

## **Past Wrongs, Future Choices**

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### **A Global Story – Media Accounts of Nikkei Incarceration in the Anglophone World**

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## Introduction

On July 20, 1944, the *Manzanar Free Press*, the newspaper of the Manzanar concentration camp near Lone Pine, California, ran a brief editorial on the latest group of Japanese to be incarcerated during the Second World War: the Japanese in Argentina. The editor used the story of the 5,000 “Argentine Nisei” and their confinement as a talking point for evaluating the status of people of Japanese ancestry, or Nikkei, around the world:

Approximately a half million Japanese nationals are now scattered throughout the world. A large portion of them are interned or live in relocation camps...The status of Japanese nationals vary from country to country. Some dozen have been interned in England. All Japanese in Australia and India have been interned. Canada, Mexico, and the United States have instituted removal of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast area. Little is known here regarding the extent of the restrictions placed on the Japanese in Mexico.

Although the theme of global incarceration received minor coverage among the other articles in the Manzanar camp paper, it highlighted a peculiar phenomenon: that Japanese Americans knew about the incarceration of other Japanese communities abroad and viewed it as part of a shared experience.

It wasn't just Japanese Americans who noticed that Nikkei<sup>1</sup> throughout the Pacific world were incarcerated by various countries. Throughout the Second World War, newspapers in the largest Anglophone countries in North America – the United States and Canada –commented on the presence of Japanese ethnic communities within their borders and the supposed “threat” they posed to national security. In some cases, news outlets covered the policy of incarcerating Japanese Americans and Canadians to comment on broader national policies of immigration, citizenship, and civil liberties. The significant amount of attention devoted to Nikkei communities on both sides of the border and their subsequent incarceration by newspapers in the United States and Canada offers a lens for understanding how media outlets compared the

treatment of Nikkei communities in the United States and Canada and provided their own interpretations of forced removal policies.

This paper presents a transnational view of media coverage of Nikkei incarceration in the Pacific world during the Second World War, using both major national newspapers and Nikkei community newspapers. Based on a survey of articles and editorials that appeared in newspapers throughout the Western United States and Canada, along with the major papers of record in each country, this paper provides readers with an in-depth look into transnational newspaper coverage of Nikkei incarceration in the US and Canada throughout the Second World War. Over the course of the Second World War, views of media outlets on both side of the US-Canadian border evolved as national policy changed. News outlets in both countries initially reached similar conclusions about the “necessity” to incarcerate ethnic Japanese communities regardless of citizenship status in 1942, reinforcing a “continental policy” imposed in both US and Canada. Toward the close of the Pacific War, however, and in the years that followed, Canadian and US policies diverged, notably as a result of the US Army’s decision to allow Nikkei to return to the West Coast, while Canada continued to exclude them from British Columbia until 1949 and undertook mass deportation.<sup>2</sup> In this period, transnational coverage diverged too, with newspapers in each country drawing stark contrasts as they looked across the border.

This paper also discusses the transnational relationship between Japanese American and Canadian newspapers in the 1940s. As major regional newspapers on the West Coast provoked racial prejudice, Nikkei news outlets on both sides of the US-Canada border shared information and printed articles on their incarceration experiences. Although the Japanese American and Canadian incarceration experiences differed in various ways – the return of Japanese Americans to the West Coast in 1945, the wholesale confiscation and sale of the property of Japanese

Canadians by the Canadian government - Nikkei journalists in both countries wrote about the incarceration experiences of their neighbors as both an observation of anti-Japanese sentiment abroad and as a means of commenting on their own wartime tribulations.

This paper follows up on the work of several US-based scholars, notably Roger Daniels, Morton Grodzins, Jacobus tenBroek, Gary Okihiro, and Michi Weglyn, and the Canada-based scholars Ken Adachi, Patricia Roy, Greg Robinson, Stephanie Bangarth. All of these scholars have noted the influence of West Coast media outlets on the anti-Japanese movements. In the United States, coverage of daily FBI arrests coupled with government press releases about “fifth-column activity” pushed citizens and politicians alike to call for forced removal. As Jacobus tenBroek et al. argued in *Prejudice, War, and the Constitution*: “The inevitable effect of arrests and spot raids, dramatically pointed up by the press, was to confirm the traditional image of the Japanese handed down from earlier generations and revived upon the outbreak of war.”<sup>3</sup> Roger Daniels reiterated this point in his study *Prisoners Without Trial*, noting that several news outlets led by the Hearst press published a constant barrage of accounts and editorials that presented Japanese Americans as a threat “to the safety of the nation.”<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the most detailed study of the press can be found in Morton Grodzins’s *Americans Betrayed*, whose survey of all California newspapers revealed that, between December 1941 and March 1942, more than half of all editorials on the subject of Japanese Americans called for their forced removal.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, Gary Okihiro and Julie Sly posit that the press largely followed, rather than prompted, government policy. Yet Okihiro and Sly both agree that the press played to some degree a role in openly instigating racial hatred that fueled public opinion and government policy.<sup>6</sup>

In Canadian historiography, both Ken Adachi in his groundbreaking work *The Enemy That Never Was*, and Patricia Roy in *The Triumph of Citizenship*, attend to the importance of the

Vancouver press in pressuring Mackenzie King towards approving the mass removal of all Japanese Canadians.<sup>7</sup> In Canada, false rumors that Japanese Canadians engaged in fifth-column activity and celebrated the fall of Hong Kong – combined with the US Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox’s statement that Japanese Americans aided the Japanese in bombing Pearl Harbor – stirred anti-Japanese sentiment among B.C. residents. Adachi notes that many Vancouver newspapers repeated the same false rumors of sabotage as fact, providing anti-Japanese politicians with “savory propaganda” which “far exceeded their most optimistic hopes.”<sup>8</sup> In *The Triumph of Citizenship*, Patricia Roy offers one of the most comprehensive accounts of media coverage of the incarceration in Canada. Sourcing from newspapers across Canada, Roy uses media accounts to tell the long story of Nikkei incarceration in Canada. She asserts that the British Columbian press, in conjunction with West Coast politicians, happily fanned the flames of racial prejudice in order to justify mass removal. As part of her argument, she asserts that this coordinated effort by the press and politicians increased anti-Japanese sentiment to the point where it made forced removal inevitable. As a result, she employs the terminology of “evacuation” throughout her study – while agreed upon by scholars to be a euphemism for the realities of forced removal – because Japanese Canadians “were being removed from potential danger.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite attention to newspaper coverage and the wartime incarceration of Nikkei in both countries, previous historians have overlooked the transnationalism of media coverage. Newspapers in both the United States and Canada looked across the North American border. Initially, transnational coverage reinforced the tendencies of national coverage, using comparative analysis to advance the cause of mass incarceration, sometimes by strategic use of contrast as first the United States, and then Canada, was seen as having taken a lead with their

respective incarceration policies. Then, toward the end of the war, as the policies diverged, comparative coverage became more critical in tone, with each country favouring their own approach as against their neighbour's. Meanwhile, the Nikkei press developed a unique form of cross-border coverage of the incarceration that presented the mutual suffering of each community. Whereas mainstream newspapers were divided along nationalistic lines, Japanese Americans and Canadian journalists were united in their views that the greater community faced discrimination and questions of loyalty.

### **The Common Cause of Exclusion in 1942**

From December 7, 1941 to June 1942, during the development and execution of Nikkei incarceration in the US and Canada, newspapers in both countries commented on each other's treatment of Japanese ethnic communities. In terms of numbers, Canadian newspapers devoted more articles to the incarceration of Japanese Americans and placed them more prominently than US papers did to the Canadian case. Nonetheless several mainstream newspapers in the US, such as the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, observed the Canadian policy of removing Japanese Canadians from the coast.

In the first weeks of the Pacific war, American coverage of Canada reinforced national coverage in support of mass incarceration. Canada's decision to remove all enemy aliens of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast caught the attention of several newspapers.<sup>10</sup> On January 14, 1942, the *Los Angeles Daily News* and the *Pasadena Star-News* printed the statement of B.C. politician J.A. Paton, who argued that Canada should remove its Japanese Canadian community from the West Coast. Paton compared the situation in British Columbia to that of Hawaii, arguing that another Pearl Harbor was waiting to happen if the community was not removed

“lock, stock, and barrel as far as possible from the coast.”<sup>11</sup> The next day, on January 15, 1942, the *New York Times* briefly reported that the Canadian government had decided that “no Japanese or other enemy alien may live in a defense area on the western coast.”<sup>12</sup> A similarly short yet eye-catching article appeared in the international section, stating that Canada was moving its Japanese Canadian community per a statement by Ian Mackenzie.<sup>13</sup> On the more sensational side of articles was the news that Congressman Martin Dies Jr. “discovered” a map detailing Japan’s “plan” to invade the US through Canada. On April 5, 1942, several newspapers in the US and Canada ran Lloyd Wendt’s provocative article “How Japan Intends to Invade America!” Appearing amidst the forced removal of Japanese Americans, Wendt’s article used evidence from the Dies Committee’s investigations of Japanese Americans to argue that “for a number of years the Japanese have been spying upon the United States and building a fifth column organization.” Accompanying the article is a picture of Congressman Dies with a Japanese map showing North America and various naval bases along the coast, with Dies pointing to Canada. No distinction of national borders is shown; as Dies asserted, the Japanese planned a large-scale invasion of the West Coast.<sup>14</sup> The article did not mention Canada’s policy but conveyed the entire West Coast of North America as part of a greater “war zone,” a phrase that was employed by American and Canadian officials throughout the war.

Meanwhile, the Canadian press also drew impetus for mass uprooting by covering events in the United States. In both Western Canadian newspapers and in *The Globe and Mail*, Canada’s paper of record, reports on Japanese Americans often served the purpose of pressuring the government to take immediate action or praising Canada for taking the initiative in dealing with Japanese communities.<sup>15</sup> Immediately after Pearl Harbor, *The Vancouver Sun* described the Pacific Coast “from Alaska to Mexico” as a war zone, and noted that the US had arrested

hundreds of Japanese community leaders during the night. Starting in early 1942, *The Globe and Mail* presented readers with a set of stories from American newspapers citing the danger represented by Japanese Americans on the West Coast. On February 12, 1942, *The Globe and Mail* reprinted Walter Lippmann's infamous article "The Fifth Column on the Coast," which questioned the loyalty of Japanese Americans regardless of their citizenship.<sup>16</sup> On February 19, 1942, the day President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, *The Globe and Mail* ran the headline "Attack on West Coast in April is Predicted." Originally published by the *Associated Press*, the accompanying story heavily cited the statements of Korean nationalist activist Kilsoo Haan – well known for his repeated accusations of disloyalty among Japanese Americans – regarding purported attack plans he claimed were found in Portland, Oregon. The same article also appeared in the *Vancouver Daily Province*.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, *The Daily Province* of Vancouver reprinted an AP article on February 19, 1942 that reported on a mass raid conducted by the FBI in the small town of Santa Maria, California, which included arrests of two hundred Japanese Americans and seizure of guns, cameras, and radios.<sup>18</sup> Two days later, on February 21, *The Globe and Mail* announced Executive Order 9066, and added that the order issued in response to protests from the West Coast, deliberately targeting the Japanese communities on the West Coast.

As Canada finalized its own plans for displacing Nikkei in the weeks that followed, Canadian newspapers continued to print articles that spurred fears in the Canadian West. Most notably, on February 24, *The Globe and Mail* printed news of the shelling of oil derricks near Santa Barbara by Japanese submarines and argued that General DeWitt of the Western Defense Command was planning how to oust "aliens and citizens alike under discretionary powers given him by President Roosevelt."<sup>19</sup> Although these accounts focused specifically on the United



States, some of the articles framed the West Coasts of the United States and Canada as contiguous battlegrounds. In one editorial for the *Victoria Daily Times* from February 27, 1942, the author argued that Canada and the United States needed to lockstep in rounding up Nikkei communities: “Everybody in this province is aware of the dangers of the present situation. Two or three enemy aliens could do irreparable damage in a few minutes. What has been discovered in various parts of the Pacific coast between here and southern California during the last week or so furnishes ample evidence in this regard.”<sup>20</sup>

Then, in early March, when Canada seemed to take a lead in implementing its uprooting, some US papers portrayed its operations as exemplary. Although Executive Order 9066 was enacted on February 19, 1942, the enforcement of forced removal did not begin until the end of March 1942, following the end of several congressional hearings and the passage of Public Law 503 by Congress on March 21, 1942.<sup>21</sup> In Canada, Public Order 1665 of March 4, 1942 established the British Columbia Securities Commission, which predated the US’s creation of the War Relocation Authority by two weeks. An editorial in the *Fresno Bee* from March 17, 1942, spotlighted the Canadian incarceration policy as it occurred. The author argued that Canada “has faced” the Japanese problem “realistically and without the fanfare which has attended the question in the United States.” The journalist concluded that the American way of handling the incarceration lagged behind Canada, who had “anticipated the problem caused by large numbers of Japanese living in strategic areas while the United States waited.”<sup>22</sup> A similar commentary was made in the pages of the *San Luis Obispo Tribune*; when it reported that the incarceration of Japanese Americans would happen within days, it declared that “hundreds of Japanese aliens living in restricted coastal areas of British Columbia already were being moved out.”<sup>23</sup> Several of these articles, distributed by United Press, reached newspapers in California and Washington.

Newspapers also received wires distributed by Canada Press, such as the March 17 report of the first removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia.<sup>24</sup>

From late March into the summer, the policies in the two countries converged, with people of Japanese origins forced from the Pacific coast of North America. Canadian papers noted with approval the “continental” approach. On March 20, 1942, *The Sun* published a short article titled “Santa Anita same as Hastings Park,” alluding to the conversion of both the Santa Anita racetrack in Los Angeles and the Hastings Park fairground in Vancouver into detention camps for individuals of Japanese descent. In May 1942, *The Daily Province* ran a detailed report of the farming crisis facing Washington state following the incarceration of Japanese Americans. The author asserted that the creation of “colonies under military control” in the Western United States was in line with “the similar program in British Columbia, where during the next few months Japanese will be settled in the formerly well populated cities of the old mining country of the Kootenay and Slocan.” The author also argued that British Columbia avoided the agricultural crisis facing Washington state because few Japanese Canadians operated the truck farms that dominated the province’s agricultural production.<sup>25</sup>

### **A Break in Views**

Alongside the forced sales of Japanese Canadian property - which received little to no coverage in the United States - the greatest divergence between the policies in Canada and the US occurred on December 17, 1944, when the United States Western Defense Command announced the end of the West Coast exclusion, zone shortly before the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its dual rulings in *Korematsu vs. United States* and *Ex Parte Endo*. Per the rulings, the Court concluded that the incarceration policy was justifiable as a wartime

measure, with the caveat that it needed to end. The Western Defense Command officially announced that on January 1, 1945, it would lift the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. In Canada, however, the ban would remain in place until April 1949 – four years after the war’s end. Although West Coast politicians in the US pushed for maintaining the exclusion zone throughout the war and prophesized “riots” in the event of the return of Japanese Americans, the Supreme Court ended debates with its December 1944 ruling.

From 1944 on, Vancouver newspapers treated US resettlement policy either with caution or outright disapproval. Beginning in mid-1944, Vancouver papers tracked the debates over the exclusion of Japanese Americans on the West Coast – an issue that paralleled their own case. On August 22, 1944, *The Vancouver Sun* announced that a federal judge had ordered the Western Defense Command to show cause as to why its exclusion of Japanese Americans remained in effect.<sup>26</sup> On November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1944, the *Sun* ran another article stating that eight hundred Japanese American families of mixed-race marriages had been permitted to return to the West Coast. Following the Western Defense Command’s announcement on December 17, the *Sun* announced the end of the exclusion zone, but pointed out that Canada’s own exclusion policy towards Japanese Canadians would remain. The *Vancouver Daily Province* declared a “Jap Ban Better for All.” Quoting Jack Henderson, provincial president of the Canadian Legion, the paper argued that the “return of Japanese to the Pacific coast constitutes a menace to our standard of living, and with the present resentment and prejudice against them it would be better for their own sake if they did not return.” Next to the article was a headline declaring “US Cancels Ban Against Japs on Coast.”<sup>27</sup> *The Daily Province* later printed an inflammatory article that argued “riots feared in coast cities” following the return of Japanese Americans to West Coast US cities.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast to the reactions on the West Coast, the Toronto-based *Globe and Mail* provided neutral coverage of the change in American policy. On December 18, 1944, *The Globe and Mail* printed the Army's announcement lifting the Exclusion Order of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. Without mentioning the Supreme Court case of *Ex Parte Endo* that led the military to take its action, the article asserted that the order "was prompted by military considerations." The article finished with a brief description of the condition of Japanese Canadians forced out of British Columbia, with no mention of when Canada's exclusion policy would end.<sup>29</sup> The next day, on December 19<sup>th</sup>, *The Globe and Mail* explained that Canada would not "follow the United States in revoking orders excluding persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast"; instead, Mackenzie King declared that "the Japanese never again would be allowed to concentrate in British Columbia."<sup>30</sup>

The tone of anti-Japanese sentiment eventually faded within the Canadian press, and coverage of resettlement in the US played a role. By 1948, attacks against Japanese Canadians by the West Coast press had dwindled dramatically, showing that local sentiment had transformed from hostility to tolerance. In this period, the Canadian accounts of Japanese American returnees to the West Coast and Nisei veterans offered a positive image of Japanese ethnic communities, but Canada continued to exclude its own ethnic Japanese from British Columbia. In a *Vancouver Daily Province* article dated January 29, 1948, Jean Howarth told the story of Methodist minister Jitsuo Morikawa, who was originally born in Canada and later served in the US Army's 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team. Howarth poignantly stated that despite his accomplishments, Morikawa was still banned from his home province because of the ongoing exclusion order.<sup>31</sup> The exclusion order towards Japanese Canadians would finally end on April 1, 1949.

Another example of changing attitudes towards Japanese Canadians was the creation of a royal commission by the Canadian government to address the property losses of Japanese Canadians. Led by Justice Henry I. Bird, the Bird Commission offered Japanese Canadians a means of pursuing claims from the Canadian government regarding their wartime property losses. Again, newspapers argued that US policy played a key role in the claims process. The *Toronto Star* reported on December 10, 1947 that Bird's Commission followed on the heels of a proposed bill addressed to the US Congress by US Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug that would create "an Evacuee Claims Commission with broad powers to compensate Japanese Americans for losses sustained as a result of their evacuation from the Pacific Coast." The *Toronto Star* concluded that Krug's "description of what happened to Japanese Americans who were evacuated during the war from the Pacific Coast in the United States has been the experience of Japanese Canadians. In their behalf, too, the plea should be made."<sup>32</sup> From 1947 to 1951, the Bird Commission investigated dozens of claims from Japanese Canadians regarding property losses. The commission garnered the attention of Japanese Americans; in October 1949, the *Vancouver Sun* reported that Mike Masaoka of the Japanese American Citizens League and attorney Edward Ennis met with Japanese Canadians in Toronto to discuss evacuation claims.<sup>33</sup>

In the United States, meanwhile, the harsh postwar treatment of Japanese Canadians caught the attention of several journalists. On August 24, 1945, the *New York Times* reported on the status of Japanese Canadian resettlers in the East. While acknowledging that many disillusioned Japanese Canadians desired to leave for Japan, the *Times* noted the fact that the Canadian government had sold off any property that belonged to these Japanese Canadians from British Columbia. The *Times* also wondered whether British Columbians' cries for the full-scale deportation of Japanese Canadians would ultimately run afoul of citizenship rights of "British

subjects.”<sup>34</sup> On December 6, 1945, an article written by David M. Nichol for *The Chicago Daily News* that circulated throughout the US reported on a crisis within Mackenzie King’s cabinet on whether to allow Japanese Canadians to return to British Columbia. Nichol provided a detailed comparison to readers of the differences between US and Canadian policies, noting that while the US allowed Japanese Americans to enlist in the Armed Forces in 1943 and later return to the West Coast in 1945, Canada instead sold off the assets of Japanese Canadians, refused to induct Japanese Canadians into the Armed Forces until late 1945, and limited Japanese Canadians to visit British Columbia while under police escort. Nichol attributed the difference in policy to the powerful influence of the anti-Japanese lobby from British Columbia in the Canadian Parliament.

US papers were also sharply critical of the Canada’s plan to exile some ten thousand Japanese Canadians to Japan. On June 10, 1946, an editorial appeared in the *Washington Post* titled “Japanese Canadians.” The article, which examined the campaign of the Cooperative Committee of Japanese Canadians to overturn the deportation orders, criticized Canada while using the comparison, at least to some extent, to exculpate the American policy:

Our own treatment of persons of Japanese ancestry was, in all conscience, harsh enough. The Canadian treatment has been even more severe. Less was done to assist the evacuees in resettlement, and nothing at all has been done to enable them to return to their own homes, which were simply sold at public auction.

Although the article did not make any greater comparisons with the treatment of Japanese Americans, the writer counseled Canadians to give Japanese Canadians a chance to make a “genuinely free choice now that the hysteria of war is ended.” To allow ongoing deportations to continue would engage in a policy that “cheapens Canadian citizenship, the rights of which ought not to be so readily revocable.”<sup>35</sup> The article stands out for its critical treatment of Canada’s handling of Japanese Canadian resettlement, highlighting that some Americans reacted

to the repatriation policy with narrative claims about racial justice and citizenship in the United States. Another article, by Bruce Hutchison for the *Christian Science Monitor* titled “High Cost Tag Attached to Canada’s Easing of Japanese Problem,” argued that the removal of Japanese Canadians came at the cost of endangering Canadian civil liberties. The article spotlighted Minister of Labor Humphrey Mitchell’s plan to continue resettlement for a year before allowing Japanese Canadians to return to the West Coast. Hutchison offered as a conclusion that the suffering of Japanese Canadians provided the positive result of reminding Canadians that suppressing the civil liberties of one minority will consequently affect the rights of all Canadians.<sup>36</sup> Others used the news of Canada’s restriction policy to silence critics. On March 17, 1947, the *Fresno Bee* ran an editorial about British Columbia’s ongoing exclusion policy, leaving readers with the remark that “the Japanese evacuees in the United States should consider themselves fortunate by comparison.”<sup>37</sup> Very few newspapers in the US reported on the Bird Commission. One article tucked away in the back pages of the *San Francisco Examiner* from June 1945 described the Canadian government’s decision to pay \$1.2 million in claims to roughly 1,300 Japanese Canadians.<sup>38</sup>

By 1950, comparative journalism of the wartime incarceration policy would cease to appear in both countries until the redress movement of the 1980s, when the testimony of former inmates grabbed headlines. At the national level, the cross-border commentary of the incarceration of Japanese Americans and Canadians offers a revealing analysis of how the US and Canada viewed the treatment of minority groups. The treatment of Nikkei communities during the Second World War reveals that while the US and Canada both agreed upon the idea of removing the communities from the West Coast under the false pretense of national defense, at the same time each country took different paths regarding the postwar treatment of Nikkei

citizens. For journalists in each country, the incarceration policy offered them an opportunity to push for harsher treatment, as some American pundits did advocate following Canada's example or call for an end to anti-Japanese sentiment.

### **Nikkei Voices on Global Incarceration**

Nikkei community newspapers were, indeed, looking across the North American border and comparing. The writings of Japanese American and Canadian journalists provided a nuanced view of cross-border community solidarity. In the US and Canada, Nikkei journalists frequently commented on the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment at home and abroad. In the months following Pearl Harbor, they both observed the crescendo of calls for forcibly removing individuals of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and articulated the fears of the community as forced removal appeared imminent. From the early days of the incarceration until their return to the West Coast – 1945 for Japanese Americans, 1949 for Japanese Canadians – Nikkei journalists provided press coverage to educate community members about the global Nikkei community and offer a platform for discussing international issues. Although they primarily covered local topics, the inclusion of articles about international Nikkei communities – varying from back-page articles to full issues – indicated a transnational media network regarding the wartime incarceration experience. This point I argue is particularly underscored by the relationship between the Japanese American Citizen's League's *Pacific Citizen* and *The New Canadian* – both Nisei-run English-language newspapers with similar political agendas.

In the United States, the earliest Japanese American newspapers can be traced back to the 1890s, when several prominent Issei business leaders opened newspapers in San Francisco and Los Angeles. During these early years, dozens of small-scale newspapers that catered to specific



audiences, such as Sen Katayama's socialist broadsheet *Heimin* or Gen Nagai's Christian newspaper *Kinmon Nippo*, disappeared within a few years of their creation. By 1910, several prominent newspapers emerged. Across the West Coast, prominent Japanese American dailies included the *Rafu Shimpo* and *Kashu Mainichi* in Los Angeles, the *NichiBei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai Asahi Shinbun* in San Francisco, and the *Taihoku Nippo* and *Hokubei Shimpo* in Seattle. Almost all community papers offered articles in both English and Japanese, with English articles written primarily by Nisei journalists and Japanese articles written by Issei or reprinted from Japanese newspapers.<sup>39</sup>

Community newspapers offered a wide array of coverage on local activities and individual accomplishments. The papers also offered commentary on racism, either directly discussing how racism limited the prospects of young Niseis or celebrating students, actors, and performers whose successes challenged racism. Historian David Yoo notes that coverage of racism in American society converged with attention to other Nikkei social and gender norms:

From the mid-1920s until the outbreak of World War II, coverage of racial issues pervaded the English-language sections of the Japanese immigrant press. The newspapers reflected as well as influenced the process by which the Nisei defined themselves as individuals and as a generation...In its coverage of "race," the papers not only highlighted race prejudice, but also assessed how racial issues intertwined with other dimensions of Nisei life such as intergenerational relations and gender-role expectations.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps the most influential prewar newspaper among the Nisei was the *Pacific Citizen*.

Beginning in 1929, the *Pacific Citizen*, the organ of the Japanese American Citizens League, reached a national audience from its offices in San Francisco, often privileging second generation Japanese Americans and their commitment to their American identity.

During the war, many of these newspapers went out of business permanently or temporarily halted production until their return after the war. The *Rafu Shimpo* famously hid the

typeset for the paper by burying it under the foundation of the paper's office, resuming production after the exclusion ban was lifted in 1945. The *Pacific Citizen* continued to publish issues during the war after relocating to Salt Lake City, Utah in April 1942, and was managed solely by Larry and Guyo Tajiri. With the exception of the *Pacific Citizen*, most community newspapers ceased publication until after the war.

By May 1942, most community newspapers were replaced by the creation of camp newspapers in the various Army Assembly Centers and ten War Relocation Authority camps. Camp newspapers offered inmates coverage of local community events, news bulletins from the camp administration about daily camp life, and stories detailing the commitment of Japanese Americans to the war effort. As Takeya Mizuno notes, camp administrators censored camp newspapers to prevent criticism of the incarceration from appearing in print and directed editors to promote the Americanization of readers. Camp newspapers also reached non-Nikkei readers outside the camps, and issues often carried letters to the editors sent by locals living outside the barbed wire fences.<sup>41</sup>

In Canada, the Nikkei press centered on the greater Vancouver and lower mainland area where most Japanese Canadians lived.<sup>42</sup> In the early twentieth century, several Japanese Canadian business leaders began newspapers in Vancouver which circulated among Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. The *Tairiku Nippo* of Vancouver was the oldest community newspaper, founded in 1907.<sup>43</sup> Following Canada's entry into the Pacific War in 1941, the Canadian government banned the *Tairiku Nippo* and other Japanese language publications. *The New Canadian*, established in November 1938, offered national coverage of Japanese Canadian topics and targeted Nisei readers, like the *Pacific Citizen*.<sup>44</sup> *The New Canadian* presented itself as the first newspaper for Nisei readers and outsiders alike; in their issue, the editors declared that

Japanese Canadians “are in need of a powerful organ such as the press to present the plain and simple truth concerning their status as a racial minority.”<sup>45</sup> Because it was published in English, *The New Canadian* was the sole community publication not banned by the government during the war years.

During the war years, *The New Canadian* moved from Vancouver to Kaslo, B.C., where its Nisei staff managed it under the supervision of the British Columbia Security Commission. After a brief stint in Winnipeg, the paper eventually settled in Toronto, where it remained for the duration of its existence until its closure in 2001.<sup>46</sup> As in the US, several newspapers began in the Japanese Canadian camps, such as *The Tashme News*. After the war, the *Tairiku Nippo* resumed publication in 1948 under the name *Tairiku Jiho*, initially publishing issues in Toronto before returning to Vancouver in 1949.<sup>47</sup>

In both the US and Canada, Japanese community newspapers commented extensively on the treatment of their neighboring communities. As Stephanie Bangrath notes, Japanese American and Canadian organizations, such as the Japanese Canadian Citizens League (JACL) and the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy, communicated with one another.<sup>48</sup> Likewise, Greg Robinson notes in *Pacific Citizens* that Larry Tajiri generously supported Japanese Canadian journalists by sharing information about the plight of Japanese Canadians with his American readers.<sup>49</sup>

Newspaper reports on both sides of the border exposed a sense of common peril. After December 7, Japanese American and Canadian journalists wrote about the looming fear of forced removal and reprisal attacks by West Coast racists, felt in both countries. In the US, the *Rafu Shimpo* and *NichiBei Shinbun* ran several articles on the Canadian government’s decision to incarcerate Japanese Canadian men in January 1942. On January 18, 1942, the *NichiBei Shinbun*

recorded a resolution passed by the California Newspaper Publisher's Association that all enemy aliens should be removed from the coast, with the resolution's author noting that Canada and Mexico had already removed some enemy aliens.<sup>50</sup> On March 12, 1942, the *Rafu Shimpo* reported that Japanese Canadians would be required by the Royal Canadian Mounted police to turn in all cameras, radios, and cars.<sup>51</sup> Two weeks later on March 26, the paper printed a poem that originally appeared in the *New Canadian*. Titled "From An Evacuee," it lamented one Japanese Canadian's separation from home:

When I quit this coastal shore, And mosey 'round this place no more, don't weep, don't sigh, don't sob, I may have struck a better job. Don't go and buy a large bouquet, For which you'll find it hard to pay; Don't mope around and feel all blue- I may be better off than you.<sup>52</sup>

In one of the last issues of the *NichiBei Shinbun*, printed on April 23, 1942, an article written by a Nisei woman incarcerated at Hastings Park in Vancouver recounted her experiences moving into the barracks. As a warning for those preparing to head to camp, the author, under the penname "Cinderella," described life in the stall:

You ought to visit my stall. I'm quite happy in it except for one thing. Although the *Vancouver Sun* claims that it's a stall once domiciled by two Belgian stallions, I can't say that the odour which rises to my discriminating nostrils is "Belgique"...it smells like plain horse to me.<sup>53</sup>

Aside from imbuing dark humour into her description of life in camp, the author offered readers a realistic depiction of daily life in Hastings Park for Japanese Canadians – one not unlike what Japanese Americans experienced during the first weeks in the assembly centers.

In Seattle, the *Taihoku Nippo* frequently reprinted articles from *The New Canadian* that reported on the status of Japanese Canadians. On December 18, 1941, the *Taihoku Nippo* ran a report that over 1,800 Japanese Canadian fishermen were without work due to the Canadian government's orders, along with reports of dozens of railway workers, hotel bellhops, and

language school teachers fired from their jobs. On January 14, 1942, the paper ran a front-page headline declaring “Canada to Remove B.C. Japanese from Coast,” alongside articles on the Canadian government’s ban on Japanese Canadians from fishing. On March 11, 1942, the *Taihoku Nippo* published the Royal Canadian Mounted Police’s order that “all male Japanese nationals over the age of 18” be sent to labour camps in the interior run by the Department of Labour. The article likewise mentioned that the fall of Hong Kong had stirred further anti-Japanese hatred among Canadians.<sup>54</sup>

Among one of the most prolific writers about the Japanese Canadian incarceration in the United States was Larry Tajiri, the editor of the *Pacific Citizen*. In the spirit of cooperation with fellow Nikkei communities, in April 1943, Tajiri wrote to Tom Shoyama of *The New Canadian* a letter offering free republication of any articles that appeared in the *Pacific Citizen*. Tajiri declared that “the problem of United States citizens and Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry are so interrelated that we have often hoped for a closer contact with your organization.” The letter was reprinted in the April 10, 1943 issue of *The New Canadian*.<sup>55</sup> As both governments encouraged Nikkei to move to cities outside the West Coast, Tajiri recorded cases of discrimination against both Japanese Americans and Canadians to illustrate the widespread animosity facing both communities. For example, on March 25, 1944, the *Pacific Citizen* ran an article discussing the case of a Japanese Canadian businessman, James Shigeo Hirai, and his appeal for a business license after the city of Toronto denied his application. A supporter of Hirai, Professor W.J. McCurdy of the University of Toronto, argued that the case would define Canada’s resettlement policy and whether “Toronto is to be known as a place where such racial discrimination is countenanced.”<sup>56</sup>

When the US government ended their exclusion of Japanese Americans, Tajiri devoted attention to the ongoing exclusion of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia in the pages of the *Pacific Citizen*. On June 9, 1945, Larry Tajiri penned a column on “racism in British Columbia” in response to a letter by a Japanese American soldier stationed in Canada. Tajiri argued that Japanese Canadians were as loyal to Canada as Japanese Americans were to the US but were denied the right to enlist in the military. Tajiri argued that “the morass of British Columbia politics and the influence of British Columbia politicians” determined the policy of Canada, with particular attention given to Ian Mackenzie’s race-baiting. Tajiri highlighted how race-baiters like Mackenzie and Thomas Reid used exclusion as a weapon against the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) party and its leader, Angus MacInnis, who declared that “those who foment race hatred do so because they have no constructive program to meet the people.” Although Tajiri’s articles on Canada likely had little political impact on policy, their publication in the *Pacific Citizen* demonstrates Tajiri’s transnational view of Nikkei discrimination.

Tajiri also attempted to spread the news of the mistreatment of Japanese Canadians beyond Nikkei readers. In the November 1945 issue of the African American magazine *NOW*, Tajiri covered the mass deportation of Japanese Canadians. Quoting Ian Mackenzie’s infamous pledge to permanently exclude Japanese Canadians “from the Rockies to the sea,” Tajiri argued that, unlike the US, which managed Japanese Americans as a part of national policy, Canada was at the mercy of British Columbia “prejudices and politicians.” In the concluding paragraph, Tajiri judged the US government as having “made a sincere effort to rectify the undemocratic injustice of its evacuation” when compared to Canada’s treatment of Japanese Canadians. The comparison not only accentuated the differences between the United States and Canada, but also

showed how racism steered the policy of other countries. Tajiri concurred with the conclusions of the *Toronto Saturday Night's* article comparing Japanese Americans and Canadians, which argued that "American people have a profound sense of the importance and significance of American citizenship, and that Canadians are shockingly lacking in respect for their own citizenship."<sup>57</sup> On December 8, 1945, Tajiri's *Pacific Citizen* reported that the British Columbia government wasted little time in helping Japanese Canadians repatriate to Japan, and stated that a Vancouver newspaper described the thirteen thousand Japanese Canadians who chose to stay as being "a more difficult problem."<sup>58</sup>

In Canada, meanwhile, *The New Canadian* covered the incarceration of Japanese Americans. Offering comparable stories of hardship, the accounts of Japanese Americans reprinted in *The New Canadian* detailed how Japanese Americans responded to forced removal and offered a foreshadowing of things to come. Throughout the spring of 1942, the *New Canadian* ran a column titled "U.S. Front" that updated Canadian readers on the status of Japanese Americans. On February 25, *The New Canadian* reported that the US government had issued Executive Order 9066, with plans for removal imminent. The column also acknowledged that many Japanese American families had lost the earnings of breadwinners arrested by the FBI, yet were not seeking government assistance, perhaps intending this as a model for self-sufficiency in the face of persecution in Canada. On May 6, 1942, *The New Canadian* highlighted the publication of an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* about the US incarceration policy. Titled "The People Nobody Wants," the article described in detail the politics behind the incarceration policy and several key events. An editorial alongside the *Post* article, with its "stinging title," discussed the parallels between the US and Canadian incarceration experiences: both communities were forced out by vocal racists and faced pushback from eastern states who

refused to take in the Nikkei refugees. The author concluded with words of support for the Japanese American Citizens League and their “loyalty creed.”<sup>59</sup> On March 20, 1943, *The New Canadian* published an editorial commenting on the 9<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeal’s decision to strike down a test case that would deprive Japanese Americans of the right to vote. The author noted that Canadians “of any racial group” did not possess the same rights as granted to Americans under the US constitution. Although the author lamented Japanese Canadians’ disenfranchisement, the author argued that “the American verdict may be regarded as significant” because it upheld the right to vote for birthright citizens “in spite of all that we hear in British Columbia.”<sup>60</sup> The author concluded with a hopeful statement that Canada will eventually follow the US by protecting the individual rights of birthright citizens.

With the Canadian camps still in force, Nikkei Canadian journalists reported on the end of incarceration in the United States and Japanese American resettlement on the West Coast with the hope that Canadian policy would follow suit. Despite the wishful thinking of Japanese Canadians, the opposite occurred. When news reached Canada that the US Army revoked the exclusion order as a result of the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Ex Parte Endo*, *The New Canadian* devoted its December 23, 1944 issue to covering the reactions of Canadian officials to the order. The Vancouver mayor, Jonathan Cornett, attempted to differentiate Canada from the US and declared that “I think it will be better for both for their sake and ours if they are all shipped back to Japan.” Next to the front-page headline of the W.R.A.’s announcement to support Japanese American resettlers is a photo of Powell Street, Vancouver – a forlorn allusion to the loss of the Japanese Canadian neighborhood of Vancouver in the incarceration.<sup>61</sup> In January 1945, *The New Canadian* devoted significant coverage to the return of Japanese Americans to the West Coast – in part to discuss the continued ban on their return to British Columbia. On January 6, the *New*



*Canadian's* editor argued that the ongoing exclusion of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast signified that “we have still a long way to go to measure up to the same consciousness of national spirit and democratic tradition which is revealed by the American example.” The author noted that although the US and Canada had followed the same incarceration policies, the divergence over ongoing exclusion marked a rift between the two countries. In the same issue, the editor strategically reprinted an article from the *Vancouver Sun*, dubbed “spokesman for racist forces in British Columbia,” that declared the return of Japanese Canadians “must not happen here.”<sup>62</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Despite scholarly interest in global scholarship, popular media accounts on the wartime experiences of Japanese Americans and Canadians still follow national narratives. In recent times, examples of this can be seen in the media coverages of anniversary commemorations of the incarceration, such as February 1942, and the 1988 enactment of redress in both the US and Canada.<sup>63</sup> In each case, media outlets, and even some scholars, characterize the incarceration as an injustice committed by their respective governments that was later atoned by providing redress. Yet historians have rarely framed the events of the incarceration as part of a broader chain of events occurring across the Pacific theater, and those that have done so, like Brian Hayashi, have focused more on the comparative treatment between the US and Japan.<sup>64</sup> Even as historians engage in the global history of migration, studies of Pan-Nikkei identity remain to be seen. As Nikkei communities have organized global Nikkei organizations like the Pan American Nikkei Association, there are several opportunities for scholars to study the ways that Japanese communities outside of Japan have connected amongst each other. Already, some, such as

historian Greg Robinson, have begun to research the global experiences of Japanese Americans in Europe to show how racism in the US led Japanese Americans to create new communities outside the US<sup>65</sup>

Although the historiographies of each incarceration experience remain tied to national narratives, the evidence of cross-border documentation of other incarceration experiences underscores the sense of a global view of Nikkei incarceration, whether by journalists writing for the mainstream media or for the Nikkei community press. Despite dozens of scholarly works that devote attention to the role of the press in the decision to confine Japanese Americans and Canadians, the international scope of journalistic accounts demonstrates that Nikkei incarceration transcended national boundaries. As this paper has shown, the incarceration of Nikkei communities did not just result in a failure by individual governments to protect its citizens during wartime from racial prejudice, but also created rifts between governments over the handling of the war and potentially damaged international relations among Allies.

Mainstream newspaper accounts, meanwhile, made shifting use of transnational discussion in the course of the 1940s. In the first stages of the Pacific War, transnational coverage reinforced and spurred forward the “continental” policy of mass incarceration. Just as Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds argue in their seminal work *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, I assert that transnationalism was a form of coordination and cooperation on a joint project of racist removal, one that was informed by a long history of anti-Asian hatred and white supremacy.<sup>66</sup> Then, as the trajectories of the policies diverged over time, each country looked across the border in affirmation of their own approaches to the end of incarceration, focusing on the widening divide between the policies. Neither Nikkei community nor policy justification were built in isolation. Rather, as the newspaper reports have shown, observers of the wartime

incarceration of Nikkei communities knew that the policy transcended national borders and was part of a global initiative to police Nikkei communities. As scholars continue to research the history of the anti-Japanese movement and the wartime incarceration, whether in the US, Canada, or elsewhere, they should look beyond the nationalistic histories of each movement and view them as part of a global history of anti-Japanese sentiment – just as many journalists did during the Second World War.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Nikkei’ refers to individuals of Japanese ancestry, particularly individuals living overseas such as immigrants.

<sup>2</sup> Stephanie Bangarth, *Voices Raised in Protest : Defending Citizens of Japanese Ancestry in North America, 1942-49*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 192. See also: Eric Muller, *Law and History Review* 27, no. 3 (2009): 702–4.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobus tenBroek, Edward Barnhart, Floyd Matson, *Prejudice, War, and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), 34.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 29.

<sup>5</sup> Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 377.

<sup>6</sup> Gary Okihiro and Julie Sly, “The Press, Japanese Americans, and the Concentration Camps.” *Phylon*, Vol. 44, no. 1 (1983), 83: “The contention of this paper is that the elitist explanatory framework and the documentary evidence suggest that the plan to remove and confine Japanese Americans was conceived in the government as a political act, that the press and public opinion did not favor such treatment, and that a series of events emanating from the government led to a shift in the attitude of the press and the populace enabling the implementation of EO 9066.”

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<sup>7</sup> Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*; Patricia Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). In *The Enemy That Never Was*, Adachi argues on page 205: “But the false stories of sabotage at Pearl Harbour – in all their richness and detail and wealth of pseudo documentation by unidentified “eyewitnesses” – were repeated as a matter of fact. *The Vancouver Sun* quoted Secretary Knox’s statement.”

<sup>8</sup> Adachi, 201. In Seattle, the Hearst-run *Post-Intelligencer* argued that “fifth-columnist” lit beacons for Japanese planes to bomb Vancouver Island. These stories were subsequently picked up by Victoria papers, although Washington state officials declared that the fires were coincidental.

<sup>9</sup> Patricia Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007). While the terminology varies widely, particularly between the two countries, I employ the terms “forced removal” and “incarceration” throughout this paper, following convention in the scholarship in the United States. See Roger Daniels, “Words Do Matter.”

<sup>10</sup> An excerpt of this section on Anglophone Canadian reactions to Japanese American incarceration also appears in: Jonathan van Harmelen, “Looking South, Anglophone Canadian Reactions to Japanese American Incarceration.” *Discover Nikkei*, February 28, 2022. <https://discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2022/2/28/looking-south-1/>

<sup>11</sup> “Canada Urged To Take Japs From Coastline.” *Los Angeles Daily News*, January 14, 1942.

<sup>12</sup> “Canada Curbs Japanese: All Enemy Aliens To Be Moved From Western Coast.” *New York Times*, January 15, 1942.

<sup>13</sup> “Canada Moving Japanese.” *New York Times*, February 24, 1942.

<sup>14</sup> “How Japan Plans to Invade America!” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 5, 1942.

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<sup>15</sup> This section draws in part from my previous work on Anglophone Canadian newspaper accounts of the US incarceration of Japanese Americans. For more information, see: Jonathan van Harmelen, “Looking South: Anglophone-Canadian reactions to Japanese American incarceration – Part 1.” *Discover Nikkei*, February 28, 2022.

<https://discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2022/2/28/looking-south-1/>

<sup>16</sup> Walter Lippmann, “The Fifth Column on the Coast.” *The Globe and Mail*, February 12, 1942.

<sup>17</sup> “Attack on West Coast is Predicted.” *The Globe and Mail*, February 19, 1942.

<sup>18</sup> “Guns, Radios, Kodaks Seized.” *Vancouver Daily Province*, February 19, 1942.

<sup>19</sup> “Little Damage, No Casualties Are Caused By Bombardment.” *The Globe and Mail*, February 24, 1942.

<sup>20</sup> “Japanese To Go.” *Victoria Daily Times*, February 27, 1942. The article appeared just a few days after Prime Minister Mackenzie King issued Order in Council 1486.

<sup>21</sup> Public Law 503-77 provided the US Department of Justice with the ability to enforce the exclusion of Japanese Americans from the West Coast by charging any Japanese American present without authorization with a \$5000 fine and 5 years imprisonment. For more information, see: Brian Niiya, “Public Law 503-77.” *Densho Encyclopedia*:

<https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Public%20Law%20503/>

<sup>22</sup> “Canada Acts Speedily To Evacuate Coast Japanese.” *Fresno Bee*, March 17, 1942.

<sup>23</sup> “Japanese American Alien Removal Orders Expected.” *San Luis Obispo Tribune*, March 16, 1942.

<sup>24</sup> “23,000 Japanese in Canada Hegira.” *Medford Mail Tribune*, March 18, 1942.

<sup>25</sup> “Santa Anita Same As Hastings Park?” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 20, 1942.

<sup>26</sup> “U.S. Court to Rule on Japs’ Return to Coast.” *The Vancouver Sun*, August 22, 1944.

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<sup>27</sup> “Jap Ban Better For Us All.” *Vancouver Daily Province*, December 18, 1944.

<sup>28</sup> “Riots Feared In Coast Cities.” *Vancouver Daily Province*, December 19, 1944.

<sup>29</sup> “Return of Japs To West Coast Allowed By U.S.” *The Globe and Mail*, December 18, 1944.

<sup>30</sup> “Jap Concentration Still Disallowed.” *The Globe and Mail*, December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1944.

<sup>31</sup> Jean Howarth, “This Column,” *Vancouver Daily Province*, January 29, 1948.

<sup>32</sup> “Claim to Justice.” *The Toronto Star*, December 10, 1947. For more on the history of the Bird Commission and its limits with implementing fair compensation to Japanese Canadians, see: Kaitlin Findlay, “Creating the Bird Commission: How the Canadian State Addressed Japanese Canadians’ Calls for Fair Compensation.” In *Landscapes of Injustice: A New Perspective on the Internment and Dispossession of Japanese Canadians*. Edited by Jordan Stanger-Ross. Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020.

<sup>33</sup> “Jap Evacuation Claims Parley.” *The Vancouver Sun*, October 22, 1949. Note that the Vancouver Sun still used the racial epithet “Jap” at this time.

<sup>34</sup> “Canada’s Japanese Desire to Remain.” *The New York Times*, August 25, 1945.

<sup>35</sup> “Japanese-Canadians.” *The Washington Post*, June 10, 1946.

<sup>36</sup> Bruce Hutchison, “High Cost Tag Attached to Canada’s Easing of Japanese Problem.” *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 2, 1948.

<sup>37</sup> “Canada Still Restricts Movement of Japanese.” *Fresno Bee*, March 17, 1947.

<sup>38</sup> “Canadian Japs Get Claims.” *The San Francisco Examiner*, June 14, 1950. Note that like the Vancouver Sun, the Examiner also used the term “Jap” still.

<sup>39</sup> Although Japanese American newspapers catered to the wider community, several prominent newspapers pivoted from targeting Issei readers to Nisei readers as a means of both acculturating the Nisei and reaching outside audiences. Abiko Kyutaro, the founder of the *NichiBei Shinbun*,

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and James Sakamoto, the founder of the Japanese American Courier, were among the editors to do so. For more information, see: Yuji Ichioka, (1986) “A Study in Dualism: James Yoshinori Sakamoto and the Japanese American Courier, 1928-1942.” *Amerasia Journal*, 13:2, 49-81.

<sup>40</sup> David Yoo, (1993) “Read All About It”: Race, Generation and the Japanese American Ethnic Press, 1925–41.” *Amerasia Journal*, 19:1, 70-71.

<sup>41</sup> Takeya Mizuno, “Newspapers in Camp.”

[https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Newspapers\\_in\\_camp/](https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Newspapers_in_camp/)

<sup>42</sup> Over 95 percent of all Japanese Canadians lived in British Columbia, the vast majority near the coast.

<sup>43</sup> Sources vary as to when the paper began. Simon Fraser University’s archives claim the paper was founded in 1902, whereas most archives, including UBC archives, state that the paper began in 1907.

<sup>44</sup> Initially published by “The New Canadian Society,” the paper billed itself as an independent publication throughout its existence. The New Canadian Society’s name disappeared from the masthead starting in June 1939. See: “The New Canadian” Simon Fraser University Library. <https://newspapers.lib.sfu.ca/tnc-collection>

<sup>45</sup> *The New Canadian*, February 1, 1939. The first editorial responded to a recent article in the *Vancouver Daily Province* that classified “orientals” as “people of other races and cultures than our own, who cannot be assimilated or absorbed to our way of living.” As such, the editors challenged the Daily Province and its readers to. “take up this work of establishing unity and harmony among Canadian people.” Also see: Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 160. “It was through *The New Canadian* and its

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editorials that, for the first time in their history, the Japanese in Canada could present their views to the white majority.”

<sup>46</sup> “The New Canadian.” Simon Fraser University Archives: <https://newspapers.lib.sfu.ca/tnc-collection>

<sup>47</sup> Following the B.C. government decision to lift the ban on Japanese Canadians entering the province in 1949.

<sup>48</sup> Stephanie Bangarth, “Nikkei Loyalty and Resistance in Canada and the United States, 1942-1947.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 6 No. 1, 2008.

<sup>49</sup> Greg Robinson, *Pacific Citizens* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 139.

<sup>50</sup> While the term “enemy alien” is used, it is likely a reference to individuals of Japanese ancestry.

<sup>51</sup> “Canadian Japanese must turn in automobiles, radios.” *Rafu Shimpo*, March 12, 1942. A similar order was carried out by the U. Federal Bureau of Investigation on December 28, 1941, that required all enemy aliens to turn in cameras, guns, and radios. The US government did not impound automobiles belonging to Japanese Americans.

<sup>52</sup> “From an Evacuee.” *Rafu Shimpo*, March 26, 1942.

<sup>53</sup> “Canadian Nisei Gives Picture of Life In Evacuee Center At Hastings Park.” *NichiBei Shinbun*, April 23, 1942.

<sup>54</sup> “Camps for B.C. Japanese Slated to Work on Public Constructions Ready.” *Taihoku Nippo*, March 11, 1942.

<sup>55</sup> *The New Canadian*, April 10, 1943.

<sup>56</sup> “Racism in British Columbia.” *Pacific Citizen*, March 25, 1944.

<sup>57</sup> Robinson, *Pacific Citizens*, 100.



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<sup>58</sup> “Canada Moves to Accelerate Deportation.” *Pacific Citizen*, December 8, 1945.

<sup>59</sup> “In every Pacific Coast community, says Taylor, there are counterparts of Anson, swelling the chorus, “We don’t want them back.” They are so vociferous that many of the Japanese evacuees, looking back at their little farms as they departed for beyond the mountains, felt they could never return.”

“Post Article Reveals Situation In U.S. and Canada Very Similar.” *The New Canadian*, May 6, 1942.

<sup>60</sup> “Significance of the U.S. Verdict.” *The New Canadian*, March 20, 1943. The case in question, Regan vs. King, was an attempt by the Native Sons of the Golden West to remove Japanese Americans from San Francisco’s voter rolls. For more information, see: Greg Robinson, “Regan vs. King.” *Densho Encyclopedia*:

[https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Regan\\_v.\\_King/#:~:text=King,-](https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Regan_v._King/#:~:text=King,-)

[Print%20Cite&text=The%201942%2D43%20federal%20court,legal%20struggles%20for%20civil%20rights.](https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Regan_v._King/#:~:text=King,-Print%20Cite&text=The%201942%2D43%20federal%20court,legal%20struggles%20for%20civil%20rights.)

<sup>61</sup> “U.S. Army Revokes Coast Exclusion Order.” *The New Canadian*, December 23, 1944.

<sup>62</sup> *The New Canadian*, January 6, 1945.

<sup>63</sup> President Joseph R. Biden Jr., “Day of Remembrance of Japanese American Incarceration During World War II.” February 18, 2022. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2022/02/18/day-of-remembrance-of-japanese-american-incarceration-during-world-war-ii/>; Maryse Zeidler, “75th anniversary of Japanese-Canadian internment camps echoes as fears of Islamophobia rise.” *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, February 25, 2017. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/japanese-canadian-internment-camp-anniversary-75-1.3996885>

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<sup>64</sup> Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy : the Japanese American Internment*.

Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2004.

<sup>65</sup> Greg Robinson, *The Unsung Great: Stories of Extraordinary Japanese Americans*. Seattle:

University of Washington Press, 2020.

<sup>66</sup> See Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.