennessee State University, Johnson
City, Tennessee, 2023

B.A. History, East Tennessee State University, Johnson
City, Tennessee, 2021

A.S. History, Northeast State Community College,
Blountville, Tennessee, 2019

Public Schools, Gray, Tennessee

Professional Experience: Graduate Assistant, East Tennessee State University,
College of Arts and Sciences, 2021-2023

Honors and Awards: Quillen Scholarship for Outstanding Academic Excellence,
East Tennessee State University, 2022