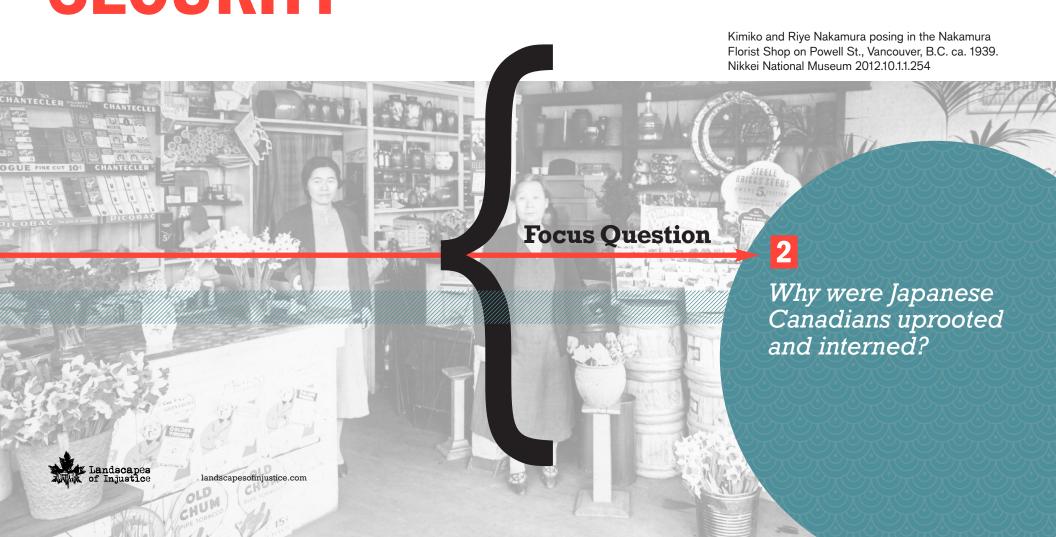
WAR AND NATIONAL SECURITY



LESSON 2

THE YONEYAMA FAMILY

Rikizo Yoneyama came to Canada in 1907 with little more than his hopes. Like many newcomers from Japan, he dreamt of one day owning property and starting a family. He found work at a sawmill and later a pharmacy. He diligently saved his earnings.

A decade later, Rikizo achieved his dream. He bought a farm, 7.5 acres in Haney, British Columbia (qícəý). He dug a well and was soon able to raise chickens and pigs and cultivate berries, apples, pears, and plums. On the busy farm, Rikizo and his wife, Yone, raised four children.

In 1942, Japanese Canadians were banned from Canada's west coast. Rikizo and his family reluctantly left their farm. They joined his two eldest daughters in Edmonton, Alberta, where they were training in medicine and dentistry.



Rikizo hoped one day to return home. "I realize that we are the victims of a war emergency," he wrote to government officials. "As such," his family was "quite willing to undergo . . . hardship . . . to help safeguard the shores

of our homeland." Rikizo asked "to return to my home . . . when the present emergency ends."



Yoneyama family. Courtesy of Harold Yoneyama.

LESSON OVERVIEW

◆ ALLOTTED TIME: 2 PERIODS

In this lesson students explore how perception, shaped by popular media, can influence public opinion. They will examine the complex factors that led to the uprooting and internment of Japanese Canadians in the spring of 1942. The lesson examines the government rationale for uprooting and internment. Students then examine a selection of primary and secondary sources to answer the question: Why were Japanese Canadians uprooted and interned?

LESSON RESOURCES

The following handouts are provided for your use with this lesson. These materials are located at the back of this resource package.

HANDOUTS

- Handout 2.1 Historical Perspective
- Handout 2.2 Tug-for-Truth
- Handout 2.3 Tug-for-Truth Evaluation Rubric



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SOURCES

Source 21

Source 2.1	ridgging the byke				
• Source 2.2	Grade 4 Class, Strathcona School				
• Source 2.3	Henry F. Angus Report				
• Source 2.4	Registration Card				
• Source 2.5	Living Room, 1930s				
• Source 2.6	Political Cartoon, 1921				
• Source 2.7	Taxi Calendar, 1938				
• Source 2.8	Maclean's Magazine, 1921				
• Source 2.9	Order-in-Council PC 695, 1931				
• Source 2.10	The New Canadian, 1939				
• Source 2.11	Riding Bicycles in Stanley Park, 1930s				
• Source 2.12	Maikawa Nippon Auto Supplies				
• Source 2.13	The Brief History of My Candian Life, J. Kitamura				
• Source 2.14	Letter from RCMP Commissioner, S.T. Wood				
• Source 2.15	The Enemy That Never Was				
• Source 2.16	Letter to the Editor, Vancouver Province, 1942				
• Source 2.17	Mutual Hostages				
• Source 2.18	MP Thomas Reid, editorial, Vancouver Province, 1942				
• Source 2.19	Notice to All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin				

Plugging the Dyke

TARGETED LEARNING

- Assess the prevailing public attitude toward the Japanese Canadian community, including uprooting and internment
- Understand the divergent viewpoints about Japanese Canadians in the pre-war years
- Understand how the prevailing public attitude impacted the decision to uproot and intern
- Recognize that not all perspectives and views are defensible or acceptable within societal norms
- Evaluate the notion that Japanese Canadians were a threat to national security
- Evaluate the actions of the government by analyzing source documents and secondary sources
- Historical Thinking Competencies Historical Perspective Taking

EVALUATION

In this unit students can be evaluated using the assessment rubric below. It can be found at the back of this resource package.

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SPOTLIGHT ACTIVITY

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 15–30 MINUTES

LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

• Source 2.1 Plugging the Dyke

In this activity we are inviting students to understand the anti-Japanese bias that permeated B.C. society in the years leading up to the Second World War. A political cartoon from the 1930s will help set the tone for the activities to follow. The image is one that depicts open bias against Japanese Canadians. As the image is exposed, in three separate reveals, students will speculate and share aloud what they are seeing.

- Reveal the first piece of the shrouded image (Reveal #1) but keep the rest of Source 2.1 Plugging the Dyke covered.
 - Have students record what they see using the guiding questions provided.
 - Allow about 5 minutes for them to decode and record their observations.
- 2. As you reveal the next segment of the image (Reveal #2) ask students to build on their understanding.
 - Are there new clues as to its meaning, message or purpose?
 - Have the students speculate on the connection(s) they can make with the image and Japanese Canadians.
- 3. You now reveal the final piece of the image (Reveal #3), the political cartoon is now clear and the image is open to interpretation.
 - First see if the students can identify in some detail what the cartoon was used for, its purpose, and full meaning.
 - Now ask them to consider how Japanese Canadians may have felt about this cartoon.
- **4.** Discuss with the class how the cartoon indicates the prevailing public mood toward Japanese Canadians in the late 1930s.
 - What can the cartoon tell us about the public attitude toward Japanese Canadians?
 - If there was a crisis with Imperial Japan how might the cartoon help us to understand the public attitude toward Japanese Canadians?
 - How would Japanese Canadians have felt when viewing cartoons of this nature?

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PERSPECTIVE TAKING 101

♦ SUGGESTED TIME: 60 MINUTES

LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- Handout 2.1 Historical Perspective
- Source 2.2 Grade 4 Class, Strathcona
- Source 2.3 Henry F. Angus Report
- Source 2.4 Registration Card
- Source 2.5 Living Room, 1930s
- Source 2.6 Political Cartoon, 1921
- Source 2.7 Taxi Calendar, 1938
- Source 2.8 Maclean's Magazine, 1921
- Source 2.9 Order-in-Council PC 695
- Source 2.10 The New Canadian, 1939
- Source 2.11 Riding Bicycles in Stanley Park
- Source 2.12 Maikawa Nippon Auto Supplies
- Source 2.13 The Brief History ... J. Kitamura

In this activity students will explore the social, political, and economic climate as experienced by Japanese Canadians in the 1930s. The lesson activities will explore the extent of discrimination faced by Japanese Canadians in pre-war British Columbia. Students will examine political cartoons, images, archival documents and other sources in order to better understand the prevailing mood toward Japanese Canadians that laid the foundation for the extreme measures taken by the federal government in the 1940s.

- 1. Provide each student with a copy of **Handout 2.1 Historical Perspective** and review the elements of historical perspective taking. Take some time to check student understanding with the concept details described in the handout.
- 2. Inform students that historians use primary source documents as a way to investigate the past and provide evidence for the conclusions they draw when telling a story about a particular event. Explain to the class that we want to understand the social, political, and economic climate of the 1930s in British Columbia.
 - Write the question on the whiteboard "What was the prevailing public attitude toward Japanese Canadians in the 1930s?".
 - Set up table stations and distribute copies of the sources (**Sources 2.2–2.13**) throughout the classroom. Our recommendation is to have not more than three sources per station with a minimum of 8 stations in use.
 - Mix the sources at each table using a variety of combinations (there will be some overlap as students move from station to station).
- 3. Students circulate to four stations in a gallery walk format, recording information on the chart in Handout 2.1 from each station. To avoid large congregations at each table you may want to set a maximum of 2–4 students at any one station. Have the students enter observations from the sources in the chart. Provide 10 minutes at each station and remind students to be thoughtful while assessing each piece of evidence.
- 4. Debrief the observations, taking opportunities to comment on issues of presentism, context, perspective, and validity created by the source selections. Students then use the evidence collected on their charts to address the question. This may be discussed in a whole class activity, written in class or assigned for next class as a review activity prior to starting the Tug-for-Truth Activity.

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TUG-FOR-TRUTH ACTIVITY

♦ SUGGESTED TIME: 60 MINUTES

LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- Handout 2.2 Tug-for-Truth
- Handout 2.3 Tug-For-Truth Evaluation Rubric
- Source 2.14 Letter from RCMP Commissioner, S.T. Wood
- Source 2.15 The Enemy That Never Was (excerpt)
- **Source 2.16** Letter to the Editor, *Vancouver Province*, 1942
- Source 2.17 Mutual Hostages (excerpt)
- Source 2.18 MP Thomas Reid, editorial, Vancouver Province, 1942
- Source 2.19 Notice to Persons of Japanese Racial Origin

Japanese Canadians were interned in summer and fall of 1942 as a wartime necessity by the government of Canada. In this activity students explore the validity of the government's position, weighing evidence and unpacking claims that Japanese Canadians were a threat to the nation.

- 1. Place a tug-of-war diagram on the whiteboard, or tape a piece of rope on the wall and use post-it notes. Provide students with **Handout 2.2 Tug-for-Truth**.
 - On your whiteboard above the diagram, write the claim: It was necessary to uproot and intern Japanese Canadians.
 - Inform the class that they are going to debate this question in light of evidence presented on both sides of the issue.
- 2. Mix the class into varied student groups of 4 6 and provide each group with the evidence package (Sources 2.14–2.19).
 - Inform the groups that the first step is to assess the sources provided and enter evidence on either side of the claim on **Handout 2.2**. (You may assign one handout to each student or one for the group to complete collectively).
 - Allow the student groups 20 minutes to review the evidence package and begin formulating which side of the claim to add their evidence.
- **3.** Explain to the students that they will now begin writing evidence, on either side of the claim, on the whiteboard. Tell them that they can only add two kinds of things to the whiteboard/display:
 - Evidence that directs the tug in the yes or no direction of the claim or by adding a question about the claim or evidence. The question may ask for more information, ask for clarity, or offer a recommendation.
 - Allow groups about 10–15 minutes to add claims, note questions and reflect on what has been recorded.
 - Apply Handout 2.3 Tug-For-Truth Assessment Rubric at this stage as you check in with each table group, or at the end with the student summative activity.
- 4. Finish the activity by asking the students what new ideas they have about the question of truth.
 - Can we decide now? What grey areas may remain? Why was there evidence presented on either side of the claim? What additional evidence might sway the judgment to one view or the other?
- 5. Students take 5 minutes to record a final judgment on the claim based on the evidence on the whiteboard, the information shared in debriefing and their own notes. These can be shared, graded or kept in a learning portfolio.

LESSON 2 HANDOUT 2.1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE TAKING

How can we better understand people in the past? David Lowenthal, an influential American historian and geographer, coined the phrase "the past is a foreign country" in his 1985 book of the same title. It aptly captures the challenge we face when 'visiting' the past as part of our study of history. Like travelling to a foreign country, the past can be difficult to understand and contextualize within our lived experience. It is difficult to understand the past if we do not speak its language. This activity will assist you in understanding the social, emotional, cultural, and political influences that shaped the experiences of Japanese Canadians in the 1930s. Here we will learn to speak the language of the past.

Aspects of Historical Perspective Taking

Taking the perspective of historical actors **depends upon evidence** for inferences about how people lived, felt, and thought. We examine primary sources of evidence to help decode the past.

It is important to avoid *presentism* — the imposition of present ideas on people in the past. It is difficult to separate how we think today and how people thought many years before.

Historical events or situations involve people who may have *diverse perspectives*. Exploring these is *key* to understanding the event. Not all people of a specific region, time, ethnicity or age experienced the past the same way. One of the more challenging aspects of looking at the past is recognizing the varied perspectives people hold for the same event.

Taking the perspective of a historical person *does not mean identifying* with that person. We can never truly feel the emotion, injustice or trauma of the past as it was experienced by the people we are studying.

Using evidence and understanding of the historical context to answer questions of why people acted the way they did (or thought what they did) even when their actions seem at first irrational or inexplicable or different from what we would have done or thought.

Adapted from The Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness. *The Historical Thinking Project*. historicalthinking.ca/historical-perspectives.

LESSON 2 HANDOUT 2.2 TUG-FOR-TRUTH **TUG-FOR-TRUTH** Claim: It was necessary to uproot and intern Japanese Canadians. Evidence refuting the claim Evidence supporting the claim I have questions about... I need clarity about... I require more information about...

LESSON 2 HANDOUT 2.3 TUG-FOR-TRUTH EVALUATION RUBRIC

TUG-FOR-TRUTH ASSESSMENT RUBRIC

Claim: It was necessary to uproot and intern Japanese Canadians.

Evidence supporting the claim

Mutual Hostages

- interracial clashes possible
- evacuation would protect Japanese Canadians
- Coastal defences were weak and vulnerable to sabotage
- Removal of Japanese Canadians would remove possibility of sabotage and espionage
- considerable local feeling of hostility toward Japanese Canadians and many local politicians calling for removal

Reid Editorial

- Japanese Canadians are unassimilable and cannot fit into Canadian society
- threat is cultural and military
- Japanese Canadians will spy and commit acts of sabotage because they are loyal to Japan, not Canada
- Canadians in Japan are being treated very harshly, we should do the same to Japanese in Canada
- fishing industry has suffered in B.C. under the weight of Japanese Canadian fishermen and boats; removing them will restore the industry and save the salmon runs

Notice to All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin

- outlines specific restrictions imposed by the federal government on all Canadians with Japanese racial origins
- confiscating cars, trucks, radios, transmitters, and cameras
- encouraged Japanese Canadians to move from the 'Protected Area' to remove threats of sabotage and espionage on West Coast
- allowed warrantless searches of Japanese Canadians and their property
- restrictions applied to 'race' not to citizenship, therefore the restrictions applied to citizens and non-citizens alike if they had Japanese racial origins

Evidence refuting the claim

R.C.M.P. Commissioner S.T. Wood

- information comes from British Intelligence Network
- found no evidence of espionage, sabotage or potential for breaches of security
- draws conclusion that the Japanese Canadians on the West Coast pose no threat to national security by early 1942
- report was submitted early in 1942, before full weight of evacuation, internment and forced property sales had been implemented
- concludes that Japanese Canadians were largely cooperative and unlikely to pose a serious risk

The Enemy That Never Was

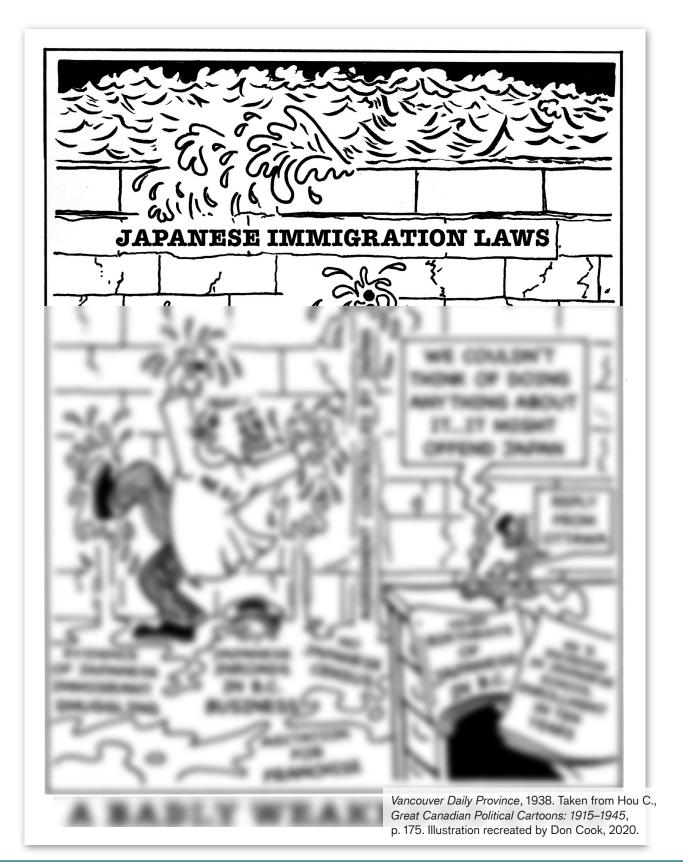
- cites Admiral Stark of US stating that after the Battle of Midway (June 1942)
 there was little if any threat of Japanese attacks on the West Coast of North
- US and Canadian military leadership agreed that by February 1942 coastal invasion was essentially impossible and therefore Japanese Canadians (and Americans) were not a threat
- Notes that by April 1942 the defence perimeter from Alaska to Hawaii to Australia would prevent any Japanese assaults on the west coast of North America

Murphy Editorial

- Japanese Canadians are targeted for their race and skin colour, not because they pose a security threat
- if liberties must be violated then the system should maintain adherence to fundamental civil liberties like Habeus Corpus and trial by jury
- the legal system should not be bypassed in the interest of narrow agendas
- Racism is not a justifiable basis for the violation of civil liberties
- Japanese Canadians demonstrated their valour and commitment to Canadian democratic values through their military service in WWI

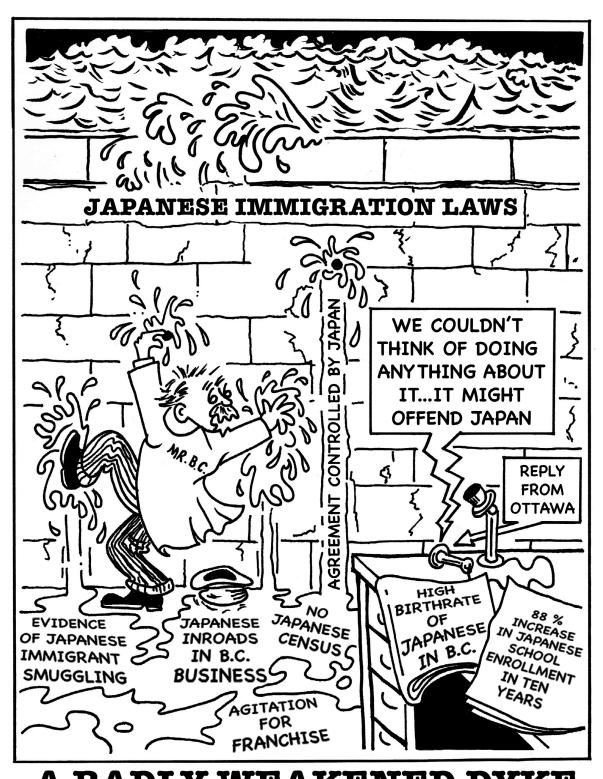
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LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.1 PLUGGING THE DYKE (REVEAL #1)



LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.1 PLUGGING THE DYKE (REVEAL #2) JAPANESE IMMIGRATION LAWS WE COULDN'T THINK OF DOING **ANYTHING ABOUT** IT...IT MIGHT OFFEND JAPAN CONTROL **REPLY FROM**

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.1 PLUGGING THE DYKE (REVEAL #3)



A BADLY WEAKENED DYKE

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.2 GRADE 4 CLASS, STRATHCONA SCHOOL



Landscapes of Injustice landscapesofinjustice.com Lesson 2: War and National Security • Page 15

The Effect of the War on Oriental Minorities in Canada

THE presence in Canada of substantial minorities of Oriental race interests us both as citizens and as social scientists. Even those who believe that the task of good citizenship has been made harder by immigration from Asia must recognize that the interest of Canada to the social scientist has been enhanced

The higher rate of naturalization among the Japanese is in part accounted for by their wish to engage in occupations, such as fishing, for which British nationality is essential, and in part by the existence of a community of men, women, and children which considers Canada as its permanent home.

The economic position of Orientals in British Columbia has, during the first generation, resulted in part from the natural aptitudes of the immigrants and in part from the obstacles which have been placed in the way of their using these aptitudes either by the wisdom of the Legislature or by popular custom. The upshot is that; while you will look in vain in British Columbia for Japanese lawyers, pharmacists, accountants, teachers, policemen, or civil servants, you will find substantial numbers engaged in fishing, logging, and farming.

The Committee found as a fact that there existed "a greater or less degree of suspicion of the Japanese as a people and a feeling that their racial solidarity was likely in an emergency to override their loyalty to Canada and produce subversive or otherwise dangerous activities." It also reported that no concrete evidence had been adduced in justification of this sentiment and that "charges against individual Japanese or groups of Japanese proved in every instance upon further examination to arise from unsubstantiated rumour and hearsay.

These barriers have a concealed social cost. As long as a de facto colour bar excludes the elite of the Japanese Canadians from occupations for which they are fully qualified by ability and by education, this group will become more and more discontented and embittered. They will have to accept inferior jobs and inferior incomes. Every phrase about democracy, about equality of opportunity, and about tolerance will sound to them like hypocritical mockery. And, as they are the natural leaders of the Japanese minority, their outlook will colour and dominate that of the whole community.

Author(s): H. F. Angus

Excerpt from The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue Canadienne d' Economique et de Science politique, vol. 7 no. 4 (November 1941), pp. 506–516

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.4 REGISTRATION CARD

The Bearer, whose photograph and specimen of signature appear hereon, has been duly registered in compliance with the provisions of Order-in-Council P. C. 117.

Varcouver 5th March, 1941.

CANADIAN BORN

Issuing 64 he

INSPECTOR R.C.M.P



Registration Card of Kimiko Saito. Nikkei National Museum 2011.16.5.1

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.5 LIVING ROOM, 1930s



LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.6 POLITICAL CARTOON, JULY 1921

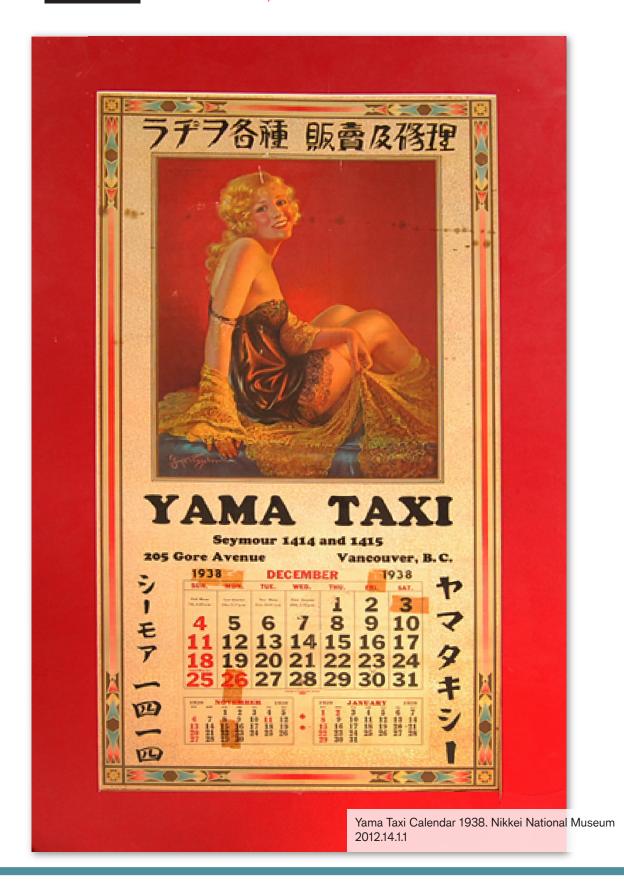


British Columbia Hates the Chinks, Japs, and Mormons

The Veteran Toronto July 1921

"British Columbia Hates Chinks, Japs, and Mormons". *The Veteran*, Toronto, July 1921. Taken from: Hou C., *Great Canadian Political Cartoons:* 1915–1945

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.7 TAXI CALENDAR, 1938



Will Canada Go Yellow?

The Story of Steveston

Here in little more than a quarter of a century the whole salmon industry — on what was once the most famous of all salmon rivers, the Fraser — has passed absolutely under Oriental control.

Inside the great canneries, before the advent of the labor-saving machinery with which they are not equipped, squaws (called k'ootcheen in the vernacular of the coast) and Chinks gutted, decapitated, and cleaned the millions of fish that the boats brought in. Outside where the river mingled its turbid waters with the blue brine of the Gulf, a great fleet of fishing smacks manned by hardy white or red fishermen harvested their profitable crop from the sea. The yellow man came. Older residents of Steveston will tell the visitor of how awkward the new-comers were, how inefficient in comparison with sturdy fisher folk whom they sought to displace. Then they taught their wives, and the smiling little brown women soon became expert as assistants to their husbands. Labor stormed and protested that licenses should go only to Canadian citizens.

School for Japs Only

As you alight from the car a near-by school discharges with its noisy horde upon the green. The ear is at first cheered by the grateful laughter and shouts of happy children. Investigation however, shows that the school is one for Japanese and Japanese only. It is a three-roomed school with three Japanese and one English teacher. The walls of the principal's room are hung with Japanese scenes, and pictures of Japanese heroes. The curriculum is Japanese, geography taught in Japanese terms, and Japanese history taught with a Japanese angle to world events. There is no instruction in British or Canadian history. The English teachers instructs in primary English only.

There is a fine English school nearby which some of the foreign attend and more would, had they the opportunity. The white tax-payers are rather set against the mixed education involved. Offers of a per capita grant from the Japanese organization to the school are refused.

Excerpts from "Will Canada Go Yellow," Maclean's, 15 October 1921.



Order-in-council, P.C. 695

March 21, 1931

From and after the 18th March, 1931, and until otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations, is hereby prohibited, except as hereafter provided:-

The Immigration Officer-in-Charge may permit to land in Canada any immigrants who otherwise complies with the provisions of the Immigration Act, if it is shown to his satisfaction that such immigrant is:-

- 1. A British Subject entering Canada directly or indirectly from Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, the United States of America, New Zealand, Australia, or the Union of South Africa, who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured
- 2. A United States Citizen entering Canada from the United States who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured.
- 3. The wife or unmarried child under 18 years of age of any person legally admitted to and resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for his dependents.
- 4. An agriculturalist having sufficient means to farm in Canada.

And provided further that immigrants, as defined in paragraphs 2 and 4 above, are destined for settlement to a province which has not signified its disapproval of such immigration.

The provisions of this Order-in-Council shall not apply to immigrants of any Asiatic race.

"Order-in-council, P.C. 695, March 21, 1931," Library and Archives Canada www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/immigrants/021017-2510.01-e.html

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.10 THE NEW CANADIAN, 1939

Editorial

The New Canadian, pretentious in name, rising from the ashes of two former second generation newspapers, presents itself to its readers, for the first time since its modest inception. For two issues it appeared as an experimental venture, going to the press periodically, when funds were available.

But the acclimation that has greeted it, the enthusiasm with which it has been received, has so encouraged us that now we take it upon ourselves to appear as a semi-monthly magazine-newspaper. In joining the ranks of myriads of small town and two-by-four papers, we can claim only one merit and that, as being a venture arising out of the efforts and the needs of the second generation.

At no other time in the life of the second generation when hostile voices rise sharp in crescendo has there been a greater need for some medium through which the Nisei might speak his thoughts and hopes to the Canadian public at large. At no other time has there been a greater need for an organ that would rally a wavering minority group to a firmer consciousness of its peculiar position and the goal to which it must proceed in the land of its adoption.

In claiming for ourselves this great risk, we are impelled by firm convictions. We believe in the principles of justice and fairplay. We believe in the abetting of right and the oppressed. In particular we believe that Canada holds for the Nisei, at large, his only future. To the future greatness of Canada and the part of the Canadian-born Japanese in this future we pledge our sincere effort and our endeavor.

In a world ridden with hysteria and fear, we challenge every Nisei to sane and unbiased thought. Alive as we are to our limitations as human beings in the evaluation of situations, in the possibility of error and misjudgment, we make our motto — Sanity and Constructiveness. We are particularly on guard against pitfalls of mass-thinking.

Important as our task may be, we are helpless financially and morally, without the whole hearted support and confidence of every Nisei. We ask that he forget whatever failures that may have occurred in the past. We ask that he share the vision that fires us, gird his loins with courage and fight on till we are recognized as worthy citizens in the national and political life of the country of our birth — Canada

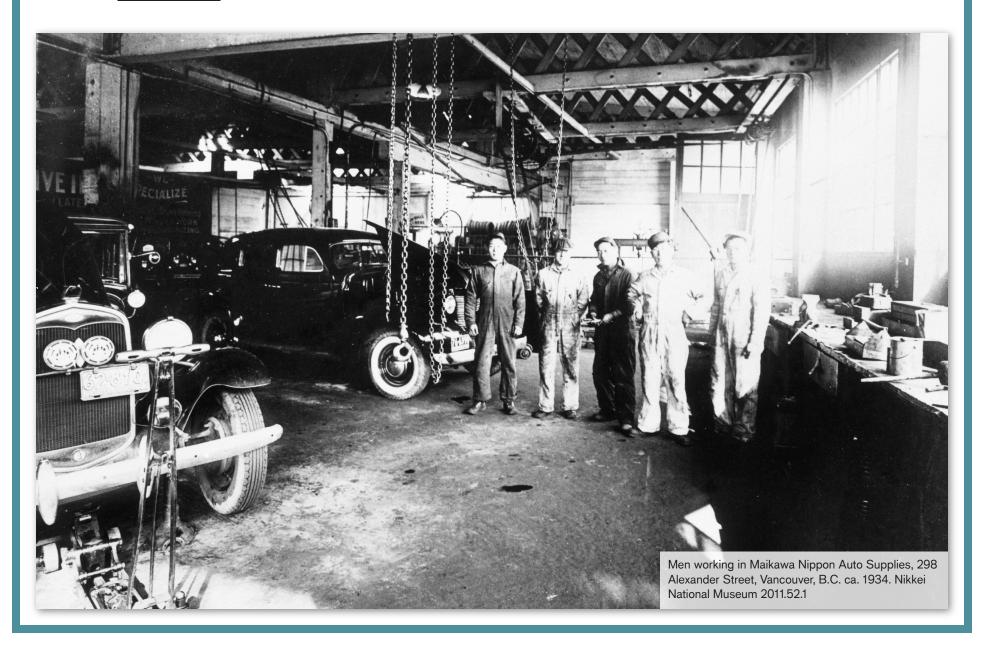
Excerpt from The New Canadian, 1 February 1939

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.11 RIDING BICYCLES IN STANLEY PARK, 1930s



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LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.12 MAIKAWA NIPPON AUTO SUPPLIES



LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.13 THE BRIEF HISTORY OF MY CANDIAN LIFE – J. KITAMURA

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LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.14 LETTER FROM RCMP COMMISSIONER, S.T. WOOD

By Safe Hand Your No. 1087 Ottawa, Ontario, August 5, 1942

MOST SECRET and PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Stephenson:

Replying to your personal letter of the 9th ultimo enclosing a "Report on Japanese Activities in British Columbia" dated June, 1942, as I intimated to you during our conversation on this subject on the 3rd instant, I forwarded the report to the Officer Commanding this Force at Vancouver, and I now attach a reply submitted by Sergeant J.K. Barnes, in charge of our Intelligence Section there, who has for a number of years past, been in very close touch with the Japanese situation in British Columbia.

I was naturally very much interested in what your agent had to say and I intend to have the information and suggestions outlined therein followed up. By this, I do not mean we should take the action suggested by the agent in arresting these persons mentioned by him as suspects. As many of these people are Canadian citizens, we could not produce the evidence necessary to justify our actions, which, as you know, are subject to a board of review, and the police are compelled to support their action by evidence before such tribunal.

Much has been said regarding Etsuji Morii, who is a naturalized Canadian citizen, but we have found no evidence which would substantiate the various accusations made against him. On the other hand, this man has been most co-operative with the police and the British Columbia Security Commission in regard to the plans of evacuation, and had we had the same co-operation from the Nisei the difficulties which the Commission had to overcome would never have occurred. There are, as you know, political groups among the Japanese, and Morii, who was the leader of the older people, made many enemies because of his advice to the Japanese that in this emergency they should co-operate.

We have had no evidence of espionage or sabotage among the Japanese in British Columbia. The situation has changed considerably since the report was written, and most of these people are now in isolated areas outside the protected area, and those at present in Vancouver will be removed by the first of November next. These consist largely of women and children.

The work camps situated along the main lines of railway in British Columbia are to be closed down and no other camps will be erected adjacent to railways over which war material is transported. There was a false impression abroad in regard to the Japanese located in these camps, and criticism was made that they were not properly guarded. I should like to point out here that these Japanese were not under any disability under the law once they were removed from the protected area, and

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.14 LETTER FROM RCMP COMMISSIONER, S.T. WOOD

the guards were not placed at these camps over the Japanese, but for the purpose of protecting the right of way in their vicinity. Outside of the protected area these people are under certain discipline imposed by the Commission, and they are not allowed to remove themselves from place to place without the permission of the police or the representatives appointed by the Commission.

The riot referred to, which took place in the Immigration detention building at Vancouver, was due to the fact that these people were incarcerated in the building for too long a period before they were removed to proper detention camps.

These individuals had not been arrested because they were looked upon as enemies of the state in the accepted sense of the term. They had, however, refused to obey the orders of the Security Commission to leave the protected area in protest against the policy then in force of breaking up Japanese families. This has now been changed and I expect that many of these men, who are now in detention, will be given their liberty on their undertaking to comply with the orders of the Security Commission from now on. In conclusion, I should like to make this point clear, i.e., we have surveyed the Japanese question in British Columbia from a realistic point of view for a long time past. A number of factors had to be taken into consideration in dealing with the problem. There is no need for me to go into them here, as Assistant Commissioner Mead covered some of that ground at the conference on Monday. The fact remains, however, that we have searched without let-up for evidence detrimental to the interests of the state and we feel that our coverage has been good, but to date no such evidence has been uncovered. The work will go on, and many of the suggestions made by you will be carried out.

Sincerely yours,

encl. FJK/MB S.Stephenson, Esq., Room 3553, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.

Secret letter from R.C.M.P. Commissioner S.T. Wood to WS. Stephenson ("the man known as Intrepid"), stating that there has been no evidence of espionage or sabotage among the Japanese in British Columbia. There had been a riot in the Immigration Detention Building in Vancouver but this was because the men refused to leave the protected area in protest against the government policy of breaking up Japanese families.

From Internment and Redress: The Japanese Canadian Experience. British Columbia: Queen's Printer, 2005.

The Enemy That Never Was

While evacuation proceeded at its leisurely pace, the progress of the Japanese military reached its peak and began to decline. The Battle of Midway on June 6, 1942 almost decisively disposed of any possibility that the Japanese might marshall the naval effort necessary for an invasion of North America or for sustaining their precarious foothold on the Aleutians.

Yet despite the immediate recognition of this military fact, the evacuation was remorselessly continued and accelerated, and no attempt made to mitigate its harshness. Protests by other provinces against acceptance of Japanese evacuees would surely have been swiftly and incisively overcome with an appeal towards patriotism had there been a real military urgency; the Commission would have accelerated its search to find accommodation for women and children much earlier than it did and would have ignored the sensitivities of the white population over having the evacuees thrust into their localities. But in the summer of 1942, the permanent housing in the "interior settlements" had not yet been constructed. Could "military necessity" or "national security" justify mass evacuation after Midway had removed the last threat of sustained attack, as Allied military leaders had judged at that time?

Even before Midway, military leaders — in Canada and the United States — did not expect an invasion. Admiral Stark, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, testified before a Congressional committee in February, 1942, that he did not believe it would be possible for the enemy to engage in a sustained attack on the Pacific coast at that time, although sporadic raids were probable. Despite losses at Pearl Harbour, the U.S. Navy did not expect Japanese naval attacks east of Hawaii, but believed that strikes on Puget Sound, San Francisco or the Panama Canal were not beyond the range of possibilities. This was apparently the view of Roosevelt, Churchill and the British, Canadian and

American Chiefs of Staff as well. During the series of eight meetings between Roosevelt and Churchill and concurrent meetings of Chiefs of Staff, there was serious discussion over the possibility of attacks on the west coast by naval bombardment, mine-laying, attacks by "human torpedoes" or even carrier-borne air attacks or actual seaborne expeditions of troops, though the last seemed highly fanciful. Churchill stated that although the west coast might be "insulted" on occasion, he could see little likelihood that the Japanese would attempt an invasion of the continent. But beyond conjecture over spectacular "nuisance" raids, the main concern was with the possibility of a major attack on the Panama Canal. As even this was considered as "purely local" and "incidental," all apparently agreed that the main problem was still on the far side of the Pacific.

Even in February, when the Japanese were making spectacular progress, Allied leaders still felt no concern about an invasion; on the contrary, the greatest anxiety was over containing the south and westward thrust of Japan from enveloping Australia and India. And in the April 14, 1942, meeting between Churchill and British and American military leaders, it was reported that "full provision" had been made by the Chiefs of Staff in Washington for measures necessary to hold the Alaska-Hawaii-Australia line in the Pacific. Thus the danger of invasion after Midway was practically non-existent and before Midway was fairly remote contrary to the claims of civilians in British Columbia. (Page 222, 223)

Ken Adachi, journalist and author, also wrote extensively on the history of Japanese Canadians, particularly in *The Enemy that Never Was*. In this passage, he deals with the military situation.

The Enemy that Never Was. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.

What We Are Fighting For

"Liberty for All Canadians Knows No Bar of Race, Color"

By Denis Murphy

Perhaps at this time it is a good thing for us to remember what we Canadians are fighting for. It is said we are fighting for democracy. But in fact the matter goes deeper than this, for democracy is only the form through which we achieve and develop our ideas of liberty. We are fighting to maintain the liberty we now have and for the opportunity of broadening and depending our conception of that liberty in the future.

Liberty — Canadian Liberty — extends now to each and all of us. Each of our daily lives is made freer because we have it, and our understanding and tolerance towards each other is possible because we cherish it, not only for ourselves, but for all Canadians.

* * *

Liberty is the one idea most abhorrent to our enemies. Their ideology is its direct antithesis, and they attempt to destroy by force the institutions that keep its ideas alive, while using every artifice of propaganda to destroy its ideals in people's minds.

Liberty — Canadian Liberty — is not an imperishable heritage of any group of Canadians, but of all. That is what makes valid the ideals that flow from its conception. No nation which embraces liberty could keep it alive while depriving any group of its citizens of it, because liberty applies to everyone and unless it does, it cannot exist.

* * *

Ancient Greece abounded in liberal ideas, but since it was built on slavery, it did not believe in liberty but in privilege. Should this happen in Canada, the blood now being shed by us in foreign lands would rise to mock the sacrifice thus spent.

Yet it has been suggested that we should deprive a large group of Canadians from Canadian liberty, a group of Canadians which has also shed blood to preserve the very thing we now wish to take from them, although their blood helped to preserve it for us.

Some have even gone so far as to say that we will use force against our fellow Canadians, that we might impress them of their unworthiness to share so precious a thing as liberty.

In time of war vast agencies are put in motion to protect all, whatever may be the color of our skin, our racial stock, our creeds. All citizens of Canada, even though their skin be yellow, are children of liberty.

* * *

Through centuries of sacrifice we have created a legal system which is both the bulwark and the means of protecting it for each separate individual, and for all of us as a group. Are we now suddenly and immediately to be the instruments to strip the liberty from any Canadian or group of Canadians, and thereby destroy what has been so painfully been built up?

To those who suggest that we select one group of Canadians, deprive them of their freedom, shuttle them like cattle from their homes to distant parts, we ask, is this what we are fighting for?

Is this the meaning and content of tolerance and respect that is the life and blood of Canadian liberty?

Newspapers reflected the range of opinions about the treatment of Japanese Canadians. This letter to the editor from the *Vancouver Province* considers the question of how a democracy ought to behave in trying times.

Excerpt from Internment and Redress: The Japanese Canadian Experience. British Columbia: Queen's Printer, 2005.

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.17 MUTUAL HOSTAGES

Mutual Hostages

By 29 December there was sufficient anti-Japanese hysteria that the Chiefs of Staff Committee in Ottawa advised the Cabinet War Committee that they, police, and local authorities 'were concerned less at the possibility of subversive activity by Japanese than at the danger of serious anti-Japanese outbreaks. 'Indeed, the next day, Major-General R.O. Alexander, commanding on the Pacific Coast, wrote to the chief of the general staff:

The situation with regard to the Japanese resident, in British Columbia is assuming a serious aspect. Public feeling is becoming very insistent, especially in Vancouver, that local Japanese should be either interned or removed from the coast. Letters are being written continually to the press and I am being bombarded by individuals, both calm and hysterical, demanding that something should be done. I have been informed that certain sections of the public in Vancouver propose to hold public demonstrations and street parades against the Japanese in the near future unless official action is taken. If these are held, they might lead to very serious inter-racial clashes involving considerable damage, bloodshed and possibly fatal casualties. (page 79)

Canadian defences on the west coast were indeed weak. The RCN ships in the Pacific were too few and too lightly armed; the RCAF lacked airfields, aircraft, and trained crews or anti-aircraft guns to protect them. West-coast commanders thought the RCN could possibly counter an attack by a merchant raider or with small surface or submarine vessels, but they knew their forces could not cope with attacks by larger vessels or airborne raids nor prevent sabotage. At the meeting of the Joint Service Committee, Pacific Coast, on 9 January 1942, as the Ottawa conference was meeting, they recommended removing 'all male Japanese and other enemy aliens between the ages of 16 and 50' from coastal areas to reduce the likelihood of sabotage. (pg. 82–83)

The cabinet was also aware of mounting public demands in British Columbia for stronger defence measures. Howard Green, MP (Vancouver South, Conservative), told Parliament that, in seven weeks, Japan had gained control of the Pacific Ocean. He predicted that sooner or later British Columbia would be bombed and quoted from the Japan Times and Advertiser that 'it was within the realm of probability "that the armed forces of this country [Japan] will land on the American continent." The Canadian forces on the west coast, Green complained, were so inadequately equipped that some reserve army members lacked rifles. Moreover Green, like many others, had lost faith in the generals, suggesting that in case of invasion they 'would make another of their strategic retreats with the remnants of our forces to the mountains, leaving the people on the coast to their fate. 'A few days later, Thomas Reid (New Westminster, Liberal) observed: 'so many optimistic reports have been made by high military men and authorities, which later events showed were certainly not justified, that people to-day can hardly be blamed for being rather sceptical.' (page 86, 88)

Mutual Hostages was written by two well-known Canadian historians, Patricia Roy and J L Granatstein, and two historians in Japan, Masako lino and Hiroko Takamura.

Mutual Hostages. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Only Solution

Would Deport All Japanese

Tom Reid

(1) By Daily Province Staff Correspondent

BURNABY, Jan. 15 Deportation of all Japanese was the solution offered to the British Columbia Japanese problem by Tom Reid, M.P., at a joint meeting of the McKay, Highland Park and East Burnaby Liberal associations Wednesday night in the Edmonds Community Hall.

"Take them back to Japan," said the speaker. "They do not belong here and there is only one solution to the problem. They can not be assimilated as Canadians for no matter how long the Japanese remain in Canada they will always be Japanese."

Mr. Reid denounced the dual-citizenship policy of Canadian-born Japanese.

Mr. Reid questioned whether the military and police authorities of Canada are not "locking the door after the horse has been stolen" in regard to the ban just announced on Japanese possessing radios and cameras. Japanese have photographed numerous military objectives in recent years.

In Protected Area

At Steveston Mr. Reid said he had previously protested against five Japanese families living in a protected area. He had been informed then that they were loyal Japanese, yet after the Pacific war broke out one of them had been removed. Others, however remain living in the area.

"Is there any other country in the world that would permit this?" asked Mr. Reid.

While he was not in favor of harsh treatment of the Japanese as residents, they should not be treated any more kindly than Canadian nationals living in Japan. "We should not let

them all drive trucks and cars," he declared.

Elimination of the Japanese from the British Columbia fishing industry is a step in the right direction, said the speaker. However, he did not favor replacing the 1100 or so Japanese fishermen by other fishermen. Instead, Mr. Reid suggested that the total of coast fishermen be reduced approximately this number, leaving a better livelihood for those remaining in the industry.

Many on Relief

Prior to 1941, when there was a good salmon run, many of the fishermen on the Fraser River were on relief. This was brought about to a great extent by the fact that far more fishermen were licensed than the industry actually needed. In the last 20 years the number of British Columbia fishermen had increased by 5000 to 6000, yet there was not much difference in the total annual catch of fish.

As far as the Fraser River is concerned, it does not need another boat on it, said Mr. Reid. The only result of more fishermen will be less catch per boat.

From Ottawa there is talk of providing the Japanese with work. There is no immediate necessity as the Japanese fishermen particularly have earned enough money during the past season to keep them until April.

This article from the *Vancouver Province* represents a view commonly held by leaders in British Columbia at the time. The January 19, 1942 edition has Tom Reid, Liberal Member of Parliament, demanding that Japanese Canadians be deported to Japan.

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.19 NOTICE TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN



NOTICE

TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN

Having reference to the Protected Area of British Columbia as described in an Extra of the Canada Gazette, No. 174 dated Ottawa, Monday, February 2, 1942:-

- 1. EVERY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE, WHILE WITHIN THE PROTECTED AREA AFORESAID, SHALL HEREAFTER BE AT HIS USUAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE EACH DAY BEFORE SUNSET AND SHALL REMAIN THEREIN UNTIL SUNRISE ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, AND NO SUCH PERSON SHALL GO OUT OF HIS USUAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE AFORESAID UPON THE STREETS OR OTHERWISE DURING THE HOURS BETWEEN SUNSET AND SUNRISE;
- 2. NO PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE SHALL HAVE IN HIS POSSESSION OR USE IN SUCH PROTECTED AREA ANY MOTOR VEHICLE, CAMERA, RADIO TRANSMITTER, RADIO RECEIVING SET, FIREARM, AMMUNITION OR EXPLOSIVE;
- 3. IT SHALL BE THE DUTY OF EVERY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE HAVING IN HIS POSSESSION OR UPON HIS PREMISES ANY ARTICLE MENTIONED IN THE NEXT PRECEDING PARAGRAPH, FORTHWITH TO CAUSE SUCH ARTICLE TO BE DELIVERED UP TO ANY JUSTICE OF THE PEACE RESIDING IN OR NEAR THE LOCALITY WHERE ANY SUCH ARTICLE IS HAD IN POSSESSION, OR TO AN OFFICER OR CONSTABLE OF THE POLICE FORCE OF THE PROVINCE OR CITY IN OR NEAR SUCH LOCALITY OR TO AN OFFICER OR CONSTABLE OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.
- 4. ANY JUSTICE OF THE PEACE OR OFFICER OR CONSTABLE RECEIVING ANY ARTICLE MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THIS ORDER SHALL GIVE TO THE PERSON DELIVERING THE SAME A RECEIPT THEREFOR AND SHALL REPORT THE FACT TO THE COMMISSIONER OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE, AND SHALL RETAIN OR OTHERWISE

LESSON 2 SOURCE 2.19 NOTICE TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN

- DISPOSE OF ANY SUCH ARTICLE AS DIRECTED BY THE SAID COMMISSION.
- 5. ANY PEACE OFFICER OR ANY OFFICER OR CONSTABLE OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE HAVING POWER TO ACT AS SUCH PEACE OFFICER OR OFFICER OR CONSTABLE IN THE SAID PROTECTED AREA, IS AUTHORIZED TO SEARCH WITHOUT WARRANT THE PREMISES OR ANY PLACE OCCUPIED OR BELIEVED TO BE OCCUPIED BY ANY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE REASONABLY SUSPECTED OF HAVING IN HIS POSSESSION OR UPON HIS PREMISES ANY ARTICLE MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THIS ORDER, AND TO SEIZE ANY SUCH ARTICLE FOUND ON SUCH PREMISES:
- 6. EVERY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE SHALL LEAVE THE PROTECTED AREA AFORESAID FORTHWITH:
- 7. NO PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE SHALL LEAVE THE PROTECTED AREA EXCEPT UNDER PERMIT ISSUED BY THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE:
- 8. IN THIS ORDER, "PERSONS OF THE JAPANESE RACE" MEANS, AS WELL AS ANY PERSON WHOLLY OF THE JAPANESE RACE, A PERSON NOT WHOLLY OF THE JAPANESE RACE IF HIS FATHER OR MOTHER IS OF THE JAPANESE RACE AND IF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE BY NOTICE IN WRITING HAS REQUIRED OR REQUIRES HIM TO REGISTER PURSUANT TO ORDER-IN-COUNCIL P.C. 9760 OF DECEMBER 16th, 1941.
- 9. DATED AT OTTAWA THIS 26th DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1942.