

## LESSON 4

# LEGACIES OF DISPOSSESSION

Kimiko and Riye Nakamura posing in the Nakamura Florist Shop on Powell St., Vancouver, B.C. ca. 1939.  
Nikkei National Museum 2012.10.1.1.254

### Focus Question

4

*How did the uprooting and relocation of Japanese Canadians impact family, home, sense of community, and sense of place?*

## LESSON 4

# THE NAGATA FAMILY

Police took Shinko Nagata's father from their home on 7 December 1941. Japanese attacks in the Pacific that morning led to the arrest of 38 Japanese Canadians deemed a threat to Canada. Her innocent father was among them. She would never forget that day.

The arrest marked the beginning of the Nagatas' seven-year struggle against the Canadian state. At every turn, they faced agencies and individuals who sought to control their lives.

Alone, Shinko's mother, Naka, fought to preserve their family and to educate their children. To do so, she needed access to the family's funds. So she negotiated with Fredrick Field, a low-level official who controlled their account.

On 15 November 1942, Naka wrote a lengthy letter to Field. She needed funds beyond the regular allowance.

She explained that she had used the funds responsibly. She avoided “luxuries and non-essentials,” including “unnecessaries such as shows, clothes, and others.” Yet, she argued, the \$100 monthly allowance allotted was simply not enough to sustain the family of eight.

Her careful letter succeeded. Field granted a one-time payment that allowed the family to buy winter clothing.

For the seven years of the internment and dispossession, the government was always present in the lives of families like the Nagatas. But they pursued their own goals despite overwhelming injustice. The story of the Nagatas, like so many

other Japanese Canadians, is a story of perseverance.



Train departing from internment camps, 1946. Nikkei National Museum 1996-178-1-33

## LESSON OVERVIEW

### ◆ ALLOTTED TIME: 8 PERIODS

In this lesson students confront the human impact of uprooting, internment, dispossession, displacement, and deportation. Students reflect on the challenges faced by Japanese Canadians as they pondered limited options for final relocation at war's end; 'repatriate' to Japan, or move East of the Rocky Mountains. Real estate, homes, business, and personal property had been forcibly sold and many families had used the monies from the sale to support themselves during the internment. Students examine a number of source documents from the perspective of Japanese Canadians, both in contemporary times and during the 1940s, to consider the emotions expressed under such challenging circumstances and the impact that these decisions would have for generations.

## 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 4.1** Predictions of Post-Internment Life for Japanese Canadians
- **Handout 4.2** Letters from Tashme
- **Handout 4.3** From Internment to Exile
- **Handout 4.4** Shaken Identity Project
- **Handout 4.5** After the Apology
- **Handout 4.6** Debate the Question
- **Handout 4.7** How We Remember
- **Handout 4.8** What's in A Name?
- **Handout 4.9** Design Jam



## SOURCES

- **Source 4.1** Japanese Canadian Population Distribution by Provinces 1941 and 1947
- **Source 4.2** Powell St. Population 1941 and 1949
- **Source 4.3** Interview with Betty Toyota
- **Source 4.4** Student Letter A
- **Source 4.5** Student Letter B
- **Source 4.6** Student Letter C
- **Source 4.7** Student Letter D
- **Source 4.8** Notice for Dispersal
- **Source 4.9** Repatriation Survey
- **Source 4.10** Internment and Exile
- **Source 4.11** Pickersgill Memo
- **Source 4.12** A Post-War History of Japanese Canadians
- **Source 4.13** PM Mulroney Apologises
- **Source 4.14** Does PM Trudeau apologize too much?
- **Source 4.15** Point-Counterpoint

## TARGETED LEARNING

- Explore changes to the demography of families impacted by internment, dispossession and deportation
- Understand where Japanese Canadians were forced to settle and how they rebuilt communities
- Explore conceptions of Canadian identity and consider how the Japanese Canadian community has shaped/been shaped by these identities
- Explore the fight for compensation, apology and redress though understanding of how the Japanese Canadian community was impacted by uprooting, internment, dispossession and deportation
- Examine the issue of deportation and its place in the larger story of internment and dispossession
- Understand the nature of public and official apology in the quest for national reconciliation or redress
- Understand the various steps taken by the government of Canada to address the harms caused by uprooting, internment, dispossession and deportation

## EVALUATION

Assessment will be left to the individual instructor and may incorporate the assessment rubrics provided with this resource.

## WHERE IS HOME?

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 60 MINUTES

### LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- **Handout 4.1** Predictions of Post-Internment Life
- **Source 4.1** Japanese Canadian Population Distribution by Provinces 1941 and 1947
- **Source 4.2** Powell St. Population 1941 and 1949
- **Source 4.3** Interview with Betty Toyota

In this activity students will consider the challenges Japanese Canadians faced moving to new locations during the internment and then again in the post-war years. Their homes had been sold, they could not move back to British Columbia and many families lacked the resources to manage resettlement again. Students will predict challenges faced by these families, then examine archival sources to understand the true depth of the harm caused by forced relocation, deportation, and removal.

1. Provide students with **Handout 4.1 Predictions of Post-Internment Life**.
  - Have students consider the introductory story to this lesson and the learning acquired in the previous lessons.
  - They then consider these while completing **Handout 4.1** in as much detail as possible. Remind them that these are predictions and they should be thoughtful and creative with their responses. These responses are to be recorded under the 'My Prediction' column.
  - Now provide students with **Source 4.1 Japanese Canadian Population Distribution by Provinces 1941 and 1947** and **Source 4.2 Powell St. Population 1941 and 1949**
  - Students return to the chart. How does this new information impact the predictions? Allow students to add or adjust their predictions under the 'What the Sources Said' column.
  - Now share **Source 4.3 Interview with Betty Toyota**. Consider a read-aloud activity here to share the depth of feeling in this interview. Again, after reading the interview students add notes to the 'What the Sources Said' column.
  - OPTIONAL: Watch *Minoru: Memories of Exile* [www.nfb.ca/film/minoru-memory-of-exile/](http://www.nfb.ca/film/minoru-memory-of-exile/)
  - Share what challenges Japanese Canadian faced relocating, often more than once, to a new town.
  - To wrap up, students can discuss what surprised them most in this activity and which predictions they answered most and/or least successfully.

## LETTERS FROM TASHME

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 45 MINUTES

### LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- **Handout 4.2** Letters from Tashme
- **Source 4.4** Student Letter A
- **Source 4.5** Student Letter B
- **Source 4.6** Student Letter C
- **Source 4.7** Student Letter D

The evacuation, internment, dispossession, and forced relocation were experienced by men and women, youthful and aged, affluent and impoverished, issei and nisei in very different ways. What was it like to be a teenager in the 1940s experiencing these processes? Some teenagers later recalled the internment in a positive light. What unique challenges did they face and struggle to resolve?

1. Provide students with **Handout 4.2 Letters from Tashme** and copies of the selected letters from former students, **Sources 4.4 – 4.7 Student Letters**.
  - Here you may choose to issue multiple copies to groups or individual students. Each letter was written by a different author and highlights different kinds of experiences as experienced by these teenagers.
  - Allow students 20–30 minutes to read through the letter(s) and record responses in **Handout 4.2**.
  - Students can be asked to share out responses or you may opt to collect the handouts and assess them to uncover themes. These could be displayed in class next day using a Wordle app or noted on the whiteboard.

# SHAKEN IDENTITY

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 90 MINUTES

## LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- **Handout 4.3** From Internment to Exile
- **Handout 4.4** Shaken Identity
- **Source 4.8** Notice for Dispersal
- **Source 4.9** Repatriation Survey
- **Source 4.10** Internment and Exile
- **Source 4.11** Pickersgill Memo

In this activity students will explore the limited range of choices given Japanese Canadian families for resettlement at the end of the internment. Students examine archival sources and secondary readings where they consider the very limited options faced by Japanese Canadians. The activity culminates with a mixed media project taking the form of a collage, storyboard, gallery walk, monologue or song. Drawing upon the knowledge and understandings gained in the previous activity students demonstrate the depth of their understanding with respect to the challenges, resiliency, and long-term impact of dislocation and dispossession on Japanese Canadians.

1. Explain to your students that they are now going to look at the options for relocation given to Japanese Canadians at the end of the internment. Provide students with **Handout 4.3 From Internment to Exile** and **Source 4.8 Notice for Dispersal**.
  - In this activity students are to reflect on the options given Japanese Canadians to relocate and to choose an option.
  - Under the **Family and Individual Considerations** header ask students to consider any variable that may have been considered prior to making a choice (economic needs, communal needs, legal issues, emotional needs, transportation, access to education, etc.)
  - Students then make a choice for themselves. If they had to make a decision in the summer of 1945 which choice would it be and why?
  - Allow 30 minutes for these steps, then review student responses.
2. For the next activity students need to be placed in teams/groups of 4–6. After organizing teams/groups provide each group with **Handout 4.4 Shaken Identity** review the guidelines for the project with the class.
  - Provide a set of the source materials for this activity to each team/group:
    - **Source 4.9 Repatriation Survey**
    - **Source 4.10 Internment and Exile**
    - **Source 4.11 Pickersgill Memo**
  - Students use the source materials, previous learning and additional research to develop their project. It is recommended that teacher spend some time debriefing each of the sources with the class.
3. Give students a chance to share their creations and display any art and play any songs they have produced.



## AFTER THE APOLOGY

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 120 MINUTES

### LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- **Handout 4.5** After the Apology
- **Handout 4.6** Debate the Question
- **Source 4.12** A Post-War History of Japanese Canadians
- **Source 4.13** PM Mulroney Apologises
- **Source 4.14** Does PM Trudeau apologize too much?

Has the Canadian government been accountable for its actions against Japanese Canadians in the 1940s? In this activity students will examine the various steps the federal government of Canada has taken, since the end of internment in 1949, to compensate, apologize, redress and reconcile past injustices with Japanese Canadians.

1. Provide students with a copy of **Handout 4.5 After the Apology** and the following Source materials:
  - **Source 4.12 A Post-War History of Japanese Canadians**
  - **Source 4.13 PM Mulroney Apologises**
  - **Source 4.14 Does PM Trudeau apologize too much?**

- Students will track their findings on **Handout 4.6** and use this information to debate the question:

  - Has the Canadian government been accountable for its actions against Japanese Canadians in the 1940s?
2. Assign students to debate one side or the other of this issue.
  - Provide the guidelines for the debate, and the criteria for evaluation **Handout 4.6 Debate the Question**
  - Allow half a period for preparation and to organize the speakers. Students are only permitted to use notes from **Handout 4.5** and the source materials provided.
  - Run the debate and debrief the most contentious points.

# MEMORY GAME

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 30 MINUTES

## LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- Whiteboard/blackboard or LCD projector
- Staff/student volunteer
- **Handout 4.7** How We Remember

In this, and subsequent activities, we explore the question of why and how we should remember the uprooting, internment, dispossession, and displacement of Japanese Canadians. We begin by investigating the role of memory and sites of memory in remembering the past. Research into eyewitness testimony suggests that it is flawed and often inaccurate. Our view of the past is much like this because we depend on individual memories and interpretations of those memories for our understanding of past events. How would your memory of an incident compare with others witness to the same event?

1. In advance of this activity prepare to have someone (a teacher or a student) come into your class. Let's call this person, "X". Attempt to have their entry appear completely normal or routine. X should plan on doing several things in class such as:
  - Change the time on the clock
  - Take a book and put it in a bag
  - Erase the chalkboard
  - Close a window
  - Talk to someone
2. Before X comes into the room, have students working or reading at their desks. When X comes into the room, most of the students will be curious about what he or she is doing. After X leaves the room, have the students write down all the things that happened. (You can do this immediately after X leaves or sometime later). Once everyone has finished writing, find out what everyone remembers and what they did not.
3. What details do they recall? What did X wear? How long was X in the room? What book did X take? Who did X talk to? What did X say? You may even ask some leading questions to influence memory. For example, if X was not wearing a hat, ask, "What color hat was X wearing?" Compare how everyone's memory was the same and different.
4. Provide students with **Handout 4.7 How We Remember**. Have them complete the questions and debrief with the class before proceeding to the next activity.

## WHAT'S IN A NAME?

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 60 MINUTES

### LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- **Handout 4.8** What's in a Name?
- **Source 4.15** Point-Counterpoint
- School District List

In this activity students explore ways in which societies commemorate, honour or recognize the past. These sites of memory can take many forms and represent a variety of purposes. How should we/have we commemorated the injustice of evacuation, internment, dispossession, and displacement? Students will explore the concepts of national memory, sites of memory and manner in which public sites of memory are named. Students will confront the stark disparity in the number of common public places that are named for people of colour, ethnic minorities, women and religious minorities.

1. Prepare a list of school names from your district, and local districts if you need more names, to assign to student pairs. Each pair needs four local school names to research.
  - Provide one copy of the **Handout 4.8 What's in a Name?** to each pair of students. Have them record the names of the schools they will research.
  - Students complete the chart, and the research on the schools in their assigned cluster.
  - Once complete bring the class together to share the information found in their research.
  - Which ethnicities are most represented, least represented or not represented?
2. After groups have had time to analyze the data have each share their findings with the class using the following guiding questions:
  - What are the characteristics of the most common school names?
  - What possible factors may influence these commonalities?
  - Does it matter who a school is named for? Why?
  - How do schools play a role in maintaining common memory or national narratives?
  - What can be done to reshape this narrative and honour other stories?
3. Provide students with **Source 4.15 Point / Counterpoint** which offers two perspectives on the removal of controversial statues from public places. This article addresses the removal of Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's statue from city hall in Victoria, B.C.
  - Assign roughly half of the class to each side of the argument. Allow 10 minutes for reading the article and finding the key points of debate.
  - Students are strongly encouraged to build upon the points in the article with personal views.
  - Conduct an informal debate, class discussion, town hall forum or other strategy to engage the students.
  - It is not critical that students come to share one common view or that there is agreement on how we move forward with issues regarding public sites of memory.

- Debrief with journal writing, pair share, or similar.

4. Extension activity. Have students search out existing sites of memory that have been designed to commemorate the injustices experienced by Japanese Canadians in the 1940s. Students may consult the Resource Library in the Landscapes of Injustice Secondary Teacher Resources site for links and information on a variety of such sites. Student should consider two questions in their research:

- (1) Is this an effective way to commemorate Japanese Canadian history?
- (2) What story is told by this site(s) of memory?



# EDUCATION IS CHANGE

◆ SUGGESTED TIME: 90 MINUTES

## LEARNING RESOURCES REQUIRED

- **Handout 4.9** Design Jam
- Large format chart paper
- Felt pens or similar markers
- Selection of museum exhibits

This activity brings together the breadth and depth of learning acquired by your students in the course of the lessons in this resource. Museums and other public institutions use the design jam as a way to brainstorm, create ideas, consider challenges, and map out new designs for exhibits. In this lesson the students will design an exhibit intended to educate about the evacuation, internment, dispossession, and relocation of Japanese Canadians.

1. Create student groups, minimum of four per group. Provide students with **Handout 4.9 Design Jam**. Review the design jam process:
  - The Mission – Present the starter ideas and criteria or boundaries for design
  - Brainwriting – Three rounds of idea sharing, students build on collective ideas and consider any challenges
  - The Design – Student teams move on to finalizing a single design and sketching the design on chart paper
  - Showdown/Dot Voting – Student teams present their designs in a competitive format and everyone votes using sticky dots
2. Museum exhibit overview. Choose selected museum exhibits to share with the students to help them conceptualize the elements of an effective museum exhibit. Many exhibits can be viewed online, including the complimentary exhibit to this research hosted at the Nikkei National Museum.
3. Student teams complete each of the steps and apply the criteria from **Handout 4.9** to their design.
  - Students brainstorm their ideas
  - Select the idea that most ideally fits the criteria
  - Design the exhibit using chart paper or teacher supplied alternative
  - Present their idea and vote on all design concepts

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.1 PREDICTIONS OF POST-INTERNMENT LIFE FOR JAPANESE CANADIANS

	My Prediction	What the Sources Said
What difficulties did Japanese Canadian people your age face in their new hometowns?		
What difficulties did Japanese Canadian adults face in their new hometowns?		
Where did Japanese Canadians rebuild their communities?		
Did non-Japanese Canadians generally accept Japanese Canadians being dispersed to their town?		
How did internment and dispossession affect the identity of Japanese Canadians?		

## **LESSON 4** **HANDOUT 4.2** **LETTERS FROM TASHME**

With a partner, read one letter from a student at the Tashme Internment Camp.

**Who wrote the letter? Where are they writing from? When is the letter dated?**

**How does the writer feel about life after Tashme? How has their life changed with this “double dislocation?” Provide quotes for evidence.**

**How does the writer reflect on his/her experiences in the Tashme internment camp? Consider both positive and negative experiences. Provide quotes for evidence.**

**Describe the differences between being a youth in the 1940s and present day based on information from the letter.**

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.3 FROM INTERNMENT TO EXILE

In the Spring of 1945 the federal government required Japanese Canadians still in internment camps to make a difficult choice: they could (1) be deported to Japan or (2) accept displacement to Eastern Canada. Returning to their former homes in British Columbia was not an option. Federal officials did not want to risk alienating large numbers of British Columbia voters who hoped that Japanese

Canadians would never return. Also, their houses, businesses, and farms had been sold. So, the government demanded that Japanese Canadians choose where they would go. Review **Source 4.8 Notice for Dispersal**, then complete the chart below following instructions from your teacher.

Post War Options	Family and Individual Considerations
Option 1: Relocate to Japan	
Option 2: Relocate east of the Rocky Mountains	

My choice:



## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.4 SHAKEN IDENTITY PROJECT

To demonstrate your knowledge and understanding of the experiences of Japanese Canadians in the years during and following internment and dispossession, when they had to rebuild their lives dispersed to new locations across Canada or in exile in Japan, you will have a choice between the following activities:

### 1. Collage

- (a) Use images and words which can demonstrate and express what young Japanese Canadians had to overcome during their years of internment and dispersion/exile.
- (b) Try to stick to one particular theme and choose colours which reflect the mood and feeling of the situation.
- (c) Collage should be on a 11x17" page or larger if desired.

### 2. Storyboard

- (a) On an 8.5x11" page, create an eight-square storyboard to demonstrate and express what young Japanese Canadians had to overcome during their years of internment and of second uprooting.
- (b) Use captions for each square.
- (c) Use colours or careful shading.

### 3. Graphic Novel or Children's Book

- (a) Create a short graphic novel (4 pages) or children's book (8 pages) detailing the experiences of a Japanese Canadian child or youth during their years of internment and dispersion/exile.
- (b) Use colours or careful shading.

### 4. Art gallery/Photo gallery

- (a) Create a gallery of four separate drawn/computer animated/painted pictures detailing scenes of Japanese Canadians in post-internment dispersal/exile.
- (b) The pictures should illustrate an understanding of the experiences faced by Japanese Canadians.

### 5. Song/Poem

- (a) Write and perform/read or display a 2 minute song or poem reflecting on the difficult ordeals that Japanese Canadians had to overcome during their years of internment and dispersion/exile.

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.4 SHAKEN IDENTITY PROJECT RUBRIC

	Exceeding	Meeting	Minimally Meeting	Not Meeting
Message	Your product has a very strong and effective message which strikes an emotional tone and stays within the goals of the assignment.	Your product has an effective message which strikes an emotional tone and stays within the goals of the assignment.	Your product message lacked an effective emotional element, but was within the goals of the assignment.	Your product message was off topic or not applicable to the time period.
Understanding	Your product shows an excellent understanding of the experiences of Japanese Canadians in dispersion or exile.	Your product shows a good understanding of the experiences of Japanese Canadians in dispersion or exile.	Your product shows a satisfactory understanding of the experiences of Japanese Canadians in dispersion or exile.	Your product does not show a satisfactory understanding of the experiences of Japanese Canadians in dispersion or exile.

LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.5 AFTER THE APOLOGY

Using the sources provided by your teacher complete the table below. Add as many examples as you can find to support the points you are making on either side of this argument. Things to consider while reviewing the articles for information include: steps the government has taken, involvement of the Japanese Canadian community, financial

compensation or other forms of redress, the need for apology, and the long-term impact of apologies.

The Canadian government has been accountable for Japanese Canadian internment and dispossession	The Canadian government has <i>not</i> been accountable for Japanese Canadian internment and dispossession

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.6 DEBATE THE QUESTION

Your team will address the question: ***Has the Canadian government been accountable for its actions against Japanese Canadians in the Second World War?***

The following criteria will be applied to assess your understanding, knowledge, speaking skills, and ability to present effective counter arguments (rebuttal) during the debate.

CATEGORY	4 Excellent	3 Very Good	2 Satisfactory	1 Unsatisfactory
<b>Understanding of Question</b>	Clearly understood the topic in-depth and presented their information forcefully and convincingly.	Clearly understood the topic in-depth and presented their information with ease.	Seemed to understand the main points of the topic and presented those with ease.	Did not show an adequate understanding of the topic.
<b>Use of Facts</b>	Every major point was well supported with several relevant facts, statistics, and/or examples.	Every major point was supported with relevant facts, statistics, and/or examples.	Every major point was supported with some facts, statistics, and/or examples, but the relevance of some were questionable.	Not every major point was supported.
<b>Presentation Skills</b>	Consistently used gestures, eye contact, tone of voice and a level of enthusiasm in a way that kept the attention of the audience.	Usually used gestures, eye contact, tone of voice and a level of enthusiasm in a way that kept the attention of the audience.	Sometimes used gestures, eye contact, tone of voice and a level of enthusiasm in a way that kept the attention of the audience.	Presentation style did not keep the attention of the audience.
<b>Respect for Opponents</b>	All statements, body language, and responses were respectful and used appropriate language.	Statements and responses were respectful and used appropriate language, but once or twice body language was not respectful.	Most statements and responses were respectful and used appropriate language, but there was one sarcastic remark.	Statements, responses, and/or body language were consistently not respectful.
<b>Rebuttal</b>	All counter-arguments were accurate, relevant, and strong.	Most counter-arguments were accurate, relevant, and strong.	Some counter-arguments were accurate, and relevant, but some were weak.	Counter-arguments were not accurate, and/or relevant.



## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.7 HOW WE REMEMBER

### MEMORY: HOW DO WE REMEMBER THE PAST?

Consider how you recall the events of your own life. How much of your early years can you recall? Do things like pictures, video clips, news clippings, school yearbooks, and other pieces of your past make it easier? Why? These are the questions we explore in this activity.

1. If you could choose only one item to enhance recall of your past, which would it be? Explain your choice.
  - (a) Family Photo
  - (b) Video
  - (c) Diary
  - (d) School Yearbook
  - (e) School Class Picture
  - (f) Certificate
  - (g) Toy
2. Now consider your family history.
  - (a) How much do you know? How much can you prove to be true?
  - (b) What sources of evidence could you present in support of telling your family story?
3. Now think about the history of Canada.
  - (a) How do we remember the past as a nation?
  - (b) Consider five examples of how this is done. Consider where the telling of this story is done, for example schools, museums, parks, etc.
4. Specific places in which we remember, refer to, or recall past events are called sites of memory.
  - (a) Do you think your examples from the previous question make good sites of memory?
  - (b) Explain how your choices make good sites of memory?
5. Recent controversy over statues of famous Canadians suggests that Canadians are rethinking which sites of memory should be allowed in public areas.
  - (a) Read **Source 4.11 Point-Counterpoint**: Should statues of Sir John A. MacDonald be removed?
    - \* Which view do you support? Why?
  - (b) Create a list of five famous Canadians (not living), that you feel deserve some type of formal recognition in the form of a site of memory (statue, school name, street name, museum or other public building).

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.8 WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Name of School	Ethnicity of Named	Gender of Named	Occupation of Named	Significance/Reason for Naming

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.9 DESIGN JAM

### WHAT IS A DESIGN JAM?

A design jam is a kind of brainstorming idea factory. Often used to develop creative responses to civic or political issues, develop marketing and sales programs, or consider innovative ways to design museum exhibits. Most design jams have a similar format or structure, but often contain a briefing about the challenge, time to brainstorm or think about 'blue sky' solutions, consider limitations, sketch out or design the plan on chart paper, and share design ideas. Your challenge will be to design a museum exhibit to educate students about the uprooting, internment, dispossession, and relocation of Japanese Canadians.

### Design Jam Steps

#### Step 1: *The Mission*

- Propose your design ideas, individually at first, then share within your team.
- Use post-it notes, index cards or note paper to record initial thoughts.
- Individually note as many ideas as possible; consider things like what you would include and exclude, the construction, and key learning outcomes of the exhibit. Leave room on your notecards for others to build on your ideas and add notes.

#### Step 2: *Brainwriting*

- After 5–10 minutes each team member passes their notecard/post-it to the person on their left.
- Take another 2–3 minutes to add notes and build upon the ideas on the notecard, and pass again.

- Repeat this process 3 times. When the card is returned to the creator it will now have 3 times more information and improvements on their ideas.
- Note any challenges that will hinder the design.
- The team writes these down and discusses ways to navigate around obstacles and finds new solutions to any challenges.

#### Step 3: *The Design*

- Now it is time to design your exhibit. Take a large sheet of chart paper (or similar substitute) and map out your exhibit.
- Your design needs to include all critical elements that would be experienced in your exhibit including, kiosks, images, text features, physical objects, and other interactive media.
- Use a variety of colours to add life to your exhibit and its design appeal.

#### Step 4: *Showdown and Dot Voting*

- Present your design idea to the class. You will be judged on the elements listed under design criteria, how well you followed the steps in the design jam process and on the effectiveness of your presentation. Students will vote with coloured dots. Students place their dot on one design (cannot be their own) that they feel has best met the challenge. The design with the most dots wins!

## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.9 DESIGN JAM

### DESIGN JAM: DESIGN A MUSEUM EXHIBIT

Your local community museum has initiated a contest to design an interactive exhibit for secondary students that will be used to teach about the uprooting, evacuation, internment, dispossession, and deportation of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s. The following criteria must be kept in mind as you create your design:

- The exhibit must include elements of the uprooting, internment, dispossession, and displacement of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s.
- The design must be portable and modest in scale because it will travel to other community museums.
- The exhibit must contain:
  - Physical artifacts
  - Function with a variety of learners
  - Represent a variety of Japanese Canadian experiences.
- Each item selected for the exhibit must have a learning purpose:
  - Why have you selected this item?
  - How does it help tell the story?
- To maintain equity, all designs must be presented on one piece of large scale chart paper (unless specified otherwise by your teacher).
- Your exhibit must have a name/title.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.1 JAPANESE CANADIAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY PROVINCE, 1941 AND 1947



Distribution of Japanese Canadians by Province, 1941–1947

Province	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
BC	22,096	21,975	16,504	16,103	15,610	14,716	6,776
Alberta	578	534	3,231	3,469	3,559	3,681	4,180
Saskatchewan	105	100	129	153	157	164	505
Manitoba	42	30	1,084	1,094	1,052	1,052	1,186
Ontario	234	132	1,650	2,424	2,914	3,742	6,616
Quebec	48	25	96	344	532	716	1,247
New Brunswick	3	–	–	–	–	10	10
PEI	–	–	–	–	–	–	6
Nova Scotia	2	2	1	1	1	1	4
Newfoundland	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Yukon & NWT	41	39	30	29	29	30	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>23,149</b>	<b>22,837</b>	<b>22,725</b>	<b>23,617</b>	<b>23,854</b>	<b>24,112</b>	<b>20,558</b>

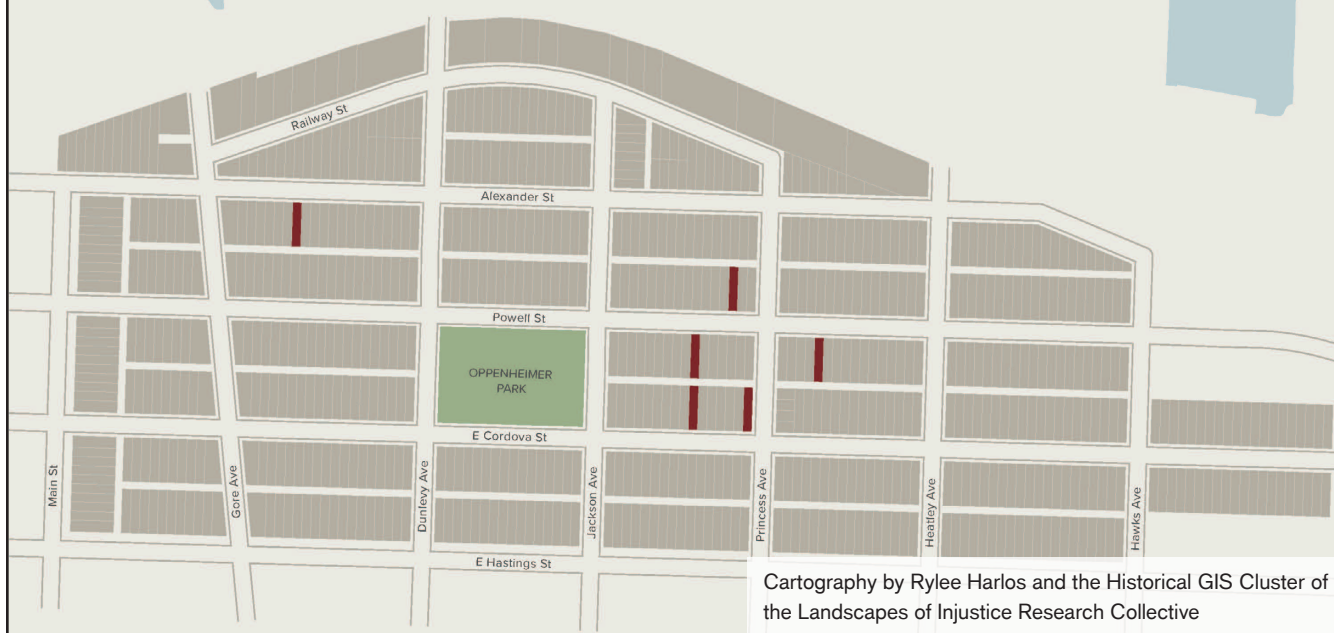
Source: Audrey Kobayashi, *A Demographic Profile of Japanese Canadians* (Department of the Secretary of State, 1989), p. 6.

**LESSON 4** **SOURCE 4.2** **POWELL ST. POPULATION 1941 + 1949**

## 1941 POWELL STREET JAPANESE CANADIAN-OWNED PROPERTIES



## 1949 POWELL STREET JAPANESE CANADIAN-OWNED PROPERTIES



## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.3 INTERVIEW WITH BETTY TOYOTA

The following is a transcription of an oral interview with Betty Toyota, an internment camp survivor. Betty was interviewed by Kyla Fitzgerald and Mike Abe of Landscapes of Injustice in 2018.

**Kyla Fitzgerald:** *Would you say when you look back, did the interment have an effect on you at all in anyway?*

**Betty Toyota:** But I notice one thing with Ron and Gary. When they both decided to marry English. Race never came up with their family. You know Judy's family and Shirley's family. Oh he's Japanese sort of a thing. It never came up. You know they were just like another person. And that's what I was quite thankful about too.

Yeah that's it. That was another thing, everybody knew you.

**Betty:** But then I faced a lot of discrimination when I came to Creston. I did. It was hard.

**Betty:** Oh hated. That's why I hated going shopping. Well it was hard. It was hard. Some people are quite rude. When you, that's another thing, when you buy something, not just five ten dollars, when you spend over twenty dollars and you pay cash and they throw the change on the counter, don't even say thank you or anything and they turn their back and walk. I mean, how would you feel. I got that treatment quite a bit too. Or the one store they opened a new dress shop. And I thought, "Oh I'll go in and see what they've got." So I walk in by myself and she looks at me, "We don't carry anything your size." I could have gone in there looking for a scarf or a purse, but when they tell you and say — I'm very sensitive in one way.

[I would] never go in that store again. So there are several stores I won't go in. I don't care who it is. And Tak always used to say you should go to Supervalve and Co-op, there was Overwaitea and I

always shopped at Overwaitea because they were really good and we knew the Overwaitea boss anyway. So always went there. And Tak always used to say, "You should divide your business. Go to Supervalve every now and then and buy something." So I would say, "Okay I'll go to Supervalve today." One of the women there was quite rude to me so I didn't feel like going. But I go to the store and I'm going to get my groceries at Supervalve. I go there I front of the door, my head says, "You got to go in there." My feet say, "No way" and I turned back. That's how it was. It was some stores that I won't go. Like Mrs. Neko, she was my dear closest friend. She was the type that wanted to go to every store just to look around she said. And I'm not the type, if I want something I'll go to the store, buy what I want and come out. I'm not the type to browse. But she was the one that liked to go and "Oh let's go in and look around." So I go in and look around and the storeowner would come and they would show her, "Oh we got this, we got that, new shoes." Completely ignore me, right? And that's why I don't feel comfortable going to any store. That's why I hate shopping by myself. Even in Creston.

**Betty:** But now if they know me, now I'll go. You know they're kind to me now.

**Kyla:** *What do you mean?*

**Betty:** I still get it.

**Kyla:** *I was gonna say, that stuff never ends.*

**Betty:** Like if it's a new store I hesitate going in there.



## LESSON 4 HANDOUT 4.3 INTERVIEW WITH BETTY TOYOTA

**Kyla:** *Yeah and I can also understand you were saying about liking bigger cities because there's more different people in big cities.*

**Betty:** That's why in the bigger city they don't know you! Yeah my mother used to say, "Oh let's go in there and tease them a bit." And to me if you go to a small store you have to buy something. But no ... that's why I like — that's why I don't mind walking into big store and just look around and come out. And in the small town they know you, they want to know what you want and this and that. So I rarely go shopping, just to get my groceries and come home and go to the bank and come home. That was it. And then most of my friends are all – you know have social life or they're all gone. Nobody's – even the men, they're all gone.

**Betty:** It was nice when she was living in Creston. They were really Japanese so she would phone up quite often and says, "Oh I've got some salmon, come over and eat some salted salmon and rice," And I would go and that was it. You miss that. In a way I still do.

**Betty:** Yeah. It doesn't bother me. No, I got used to that.

**Betty:** Yeah and then this first time this Yamamoto, she's the Japanese lady that used to live here, live in Creston, they moved to Calgary. And she came over quite often just to stay over and visit the friends and she would come and stay with me. The first time she came over she comes walking in, very outspoken women. She says, "Hi Betty I came but I didn't bring any omiyage, you know, you're used to it." You're used to it and I was because the people in Creston never did that. Yeah you get used to it.

New Denver B.C.

Jan 24 1946

Dear Miss McBride —

Hello!! Should have wrote weeks ago, but you know how I am. Well first of all I must thank you ever so much for the nice snap and card. Thought I'd never get that snap but ——— thanks.

Hope you all had a nice Christmas and New Year's. As for myself, oh wonderful! But it was a quiet one. Nice change. Well anyways another year gone. Not as young as I use to be (ahem).

How's school? Just has same a before, I presume. Thought there may have been a difference since the noisy guys like myself are gone. Yes Miss McBride, I sure miss studies now. I told you before I sure regret it for being so stupid. Everybody I bump into are well educated or getting educated. Plenty of times now I've been in spots where I hoped never to be in. I felt like dying then. No use crying over spilt milk they say.

Snow, now and more snow. How has it been in Saskme? Out here you'd never know what you'd get the next day. At least we've had skating. Today we've got snow and when I say snow I mean it. Approximately 1 foot and its still coming. Might be like the first year we hit the interior towns ——— but hardly.

Well, people are gradually going east. Me — gee, I was supposed to go last August but my mother said no. That was the end of that. Now I find myself still penned up in the "Great City" till god knows when. Hope that comes soon. Gosh, bet your sick of my blabbing so Bye.

Sincerely,  
Chik

P.S. Thanks again for the lovely snaps. Please give my Best Regard to the rest of the teachers. Thanks.

Bye

Grand-Freisoniere  
St. Eustache, Two Mountain, Quebec  
June 22, 1946

Dear Miss McBride —

Thank you very much for the many kindness you have shown us while we were in Gashme. We arrived here on Tuesday 17th around 8:30 pm. After a 3 days stop over in Toronto at a friend's place! We all enjoyed visiting here and there although it was a bit confusing to get to a place where we stayed was another story. It's such a large city.

Well, to say the country life here is nice and quiet and quite warm although we had a little shower last night.

We live in a nice brick house, and occupy half the building and the other half is occupied by a French family, a Mr Chaumont, he only speaks French and I don't know a word. You can just imagine me trying to converse with him. There is a few people who can speak English fluently and some, broken English. It is very interesting to watch their hand action when you are conversating.

This French fellow, my neighbour, is trying to learn English and I'm trying to do the same only it's French. He's progressing fast but you know from the mark on my report that I'm very poor and slow in learning.

The farm is 120 acres but all of it is not cultivated. We did some weeding yesterday in the strawberry field, my poor back!! But don't worry the berries were quite something. So day we transplanted some 1,600 tomato plants it was a big order but we did it.

It's quite a experience for me on the farm such to milking the cow which I never done before. I learned quite fast but still I'm slower than the lady who did the milking before. I guess I'll improve in a week or two.

Oh!! Yes about our lives, Mr. Carriere, well at a glance he looks like an old meany but he's a nice man and he love children's guess why? He's got 10 childrens him self. I guess looks is skin deep.

The folks are real nice folks around here and they try to do what they can for us even though none of us can converse to each other by their language or ours. Only a few old folks speak English or broken English the younger boys and girls although I haven't meet many girls but the boys they don't speak a word of

English except for "hello, etc." And are all eager to learn the funny thing is even their father or mother might speak fluent English the kids don't. And I'm just as eager to learn French too and all I'm waiting for is my sisters French course to come so I might study French.

It's either you learn French or go through the trouble of trying to let them understand what you want in the store.

Just like the incident that happened in to-day where I asked my neighbour to lend me his hammer I had to make signs by hand to tell him what I wanted. It's sort of embarrassing when passersbys stop and watch you waving hand in the air they'll think I belong in an asylum.

This is a good hint for Mrs. Williams to give to the class to polish up on their French is they are coming this way.

There is so much thing I wish to write yet but I must close. Please give my best and sincere regards to miss Greenbrant, Miss McLaughlin, Miss Williams and to the pupils of grade X. I'll write again.

Sincerely yours,  
Mitoshi Nagami

Moose Jaw Hostel  
P.O. Box 9,  
Moose Jaw, Sask.  
Sept. 29, 1946

Dear Miss McBride,

I am very sorry I got so late in thanking you. How are you all getting along? We are fine as usual except for my baby sister Sayumi, she has her legs casted because her hip (gy) bones got loose or something and she has to have it like that for 2 years. I was very glad to receive the High School Students' Addresses. If only had the return address and no name on so for awhile I was wondering who it was from. But later on, as I was looking over it I saw that you were in Nanaimo. Thank you very much.

I am very sorry to hear the death of Ling Saguchi. At first I couldn't believe it.

I hope you had a nice holiday. I did. You know, I answered your thing and I was going to send it but we had to go to Town to buy stamps and since I wasn't able to go I was delayed in sending your letter.

Then school started and I had so many homeworks and things I couldn't send it. I still am getting lots of homeworks but I thought I must write to you so here I am.

We reached this Hostel on Thu 18th of July safely. I was sick all through the trip.

We are 5 miles away from Moose Jaw City and 45 miles from Regina. We can often see the Regina farming. Our building is called Swordfish and 5 families live in it. We have 2 rooms, 7 beds, 2 (???) and 4 chairs and all the sheets and blankets are supplied. We also have electricity, flush toilets, showers. The Nikaidos and Nakamuras used to live in our building but they both went to Alberta. Kosaka Nikaido went to Picture Butte, Alta. And Hinka Nakamura to Rosemary, Alba. It's awfully lonely without that family.

We go daily to the school on 2 busses, which is supplied by Mr Dawson, our supervisor here. I and several others go to Central Collegiate Institute. Yutaka Yamane goes to Technical High.

If I was still in Saskme(?) I would have been in your class or Mr. William's, eh? I sure miss you people. We take our lunch which is made by the cook.

Everybody's y'all in the school except the teachers. They're all old and short. The students are nearly all kind, though. The principal supplied our books.

Do you know Miss Leith? She is the United Church Sunday School teacher here and I go there. She says she knows Miss Greenbank, Miss McLaughlin and Mr. McWilliams. She is a tall lady and said she went to Japan with Miss Greenbank.

There is a airport near here and I've seen lots of planes rise and land. They do not make any noise when they're landing but we get shot if we go there!

We made friends with some of the R. C. A. F.s but they died in an airplane crash recently because of carelessness. They were all young. 21 of them.

There were lots of good shows here but I haven't gone to any of them yet. There are 3 theatres, Orpheum, Royal, and Capitol.

(Will:??) Miss Greenbank and them go to Japan now? Or are they going on a later one.

We always have to line up to get our meals but one thing I like about here is we don't have to wash the dishes. I'm sick and tired of liquid by now. We always get it!

It's getting cold these days, although it was boiling in summer. We used to spread out blankets and knit, read and sing. I get quite a tan. They say this place gets cold as 40 degrees below 0.

What are you doing these days? I suppose you are studying. So am I. It's getting late so I'll drop my pen. I hope I can get this mailed.

Sincerely,  
Yoko Mura.

P.S.  
excuse untidiness  
Thanks a lot for the address sheet.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.5 STUDENT LETTER D

P.L. #5  
Guelph, Ontario,  
Dec 18, 1946

Dear Miss "Mac"-

I suppose you're wondering whether I've lost faith in you or forgot about you. I wanted to write as soon as your letter arrived but I didn't get the chance to write or even study until now. You may think I'm getting lazy but please forgive me... my back and my legs are aching so much I feel more dead than alive. These days, I'm doing work inside the barn... cleaning manure and feeding the cows<sup>73</sup> in all. Of course we have to milk them twice a day. On Sundays, I have to do the whole work by myself. My dad isn't strong anymore after suffering a lot in the past.

After I sent you that letter, we had an incident with our employers whereby we managed to teach him a lesson. Since he is quick-tempered he blurted out that I lost a set of wrenches which cost him \$8.00. Actually, he had misplaced them and I didn't know anything about it so I went to his wife and gave her the \$8.00 telling her that I would like to owe up to what I had lost.

His wife, who is much more understanding than the husband asked of his trouble and he realized what he had said. In the meantime I discovered the missing wrenches but didn't tell them where they were. That night, his dad came down from the city and heard of the trouble. He finally apologized that he was quick-tempered, that he was sorry to blame me for this and gave me back my \$8.00. Ever since that time he has been very careful in treating us but occasionally he still loses his temper. My dad seems to have a dislike for him, (the young son) and every day he gets angry whenever Jack blurts out at my dad when he (my dad) misunderstands Jack's orders.

I've written to Miss Black of (?????) but all I hope is that things would turn out better for me. I'm about to give up my studies since I don't have enough time. I'm sure you've done all you can and I haven't lost my courage but what is courage or patience when my parents and the children aren't happy? All we do is live like animals. Oh well, we're trying, at least I'll do everything I can to encourage them but it's just hopeless. My parents even speak of returning to Japan. Sometimes, they say that they'd rather starve than do work for Jack. I don't blame my dad for saying so. I guess their morale is low after the defeat. So are a great many other Japanese parents.

Everytime my parents begin to feel unpleasant, I always try to encourage them that if we stay here for the winter, we'll be able to locate a more pleasant home and also I tell them that some of my friends in Guelph will be coming down to visit us at Christmas, that if we work hard, things will eventually turn out better. But I'm afraid it's very difficult to live without happiness. I've found out that a person can't get along without happiness and yet lead a normal life.

It's the highest human need.

Oh, oh, it's time for milking now so I must leave now. I'll try to let you know from time to time on how we are getting along but I tell you it'll make your hair grey, Miss Mac. Please excuse my scribbling as I'm in a hurry.

Sincerely,  
Fred Kamibayashi

P.S. my parents wish to extend their regards to you.

## NOTICE FOR DISPERSAL EAST OF THE ROCKIES

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR CANADA

### NOTICE

TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN  
NOW RESIDENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

MARCH 12TH, 1945

Japanese Nationals and others of Japanese racial origin who will be returning to Japan, have been informed by notice on the authority of the Honourable Minister of Labour, that provision has been made for their return and for the filling of an application for such return. Conditions in regard to property and transportation have been made public.

Japanese Canadians who want to remain in Canada should now re-establish themselves East of the Rockies as the best evidence of their intentions to cooperate with the government policy of dispersal.

Failure to accept employment east of the Rockies may be regarded at a later date as a lack of cooperation with the Canadian Government in carrying out its policy of dispersal.

Several thousand Japanese have already re-established themselves satisfactorily east of the Rockies.

Those who do not take advantage of present opportunities for employment and settlement outside British Columbia as this time, while employment opportunities are favourable, will find conditions of employment and settlement considerably more difficult at a later date and may seriously prejudice their own future by delay.

To assist those who want to re-establish themselves in Canada, the Japanese Division Placement Offices and Employment and Selective Service Offices, with the assistance of local Advisory Committees, are making special efforts this Spring to open up suitable employment opportunities across Canada in various lines of endeavour, and in areas where prospects of suitable employment are best.

The Department will also provide free transportation to Eastern Canada for members of a family and their effects, a sustenance allowance to be used while in transit, and a placement allowance based in amount on the size of the family.

T.B. PICKERSGILL,  
Commissioner of Japanese Placement  
Vancouver, B.C.



## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.9 REPATRIATION SURVEY

Near the end of the Second World War, while many Japanese Canadians were still living in internment centres, the federal government initiated a repatriation survey. The government was actively seeking to convince Japanese Canadians to accept exile. Officials were worried that not enough would choose to return to Japan, rather than move east of the Rocky Mountains. The absurdity of the notion, given that the vast majority of the over 22,000 ethnic Japanese in Canada were either Canadian born or naturalized citizens, did not occur to those in power. In early August of 1945 almost 10,000

people signed (or had signed on their behalf, in the case of wives and children) the 'repatriation' forms, accepting exile to Japan. Many felt they had no choice at the time, but by the Spring of 1946 most indicated that they wanted to change their response and remain in Canada. In the end almost 4,000 Canadians, of Japanese descent, were forced into exile while others struggled to find new homes outside of British Columbia.

Repatriation Survey Results, 31 August 1945: Japanese Nationals, Naturalized Canadians, Canadian Born, Adults, Children Under 16, and Japanese in Area.

### Repatriation Survey Results, 31 August 1945

	Japanese nationals	Naturalized Canadians	Canadian-born	Adults signing	Children under 16	Total affected	Japanese in area	% of Japanese Canadians affected
<b>Total</b>	2,922	1,474	2,446	6,844	3,503	10,347	23,800	43

### Distribution of Japanese in Canada, 1942 to 1 January 1947

	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947/01/01
<b>Repatriated to Japan</b>	42	61	0	0	3,964	0

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.10 INTERNMENT AND EXILE

*The following excerpts come from two secondary sources describing the limited choices given to Japanese Canadians for relocation in the spring and summer of 1945.*

The Mackenzie-King government, under pressure from both media and certain politicians, made a decision to require that all Canadians of Japanese heritage (“Japanese race”) move east of the Rocky Mountains or face “voluntary repatriation” to Japan. After government officials conducted a survey in the camps offering small payments for “voluntary repatriation” of those unable to move east, 10,632 people over age sixteen signed the papers (or in the case of minor dependents were included with their parents’ signatures), but there was widespread confusion over whether the deportation orders that ensued would be reversed upon making suitable arrangements to move within Canada. An order for dispersal out of British Columbia had come down in August 1944, along with an ultimatum either to sign forms making arrangements for deportation or to move east, but there were no provisions for implementation.

[A number of reasons kept Japanese Canadians in the camps], including: fear of experiencing racism and even violence from white populations east of the Rockies; lack of any economic security after moving; age, illness, or disability; experiences of intimidation on the part of government officials toward those who did not sign for repatriation; and perhaps most important, a belief that even those who signed could retract their decisions once they were able to arrange for movement east. After the deadline in January 1946, there were 4,520 remaining signees, of whom 3,957 (almost 20 percent of the pre-1940s Japanese Canadian population) were sent to Japan on five ship crossings between April and August. A series of orders-in-council

defined as “deportable” all those Japanese nationals who had originally signed, those naturalized Canadians or Canadian-born citizens who signed but had not revoked their requests prior to the January deadline, and all dependents of these groups. All those subject to deportation, including the Canadian-born, were stripped of their Canadian citizenship.

Anecdotal evidence portrays the harsh conditions faced by the exiles upon arrival in Japan. Tatsuo Kage’s survey of twenty-five individuals tells of poor quality and limited supplies of food, difficulty finding employment (although a number of Nisei were able to find work with the occupational government in Tokyo, mainly as translators), and, in some cases, resentment on the part of those in Japan that the Canadians had landed among them to reduce resources even farther. According to best estimates, nearly half of the exiled eventually returned to Canada, but little is known about how the decision was made to return or not. Nor is much known about the varied conditions faced by the exiles:

Excerpt from Audrey Kobayashi, et al. “Exile: Mapping the Migration Patterns of Japanese Canadians Exiled to Japan in 1946.” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2018, pp. 73–89. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jamerethnhist.37.4.0073](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jamerethnhist.37.4.0073).

...

... While new agreements were under negotiation, no provincial government, except Saskatchewan’s, had expressed a willingness to accept Japanese Canadians. That is why, Japanese Canadians were told, the government was offering such generous terms “to those who come to the conclusion that conditions might be too difficult for them in Canada and the opportunity might be better ... in Japan.”

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.10 INTERNMENT AND EXILE

The manner in which the survey was presented only reinforced what Japanese Canadians already knew. Everyone knew of someone who had gone east and met with difficulty. They knew that the eastern cities were over-crowded with war workers and that housing was often poor, very expensive and very difficult for Japanese to obtain. They knew that many of the Nisei who had gone east were working in dirty, low-paying jobs, and that they had met with discrimination in public places and even in some churches. Most also knew of the hostility and violence the Japanese Americans were experiencing on their return to the Pacific Coast. They feared that similar violence might erupt in Canada once the war in Europe was over and Canada's full attention was focussed on the war with Japan.

In addition, morale in the camps was at an all-time low in the spring of 1945. The classic signs of failing morale were everywhere: neglected homes and gardens; an upsurge in petty quarrels, some of which became violent; rising consumption of alcohol; increased gambling; fewer community activities; a sullen restlessness among the young. Battered by the triple shocks of uprooting, dispossession and destitution, some of the inmates had slipped into a reserve mentality. Their poverty, combined with three years of obeying orders they despised, had stripped some of any hope of regaining control over their own lives. Apathetic, some inmates were ripe for manipulation by anyone with strong views, and in the detention camps the strongest views were held by the pro-Japan patriots. The patriots firmly believed that Japan must inevitably defeat the Allies. Relying on shortwave broadcasts from Tokyo, they had formed very unrealistic ideas about the progress of the war. They dismissed the victories reported in the Canadian press as propaganda, and countered that Japan's apparent retreat was a strategic move "to draw her enemies into one spot and

defeat them." Bolstered by their belief in Japan's imminent victory, the pro-Japan element welcomed the repatriation survey and attacked any who championed resettlement. By coercing friends, neighbours and family members into signing for repatriation, the pro-Japan element unwittingly helped the Canadian government.

Many also believed that there was no need for hasty resettlement. Like most Canadians and Americans, they believed that the war with Japan would go on for years, a belief reinforced by Japanese propaganda that claimed Japan could fight for another twenty years. In 1945, given the tenacity with which the Japanese army was defending the Pacific islands, this was not unreasonable. Indeed, fear of a long and costly campaign against Japan is assumed to have been one element in President Truman's decision a few months later to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The confusion, the indecision, the anger, the fear, the misunderstandings and the very real practical problems were all reflected in the letters Japanese Canadians wrote in the spring of 1945. "Such a hubbub as you cannot imagine at the time of registration here," an inmate at New Denver wrote. "Some took the attitude that if relocation was forced, they would rather repatriate. So much confusion and uncertainty.... Almost as bad as the turbulent days of pre-evacuation when the destination of folks was so uncertain." "If I don't go to Japan," an elderly man interned at Angler, Ontario, informed his sister, "there is no other place for me to go. My wife has been sick over a year and a half ... I have two children in school in Japan. My house where I lived for so long is sold for almost nothing."

...

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.10 INTERNMENT AND EXILE

For two families at Greenwood, worries about jobs and family separation were the deciding factors. “Mrs T. and her son decided [to sign] to go to Japan,” a woman wrote her husband at Angler,

because if they do not the daughters will lose their jobs, and also they did not know where they would be forced to go and did not want to be all separated, so they could not help but sign to go to Japan.... No one wants to sign by their own choice. However, when one thinks of the present situation it is better to sign so that we can all be together rather than being separated. So I am one of those who signed because I want my family to be together.

For a family at Cascade, it was future — not present — employment opportunities that decided their fate. “Yesterday we thought it over,” the wife reported to a friend in Ontario. “My husband said it would be better to go back to Japan because he is too old to get any work in this country. Therefore our whole family has decided to go back to Japan after the war.” That whole family probably included some Nisei who may not have been willing to “go back” to Japan.

While some Nisei quietly accepted their parents’ decision, others made up their own minds, making their decisions sometimes in anger, sometimes in confusion, sometimes in optimism. For a Nisei at Oyama, B.C., anger won out:

All this stinking system gets stinkier every moment.... Those God-damned so-and-so’s don’t give a hoot as to what happens to us so long as they get paid for asking or rather telling us to do radical things.... If it isn’t one thing, it’s something else, namely the cussed Custodian. All this junk about a so-called democracy, racial equality

and toleration, all men are born equal. Like the devil they are. Chase us from one place to another, stick us into places worse than pig pens or cow stalls....

For a relocated Nisei in Montreal whose family still lived in New Denver, the decision was harder. “What is your real opinion?” he demanded of his sister:

... My way of thinking is that it is going to be tough wherever we are at. Japan ain’t going to be a bed of roses. You can bet on that.... On the other hand if we stay here there is going to be tough monetary discrimination, but at least we know what we are in for.... What is in store for us if we do go to Japan? What chances have I or we got? That is what I am afraid of. What chances for survival have we got there? ... I know it is going to be tough wherever we go. I figure we are worse thought of than Jews are. Canada or Japan won’t accept us into the society of the human....

Excerpt from Sunahara, Ann Gomer. “Fighting Deportation.” *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War*, James Lorimer and Company, 1981, pp. 119–123.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.11 PICKERSGILL MEMO

Near the end of the Second World War, while many Japanese Canadians were still living in internment camps, the federal government initiated a repatriation survey. In support of this process the Department of Labour sent Commissioner T. B. Pickersgill to visit the internment camps and settlements in British Columbia and address questions about relocation. The following is an abridged selection from the memo Pickersgill sent to the Deputy Minister of Labour, Arthur MacNamara summarizing his findings.

**Department of Labour  
BRITISH COLUMBIA SECURITY COMMISSION**

Denver, B.C.,  
March 28th, 1945.

**Mr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, Ottawa,**

I have now completed my visit to all the Settlements in the Interior. We had our last meeting with the New Denver and Roseberry Committees this morning.

I thought you would be interested in the general re-action which I have observed, and a summary of the main questions which we have been asked by the Japanese people.

In listing the main questions which we have been asked, I am setting forth below each, the verbal answer which we have given. Some of the Committees have submitted their questions in writing and have requested written replies. Before acceding to this request, we think you should see the verbal answers we have given, and correct us on any points in which you think the answers are not wise. There are one or two questions which we admitted quite frankly we could not answer and promised to procure replies from Ottawa,

1. (a) Will relocatees to Eastern Canada receive treatment as full fledged Canadian citizens?

*Answer:*

We have replied quite frankly to this question that there are some details on which there is still some uncertainty. We suggested that it was not likely that this question would be fully decided in all its aspects until after the Loyalty Tribunal had been appointed and had completed its work. In the meantime, we were only asking people to relocate in other Provinces to fill specific Jobs for which employers had requested Japanese labour. We explained to them, that because of this insecurity and several other questions which were still in doubt about the future for Japanese people remaining in Canada, the Government was offering generous provisions for repatriation to those voluntarily applying, if they come to the conclusion that the outlook is not too bright for staying in Canada.

- (b) Will relocatees be given full rights to private enterprise, occupational freedom and a right to own and rent property, real and otherwise?

*Answer:*

We told them that a complete and satisfactory answer could not yet be given to this question; In the meantime, they were being asked to accept employment, and work for salaries or raises, until the question of acquiring their own property and going into business, was settled. We pointed out the present regulations which apply, concerning the renting of residential property. According to Mr. Brown, this whole question is now under advisement, and we are likely to have some further information shortly.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.11 PICKERSGILL MEMO

- (e) In the event of anti-racial violence and consequent damages sustained, will the Dominion Government hold themselves responsible for rectifications?

*Answer:*

The Japanese people will have the same rights to police protection as any other people residing in a particular Province or locality, and will have the same rights to resort to the Courts for claims against damage to property, but the Dominion Government could not commit itself to paying for damages sustained. One person asked us, if on relocating East, and he was accosted by several who might have reached an advance stage of inebriation, would he be protected from violent actions on their part. We replied that he would have the same police protection that anyone else would have under the same circumstances.

2. (c) Will the Elementary and High School education of relocatees be granted on an equal basis as all other residents of the Province?

*Answer:*

We pointed out that Education was the responsibility of the Provincial Government, and not the Dominion Government, and we could not say definitely what would apply.

3. (e) (4) Will a person having applied for repatriation be permitted to cancel his application and remain in Canada if he has acceptable reasons?

*Answer:*

We said that those who have already made application for repatriation could apply to the R.C.M.P, Ottawa, to have these

applications cancelled. We doubted, however, unless the circumstances are very exceptional, that favorable consideration will be given to cancellation later, of applications made on a new form, when the R.C.M.P. Detachment takes these applications. We explained that the signing of these applications was strictly voluntary, and decisions made now, should be considered final.

- (h) If a family wishes to remain in Canada, but due to certain circumstances must remain in the Project; will the authorities give specific families due consideration, and if permitted to stay, will they be given maintenance or suitable employment?

*Answer:*

I said that the Dominion Government would continue to assume its full responsibility for the welfare of the Japanese evacuees from the Protected Area. If they could not be moved from the Project, and maintenance was required, it would be provided.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.12 A POST-WAR HISTORY OF JAPANESE CANADIANS

With World War II winding down, the Canadian government started planning for the future of Japanese Canadians. In the United States of America, incarcerated Japanese Americans won a December 1944 Supreme Court decision which ruled that though the wartime internment of Japanese Americans was constitutional, it ruled in a separate decision that loyal citizens must be released. Japanese Americans started returning to their homes on the coast in January 1945.

In January 1945, Japanese Canadians were forced by the Canadian government to choose between “repatriation” (exile) to Japan or “dispersal” east of the Rocky Mountains. 10,632 people signed up for deportation to Japan, however, more than half later rescinded their signatures. In the end almost 4,000 were deported to Japan. Japanese Canadians who wished to remain in Canada could not return to B.C. (and had nowhere to go in any case). On 24 January 1947 the repatriation order was cancelled.

The National Emergency Transitional Powers Act of 1 January 1946 allowed the government to keep its legal measures against Japanese Canadians in place. The government’s actions did not go unnoticed, and public and legal criticism of the government’s treatment of Japanese Canadians steadily increased. Finally, on 31 March 1949, restrictions on Japanese Canadians under the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act were finally lifted and Japanese Canadians were given full freedom of movement, as well as the right to vote.

Japanese Canadians had legally fought the government’s actions. On 28 August 1944, Eikichi Nakashima, Tadao Wakabayashi, and Jitaro Tanaka challenged the government’s sale of Japanese Canadian property. The ruling on the case took three years. In the end Nakashima et al. lost, and were ordered to pay the government’s legal costs.

In 1947, the government agreed to an investigation into Japanese Canadian property loss when it could be demonstrated that properties were not sold at “fair market value” (*Politics of Racism*, p. 147). Cabinet wanted to keep the investigation limited in scope and cost, and managed to have it limited to cases where the Custodian had not disposed of the property near market value. Justice Henry Bird was appointed to represent the government in the Royal Commission of Japanese Canadian Losses. He tried to dispense with hearings in order to streamline claims. Justice Bird concluded his investigation in April 1950. He announced that the Custodian performed his job competently. He also reported that sometimes properties were not sold at a fair market value.

Only a small portion of Japanese Canadians received compensation from the Bird Commission (a relatively small number of Japanese Canadians bothered to submit claims for compensation). No compensation was paid to Japanese Canadians for the long term economic impacts of dispossession. Bird recommended \$1.2 million compensation to individuals (*Justice in Our Time*, p. 59) — from which their legal fees had to be deducted.

In the early 1980s, the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) decided that they would seek redress from the Canadian government. NAJC President, Art Miki, called for negotiations with the Canadian government to redress wrongs committed against Japanese Canadians, an official acknowledgement of injustice, and a review of the War Measures Act. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said that the government’s purpose was to be “just in our time” rather than to correct past wrongs (*Justice in Our Time*, p. 73), but opposition leader Brian Mulroney supported compensating Japanese Canadians. Trudeau’s government responded by offering its regrets and a 5 million



## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.12 A POST-WAR HISTORY OF JAPANESE CANADIANS

dollar fund for a Canadian Foundation for Racial Justice. This was rejected by the NAJC.

Brian Mulroney's Conservative Party was elected into government in 1984, however, this did not improve negotiations with the NAJC, which reached impasses with several successive Ministers of Multiculturalism. In 1985, Price-Waterhouse, a banking and investment company, agreed to launch a study on the financial losses of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s. The Price-Waterhouse study revealed economic losses of \$444,139,000 in 1986 dollars (*Justice in Our Time*, p. 93). The government offered various compensation packages of "community funds" which continually rose in value, but they refused individual redress.

In the meantime, Japanese Americans settled with the American government for \$20,000 for each incarcerated person (*Justice in Our Time*, p. 110). This increased pressure on the Canadian government to reach a settlement with the NAJC. The Canadian government appointed a new Minister of State for Multiculturalism and started more serious negotiations.

An official apology to Japanese Canadians and an acknowledgment of the government's wrongdoing was reached on 22 September 1988, it included:

- An official apology to Japanese Canadians for internment
- A pledge to avoid the same thing happening in the future
- \$21,000 to each person who was interned, deprived of property etc. because of Japanese heritage
- \$12 million to the NAJC for educational initiatives
- \$12 million from both the Japanese Canadian community and the government for a race relations foundation
- Clearing of convictions from War Measures and National Emergency Transitional Powers Act
- Restoration of citizenship for those who were had it revoked

(*Justice in Our Time*, pp. 138–139)

Miki, R. & Kobayashi, C. *Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement*, Vancouver: Talon Books, 1991.

Sunahara, A.G. *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadian During the Second World War*, Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1981



## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.13 PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY APOLOGIZES

As a people, Canadians commit themselves to the creation of a society that ensures equality and justice for all, regardless of race or ethnic origin.

During and after World War II, Canadians of Japanese ancestry, the majority of whom were citizens, suffered unprecedented actions taken by the Government of Canada against their community.

Despite perceived military necessities at the time, the forced removal and internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II was unjust. In retrospect, government policies of disenfranchisement, detention, confiscation and sale of private and community property, expulsion, deportation and restriction of movement, which continued after the war, were influenced by discriminatory attitudes. Japanese Canadians who were interned had their property liquidated and the proceeds of sale were used to pay for their own internment.

The acknowledgement of these injustices serves notice to all Canadians that the excesses of the past are condemned and that the principles of justice and equality are reaffirmed.

Therefore, the Government of Canada, on behalf of all Canadians, does hereby:

1. acknowledge that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during and after World War II was unjust and violated principles of human rights as they are understood today;
2. pledge to ensure, to the full extent that its powers allow, that such events will not happen again; and
3. recognize, with great respect, the fortitude and determination of Japanese Canadians, who despite great stress and hardship, retain their commitment and loyalty to Canada and contribute so richly to the development of the Canadian nation.

Brian Mulroney  
Prime Minister of Canada

Brian Mulroney's Apology. In R. Miki & C. Kobayashi (1991). *Justice in our time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement* (pp. ??). Talon Books

## LESSON 4 **SOURCE 4.14** DOES JUSTIN TRUDEAU APOLOGISE TOO MUCH?

**Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has so far issued four formal apologies for historic injustice since his government's election in 2015, beating all his predecessors in government mea culpas. Why is Trudeau Canada's most apologetic leader?**

Just over six months after his election, Justin Trudeau stood in Canada's Parliament to say sorry.

His apology was made before descendants of passengers of the *Komagata Maru*, who were present for the statement.

The Japanese vessel was carrying 376 Sikh, Muslim, and Hindu passengers who were denied entry into Canada in 1914 under immigration laws at the time.

Trudeau called the incident "a stain on Canada's past".

It was the first in a series of formal apologies made by Trudeau's Liberal government to acknowledge historic injustices in the country's past.

His government is expected to issue at least one more mea culpa, having hinted at recognition of a 1939 incident where Canada turned away Jews seeking asylum from Nazi persecution.

Acting on a recommendation from Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, last year Trudeau also asked Pope Francis to apologise for the Catholic Church's role in the residential school system, where indigenous children were abused for decades.

The pontiff recently turned down the request, saying that while he supported the church's role in reconciliation, he felt he could not personally respond.

Trudeau's propensity for apologies comes in stark contrast to his late father.

Pierre Trudeau, who served twice as Canadian PM, rebuffed calls from the opposition in 1984 to issue a government apology for the

internment of Japanese-Canadians during the World War Two.

The elder Trudeau rejected the idea that a government's purpose could be to right the past.

"It is our purpose to be just in our time," he told the House of Commons.

So why is Justin Trudeau so ready to say sorry?

**He acknowledged the "different perspective"** between father and son at a conference in Toronto late last year.

"(My father) came at it as an academic, as a constitutionalist," he said. "I come at it as a teacher, as someone who's worked a lot in communities."

He added that "apologies for things past are important to make sure that we actually understand and know and share and don't repeat those mistakes".

Canada is, of course, not alone in issuing apologies for past injustices.

Political Scientist Rhoda Howard-Hassmann of Wilfrid Laurier University says one of the earliest notable government expressions of regret came on 7 December, 1970, when German Chancellor Willy Brandt fell to his knees before the monument to the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943.

"That was a highly symbolic act," she says. Other important formal mea culpas include US President Ronald Reagan's apology in 1988 to Japanese-Americans interned in the camps during the World War Two. In 2009, there was the UK's posthumous apology to mathematician Alan Turing, who was persecuted for being gay.

In 2011, the Queen offered her "sincere thoughts and deep sympathy" to the victims of Ireland and the UK's troubled past.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.14 DOES JUSTIN TRUDEAU APOLOGISE TOO MUCH?

In 2015, Pope Francis offered a sweeping apology to “the native peoples of America” for the “grave sins” committed against them “in the name of God”.

Howard-Hassmann says political apologies “really started trending in the last 15 years, to the point that some people think it’s just getting ridiculous”.

“But it is important.”

And many factors go into crafting an appropriate formal apology.

“Formality, ritual, proper venue, proper vocabulary, sincerity, a promise not to repeat [the wrongs], and in many cases compensation — financial or material or symbolic,” she says.

Even beyond his formal mea culpas, the PM has not shied away from addressing shortcomings in Canada’s collective past.

Trudeau told the UN General Assembly last autumn that “Canada remains a work in progress,” citing among other issues ongoing struggles among the country’s indigenous communities.

“We can’t build strong relationships if we refuse to have conversations,” he said.

Historian Jordan Stanger-Ross of the University of Victoria says there can be “a fair amount of skepticism” around formal political apologies.

Be it an attempt to close the book on the past wrongs or the political considerations of key constituencies, “government always has clearly mixed motives in apologising,” he says.

The events Trudeau has chosen to apologise for fall squarely in line with the Liberal government’s contemporary policies. The party campaigned on the idea that “diversity is a source of strength” — a stance he referenced in his Komagata Maru speech.

He has been outspoken on LGBT rights. And Trudeau took power in 2015 promising to fix the country’s relationship with indigenous peoples.

His apologies to residential school survivors and the exoneration of six hanged indigenous chiefs underscore that commitment.

Howard-Hassmann says the subject of formal apologies have a few things in common: they are usually backed by a strong social push, there tend to be clear acts of wrongdoing by a specific perpetrator over a specific period of time, and clear victims.

Formal recognition of wrongs are also increasingly linked to financial settlements — in part because we live in more apologetic times. Fifty years ago “apologies would not have been part of legal agreements”, she says. “You wouldn’t be asking for an apology — it would have been seen as symbolic or superfluous.”

Both Canada’s LGBT “purge” and the Newfoundland residential school apologies included settlements for class actions brought against the government by survivors.

Stanger-Ross says that those settlement funds can add weight to an official apology when money is set aside for the memorialisation of the events.

He gives the example of a British Columbia museum focused on Japanese-Canadian history and culture, created out of apology redress settlement funds, which continues to research the community’s story.

For individuals who do receive an official apology for past wrongs, the public recognition can be powerful step towards reconciliation.

Simon Thwaites, released from the military because he was gay, told the BBC last June that the LGBT apology “reaffirms the fact that we’re not broken, there’s not something horribly wrong with us”.

## LESSON 4 SOURCE 4.14 DOES JUSTIN TRUDEAU APOLOGISE TOO MUCH?

Chief Joe Alphonse of the Tsilhqot'in nation in British Columbia, told the BBC this week that Trudeau's apology for the 1864 hanging of five Tsilhqot'in chiefs made for "a very emotional day". "One-hundred and fifty-four years it took us to get here — 154 years is huge," he said.

But not everyone welcomes them.

In the *Canadian Jewish News*, writer Sally Zercher said she didn't want the expected apology for the 1939 MS St Louis incident, when Canada turned away a boat full of Jews seeking asylum.

"It will not bring back my relatives, or offer me any solace," she writes.

"Instead, it will whitewash a government that did nothing to help the Jews who were fleeing the Nazis and ignored the type of anti-Semitism that was endemic in Canada until the 1970s."

Mo Dhaliwal, **writing in the *Huffington Post***, argued against Trudeau's first formal apology because "we potentially lose the ability to make the point that the *Komagata Maru* continues to be as relevant today as it was in 1914".

Murphy, J. (2018, March 28). "Does Justin Trudeau apologise too much?" BBC News, Toronto.  
[www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-43560817](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-43560817)

## Point-Counterpoint: Should statues of Sir John A. MacDonald be removed?

In August of 2018, Victoria removed a statue of Sir John A. MacDonald from their city hall, as the controversial figure has a legacy of atrocities committed against Canada's Indigenous peoples. This has sparked debate nationwide about the memorialization of the country's first prime minister, specifically in Ottawa. So should statues of the country's first prime minister be removed in the name of reconciliation, or is this practice damaging to our history?

### **The statues should be removed, or at least moved**

Although it's undeniable that Sir John A. MacDonald laid the foundation for Canada as it is today, he did so on the backs of Indigenous communities. He introduced residential schools, did little to help famines that ravaged in federal reserves, orchestrated mass executions, the list of atrocities goes on.

And that's the problem. There is absolutely no way that a small plaque right by MacDonald's statue on Parliament Hill will be able to bear all the information of the atrocious acts he committed. Nor will the tourists milling about the Hill care to stop and read it. We cannot erase history, but we must ensure that history is learned in the first place, in a way that is true, accurate and leaves no detail behind. Which is why I think the statues should be removed.

I don't believe MacDonald should be wiped from the history books, or that we should ignore his accomplishments and what he did for Canadian society. However, I do think we need to do better to teach about our colonial past, and what cost Indigenous communities paid at the hands of Canada's first prime minister.

Through placing the statues in museums and putting all the facts in the history books, we must also make sure this information is not only accessible to those who can afford to access such things. Having a public gallery, like the Ottawa Art Gallery by Rideau Center, where there is ample wall space to display information is a much better alternative to having him glorified on the top of a monument with Confederation below him.

—Hanna Methot, opinions editor

Chase, C., & Methot, H. (2018, September 17). "Point-Counterpoint: Should statues of Sir John A. Macdonald be removed?" *Fulcrum*.