

**A Comparative Study of Second World War
Internment Experiences in Great Britain and the
United States of America**

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PhD History

In Memory of

Andrew Dickinson (1981-2014)

and

Professor David Cesarani OBE (1956-2015)

I, Rachel Pistol, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Abstract

This thesis is the first comparative history of internment between the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and compares a nation with both a Constitution and a Bill of Rights to one with neither. Government files, personal correspondence, memoirs, and oral testimony have been used to describe the years preceding internment, the camps themselves, the aftermath, and how internment has been remembered. New sources such as previously unseen letters, interviews, memoirs, monuments, and commemorative ceremonies have been used to describe the experiences of the internees and how this blot on the Allied war record has been remembered. Memoirs, letters, and oral testimony help to put a human face on the suffering incurred during the turbulent early years of the war, and serve as a reminder of what can happen to vulnerable groups during times of conflict. This thesis also considers how these ‘tragedies of democracy’ have been remembered over time, and how the need for the memorialisation of former sites of internment is essential if society is not to repeat the same injustices.

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Introduction

What happened in the last war was that a very large number of the aliens had to be taken into these internment camps for their own protection. There were waves of what I may call spy fever, especially one after the sinking of the "Lusitania", which made it imperative that a very large number of enemy aliens then resident in this country should be taken into internment camps for their own protection. We hope that will not happen this time. In fact, it is not likely to happen as there are far fewer enemy aliens, especially those of military age, in this country now than there were at the commencement of the last war.

Viscount Cobham, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for War addressing the House of Lords October 24, 1939¹

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Amendment XIV to the United States Constitution, Ratified by Congress July 9, 1868²

This thesis follows in a long line of historical literature written concerning Second World War internment in both the United States of America and Great Britain. If we take Britain as the first example, the first scholar of the British camps during the Second World War was François Lafitte, who was commissioned by Penguin books to explain to the public the government policy of internment.³ Lafitte's view on internment is best summarised by his comment forty years on that "The only blessing for which we can thank Britain's rounding up of its "enemy aliens" in 1940 is that it unintentionally accomplished the genesis of the Amadeus Quartet."⁴ Lafitte's book was not only a history of 'muddle and stupidity', but also a critique of the 'British problem, a problem of justice and personal freedom in which the reputation of Britain [was] involved.'⁵ *The Internment of Aliens* was 'primarily an indictment of the policy of large-scale internment of enemy alien refugees in Great Britain adopted by the British Government after the fall of France' and told a 'grim story of hardship and suffering, much of it avoidable and some of it inexcusable, even if all the circumstances are taken into account.'⁶ An American

¹ House of Lords Debate, 24 October 1939, *Hansard*, vol. 114, 1487.

² A transcript of the American Constitution is available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CDOC-110hdoc50/pdf/CDOC-110hdoc50.pdf>

³ François Lafitte, *The Internment of Aliens* (London: Libris, 1988), originally published 1940.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 9.

⁶ Margaret Bryant, "Review", *International Affairs Review Supplement*, 19 (1940), p. 195.

reviewer of Lafitte's book felt the need to draw a parallel between the way Britain and America were treating Axis aliens. The author's smugness in recounting that in America they knew 'that the large majority of the 1,035,000 Axis aliens [were] faithfully and fundamentally convinced "anti-Axis pro-Americans" and only a small percentage [were] "real Axis aliens"' is ironic, coming as it did before the internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans the following year.⁷

Internment of Aliens is an essential starting point for understanding British internment policy. Lafitte was writing as a contemporary and therefore it was unclear at the time of his book's publication as to how the story of internment would conclude. Lafitte was not the only author who attempted to address the subject during the war. *Anderson's Prisoners*, an anonymous work, agreed with Lafitte that Britain's democratic principles were being compromised in the internment of multitudes of refugees who had fled Europe.⁸ Another key publication at this time was Kapp and Mynatt's *British Policy and the Refugees*.⁹ Kapp and Mynatt's book addresses the plight of refugees during the years immediately preceding the Second World War and details the lack of acceptance found by the refugee community and the struggles they faced. As the bulk of Jewish refugees came from the liberal professions, most refugees were unemployable without retraining, and no government department was willing to assist with the training, employment, or promotion of the use of refugee labour.¹⁰

Smaller works such as Koessler's article on internment in Britain, France, and Germany published in 1942 also touched on the issues surrounding the topic.¹¹ Beyond highlighting the fact that there were no international conventions to safeguard the treatment of internees, as opposed to those guarding the rights of prisoners of war, Koessler found that Britain had the most humane of internment policies if the 'voluntary internment' practised in Italy was

⁷ Robert M. W. Kempner, "Review", *The American Journal of International Law*, 35 (1941), p. 744.

⁸ Judex, *Anderson's Prisoners* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940).

⁹ Yvonne Kapp and Margaret Mynatt, *British Policy and the Refugees, 1933 - 1941* (London: Cass, 1997), originally published 1941. See also Eleanor Rathbone, *Rescue the Perishing: A summary of the position regarding the Nazi Massacres of Jewish and other victims and of proposals for their rescue: An Appeal, a Programme and a Challenge* (London, 1943); Eleanor Rathbone, *Falsehoods and Facts about the Jews* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1944).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

¹¹ Maximilian Koessler, "Enemy Alien Internment: With Special Reference to Great Britain and France", *Political Science Quarterly*, 57 (1942), pp. 98-127.

discounted.¹² Koessler recognised that ‘serious blunders [have been] committed in carrying out the policy’, which had been ‘admitted frankly even by competent governmental spokesmen and by other members of Parliament.’¹³ Despite some of the shortcomings of the British internment policy Koessler still considered that, as Britain had pioneered the idea of tribunals unlike other nations ‘it [remained] true that, in the initial period, the British government by ingenious and fair methods managed to steer midway between a too lofty humanitarianism and an excessive concern for the purposes of national defense.’¹⁴

Some memoirs were also published during and immediately after the war, such as Alfred Lomnitz’ *“Never Mind Mr. Lom!”* and Leo Kahn’s fictionalised account of his internment, *Obliging Fellow*.¹⁵ Both Lomnitz and Kahn captured the irony of internment through a mixture of wit and sober reflection. Though seemingly unimpressed, one reviewer in *The Spectator* noted regarding *Never Mind Mr. Lom!*, that ‘the fact that it is the first account of life in an English internment camp for aliens gives the book a peculiar interest’.¹⁶ More positively, another review praised ‘The good humour with which Mr. Lom writes of his experience and his sympathetic understanding of the feelings of his fellow-sufferers make this a very human story.’¹⁷ The other notable publication in the years following the Second World War was Norman Bentwich’s *I Understand the Risks: The story of the Refugees from Nazi oppression who fought in the British Forces in the World War*, a reminder of the sacrifices many of these ‘enemy aliens’ made for the Allied cause.¹⁸

Apart from the small number of publications during the war, the subject of internment lapsed from view for the most part until the 1980s. One notable exception to this is A. J. Sherman’s *Island Refuge*, published in 1973, an excellent exposition on the lines of Kapp and Mynatt’s

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 112.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ Alfred Lomnitz, *‘Never Mind, Mr. Lom!’ Or The Uses of Adversity* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1941); Leo Kahn, *Obliging Fellow* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1946).

¹⁶ Francis Heathcote, ‘In an Internment Camp’, *The Spectator*, 1941, p. 16.

¹⁷ ‘New Publications,’ *International Affairs Review Supplement*, 19 (1941), p. 326.

¹⁸ And some post war publishing, such as Norman Bentwich, *I Understand the Risks: The story of the Refugees from Nazi oppression who fought in the British Forces in the World War* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1950).

earlier work, as well as Wasserstein's *Britain and the Jews of Europe*, which also covers the period in the run up to calls for internment.¹⁹ For the most part, however, such works rarely were able to offer in depth discussion on internment as they were focused on a larger timescale.

Much of the in depth literature regarding internment in Britain has been written in the years following 1980. Two major monographs were published in this year – one by journalists Peter and Leni Gillman, the other by Ronald Stent, an historian and former internee.²⁰ Forty years on from the war, both Stent and the Gillmans had access to a vast amount of material that was released under the thirty-year rule. However, according to the Gillmans, even in 1980 'a barrier of official secrecy still [shielded] important parts of the story of internment in Britain during the Second World War.'²¹ Both books offer a comprehensive account of all aspects of internment, from the lead up to internment, enemy alien tribunals, arrest and the camps, and the subsequent reversal of government policy leading to the internees' release. Stent places Second World War internment in historical perspective, tracing the history of anti-alien legislation back to 1697 where a ruling was made on the treatment of refugees as opposed to other nationals of a country at war with England.²² As a number of government documents were available for the Stent and the Gillmans to refer, a more balanced picture of Sir John Anderson, the Home Secretary who ordered mass internment, has been presented, repainting the negative portrait of Anderson found in earlier publications such as that by Lafitte.

¹⁹ A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge: Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933-1939* (Ilford, Essex: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1994). Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979). This subject was also touched upon in Johanna Alberti, *Eleanor Rathbone* (London: Sage, 1996). Slightly outside of the remit of this work but still relevant to government powers of detention see Aaron L. Goldman, "Defence Regulation 18B: Emergency Internment of Aliens and Political Dissenters in Great Britain during World War II," *The Journal of British Studies*, 12 (1973), 120-136; and A. W. B. Simpson, *In the Highest Degree Odious: Detention Without Trial in Wartime Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) for a discussion of the treatment of detainees, as opposed to internees.

²⁰ Leni Gillman and Peter Gillman, *'Collar the Lot!': How Britain Interned and Expelled Its Wartime Refugees* (London: Quartet Books, 1980). Ronald Stent, *A Bespattered Page? The Internment of His Majesty's 'Most Loyal Enemy Aliens'* (London: Deutsch, 1980).

²¹ Gillmans, *Collar*, p. xi.

²² Stent, *Bespattered Page*, p. 15.

The majority of references to internment are found in more general works focusing on the Second World War or on the treatment of aliens in Britain in the 1930s and 1940s.²³ Remarkably, however, a large number of books on Britain's experience of the war fail to mention the subject of internment at all. In comparison with the literature on Japanese American internment, there is a distinct lack of monographs on the subject in Britain. Significant contributions to the field in recent years have come from the likes of David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, Charmian Brinson, and Richard Dove in edited volumes.²⁴ Cesarani and Kushner's book resulted from a key conference held in London in 1990 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of mass incarceration of 'enemy aliens' in Great Britain. Dove's more recent collection was the result of the 2005 yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies. Both works combine a fascinating selection of essays covering all aspects of internment, from anti-alienism before 1940, to camp life and the impact of internment on communities after the war; from art and politics within the camps, to gendered differences of the internment experience.²⁵ More recently, Brinson and Dove have used recently released MI5 files to reconstruct what was happening behind the scenes of British Intelligence, a subject hitherto unexplored due to the lack of access to the relevant files. Internment has been treated as a footnote of Britain's war experience, but these works demonstrate that there is, even to this day, much to be learned regarding the subject.²⁶

²³ Examples of internment being summed up in a sentence or paragraph include Mark Connelly, *We can take it! Britain and the memory of the Second World War* (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2004), Mark Donnelly, *Britain in the Second World War* (London: Routledge, 1999); and Robert Mackay, *The test of war: inside Britain 1939-45* (London: UCL Press, 1999), but there are many more examples of histories of the Second World War completely omitting the subject.

²⁴ *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (London: Cass, 1993). Charmian Brinson, Anna Mueller-Haerlin and Julia Winckler, *His Majesty's Loyal Internee: Fred Uhlman in Captivity* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009); Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove, *A Matter of Intelligence: MI5 and the Surveillance of Anti-Nazi Refugees, 1933-50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014). "Totally un-English"? Britain's internment of "enemy aliens" in *Two World Wars*, ed. Richard Dove (Amsterdam: The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies Vol. 7, 2005).

²⁵ See Tony Kushner, "Clubland, Cricket Tests and Alien Internment, 1939-40", in *Internment of Aliens*, pp. 79-101; Jennifer Taylor, "'Something to make people laugh'? Political content in Isle of Man Internment Camp Journals July-October 1940", in "Totally Un-English"?, pp. 139-152; Jessica Feather, *Art behind barbed wire* (Liverpool: National Museums Liverpool, 2004); Charmian Brinson, "'Loyal to the Reich': National Socialists and Others in the Rushen Women's Internment Camp", in "Totally Un-English"?, pp. 101-119.

²⁶ Richard Dove, "A Matter Which Touches the Good Name of This Country," in "Totally un-English"?, p. 11.

The experience of internment varied depending on one's gender, age, and nationality. Much of the literature on internment focuses on the experiences of Germans and Austrian men. Significant work has been undertaken in recent years to examine the Italian experience by historians such as Wendy Ugolini, Terry Colpi, and Lucio Sponza.²⁷ Work has also been undertaken to address the gender inequality in the literature, particularly by Charmian Brinson, who has explored the experiences of the women and children who were interned.²⁸ Furthermore, a small number of Japanese interned on the Isle of Man during the Second World War.²⁹

The controversial transportation of internees from Britain to the Dominions has been the subject of several works. Maria Balestracci has written of the tragedy of the *Arandora Star*, torpedoed and sunk while transporting many innocent internees, mostly of Italian descent, to Canada.³⁰ The vast majority of the victims on board were Italian and so it remains a subject of particular resonance in the Italian community. Perhaps equally synonymous with the transportation of internees is the name *Dunera*. The conditions on board this ex-liner were so shocking that they elicited outrage when evidence of the maltreatment of internees by their British guards became common knowledge. The Jewish Museum of Australia published a documentary workbook in 1990 regarding the *Dunera* internees, and prior to that, another piece of Australian research was published in 1979 on the same subject.³¹ The subject has also

²⁷ Examples of their work include Wendy Ugolini, *Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other': Italian Scottish Experience in World War II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Terry Colpi, 'The Impact of the Second World War on the British Italian Community', in *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*, ed. by David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 167–87; Lucio Sponza, *Divided Loyalties: Italians in Britain during the Second World War* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000).

²⁸ For example see Charmian Brinson, "In the Exile of Internment" or "Von Versuchen, Aus Einer Not Eine Tugend Zu Machen": German-Speaking Women Interned by the British during the Second World War', in *Politics and Culture in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. by William Niven and James Jordan (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), pp. 63–87.

²⁹ Keiko Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain: From Integration to Disintegration* (London: Routledge, 2013).

³⁰ Maria Serena Balestracci, *Arandora Star: From Oblivion to Memory* (Parma: MUP, 2008). The *Arandora Star* makes regular appearances in internment literature but also in more unexpected locations, such as Patricia Meehan, *A Strange Enemy People: Germans under the British 1945-50* (London: Peter Owen, 2001), p. 21. Not all of those sent to Canada were Italian. For example, Eric Koch was shipped to Canada as discussed in his *Deemed Suspect: A Wartime Blunder* (London: Methuen, 1980).

³¹ Paul R. Bartrop ed., *The Dunera Affair: A Documentary Resource Book*, (Melbourne, Australia: Jewish Museum of Australia, 1990). Benzion Patkin, *The Dunera Internees* (Stanmore, NSW, Australia: Cassell, 1979).

been examined in Britain by Cyril Pearl.³² Research regarding those interned in Australia has been diverse, including a piece in the *British Medical Journal* reporting that internees were subjects in a malaria drug trial conducted by the Australian army, a claim that led to The Simon Wiesenthal Center lodging a complaint that the Australian army used Jewish refugees as ‘medical guinea pigs.’³³ Interest has also extended to television: a mini-series that was later turned into an edited movie was produced in 1985 called ‘The Dunera Boys’.³⁴ ‘The Dunera Boys’ broke new ground in depicting internment in an easily accessible format to the public. The fictionalisation of internment has not happened to a great extent in English literature, though a few novels have appeared since 1999 have sought to capture the imagination of the general public.³⁵

Regarding those internees who were not transported abroad, Connery Chappell’s *Island of Barbed Wire* explains the structure of the Isle of Man camps.³⁶ The character of each Manx camp was unique and Chappell, himself a Manxman, offers a colourful portrayal of camp life with all its highs and lows. Chappell is particularly interested in how the camps affected the Manx population and the way in which they were administrated. His book sheds light on some of the details missed out from more general monographs because he is focussed solely on one geographical area. *Island of Barbed Wire* follows the Manx internment camps from their construction to their decline and eventual use solely for 18B detainees.³⁷

³² Cyril Pearl, *The Dunera Scandal: Deported by Mistake* (London: Angus & Robertson, 1983).

³³ Georgina Kenyon, “Australian Army Infected Troops and Internees in Second World War”, *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 318 (1999), p. 1233.

³⁴ See Birgit Lang, “The Dunera Boys: Dramatizing History from a Jewish Perspective”, in “*Totally Un-English*”?, pp. 179-191 for an excellent analysis of the television series. The subject of internment has also appeared in “Foyle’s War – The German Woman”, 2002, ITV, first aired October 27th; “Who Do You Think You Are? – David Baddiel”, 2004, BBC, first aired November 23rd; and “Great British Railway Journeys – Heysham to Snaefell”, 2012, BBC, first aired January 27th.

³⁵ Francine Stock, *A Foreign Country* (London: Chatto & W, 1999), and David Baddiel, *The Secret Purposes* (London: Little, Brown & Company, 2004); and Natasha Solomons, *Mr Rosenblum’s List: Or Friendly Guidance for the Aspiring Englishman* (London: Sceptre, 2010).

³⁶ Connery Chappell, *Island of Barbed Wire: Internment on the Isle of Man in World War Two* (London: Robert Hale, 2005).

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 158. A limited amount of work has also been conducted into life at Huyton, the only long-term camp on the British mainland. A very informative article is Margaret Harkins, ‘Alien Internment at Huyton During World War II’, in *A Prominent Place: Studies in Merseyside History*, ed. by John A. Davies and Janet E. Hollinshead (Liverpool: Liverpool Hope Press, 1999), pp. 113–24. Reference is also made to Huyton in some of the limited number of autobiographies of internment such as Mark Lynton, *Accidental Journey: A Cambridge Internee’s Memoir of World War II* (Woodstock: Overlook, 1995).

There was a great deal of intellectual life in the camps on the Isle of Man camps provided by refugee scholars exiled to Britain from their native European countries. This has been touched on by Paul Hoch in his article on the subject published in 1985.³⁸ Hoch argued that refugee scholars ‘were to have a very strong influence on the subsequent development of world scholarship in many fields,’ but that almost all such scholars had numerous difficulties finding acceptance in Britain.³⁹ That refugees were seen as an inconvenience is again highlighted in an essay by Colin Holmes where it is revealed that those in official circles believed in 1940 that troop movements might become ‘clogged up’ due to the large number of refugees in Britain.⁴⁰

Travelling across the Atlantic Ocean to America, the first historian to truly look at Japanese American internment in the aftermath of the Second World War was Morton Grodzins in *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation*.⁴¹ Other historians considered the wartime relocation during and immediately after the war, but none set out to reveal the ‘internal, behind-the-scenes activities of pressure groups which generated a public demand for evacuation where previously little or none had appeared to exist.’⁴² Whilst most reviews at the time received it favourably, others tried to minimise the impact of the subject by attempting to justify the actions of America in relation to other democratic powers of the time. One such review stated: ‘Whether [Grodzins] has been altogether fair to the American military authorities concerned is best left to Americans to decide, especially since the United States was not the only democratic country in which this sort of thing happened during the war.’⁴³ The reviewer no doubt had in mind the internment of Japanese Canadians in Canada and also

Possibly the most unpleasant of the camps, Warth Mills, near Bury, is discussed in Tony Kushner, *Remembering Refugees Then and Now* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 76-8.

³⁸ Paul K. Hoch, “No Utopia: Refugee Scholars in Britain”, *History Today*, 35, (1985) pp. 53-56.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

⁴⁰ Colin Holmes, “British Government Policy Towards Wartime Refugees”, in *Europe in exile : European exile communities in Britain, 1940-1945*, eds. Jose Gotovitch and Martin Conway (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), p. 13.

⁴¹ Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949).

⁴² Forrest E. LaViolette, “Review”, *Pacific Affairs*, 22 (1949), p. 442; and Robert K. Carr, “Review”, *The American Political Science Review*, 43 (1949), p. 1043.

⁴³ F. C. Jones, “Review”, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 26 (1950), p. 554.

of German, Austrian, and Italian persons in Great Britain.⁴⁴ While it is important to look at the relocation of Japanese and Japanese Americans in the greater context of the worldwide theatre of war, it is also necessary to consider the policy of internment in relation to the laws and norms of the interning nation as both aspects are essential to the understanding of internment. Of course, those of Japanese ancestry were not the only ones who experienced internment in America during the Second World War. Germans, Austrians, and Italians were also interned and considered on a case-by-case basis in Department of Justice Camps. This much neglected area of internment history is starting to be discussed in greater detail, which include the publication of memoirs by former internees.⁴⁵

While Grodzins' work was ground-breaking, he was not the first to publish on the subject of Japanese internment. Miné Okubo, a Nisei artist, published an illustrated story of her internment experience immediately after the war.⁴⁶ Okubo's artistic interpretation of her experience, presented with succinct but insightful descriptions, is perhaps the most referenced internment story, her descriptions quoted in almost all secondary literature on the subject. However, after these two significant publications, the study of American internment disappeared from view for just over twenty years. The internment experience was so traumatic for the Nikkei that the majority simply did not wish to discuss that period of time. The internment experience was likened to rape by one Nisei spokesman because of the shame associated with internment which was borne by the victims, rather than the perpetrators.⁴⁷ The Nikkei had lives to rebuild, and dwelling on the past was not going to help them reintegrate into American society. Caucasian Americans had no desire to discuss the injustice

⁴⁴ For an excellent study in comparative history on North American internment including that of Japanese Canadians see Greg Robinson, *A tragedy of democracy: Japanese confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), and the updated edition of Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps, North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada during World War II* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger, 1981).

⁴⁵ See James L. Dickerson, *Inside America's Concentration Camps: Two Centuries of Internment and Torture* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2010); Heidi Donald, *We Were Not the Enemy: Remembering the United States' Latin-American Civilian Internment Program of World War II* (iUniverse, 2007); Russell W. Estlack, *The Aleut Internments of World War II: Islanders Removed from Their Homes by Japan and the United States* (McFarland & Company, 2014).

⁴⁶ Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946).

⁴⁷ Gary Y. Okihiro and Joan Myers, *Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1996), p. 235.

of internment following the Allied victory, and other ethnic minorities were too busy fighting for their own civil rights to focus on a past injustice for another minority group. There is one notable exception in this period, however – a study published in 1956 by Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, two Californian sociologists.⁴⁸ Broom and Kitsuse’s study focussed on ten Japanese American families and how the internment experience affected the families structurally and economically. How the sample was selected remains unclear, though it does appear to be a representative one, albeit small in size. The most striking aspect of this study is the way it demonstrates the breaking up of the family unit through the internment experience, perhaps the most significant effect of this policy.

Internment re-entered the public spotlight in the 1970s when the memory of internment played a ‘key role’ in repealing the Emergency Detention Act, Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that Title II had not been used to any great extent, the fact that it formed a part of the United States’ legal framework was too dangerous to ignore. Nisei called upon the Japanese American Citizens’ League (JACL) to take a stand ‘as the only ethnic group to have been mass-interned in the United States under a wartime measure of preventive detention.’⁵⁰ The resulting campaign that led to the repeal of Title II in 1971 owed much to the Japanese Americans breaking their silence and sharing their experiences with their fellow Americans, who by this time were more willing to listen to claims of injustice.⁵¹

Once the Japanese American community began to speak publicly about their experience of the Second World War memoirs began to be published, and these did not tie in with traditional

⁴⁸ Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, *The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California, 1956). Further sociological studies can be found in Harry H. L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice, 1969) and David J. O’Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington, Illinois: Indiana University Press, 1991). Also during this period Monice Sone published her memories of growing up in 1930s America and her subsequent internment. See Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1953).

⁴⁹ Masumi Izumi, “Prohibiting ‘American Concentration Camps’: Repeal of the Emergency Detention Act and the Public Historical Memory of the Japanese American Internment”, *The Pacific Historical Review*, 74 (2005), p. 165.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*; for more information on the role the JACL played in internment see Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado University Press, 2002) and Paul R. Spickard, *Japanese Americans: The Formation and Transformations of an Ethnic Group* (New York: Twayne, 1996).

narratives that focused on the triumph of democracy. One of the first to be published was Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston's *Farewell to Manzanar*, upon which the film of the same title is based.⁵² Contrary to the position taken by extremist groups that the Japanese had never assimilated and could never assimilate into the white community, Houston's memoirs tell of an integrated lifestyle as a child, and how she was forced into a non-integrated society as a result of internment. Houston also speaks of the enduring legacy of the camps. As she poignantly remarks,

You cannot deport 110,000 people unless you have stopped seeing individuals. Of course, for such a thing to happen, there has to be a kind of acquiescence on the part of the victims, some submerged belief that this treatment is deserved, or at least allowable. It's an attitude easy for non-whites to acquire in America.⁵³

Certainly the publication of numerous memoirs, novels, and children's books has made the subject more accessible to the general public.

The 1980s marked a watershed in the historiography of Japanese American internment. Firstly, the government commissioned an extensive report into Second World War internment, which was published in two volumes in 1982 and 1983.⁵⁴ *Personal Justice Denied* is rich with quantitative and qualitative data and its broad remit also includes the less well known victims of internment. In Alaska, for instance, the Aleuts were evacuated from their island homes as a result of the Aleutian Islands being threatened and invaded by the Japanese. Relocated to southern Alaska for their safety, the Aleuts endured squalid living conditions completely alien to their way of existence and it is estimated that ten percent of the evacuees perished during their two to three

⁵² Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (New York: Bantam Books, 1973). Further examples of autobiographies include Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1982), and Toyo Suyemoto, *I call to remembrance: Toyo Suyemoto's years of internment* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), all of which focus on internment in Topaz. Some works of fiction cover internment and are written by former internees, such as Gene Oishi, *In Search of Hiroshi* (Rutland, VT: C.E. Tuttle, 1988). See also Suzanne Lieurance, *The Lucky Baseball: My Story in a Japanese-American Internment Camp* (Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow, 2009).

⁵³ Houston, *Farewell*, p. 159.

⁵⁴ The report was republished in 1997, see *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: Civil Liberties Public Education Fund/University of Washington, 1997).

year relocation.⁵⁵ Another commonly overlooked group are the 3,000 or so residents of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry in Latin America who were deported to the United States for internment ‘to secure the Western Hemisphere from internal threats and to supply exchanges for American citizens held by the Axis.’⁵⁶ Over two-thirds of those deported to America were those of Japanese ancestry and eighty percent of these had been residents of Peru.⁵⁷ Once in America the deportees had no legal rights as they had entered the country without passports and therefore spent more time in internment than their Japanese American counterparts. The report also highlighted the discrepancies between the way the Japanese were handled in comparison with the Germans and Italians.

The 1980s also witnessed the publication of Peter Irons’ *Justice at War*, an examination of the test cases of those who chose challenge the legality and constitutionality of the order to intern.⁵⁸ Of those persons, four stand out for being bold enough to be made an example of to America as a whole: Minoru Yasui, Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu, and Mitsuye Endo. Yasui turned himself in for breaching the curfew that General DeWitt had enforced against all people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast; Hirabayashi, like Yasui, turned himself in, but in his case for failing to report to register for relocation; Korematsu was an unintentional test case as he tried to avoid internment by undergoing cosmetic surgery so that he could remain close to his Caucasian girlfriend; finally, Endo was handpicked as someone who had willingly submitted to internment and could be used to bring a habeas corpus case to the Supreme Court. All cases progressed eventually to the Supreme Court and it was there that every means available was used by the Court to avoid ruling on the constitutionality of internment. Hirabayashi, Yasui, and Korematsu all had their convictions upheld, it was only in the case of Endo that the Court ruled ‘loyal’ citizens should not be detained, but this was at a time when ‘loyal’ Japanese and Japanese Americans were being relocated from the camps

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21. See also Russell W. Estlack, *The Aleut Internments of World War II: Islanders Removed from Their Homes by Japan and the United States* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2014).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 305. See also Donald, *Enemy*.

⁵⁷ *Justice Denied*, p. 305.

⁵⁸ Peter Irons, *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

and so the judgment did nothing to address the underlying constitutional issue. The convictions of Hirabayashi, Yasui, and Korematsu were ultimately overturned in the 1980s, another factor that encouraged the former internees to publicly discuss their wartime experiences. *Justice at War* highlights some disturbing discoveries, such as the fact that General DeWitt made his decision to intern based on false intelligence and more than likely knew it was false at the time. The words of Fred Korematsu describing the “‘Watergate’ before ‘Watergate’” sum up Irons’ book: “They [the U.S. government] did me a great wrong.”⁵⁹

Another story that demanded to be told was of the thousands of Nisei men who served the United States in the 100th Battalion and 442nd Regiment of the U. S. Army. The 442nd was the most decorated unit of the Second World War and lost 800 of its men rescuing the ‘Lost Battalion’ in 1944.⁶⁰ The willingness of the Nisei men to sacrifice their lives for a country that had stripped away their freedom is a remarkable testament to not only their strength of character, but also their desire to protect their country of birth. Yet despite their phenomenal fighting record, the families of the 442nd remained behind barbed wire. However, not everyone wished to risk their lives in the service of their country when they were refused their constitutional right to freedom. The American government read the Constitution selectively and therefore, as the Heart Mountain Fair Play Committee’s motto read: “Free us before you draft us”.⁶¹ While usually resisting the draft was a solitary decision, at Heart Mountain Relocation Center ‘draft resistance became a noisy and well-publicized political movement that led nearly ninety to resist’.⁶² The men who resisted the draft also deserve to be seen in a heroic light, for daring to ask the moral question: ‘if we are loyal enough to serve in the army, what are we doing behind barbed wire?’⁶³ These men were, with the exception of a group at Tule Lake, subject to criminal records and between two and five years of hard labour in federal

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁶⁰ The achievements of the 442nd are discussed in the majority of texts covering the internment period, including Robert A. Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1980).

⁶¹ Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How the Japanese Americans Obtained Redress* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), p. 40.

⁶² Eric L. Muller, *Free to die for their country: the story of the Japanese American draft resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), p. 4.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

penitentiaries.⁶⁴ It was another two years after the war's end before the draft resisters were pardoned, but for some the piece of paper was meaningless as, within the Japanese community, their wartime defiance of resisting the draft was labelled as an act of disloyalty and betrayal.⁶⁵

As a result of the increased interest and evidence in the public sphere that Japanese Americans had been greatly wronged by their government, those calling for restitution witnessed an increase in their numbers. The legal battle was long and intense, and even after the agreement was made to compensate those who had suffered at the hands of the American government during the war it took several more years before a monetary figure could be agreed upon. It was not until 1990, almost fifty years after the decision to intern had been made, that the government finally acted. The first nine Japanese Americans who received redress on October 9, 1990, ranged in age from 73 to 107 years old.⁶⁶ As the ages of the first recipients suggest, many of those who suffered the indignity and financial ruin of internment did not live to see their government apologise for its wrongs. Arguably, those who suffered the most, the Issei who had built up businesses and savings from nothing and lost almost everything, were the most deserving of restitution, yet that generation had mostly departed by the time of restitution. Many of the Nisei who claimed their \$20,000 restitution donated it to charity or to their children and grandchildren. A number of Nisei living in the Los Angeles area used their money to contribute to the Japanese American National Museum, a hub of the community with a never-tiring desire to educate Americans as to the dangers of disregarding the Constitution. The success of the Japanese American group action encouraged the Japanese Latin Americans to file individual law suits against the United States government in 1998, which were eventually settled for \$5,000.⁶⁷ The United States had finally admitted that internment was a mistake, but the journey has been long.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁶ Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 213.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

Since the 1980s, further research into the breakdown of the Japanese American family unit has been undertaken.⁶⁸ Mae M. Ngai published an essay in 2007 which argued that in the minds of many internment camp administrators the enemy was the Japanese family structure, therefore policies were engineered with the deconstruction of the family in mind.⁶⁹ Essentially the Japanese family unit was the antithesis of the assimilation ideal that was being put forward by social observers of the time. Nowadays, as Ngai points out, it is likely the deconstruction of the Japanese family unit in Relocation Centers would be seen as a crass social experiment, as opposed to the success it was heralded at the time. The forced deconstruction of the family unit also led to a change in the way Japanese women lived their lives. As Mei Nakano in her three-generational study of the role of women in Japanese American society notes:

Although [Issei women] were confined to a one-room living space, they were liberated from the demanding work of the former household. Their obligations as mothers, too, were considerably alleviated by the fact that their children...were making their own choices about where they would eat, what they would wear and who they would spend time with. Their husbands, in like manner, if they were not ill, demanded less attention. Now Issei women could actually choose for the first time, how they would use their time.⁷⁰

Undoubtedly Issei women suffered from a lack of privacy, particularly in the communal toilet and bathroom facilities, as well as from the physical deprivation caused by their imprisonment and the disintegration of family units. For a few women, the internment experience offered greater liberty than they had experienced pre-Pearl Harbor, but the cost of such gains weighed against the heavy price of freedom that was paid. However, the 1940s did mark ‘a turning point for Japanese American women’ in the labour force as by 1950, 47 percent of employed Japanese American women were employed as clerical and sales workers and operatives and only 10 percent in domestic service, a vast change from employment patterns before the war.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Rosalie H. Wax, “In and Out of the Tule Lake Segregation Center: Japanese Internment in the West, 1942-1945”, *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, 37 (1987), pp. 12-25. Orin Starn, “Engineering Internment: Anthropologists and the War Relocation Authority,” *American Ethnologist*, 13 (1986), pp. 700-720.

⁶⁹ Mae M. Ngai, “‘An Ironic Testimony to the Value of American Democracy’: Assimilationism and the World War II Internment”, in *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History*, eds. Penny Von Eschen and Manisha Sinha (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 243.

⁷⁰ Mei Nakano, *Japanese American Women: Three Generations 1890-1990* (Berkeley: Mina Press, 1990), pp. 62-3.

⁷¹ Valerie J. Matsumoto, “Japanese American Women during World War II”, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 8 (1984), p. 11.

Internment also had a detrimental effect on education, as schools were ill-equipped and teaching staff were transient.⁷² In the long term this failed to hold many Nisei back in their long term aspirations, but it did delay academic qualifications and the fact that the Nisei were not ultimately held back professionally owes more to their perseverance than to the provision of education in Relocation Centers.

In the past few decades, scholars have begun to consider the treatment of the Nikkei in comparison with other ethnic minorities. One such example is Richard Drinnon's monograph on Dillon S. Myer in his *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism*, which compares the treatment of those of Japanese ancestry and Native Americans.⁷³ Myer was the chief administrator of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and oversaw the relocation of the 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans from the West Coast of America. In 1946, Myer was awarded the American Medal of Merit for his 'scrupulous adherence to democratic concepts in his administration of the War Relocation Authority' and for establishing 'a precedent for equitable treatment of dislocated minorities.'⁷⁴ Myer then progressed to become head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1950s, where he essentially introduced the policies of internment to the Native American Indian population. Drinnon takes Myer as an example of the 'traditional racism' that made 'Jap Camps...as American as the Jamestown weed.'⁷⁵ To think that German prisoners of war were allowed a certain amount of unsupervised liberty so long as they wore their outfits with 'P.O.W' stencilled on the back and yet Japanese Americans were kept behind guarded barbed wire demonstrates the lack of democratic principles on which the camps were run.⁷⁶ Many of the policies used on the Japanese American population were then replicated in Native American reservations, further destroying the way of life of American Indians. Drinnon therefore draws important similarities between the two minority

⁷² Thomas James, *Exile within: the schooling of Japanese Americans, 1942-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987). More recently this subject has been dealt with poignantly through the use of a classroom diary at Topaz in Michael Tunnell and George Chilcoat, *The Children of Topaz: The Story of a Japanese-American Internment Camp* (New York: Holiday House, 1996).

⁷³ Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

communities and also points out how the lessons of World War II clearly were not learnt for some time, merely perpetuated against other powerless groups.

Roger Daniels, perhaps the most prolific author on Japanese American internment, has also explored the similarities and differences in the treatment of minorities. In *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, Daniels compares the treatment of the Japanese with the Chinese.⁷⁷ Traditionally the Japanese had always been looked upon more favourably than the Chinese, but post-Pearl Harbour, the Japanese ‘in a betrayal of almost everything that America is supposed to stand for, were rounded up and shipped off to ten godforsaken concentration camps,’ whereas the Chinese were suddenly elevated to almost the same level of other immigrant and ethnic groups so far as immigration and naturalization were concerned.⁷⁸ Daniels is keen to point out that no other enemy aliens were deprived of their liberty except by individual warrant and according to ‘due process of law’.⁷⁹ It is therefore impossible to consider internment as anything other than race based discrimination. The effects of the policy live on, as demonstrated in Michi Weglyn’s thoroughly researched monograph.⁸⁰ Weglyn, herself a child of internment, has produced a thought provoking text, which brings the reader up to date with debates on reparation and redress, as well as her fears that latent anti-Japanese feeling still exists in America, exhibiting itself in outwardly innocent activities such as anti-whaling campaigns directed specifically at Japan. She believes that it was only with the radicalisation of the Sansei, the children of the Nisei, in the 1960s and 1970s that proper attention has been paid to the treatment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War, particularly with regards to redress. Importantly, Weglyn agrees with Houston’s observations of the willingness for Japanese Americans to be interned. As Weglyn explained:

⁷⁷ Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302, and see John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977) for a discussion of the economics surrounding these events.

⁷⁹ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993), p.51.

⁸⁰ Michi Nishiura Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1996).

With profound remorse, I believed, as did numerous Japanese Americans, that somehow the stain of dishonour we collectively felt for the treachery of Pearl Harbor must be eradicated, however great the sacrifice, however little we were responsible for it. In our immaturity and naïveté, many of us who were American citizens – two-thirds of the total – believed that this, under the circumstances, was the only way to prove our loyalty to a country which we loved with the same depth of feeling that children in Japan were then being brought up to love their proud island nation.⁸¹

Interestingly, it was not until the 1990s that the reaction of other minority groups towards internment began to be considered. Cheryl Greenberg has written on “Black and Jewish Responses to Japanese Internment” and concluded that no protest was made by Jewish or African American civil rights organisations, while a few such organisations actually endorsed relocation.⁸² Greenberg takes a controversial stand in arguing that many Jews and African Americans held the perception that Japanese Americans were ‘sly’ and ‘treacherous’ and therefore held back from decrying internment.⁸³ Certainly the most prominent Jewish congressman, Julius Kahn, of San Francisco, was vehemently anti-Asian and was involved in anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese legislation in the early 1900s.⁸⁴ While it was only a minority of Jewish leaders who actively supported internment, a concerted decision was made not to involve the Jewish community in anti-internment rhetoric.⁸⁵ For the Jews, supporting the Roosevelt administration in defeating Nazi Germany and protecting their European brethren was their main priority, therefore most Jews remained silent regarding the treatment of the Japanese Americans.⁸⁶

The question, therefore, still remains as to whether the forced relocation of American citizens could happen again. Roger Daniels addresses this question in the last chapter of his *Prisoners Without Trial*.⁸⁷ In recent years, James L. Dickerson, has claimed that forced relocation is indeed still happening in the Immigration and Naturalisation Service and Guantanamo Bay.⁸⁸

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸² Cheryl Greenberg, “Black and Jewish Responses to Japanese Internment”, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 14 (1995), p. 4.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸⁴ Ellen Eisenberg, *The First to Cry Down Injustice: Western Jews and Japanese removal during WWII* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2008), p.21.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, 42.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Dickerson, *Concentration*.

His views, whilst controversial, are a worrying sign that not all of the lessons from the Second World War have been learnt.

The actions of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt have also been reassessed in the last twenty years. As Greg Robinson, author of the first comparative study of North American internment, said in his focused study of President Roosevelt, his decision to sign Executive Order 9066 was ‘the result of a failure of his presidential leadership’.⁸⁹ As President, Roosevelt should have considered the racial and constitutional implications of Executive Order 9066, instead of signing away the rights of American citizens who had voted him into power.⁹⁰ Roosevelt failed to show concern for Japanese Americans although his wife, Eleanor, did much to publicise the treatment of Japanese Americans and visited Gila River to see camp conditions for herself.

More has been written on Manzanar, Tule Lake, and Topaz than the other seven internment camps although, within the last few years, various works have sought to redress the balance. The attention focussed on these camps has been reflected in film adaptations of internment, a number of which have been set at Manzanar. Several such films have been produced including ‘Come See the Paradise’ (1990) and ‘Snow Falling on Cedars’ (1999). John Howard recently published a book that focuses on the Arkansas camps of Jerome and Rohwer.⁹¹ Jerome and Rohwer were very different from the other Relocation Centers in terms of situation. Rather than a desert location, they were in swampland, which presented its own unique problems. Howard’s book not only examines life for the internees in Arkansas but explores the possibility of homosexuality in the camps and in the lifestyle of a philanthropist, Earl Finch and his involvement with the Japanese American 442nd Infantry Regiment. Howard’s book links the fate of the internees to other minorities in the South that suffered

⁸⁹ Robinson, *Tragedy*; Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 246. See also Phillip J. Cooper, *By Order of the President: The Use and Abuse of Executive Direct Action* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2002).

⁹⁰ Robinson, *Order*, p. 257.

⁹¹ John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008).

discrimination. Japanese Americans occasionally suffered similar discrimination as African Americans at the time and their presence was not always welcome. At Rohwer, for example, a Japanese youth who was employed on a work project outside the camp was shot by a trigger happy hunter who was convinced the Japanese workers were trying to escape.⁹² Another internee was struck in the face by a businessman for allegedly forcing him off the road.⁹³ While *Concentration Camps on the Home Front* is the most significant work on the Arkansas camps, local historians have conducted their own research and published in regional journals.⁹⁴ It has often been the case that the memory of the smaller camps has been kept alive by local educational institutions: groups such as the high school based Amache Preservation Society, for example, who have persevered with a minimum of funding to keep the memory of Amache camp at Granada alive.⁹⁵

Besides the numerous monographs published on Japanese American internment, many illustrated guides have now become widely available, a phenomenon peculiar to American internment. *Whispered Silences: Japanese Americans and World War II* and *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the censored images of Japanese American Internment* are both full of poignant and evocative images of the camps.⁹⁶ The majority of photographs are taken in such a way to make the camps look as much like a 'normal' American community as possible, 'the dominant way relocation was represented in America during World War II.'⁹⁷ *Whispered Silences* also includes photographs from before the Second World War, which give the reader a chance to understand better the Japanese community prior to the trauma of internment. Works such as Sharon Yamato's *Moving Walls* bring internment and its after effects into the modern day by

⁹² Russell Bearden, "The False Rumor of Tuesday: Arkansas's Internment of Japanese-Americans", *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 41 (1982), p. 338.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ "The Amache Preservation Group" <http://www.amache.org/> See also Robert Harvey, *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado During World War II* (Dallas: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2004).

⁹⁶ Okiihiro, *Whispered Silences*. Linda Gordon and Gary Y. Okiihiro eds., *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the censored images of Japanese American internment* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006). See also Thy Phu, "The Spaces of Human Confinement: Manzanar Photography and Landscape Ideology", *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 11, 337-371 for a critique of the methods of photo-documentary.

⁹⁷ Starn, "Engineering", p. 770. Ansel Adams was criticised for his portrayal of Manzanar in this manner. See Ansel Adams, John Armor, and Peter Wright, *Manzanar* (New York: Times Books, 1988).

chronicling the emotional journey wrought by the transportation of a barracks building from Heart Mountain to Los Angeles to serve as part of an exhibit at the Japanese American National Museum.⁹⁸ Yamato's work shows the powerful effect internment still has on the Japanese American community and how it cannot, and should not, be forgotten or hidden in the national conscience.

Internment has become an acknowledged part of both American and British history. However, in both countries the subject only entered public consciousness several decades after the Second World War. There can be no doubt that American internment was more racially based than that in Britain, but this does not deny the existence of latent anti-alien feeling in either country. However, it was America, not Britain, which actively pursued anti-alienism to the extent of interning its own citizens because of their ancestry – an act more familiar to historians of the Axis nations; and this despite the fact that the Americans had consulted with the British over how internment could be conducted.⁹⁹ The use of tribunals in Britain initially seemed a liberal policy that would ensure the freedom of the innocent, but as war progressed the 'enemy aliens' found themselves pushed into the all-encompassing category of 'internees.' While both countries may have taken different routes they both arrived at a similar destination. However, Britain was much more willing to reconsider its actions in the light of changing circumstances whereas America was more intransigent.

Internment was not a pleasant experience by any stretch of the imagination for those unlucky enough to be interned, but for the majority of internees in Britain, their experience was relatively short-lived and it was easier for former internees to re-enter society. While America can congratulate itself for not transporting any internees directly to their death, the fact remains that much more lasting damage was sustained by those interned in America than those in Britain. This is demonstrated in the call for restitution made by Japanese Americans in the 1980s. The Japanese American restitution case was a watershed in the history of redress,

⁹⁸ Sharon Yamato, *Moving Walls: Preserving the Barracks of America's Concentration Camps* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1998). Dorothy Hoobler and Thomas Hoobler, *The Japanese American Family Album* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁹⁹ Gillmans, *Collar*, p. 274.

including as it did a ‘declaration by the U. S. government that historical injustices ought to be amended.’¹⁰⁰ In comparison, the claims that have been made against the British government relate to losses incurred on the *Dunera* voyage and were settled, with no major implications for British policy.¹⁰¹

Significant round ups of enemy aliens occurred in several Allied countries during the war, however, few comparative histories have been written to analyse the similarities and differences of internment in these countries. One work has sought to address this and Greg Robinson’s *A Tragedy of Democracy* is an excellent model for comparative histories in this area. Robinson has compared a variety of aspects of internment on the North American continent, contrasting the experience of Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians during the Second World War and its aftermath, up to and including the redress movement.¹⁰² This thesis follows in the tradition of Marc Bloch’s ‘belief that history cannot be intelligible unless it can “succeed in establishing explanatory relationships between phenomena”’.¹⁰³ By comparing the experiences of internees in both Britain and America, both general phenomena, and also phenomena peculiar to certain localities, can be identified. This analysis adds a deeper level to the understanding of the topic of internment by identifying which aspects of the social and political situation in each nation affected the overall internment experience and why. The United States of America and Great Britain share many ties historically. In this thesis, they are considered as independent cases ‘that are brought together analytically by asking for similarities and differences between them’.¹⁰⁴

Comparative history is ‘a way to determine what needs to be known, and social analysis not at least implicitly comparative is hard to imagine. There is really no other way to identify historical

¹⁰⁰ Elazar Barkan, *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 2001), p. 30.

¹⁰¹ Gillmans, *Collar*, p. 279.

¹⁰² Robinson, *Tragedy*.

¹⁰³ William H. Sewell Jr., “Marc Bloch and the Logic of Comparative History,” *History and Theory*, 6 (1967), p. 208.

¹⁰⁴ Jürgen Kocka, “Comparison and Beyond,” *History and Theory*, 42 (2003), p. 41.

eras or recognize historical change'.¹⁰⁵ It is a means of 'isolating the critical factors or independent variables that account for national history'.¹⁰⁶ It is also a way to see 'old problems in new light' and that is why it is essential for comparative histories such as *A Tragedy of Democracy*, as well as this thesis, to make up part of the historical record of internment.¹⁰⁷

This thesis is innovative as it is the first comparison of internment between the United States and Great Britain, a comparison that contrasts a country that has both a Constitution and a Bill of Rights with one that has an unwritten code. The existing literature leaves several crucial areas unexplored, including the commemoration of sites of internment. This thesis also offers new, comparative insights into the impact of internment on family units and long term effects on family structure of the incarcerations on both sides of the Atlantic. Whereas government files have been studied intensively in America, due to the slow release of research government and intelligence files less use has been made of these sources.

In this work the focus is the internment of enemy aliens in Great Britain. Prisoners of War and those interned under Defence Regulation 18B are, for the most part, outside the scope of this work, though you may find an occasional reference to them in the footnotes. The focus on America is upon those of Japanese ancestry, as opposed to those from other Axis nations. When discussed as a whole, those of Japanese ancestry living in the United States are collectively known as the Nikkei. Immigrants who arrived from Japan and remained in America are the Issei, and their American-born children, the Nisei. Nisei who were sent by their parents to Japan in order to learn more about the Japanese way of life are the Kibei. Children of the Nisei are the Sansei, or 'third generation'. In Britain, the detention of enemy aliens was commonly known as internment, and will be referred to as such. However, in the case of the United States of America, many different terms have been used to describe the forced removal of Nikkei from the West Coast of America and their subsequent detention in

¹⁰⁵ Raymond Grew, "On Reading Six Books in Search of Another", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), p. 355.

¹⁰⁶ George M. Frederickson, "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History," *Journal of American History*, 82 (1995), p. 587.

¹⁰⁷ Grew, "Six", p. 364.

euphemistically termed 'Relocation Centers'. Wherever the word 'relocation' or 'evacuation' is used it is with the understanding that it describes a movement of persons forced by the United States government to leave their homes and livelihoods with no adequate compensation or information as to what would happen to them in the short or long term. Relocation was not a choice and had neither the best interests of the Nikkei nor the security of the West Coast behind it.

In order to gain a full picture of Second World War internment it is necessary to examine a wide range of sources. This work makes use of the rich primary source material located in the National Archives at Kew, the Manx National Archives in Douglas, the Isle of Man, the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and Special Collections located at the University of California, Los Angeles. A large number of interviews have been recorded in an attempt to preserve the voices of those who were interned, and this work draws upon those held at the Imperial War Museum, the Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive (JARDA), previously unused transcripts of interviews conducted by Wendy Ugolini with members of the Scots-Italian community, and also several interviews conducted by the author with former internees and family members from the United States and Great Britain. The author has also had the privilege of including never before seen source material from letters written by a sixteen-year-old refugee interned in Rushen camp, which have been used courtesy of Gaby Koppel. Several of the former internment camps in both Britain and America have been visited, and use will be made of first-hand knowledge regarding the historical preservation of these sites.

The oral histories referred to in this thesis capture the experiences of those directly affected by internment on both sides of the barbed wire. These give life to, and complement, the archival material such as government documents, reports, and correspondence. The use of oral history 'may often serve as an indispensable avenue into the lives of those who are otherwise hidden from history' and is therefore essential when studying minority groups,

whose voices are not always heard above the noise of the majority.¹⁰⁸ As with any other source, interviews can have their own advantages and disadvantages. ‘Oral history is as reliable or unreliable as other research sources. No single piece of data of any sort should be trusted completely, and all sources need to be tested against other evidence’, a reminder to every historian of the importance of checking one’s sources regardless of whether or not they are archival.¹⁰⁹ In this thesis oral history and documentary sources are taken to complement each other. Consideration also has also been given to the concept of ‘myth making’, and the influence of generations of history. As Paul Thompson has noted, ‘[t]elling one's own life story requires not only recounting directly remembered experience, but also drawing on information and stories transmitted across the generations, both about the years too early in childhood to remember, and also further back in time beyond one's own birth.’¹¹⁰ This is particularly significant with the immigrant communities discussed in this thesis, where cultures collided during the war between the country of an individual’s birth, and the customs of British and American society. A large part of identity in immigrant families comes from the stories transmitted from previous generations to reinforce ideas of heritage and culture. These stories are combined with the experiences of families as they settle in a new land and experience combinations of prejudice, acceptance, and different cultural norms. This makes the experiences of the internees all the more complex, especially as former internees reconstructed their lives in a post-conflict environment.

The thesis follows an essentially chronological structure with some thematic sections. The first chapter examines the legal precedents for the mass incarceration of enemy aliens and patterns of anti-alienism from the 19th to the 20th century in Britain and the United States. Chapter two focuses on the experiences of the internees and how they created ‘homes’ in the most unlikely of places. The release process and how the former internees set about rebuilding

¹⁰⁸ Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, “Documenting Diversity: The Southern Experience”, *The Oral History Review*, 4 (1976), p. 19.

¹⁰⁹ Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 26.

¹¹⁰ Paul Thompson, ‘Family Myth, Models, and Denials in the Shaping of Individual Life Paths’, in *International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Studies, Volume II*, ed. by Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 13.

their lives and ultimately gained redress in the United States is covered in the third chapter. The final chapter deals with the historical memory and commemoration of the former sites of internment. The conclusion juxtaposes and explores the parallel and intertwining themes, analysing the similarities and differences between the practises and experiences of internment in the two countries.

Chapter 1 – The Origins of Internment

...in the case of an immigrant who proves that he is seeking admission to this country solely to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds or for an offence of a political character, or persecution, involving danger of imprisonment or danger to life or limb, on account of religious belief, leave to land shall not be refused on the ground merely of want of means, or the probability of his becoming a charge on the rates...

Aliens Act 1905¹

...the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission in to the United States: ...persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia...or who are natives of any country, province, or dependency situate on the Continent of Asia...

Act to regulate the immigration of aliens...in the United States, 1917²

Anti-alien legislation in Britain

In order to understand how Second World War internment happened, it is first necessary to consider the treatment of aliens in the preceding centuries. Anti-alien legislation in Great Britain was nothing new, and neither was the fear of foreign spies and saboteurs arriving at British shores. Believing that Britain might be infiltrated by Republican agents following the French Revolution, Parliament passed the 1793 ‘Regulators of Aliens Act’.³ The 1793 Act required ‘the Master or Commander of every Ship or Vessel which [arrived] in a Port or Place of this Kingdom’ to ‘declare in Writing to the Collector and Comptroller...any foreigners on Board...and also specify their Names and respective Rank, Occupation, or Description.’⁴ Every alien arriving in the country was then to be provided with a certificate by the Collector of Customs, which they were to keep on their person for the duration of their stay.⁵ Aliens were required to register with the local magistrate wherever they chose to reside, and if they

¹ “Aliens Act 1905”

² “An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States” 1917

³ E. S. Roscoe, “Aliens in Great Britain.” *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 16 (1930), p. 66.

⁴ “Regulators of Aliens Act 1793.”

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Merchant seamen and domestic servants were, however, exempt from the Act.

wished to move, had to obtain a 'passport' from the magistrate or else face imprisonment followed by deportation.⁶ This proved to be an oft repeated formula in the following centuries. The 1793 Act set a precedent for monitoring aliens arriving at and residing within Britain's shores. The 1816 Regulations of Aliens Act continued the practice of issuing certificates to aliens, but also exempted certain categories of aliens, such as domestic servants and foreign ambassadors, from its provisions.⁷ In 1826 the restrictions were extended to require aliens to notify officials of their place of abode every six months.⁸ Not until the Act for the Registration of Aliens of 1836 were fewer demands made on aliens. The 1836 Act required an alien merely to produce his 'passport' on entering Britain, to answer some basic questions on where he had travelled from, and to be issued with a certificate, which entitled him to live freely in Great Britain for so long as he desired.⁹

Aliens arriving at British ports after 1793 were monitored by the British government, who wanted to know which foreigners were in the country, where they were from, where they were living, and what they were doing. The effectiveness of such arrangements, however, was debatable – the observance of the 1836 Act lapsed in the 1850s and 1860s when few ships submitted lists of aliens on board outside the Port of London.¹⁰ Prolonged economic depression in the 1870s and the dramatic increase of immigration in the 1880s led to demands for a revival of the 1836 Act in May 1890.¹¹ Due to the economic conditions of the late nineteenth century, attitudes towards refugees and economic migrants changed drastically, as sympathy towards the plight of aliens eroded.¹² However, it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that further restrictions were placed on the statute books. Britain had remained, for the most part, open to immigrants from all friendly nations.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.36, 38.

⁷ "Act for establishing Regulations respecting aliens 1816."

⁸ Roscoe, "Aliens", p. 66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, and also see "Act for the Registration of Aliens 1836."; Roscoe, "Aliens", p. 66.

¹⁰ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration & British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988) p. 277.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

¹² David Cesarani, "An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940", in *Internment of Aliens*, p. 28.

The 1905 Aliens Act was the watershed of British immigration policy. Eastern European Jews had been entering Great Britain in great numbers in the 1880s and 1890s as a result of suffering religious persecution in Eastern Europe. The London borough of Stepney developed the largest immigrant population in the country.¹³ The eastern European immigrants ‘formed a society apart, with standards derived from other sources than England’ and sought to preserve as much of their culture as possible which, perhaps unsurprisingly, creating an antagonism that was to carry into anti-alien rallies and calls for restriction.¹⁴ Essentially the refugee and immigrant problem was one of not supporting the pauperised community that had exacerbated pre-existing poor standards of living in the East End. By 1888 and 1889 a two Parliamentary Committees found ‘general agreement that pauper immigration [was] an evil and should be checked’, as well as a ‘tendency of destitute foreigners to reduce still lower the social and material condition of our poor’.¹⁵ Tension mounted further with influxes of immigrants caused by the 1900 ‘exodus’ from Rumania, the 1903 Kishinev outrage, and the pogroms that resulted from the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 and the Russian Revolution in 1905.¹⁶ By this time the term ‘alien’ had become synonymous with the word ‘Jew’, and despite the best efforts of Anglo-Jewry to offer charitable aid where appropriate and repatriate those unable to support themselves, political parties, particularly those on the right, capitalised on the issue of pauper immigration and how it could be curbed. A Royal Commission on Alien Immigration reported in 1903 and an Aliens Bill was introduced to Parliament in 1904. Fears over the nation’s ‘health’ and ‘efficiency’ were used to promote the need for legislation and can be seen as one of radical Unionism’s few victories.¹⁷ The 1905 Aliens Act was actually less restrictive than the 1903 recommendations and a watered down version of the 1904 Bill,

¹³ Some were transmigrants, often stopping en route to North America, but many eastern European Jews ended their journey in London and chose to settle in the East End (Catherine Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain*. (London: Tavistock, 1977), pp. 70, 74).

¹⁴ Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*. (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), p. 166. The Jews were also often destitute by the time they arrived in London, having spent their resources on travelling to the country.

¹⁵ David Feldman, “‘The Importance of Being English’: Jewish immigration and the decay of liberal England,” in *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations since 1800*, eds. David Feldman and Gareth Stedman (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 61.

¹⁶ Jones, *Immigration*, p. 67.

¹⁷ Feldman, “Importance”, p.78. David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews, Social Relations and Political Culture 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 281.

but the Aliens Act was still a restrictive measure, aimed specifically at destitute immigrants fleeing Russia and its environs, and pushed through by a desperate Conservative government on the brink of being ousted from government.¹⁸

The word ‘immigrant’ as used in the 1905 Act referred only to ‘an alien steerage passenger’ landing in Great Britain who was not in possession of an onward paid ticket to another destination or could convince ‘the immigration officer or board concerned...that he desire[d] to land in the United Kingdom only for the purpose of proceeding within a reasonable time to some destination out of the United Kingdom.’¹⁹ Britain was not particularly concerned about middle or upper class immigration. Immigrants from this point onwards were classified as ‘desirable’ or ‘undesirable’. An ‘undesirable immigrant’ was defined as one who could not show that he could support himself and his family, a ‘lunatic or idiot’, or one suffering from a ‘disease or infirmity’ that could result in becoming a ‘charge upon the rates or otherwise a detriment to the public’.²⁰ However, Britain had not fully forgotten its reputation as a place of refuge, and therefore, if an immigrant was seeking admission to the country

solely to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds or for an offence of a political character, or persecution, involving danger of imprisonment or danger to life or limb, on account of religious belief, leave to land [would] not be refused on the ground merely of want of means, or the probability of his becoming a charge on the rates.²¹

Thus, refugees continued to be granted asylum in Britain, despite the exclusionist tone of the 1905 Act.

Britain was not the only country introducing exclusionist policies at this time. Putting the case of the United States of America to one side as it will be considered later; other European countries and the British dominions were already, or were well on the way to, discriminating against certain types of immigrants. Twice in the nineteenth century Germany attempted to expel all alien Poles, in 1886 and 1890. Having failed to do so, Germany then introduced

¹⁸ Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 101.

¹⁹ “Aliens Act 1905.”

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²¹ *Ibid.*

identity cards in 1907 to control this immigrant group.²² In 1901 Australia introduced the ‘White Australia’ policy that stayed in force until 1973, and in 1910 Canada followed suit with a law that lasted till 1962.²³ The 1905 Act also masked national disquiet regarding the arrival of German gypsies in 1904 and the deportation orders that forcibly despatched several hundred gypsies back to mainland Europe between 1905 and 1906.²⁴

It is possible that the 1905 Aliens Act did, to an extent, achieve its intended goal and deterred pauper immigration between 1906 and 1910.²⁵ Certainly there is evidence to suggest that the Act had a psychological effect on prospective immigrants – many eastern Europeans discounted Britain as a destination and instead set their hopes on America.²⁶ The 1905 Act was an unprecedented law and introduced a range of new systems.²⁷ The main effect of the legislation was as a deterrent to immigrants before they started their journey. In reality, refusal rates for those arriving at British ports were low, altogether between 1906 and 1913 a total of 7,594 aliens were refused the right to immigrate into Britain and refusals never reached much above 1,000 per year.²⁸ The number of aliens properly inspected by immigration officers also fell in the years following the Act – in 1906, 71 percent of alien immigrants arriving at British ports were inspected compared to 59 percent in 1910.²⁹ By 1914 the threat of the Aliens Act seemed to have worn off and immigration levels had returned to the average 5,000 a year

²² Colin Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities in Britain*. (London: Faber, 1991), p. 106.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19 and Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, ethnicity and racism in Britain, 1815-1945*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 106.

²⁵ Helena Wray, “The Aliens Act 1905 and the Immigration Dilemma,” *Journal of Law and Society*, 33 (2006), p. 319.

²⁶ Gartner, *Immigrant*, p. 279.

²⁷ For the first time, immigration officers had the power to refuse entry to the United Kingdom. Appeals against an immigration officer’s decision could be made to an Immigration Board, but as the Boards were also a new construct great weight was given to the advice of immigration officers who were often keen to justify their decisions. However, the fact that immigration officers were now invested with such authority marked the entry into a new era of immigration control within the British Isles. See Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*. (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 201.

²⁸ Jill Pellew, “The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905.” *The Historical Journal* 32, 2, p. 384; Wray “Dilemma”, p. 303.

²⁹ Pellew, “Home Office”, p. 384.

Britain had experienced 1881 to 1905.³⁰ The foundation had been laid, however, for further exclusionist legislation and it was with little difficulty that new strictures were passed into law.

Whereas the 1905 Act had been agonised over, the 1914 Aliens Registration Act passed through the House of Commons in a single day.³¹ As David Cesarani has noted:

anti-alienism developed a momentum, dynamic and logic of its own. The existence of a statute and the administrative machinery to enforce it provided the basis for continuity. Politicians and civil servants began to amass experience in operating anti-alien measures and laid down precedents for future development. Anti-alienism was carried forward by the inexorable workings of the Home Office bureaucracy.³²

The 1914 Act placed strict controls over registration, movement, and deportation of aliens.³³

It was a result of the First World War and was considered necessary as a security measure against the possibility of enemy alien infiltration. The Home Secretary was given the power to prevent immigrants from landing at British ports and to deport immigrants already landed.³⁴

All aliens were also required to register with the police.³⁵ This information was later to prove invaluable in the internment of male enemy aliens resident in the British Isles during the War.

Despite the fact the 1914 Act was intended as a temporary measure, one based on the precedent of the 1793 Act that allowed for the State to have special powers over aliens in time of war or national emergency, the 1914 Act was renewed after the war by means of the 1919 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act. ³⁶ The 1914 Aliens Restriction Act can be seen largely as a sign of the times as the Defence of the Realm Act was passed in the same year, which rendered civilians liable to court martial instead of trial by jury, as well as the introduction of the death penalty for assisting the enemy.³⁷ However, the 1919 (Amendment) Act demonstrated just how strong anti-alien feeling was by the end of the First World War.³⁸

³⁰ V. D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 73.

³¹ Holmes, *Tolerant?*, p. 24.

³² Cesarani, "Alien Concept?", p. 31.

³³ Holmes, *Tolerant?*, p. 24.

³⁴ Tom Rees, "Immigration policies in the United Kingdom," in *Race in Britain: Continuity and Change*, ed. Charles Husband (London: Hutchinson, 1982), p. 79.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Roscoe, "Aliens", p. 69.

³⁷ Aaron L. Goldman, "Defence Regulation 18B: Emergency Internment of Aliens and Political Dissenters in Great Britain during World War II." *The Journal of British Studies* 12, no. 2 (1973), p. 120.

³⁸ There were multiple riots against non-whites in 1919. Cesarani, "Alien Concept?", p. 37.

Cleansing the country from foreigners was a popular political campaigning tool that won many post-war votes. Lloyd George set the scene in his election pledge in September 1918 when he claimed that Germans had ‘forfeited claims to remain’ in the United Kingdom.³⁹ The 1919 (Amendment) Act was therefore particularly harsh and the discussion surrounding it had a decidedly racist overtone.⁴⁰ No former enemy aliens were allowed to land in the United Kingdom for three years after the Act’s passage without permission from the Secretary of State, and if so granted, aliens were not allowed to remain for more than three months without applying for an extension to remain.⁴¹ The 1919 (Amendment) Act resulted in the expulsion of over 30,000 Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Turks.⁴² Never before had a movement been made to expel such a vast number of foreigners at one time, regardless of the time they had been resident in the United Kingdom. The 1919 (Amendment) Act marked a huge departure from previous policy with its blatant hostility towards wartime ‘enemies’ of the United Kingdom, a hostility shared by the other victorious Allied nations. Long gone was the Britain renowned for its belief in ‘unquestioning refuge and tolerance’.⁴³

The years preceding internment

Britain in the 1930s had no legal obligation to grant refuge to those seeking asylum.⁴⁴ The ‘watchword of British policy was to admit only such refugees as could be conveniently disposed of...whether what was at stake was refuge or rescue’.⁴⁵ During the 1930s refugees from Germany began arriving, although Britain was not always the obvious choice of refuge – out of the 150,000 who had fled Germany between 1933 and 1937 a mere 5,500 came to

³⁹ David Cesarani, “Anti-Alienism in England After the First World War,” *Immigrants and Minorities*, 6 (1987), p. 6.

⁴⁰ It increased the restrictions on aliens in multiple ways which included making name changes illegal, making it illegal for an alien to hold a position of authority on a British merchant ship or fishing boat registered in the United Kingdom, and making it illegal for former enemy aliens to own or have an interest in land in Great Britain, or any share or interest in any company owning a British ship, for three years after the passing of the Act. “Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act 1919.”

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 432.

⁴² Cesarani, “Anti-Alienism”, p. 5.

⁴³ A further restriction added to the 1919 (Amendment) Act was passed in 1925, namely the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, which closed a loophole that had allowed alien seamen the right to settle in Britain (Holmes, *Tolerant?*, p. 25. Rees, “Immigration”, p. 78).

⁴⁴ Louise London, “Britain and Refugees from Nazism: Policies, Constraints and Choices”, in *European immigrants in Britain*, pp. 75-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Britain.⁴⁶ It was only after Kristallnacht in 1938 that the numbers of refugees dramatically increased, moving from the political refugees of the early Thirties to a Jewish majority. A mixture of ‘antipathy, ambivalence and sympathy’ characterised the British approach to the refugees in the decade before the Second World War.⁴⁷

Visas had been abandoned between Britain, Germany, and Austria in 1927, but as the numbers of refugees increased visas were reinstated in 1938.⁴⁸ Passport officers abroad complained about the ‘poor type of refugee for whom authorisations for visas are being issued’, and the government believed it was allowing in a number of ‘mentally and physically defectives’ that would become a charge on the rates.⁴⁹ Even the Board of Deputies of British Jews agreed with the government that ‘If a flood of the wrong type of immigrants were allowed in there might be serious danger of anti-Semitic feeling being aroused’.⁵⁰ One might have thought that with such concerns over the quality of refugee that the British would welcome professionals, but the admission of skilled workers met with just as many objections as that of the unskilled. As early as 1935, the British Dental Association warned that if Jewish dentists were legally debarred (whether for racial or other reasons) from practicing dentistry in Germany then they would not be able to practice in Britain.⁵¹ Sixty-one dentists were granted admission to the British Dental Register in 1936 but no further dentists were to be admitted unless they were individuals ‘of outstanding eminence’.⁵² The British Medical Association took an even harder line by refusing to admit any specialists and were only prepared ‘on humanitarian grounds’ to

⁴⁶ Brinson and Dove, *Intelligence*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ However, there was still little understanding as to the scale of the problems for Jews in Germany and when refugees tried to describe the situation the reaction in Britain was often ‘to assume that [refugees were] prejudiced than that they were blind...[we] shut up’ (Marion Berghahn, “Jewish Refugees in Britain”, in *European immigrants in Britain*, p. 99). Even when refugees were granted entry, their ‘freedom and security were far from complete’ (Tony Kushner and Katharine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide* (London: Cass, 1999), p. 154).

⁴⁸ Brinson and Dove, *Intelligence*, p. 22.

⁴⁹ Memorandum on Austrian refugees HO 213/103 (1938). Concerns raised by the German Jewish Aid Committee about the immigration of “Mental cases” HO 213/317 (1939).

⁵⁰ Quote from a meeting with the Board of Deputies of British Jews as noted in HO 213/42 (1938); also see Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 295-6.

⁵¹ Note of meeting with President of General Medical Council HO 213/264 (1935).

⁵² Memorandum HO 213/265 (1936). As A. J. Sherman has noted, much attention has been paid to ‘the outspoken hostility of the British medical profession to refugee doctors, dentists and especially psychoanalysts’ while few have remembered ‘the inescapable reality that in a time of widespread unemployment no country in the world was prepared to accept large numbers of destitute immigrants’. See Sherman, *Island Refuge*, p. 6.

admit twenty Austrian general practitioners ‘whose activities [were] less likely to attract attention’.⁵³ This despite the fact that in a total of 45,000 practicing doctors in Britain the admission of 200 or 300 refugees would have meant an increase of less than one percent to their number. As one member of the Home Office noted, ‘it would seem contrary to the traditions of this humane and liberal profession to refuse this small measure of help to their professional brethren who are the victims of a mediaeval persecution’.⁵⁴ Not all professions took such a negative approach to the foreigners: architects, particularly in London, were keen to endorse a ‘generous policy’ towards the refugees that included exemption from examinations and inclusion on the Architect’s register provided they were otherwise suitably qualified.⁵⁵

Numerous schemes were arranged in order to offer hope to those abroad but these schemes could not satisfy the vast numbers of those trying to escape Germany.⁵⁶ German youths were to be offered agricultural training in preparation for potentially moving to one of the colonies, but such plans were not popular with Britain’s dominions.⁵⁷ Fears abounded across the dominions that Britain’s unwanted refugees might be forced upon them, a fear which was not entirely unfounded as will be shown later. Australia, for example, believed it was going to be overrun by foreign doctors trained in Great Britain but forced out of the country after completion of their qualifications.⁵⁸ Canada was equally unwilling to take British ‘rejects’, despite British hopes to the contrary.

⁵³ Attitude of British medical bodies HO 213/257 (1938).

⁵⁴ Such an unyielding attitude led to at least one documented case of a doctor taking his own life in desperation at the fact he was informed he would not be able to practice in England. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Memorandum HO 213/266 (1939). Mention should also be made of the efforts made by those in scholarly circles to assist their persecuted brethren. For those unable to secure a position in a British university, help was offered by various societies to find suitable jobs in America. See Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons: German-Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), p. 78.

⁵⁶ Students were able to secure time in Britain, provided that they promised to leave the country upon completion of their studies. Hebrew Christians were offered training in Britain provided they secured employment outside of the British Isles. See HO 213/256 Doctors: correspondence with International Hebrew Christian Alliance (1938).

⁵⁷ See HO 213/267 (1936) for a Y.M.C.A. scheme that faltered at the first bureaucratic hurdle and HO 213/282 (1939) for a G.E.C. plan to train forty refugees in Alderney for future work in Northern Rhodesia.

⁵⁸ Dr. Moritz Meyer, a German Jewish doctor who trained in Britain, won a case against the Medical Board of Victoria, Australia, which had tried to keep him from practicing. Australians feared the

Although there were protests from several prominent professions refusing employment to refugees, general public opinion was that refugees should not be sent back to Germany unless they were ‘criminally undesirable’.⁵⁹ Norway and Belgium were prepared to offer sanctuary to German refugees and allowed them indefinite leave to remain, provided they did not come to the adverse notice of the police.⁶⁰ Britain had already accepted, as of early 1938, at least 10,000 refugees, a marginal figure considering the size of the country. As conditions for the Jews in Germany worsened, the Home Office recognised that granting asylum was a necessity and that once admitted to the country, it should be assumed that refugees would become permanent residents.⁶¹ However, debates still raged over the suitability of refugees and visas were only to be granted to those who could prove they had friends or relatives in Britain or were of international repute in their field.⁶² The government approach to Jewish refugees stumbled, time and again, over the problem of what to ‘do’ with the refugees, rather than their plight.⁶³ Britain was, however, more liberal in its approach to granting visas to transmigrants. Many transmigrants travelled as far as Britain and then decided to settle, for any one of a multitude of reasons including problems with their onward transit, particularly to the United States of America. In 1939, Britain still had hopes that the United States government would relax their immigration laws and therefore ease the pressure on the numbers arriving in Britain, however, the United States never did and so countless individuals and families were left stranded in Britain, if they were lucky, or continental Europe where, even if an American visa was to be granted, it was often too late.⁶⁴ One striking example of the government being lenient in the granting of visas can be found in the case of the Kitchener Camp near Sandwich,

court’s decision would open up the floodgates of unwanted refugees who had qualified in Britain. Australian fear of mass influx of doctors HO 213/255 (1937). Each of the dominions had their own independent policy on aliens. See Sherman, *Refugee*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Correspondence with German embassy HO 213/95 (1938).

⁶⁰ Jewish refugees in France HO 213/105 (1939). Between 1933 and 1939 it is estimated that 23,000 refugees were admitted to the Netherlands, 25,000 were admitted to Belgium, and 40,000 were absorbed by France. Sherman, *Refugee*, pp. 264-5. See also Brinson and Dove, *Intelligence*, p. 22.

⁶¹ Austrian refugees: revision of landing conditions HO 213/3 (1938).

⁶² British legal reaction to German race laws relating to Jewish emigration HO 213/94 (1938).

⁶³ Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933-1948: British immigration policy, Jewish refugees, and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 2.

⁶⁴ Temporary asylum for German immigrants to U.S.A.: opinions of American Consul General in Berlin HO 213/115 (1939).

in Kent. Here, at a former First World War embarkation camp, four thousand men who were either in transit or were training for occupations abroad were housed between February 1939 and March 1940. The camp, funded by the Central British Fund for German Jewry, wanted to give opportunities for men to leave Germany as they felt women already had the opportunity by applying for positions as domestics. The government's role in this endeavour was to relax the rules where only those who could prove they would not become a charge on the rates could be admitted to the country: instead the government handed the responsibility for maintaining the men to the Central British Fund.⁶⁵

The number of refugees entering Great Britain continued to increase until, on the outbreak of war, an estimated 80,000 German, Austrian, and Czechoslovakian refugees had been admitted to the country.⁶⁶ A significant number of refugees were maintained by refugee organisations as they had no other means of support and there were at least 15,000 such cases at the beginning of the war.⁶⁷ The government felt it in its best interests to offer financial aid to the refugee organisations on a basis whereby every pound pledged by the government would be met by an equal contribution from private benefactors.⁶⁸ Aid was thus guaranteed through the Central Committee for Refugees to help support those in need of immediate assistance at the beginning of the war. However, concerns remained as to the possibility of internment if war was to break out, given Britain's history of previous wartime incarceration.

First World War Internment

⁶⁵ Clare Ungerson, "The Forgotten Four Thousand: Jewish Refugees in Sandwich in 1939," *Wiener Library Seminar*, January 25, 2011. See also "Papers of Adolf Gruenwald, One Time Internee of Sefton Camp"; IWM, "Evelyn Ruth Kaye Interview"; Sherman, *Refuge*, p. 215; Peter Leighton-Langer, *The King's Own Loyal Enemy Aliens: German and Austrian Refugees in Britain's Armed Forces, 1939-45* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), p. 8.

⁶⁶ London, *Whitehall*, p. 11; Brinson and Dove, *Intelligence*, p. 1; Sherman, *Refuge*, p. 7; Johannes-Dieter Steinert and Inge Weber-Newth, "European Immigrants in Britain, 1933-50," in *European Immigrants in Britain*, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Financial difficulties: note of meeting with Treasury, Unemployment Assistance Board and Ministry of Health HO 213/294 (1939).

⁶⁸ Financial assistance from government: proposed methods HO 213/295 (1940).

During the First World War approximately 60,000 German nationals were resident in Great Britain who were, for the most part, economic migrants of the late nineteenth century.⁶⁹ Clues as to how the refugees might be treated in the Second World War can be found in the way that the enemy aliens were treated between 1914 and 1918. Only three days after war was declared with Germany, the General Staff decided that all male enemy aliens between the ages of 17 and 42 should be interned for the duration of the war. However, the decision of the General Staff was overturned and instead only those who were deemed to be an immediate threat to the security of the nation were imprisoned.⁷⁰ Despite a lack of suitable internment camps by May 1915 there were 19,000 internees.⁷¹ Prime Minister Asquith publicly announced on May 13, 1915 that ‘all adult males...should, for their own safety, and that of the community, be segregated and interned, or, if over military age, repatriated’.⁷² Certain cases of women and children were also subject to repatriation unless there were reasons of justice or humanity for them to remain. The Home Office’s desire was to repatriate all German female adults unless they gained their nationality through marriage, and those that did not obtain an exemption notice from a special tribunal were advised to leave the country voluntarily or face deportation.⁷³

Of course, one of the great differences between the First World War enemy aliens and the Second World War enemy aliens was the fact that the bulk of the latter consisted of refugees who had fled Nazi Germany. The assumption, therefore, was that enemy aliens in the Second World War would be treated differently. As we have seen earlier, the anti-alien feeling during the First World War was at such heights that after the war foreign nationals were forcibly repatriated and barred from returning to Britain for a minimum of three years. The question

⁶⁹ Panikos Panayi, “An Intolerant Act by an Intolerant Society: The Internment of Germans in Britain During the First World War,” in *Internment of Aliens*, p. 55.

⁷⁰ Internees were permitted to appeal the decision that had put them behind barbed wire if they could obtain ‘sureties from two British persons of standing’ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

remained as to how Britain was to deal with the tens of thousands of refugees within its shores during a second time of crisis.

Tribunals

The Government was aware at the outbreak of conflict in 1939 that a significant number of enemy aliens in Britain were likely to harbour pro-Allied sympathies. In order to ascertain which enemy aliens were friendly to Britain a system of tribunals was instituted. The hope was that by screening enemy aliens resident in Britain it would be possible to avoid detaining genuine refugees. Sir John Anderson, then Home Secretary, stated publicly that ‘the plans prepared are based on the principle that effective steps must be taken to render harmless all aliens who may be hostile to this country, but there should be no unnecessary interference with other foreigners, of whom many are anxious to help this country.’⁷⁴ He further stated that the tribunals were to be established

[with] the assistance of nearly a hundred men with legal experience to review all cases of Germans and Austrians who are in this country. Each of these gentlemen will sit as a tribunal to review all cases in the area assigned to him. In London there will be several tribunals for areas in which there are large numbers of Germans and Austrians. No tribunal will have more than about 500 cases to examine, and it will therefore be possible to complete the review rapidly. The police will make arrangements for seeing that particulars of each case are brought before the tribunal. The Voluntary Committees which have been befriending refugees will assist the tribunals by giving the information which they have about individual aliens, and it has been arranged with the Refugee Joint Consultative Committee that they will send to each tribunal an accredited representative to act as a liaison officer who will obtain and present this information.⁷⁵

The police were responsible for arranging the date of each alien’s tribunal and ensuring the relevant persons attended. Males were given highest priority, females second, and the sick and elderly last, though families were seen as a unit.⁷⁶ Each tribunal was given discretion on whether to interview each enemy alien. It was hoped that there would be sufficient information provided by the refugee organisations, the police, and security forces that time could be saved on each decision if an interview did not take place. However, guidelines did state that if the recommendation for internment were to be made, then ‘the Alien should be interviewed’.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ September 4, 1939 as quoted in Harkins, “Huyton”, p. 113.

⁷⁵ Sir John Anderson explained the structure to Parliament September 20, 1939, HO 213/453 Setting up (1939).

⁷⁶ Scottish Tribunals for German and Austrian Refugees ‘HO 213/454 Scotland’, 1939.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Monitoring of the enemy alien population by MI5 was rudimentary at best and until 1935 had focused almost exclusively on those with left-leaning sympathies. It was only from 1935 that pro-Nazis started to be monitored in MI5's card index files.⁷⁸ It was with some suspicion then that many anti-Nazi enemy aliens were viewed because Communists were still considered one of the greatest threats to national security.

A further problem the tribunals had to overcome was the language barrier. Those who had fled to Britain immediately preceding 1939 had often not planned to leave their home country and had not had a chance to learn English. In many cases it was necessary to have an interpreter present in order to adequately present the alien's case, and this was the plan of the Home Office at the time, although this was not always possible.⁷⁹ In London the ease of providing an interpreter was greater than in more remote parts of the country due to the location of multiple refugee organisations in Bloomsbury House.⁸⁰ The major problem with the tribunals, however, was the lack of consistency in classifying enemy aliens as either: 'A' – requiring immediate internment as the alien constituted a threat to national security; 'B' – not to be interned immediately but subject to travel and property restrictions; and 'C' – a genuine refugee who should remain at liberty. There were huge variations in the way judges gave their classifications. In Cheltenham, for example, the judge qualified all of his 'C' classifications, which actually made them count as 'B' and therefore led to multiple cases of internment.⁸¹ In some cases individual family members received different classifications. Hilda Ogbe, for example, was classified 'B' along with her mother, but her brother was counted as a 'C'.⁸² Hesitancy, lack of a command of English, left leaning political beliefs – all of these could sway the verdict of a tribunal away from 'C' towards 'B' and occasionally even 'A'. Many judges were more likely to be swayed to a 'C' classification if an alien could speak fluently in English,

⁷⁸ Brinson and Dove, *Intelligence*, p. 44.

⁷⁹ HO 213/454.

⁸⁰ For example, IWM, 'Ludwig Spiro Interview' (1979)

⁸¹ IWM, 'Margot Pottlitzer Interview' (1978).

⁸² Hilda Ogbe, *The Crumbs off the Wife's Table* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2001), p. 14. Edith Horowitz, a Swiss national by birth, was classified 'B' without even attending a tribunal while her Austrian husband was placed in the 'C' category (WRI correspondence July 18, 1940 in "Papers of Harry Johnson (Methodist minister, Port St Mary) relating to his involvement with Rushen Internment Camp." 1940 - 1945. MS 09378)

a trait surely more useful to a spy than to a genuine refugee. As one young enemy alien described his tribunal:

This was...presided over by Judge Thesinger, a reasonably well-regarded judge and brother of a much better known actor. This geriatric gaggle set to in the finest Colonel Blimp tradition: what school had I been to (Cheltenham; very sound), did I play soccer or rugby there (rugby, of course; very good), did I play squash (I did; splendid), was I a member of the Officer Training Corps (forgot it was Cheltenham; silly question, of course, ha-ha)...It went on in that vein until it came to references, and I handed over [General Sir Ernest] Swinton's little note....it was reverently passed from hand to hand...and I was promptly certified as a "friendly alien." It should perhaps have occurred to me then that a screening process that would theoretically have allowed me to have long telephone chats with Hitler that very night might create problems at some later stage.⁸³

The tribunals tended to keep interviews with enemy aliens short. One enemy alien, a member of the Communist Party and known to the police as an 'agitator' remembered being asked only 'Where is your passport?' at his tribunal. When he replied that he did not know he was classified 'A' and taken into custody.⁸⁴

If an enemy alien was classified as 'B' it meant travel restrictions and certain other prohibitions, such as being forbidden from owning a camera or set of binoculars. Police permits were required to travel more than a few miles from the alien's home and it was considered 'a slur on one's character' by many refugees not to be given a designation of 'C', which was interpreted as a label of innocence.⁸⁵ Regardless of classification, no enemy alien was permitted to live in a 'protected area', designated by the government around coastal areas and other places of military significance.⁸⁶ Any enemy alien residing in a protected area had to relocate and register their new address with their nearest police station. Despite these inconveniences, however, the majority of enemy aliens were still at liberty – a marked difference from the same

⁸³ Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, p. 14. See also Margot Pottlitzer Interview; John A. Bather, 'Steven Vajda Interview' MS 11860.

⁸⁴ Lou Baruch, "Reminiscences of Lou Baruch who was onboard the Arandora Star and transported to the Tatura camps." 2007, MS 11709.

⁸⁵ A. Berriedale Keith, "The War and the Constitution Part II," *The Modern Law Review*, 4 (1940), p. 100; Ludwig Spiro Interview; 'Papers Relating to the Internment of Members of the Beermann Family' MS 11801.

⁸⁶ Protected Areas included, but were not limited to Liverpool (Harkins, "Huyton", p. 117); Ramsgate (Letter from Johnson to Wellington October 19, 1940, Papers of Harry Johnson); Fife (SA2002.053. "Taped interview with Orazio Caira by Dr Wendy Ugolini, 2 October 1999". Held at the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh); Hull (Rosemarie Dalheim, "Papers of Rosemarie Dalheim, a former teenage internee." 1940s, MS 11806).

stage of the First World War. Many, though, believed that it was only a matter of time before they would be rounded up, and they were right. The speed at which France and the Low Countries fell to the Germans in May 1940 caused widespread panic in Britain. Unable to believe that the German Armed Forces were capable of such quick victories, rumours quickly spread that the invading German Army was greatly assisted by Germans living within France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands who formed a Fifth Column. The belief in a Fifth Column gained credence at all levels of British society. Home Intelligence Reports gathered between mid-May and mid-July 1940 found that throughout the country there the fear of an army of Fifth Columnists was prevalent.⁸⁷ However, the hope continued that those classified as a genuine refugee at a tribunal would remain at liberty and be able to assist in the British war effort. This was also the hope for Italians, who had not had the opportunity to present themselves before tribunals. Many of the Italians living in Britain had been resident for a great many years and were established in their communities and were business owners. After Italy declared war, many acts of violence were aimed at Italian businesses, particularly in Scotland.⁸⁸ As many of these businesses were located in protected areas, this caused problems for the families forced to relocate further inland.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Reports from May 18 – July 10 1940 Paul Addison and Jeremy A. Crang eds., *Listening to Britain: Home Intelligence Reports on Britain's Finest Hour - May to September 1940* (London: The Bodley Head, 2010). See also Berriedale, "Constitution", p. 100; "Mona Quillin interview." 2004; Beermann Family Papers. Fears of a Fifth Column were not only limited to Great Britain. See Alfred-Maurice De Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace* (New York, 1993), p. 21.

⁸⁸ Wendy Ugolini, "The Internal Enemy 'Other': Recovering the World War Two Narratives of Italian Scottish Women," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 24 (2004), p. 150.

⁸⁹ 'Women were left alone to make their own arrangements and had to find temporary owners to take over their businesses and organise new accommodation and schooling for their children in a very short period of time.' *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Anti-alien legislation in America

The United States of America, like Great Britain, had strong views regarding immigration in the century before the Second World War. Immigration was encouraged by Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party who declared that immigration ‘should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy’.⁹⁰ However, less than twenty years later America passed a law barring certain types of immigrants because of their race.

Between 1850 and 1882, Chinese immigration to America dramatically increased. Similar to the potato famine that caused large scale Irish immigration to America in the 1840s, the Chinese exodus was caused by dire conditions at home. California was in the midst of the gold rush, and as news of high wages labourers received reached China an exodus began from the impoverished province of Kwangtung.⁹¹ Once the Chinese emigration to America had begun it continued unchecked until calls for exclusion led to a complete halt in 1882.

The Chinese were never welcomed as anything more than cheap labour in the United States. Chinese immigrants were specifically denied the opportunity to naturalise in the 1870 Act because of their so-called ‘undesirable qualities’.⁹² According to Republican senators debating the subject in the run up to the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the Chinese were ‘Alien in manners, servile in labor, pagan in religion... fundamentally un-American’, as well as ‘a cancer in [America] that will eat out its life and destroy it’.⁹³ In the words of the 1882 Act itself it was ‘the opinion of the Government of the United States [that] the coming of Chinese labourers to [America] endanger[ed] the good order’ of society.⁹⁴ In San Francisco the Chinese

⁹⁰ Edith Abbott, “Federal Immigration Policies, 1864-1924.” *The University Journal of Business*, 2, 2, p. 133.

⁹¹ The great Taiping rebellion, which began in 1848, ‘paralyzed trade and industry in south-eastern China and brought famine and ruin to millions’. Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960), p. 204.

⁹² The 1790 Nationality Act, which had limited citizenship through naturalisation to ‘free white persons’ was modified in 1870 to grant those of African American descent the right to naturalise. Hing, Bill Ong, *Making and Remaking Asian America Through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 23.

⁹³ Cited in Gyory, Andrew, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), p. 5.

⁹⁴ “An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese (Chinese Exclusion Act) 1882.”

constituted one quarter of the city's population and yet made up one third of the workforce.⁹⁵ The majority of those who immigrated to America began as contract labourers, in effect a new group of enslaved workers to replace emancipated African Americans. Tensions mounted as workers protested that they were being undercut by the Chinese and therefore it was not a fair job market. As early as 1867 Bills aimed at restricting Chinese immigration were presented to the legislature.⁹⁶ In 1879, Congress passed the Fifteen Passenger Bill, designed to prevent ships carrying more than fifteen Chinese passengers entering the United States. Despite the fact that the Fifteen Passenger Bill went on to be vetoed by the President, its passage was significant as the 'first immigration restriction law aimed at a particular nationality ever drafted, debated, and passed by Congress'.⁹⁷ It was to come as no surprise then that only three years later the Chinese Exclusion Act was approved by the House of Representatives by a large majority.⁹⁸

The significance of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act cannot be underestimated. For the first time in American history a federal law had been passed 'banning a group of immigrants solely on the basis of race or nationality'.⁹⁹ Once the Chinese Exclusion Act had been placed on the statute books there was a precedent for further exclusionist immigration law with a racial bias. The Act made 'discrimination more acceptable, more apparent, and more prevalent throughout the nation. All sections of the country, East and West, North and South, united in Congress to promote discrimination and legitimize segregation openly'.¹⁰⁰ The Chinese Exclusion Act prevented any further Chinese immigration with the exception of a very small

⁹⁵ By 1870 the Chinese in California numbered 49,310, a total of 8.5% of the population (Gyory, *Closing*, p. 7).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁹⁸ 167 to 66 votes with 59 abstentions. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257. The Chinese Exclusion Act was not the only action of Congress against immigrants in that year. The United States 'without intending to restrict immigration...took a hesitant but decisive step to control it', even from Europe. See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), p. 144. With the economic depression of the 1880s, workers felt that their jobs were being threatened by the influx of foreigners.

number of teachers, students, and merchants.¹⁰¹ The gate to the Chinese had been closed, and further exclusions would not be hard to pass through the American legislature.

Around the time of the Chinese Exclusion Act, a great number of Japanese travelled to Hawaii to work on the plantations. With the annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898, the doors opened for Japanese immigrants to continue their journey to the American mainland. Once there, the Japanese toiled as farm labourers until they could work themselves up to owning or leasing their own tract of land. The industriousness of the Japanese community meant that even though they were usually farming poor pieces of agricultural land, they managed to produce bumper levels of crops. This created a great deal of antagonism between American and Japanese farmers that led to the creation of the so-called 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement. After Japan's victories over China in 1895 and Russia in 1905, America began to view exclusion as a way of controlling potential enemies.¹⁰² Thus in 1907 the Gentlemen's Agreement was struck in order to prevent unskilled workers being granted passports by the Japanese government.¹⁰³ Further anti-Japanese legislation followed in 1913 with the Alien Land Law which prevented Japanese from owning land in California, and was succeeded in 1915 by a further law making even the leasing of land by Japanese illegal.¹⁰⁴

In addition to the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Gentlemen's Agreement, America was in the process of passing more selective immigration laws designed to weed out 'undesirable' immigrants. In 1891 an Act was passed denying entry to 'paupers, polygamists, and persons suffering from loathsome and contagious diseases'; in 1903, epileptics, prostitutes,

¹⁰¹ The Exclusion Act was renewed indefinitely in 1902 (Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 263). Any Chinese person believed to be in the country illegally was also liable to deportation unless they had registered themselves with the American authorities within one year of the initial Act passing. This was eventually extended by a further six months to allow more of the Californian Chinese population to register as the American government feared reprisals if it instigated a mass deportation of Chinese (Hing, *Making*, p. 25).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁰³ Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 204. Initially the Senate had wished to curtail both European and Japanese immigration by the introduction of a literacy test. Eventually the literacy test was scrapped and the majority of the focus of the act of 1907 was centred on excluding all Japanese. See Higham, *Strangers*, pp. 129-130.

¹⁰⁴ Such measures, however, were not only to be found against the Japanese on the West Coast – in December 1919 thousands of alien radicals on the East Coast were arrested and deported to Russia (Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 265).

professional beggars, and anarchists were added to the list of those to be kept out.¹⁰⁵ In 1917, chronic alcoholics, vagrants, ‘persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority’, and those convicted of a crime involving ‘moral turpitude’ found themselves excluded.¹⁰⁶ However, despite the plethora of categories for exclusion, there was no corresponding increase in the levels of those excluded.¹⁰⁷ The real significance of the 1917 Immigration Law lay in two areas: the introduction of a literacy test for all arriving immigrants, and the creation of the Asiatic Barred Zone. Three months after the passage of the 1917 Act, all aliens over the age of sixteen who could not read a short paragraph in English or another language or dialect were denied entry to the United State unless the immediate relative of someone already resident in America. It is important to note that there was an exemption for those that could prove they were fleeing religious persecution.¹⁰⁸ Equally important for America’s toughening on the quality of immigrant allowed to disembark was the creation of the Asia-Pacific Triangle. Immigration was not only banned from China and Japan, but also India.¹⁰⁹ Until 1934, the only Asians allowed into the United States were Filipinos, because the Philippines were American territory until the Philippine Independence Act.¹¹⁰ America made it clear that it did not think Asians worthy immigrants and used federal legislation to write this message firmly in the statute books.

Even though the examination of aliens entering the United States had been made more thorough and rigorous, those calling for restriction still were not satisfied. Four years after the Asiatic Barred Zone was created, the beginnings of what was to become known as the ‘Quota System’ or ‘National Origins’ Act was introduced. That such an Act came about was the result of a great wave of anti-alien hysteria that swept the nation. In 1920, Italian miners were beaten,

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

¹⁰⁶ “Act to regulate immigration 1917.”

¹⁰⁷ King, *Making*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁸ “Act to regulate immigration 1917.” The literacy test had been a goal from the 1890s and indeed the premise of an immigrant needing to be able to read and write in English or another language was in play from 1896. See Henry Pratt Fairchild, “The Literary Test and Its Making,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 31 (1917), pp. 452-3.

¹⁰⁹ Gerald L. Neuman, “Habeas Corpus, Executive Detention, and the Removal of Aliens.” *Columbia Law Review* 98, 4 (1998), p. 1015. It would appear that America was determined to make all types of Indians unwelcome within the country.

¹¹⁰ Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 288.

stoned, and had their property razed to the ground in southern Illinois.¹¹¹ In the same year Henry Ford launched an anti-Jewish campaign in the Midwest.¹¹² With an economic depression corresponding with an increase in immigration at the beginning of the 1920s, the stage was set for further anti-alien legislation.¹¹³ Much was also written at the time arguing that if 'yellow' or 'brown' races mixed with the 'Nordic' races a mongrel race would be created.¹¹⁴ In 1924 the quota system was officially accepted before coming into full practice in 1929. The generally accepted belief at the time was that there had been a golden era of immigration, roughly up to 1880, where families from Northern and Western Europe had come to America, established themselves, assimilated well, dispersed themselves around the country, and practised a variety of trades including farming. Unfortunately, so the belief went, these immigrants had been replaced sometime in the 1880s and 1890s with Southern and Eastern European males who were transient, unskilled labourers who congregated on the East Coast and did not assimilate.¹¹⁵ The desire was to return to an era where the immigrants were 'desirable', assimilable, and fitted more easily with the American ideal. The 1924 Act was therefore based on the 1890 census as the numbers in this group were both more favourable to old immigrant groups from North and Western Europe, and would also 'promote racial harmony' as it contained the same sections of immigration from which the colonists and other early settlers had originated.¹¹⁶ The use of the 1890 census naturally led to many nations expressing dissatisfaction at their quota allocations. Despite the fact that German, Scandinavian, and Irish immigration had, during the 1920s, outnumbered the British by almost three to one, Great Britain was given a quota larger than the totals of all other countries in northwest Europe combined.¹¹⁷ America wanted to engineer a particular type of nation, open to a particular type of people.

¹¹¹ Higham, *Strangers*, p. 264.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹¹⁵ Jones, *American Immigration*, pp. 177-8.

¹¹⁶ King, *Making*, pp. 204, 213.

¹¹⁷ Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 279.

For the first time in American history, visas were not issued at American points of entry but at consular offices abroad, under the Act of 1924.¹¹⁸ Control moved from immigration officers to consular officials. Now aliens arriving in excess of their country's quota would not be turned back on their ships – they would not be granted a visa in the first place and therefore would not be able to embark on the journey to America.¹¹⁹ As a further measure to prevent abuse of the system, no more than ten percent of each nationality's quota of visas was to be granted in any calendar month.¹²⁰ The Act also served as a reminder of the ineligibility of Chinese for citizenship, and continued discrimination against the Japanese, saying that where the terms 'wife' and 'husband' were used in the Act it meant couples not married 'by reason of a proxy or picture marriage'.¹²¹ An era of American history had come to an end: 'After three centuries of free immigration America all but completely shut her doors on newcomers. The Statue of Liberty would still stand in New York harbour, but the verses on its base would henceforth be but a tribute to a vanished ideal'.¹²²

The years preceding internment

Even though America had successfully limited immigration through the quota system, this did not eliminate anti-immigration issues. The Japanese may have been prevented from entering the United States by law, but this did not mean that Americans were happy to co-exist with the Japanese who were already in the country. There was certainly no distinction, so far as the majority of the population was concerned, between the Issei immigrants and their Nisei children who were American citizens. As citizens, one might have thought they would have been able to enjoy the same sort of opportunities as their Caucasian neighbours. Sadly, this

¹¹⁸ Columbia Law Review, "Outstanding Features of the Immigration Act of 1924." *Columbia Law Review* 25, 1 (1925), p. 91.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* However, there was still a chance of refusal if on arrival in the United States the alien was to be found inadmissible under the immigration laws. "Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act)."

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 15 (c) and (n). 'Picture brides' were an exclusively Japanese custom and so the idea of discriminating specifically against this type of marriage cannot be seen as anything other than evidence of anti-Japanese sentiment.

¹²² Jones, *American Immigration*, p. 277.

was far from true. As Yoshiko Uchida wrote in her moving memoir of being a Japanese American in California before the war and of her subsequent internment:

There was nothing I could do about being left out, but I could take precautions to prevent being hurt in other ways. When I had outgrown my father's home haircuts and wanted to go to a beauty parlor, I telephoned first to ask if they would take me.

“Do you cut Japanese hair?”

“Can we come swim in the pool? We're Japanese.”

“Will you rent us a house? Will the neighbours object?”

These were the kinds of questions we asked in order to avoid embarrassment and humiliation. We avoided the better shops and restaurants where we knew we would not be welcome. Once during my college years, when friends from Los Angeles came to visit, we decided to go dancing, as we occasionally did at the Los Angeles Palladium. But when we went to a ballroom in Oakland, we were turned away by the woman at the box office who simply said, “We don't think you people would like the kind of dancing we do here”.¹²³

The Japanese understood their position in what was still a very much racially segregated society. While racial discrimination and segregation was most prevalent in the South, it was not limited solely to that region. The Supreme Court still upheld the notion that the ‘constitutional promise of equal protection of the law for all Americans regardless of race, creed or color’ required ‘only that the states or the federal government provide equal though segregated facilities for the separate races.’ In the South, African Americans were educated in segregated schools, worked in segregated jobs, and lived in segregated areas. Jim Crow laws meant that African Americans were effectively prevented from voting and Southern customs meant that the ‘color line’ was observed almost everywhere.¹²⁴ Even baseball teams were segregated, and when war was declared in 1941, African American soldiers were forced to serve in separate units from Caucasian soldiers. The idea of discrimination based solely on one's skin colour was deeply entrenched in the American psyche.

Underlying the American fear of the Japanese was their fear of the so-called ‘Yellow Peril’. As we have seen earlier, anti-Chinese legislation was very popular in the late nineteenth century and this transferred into anti-Japanese legislation in the early twentieth century. Americans

¹²³ Uchida, *Exile*, pp. 41-2. Monica Sone remembered how one summer when her family looked for a cottage to rent one summer they were told “I'm sorry, but we don't want Japs around here.” (Sone, *Daughter*, p. 114).

¹²⁴ *Justice Denied*, pp. 44-5.

were fearful of those who looked different and whom they could not understand. “Patria” and “Shadows of the West” were two films produced around 1917 that ‘portrayed Japanese immigrants as sneaky, treacherous agents of a militaristic Japan seeking to control the West Coast’.¹²⁵ As a result of such prejudice and the fact that Issei were unable to naturalize, the Japanese found it necessary to create their own community organisations in order to form support networks. Some of these were of a religious nature, such as Buddhist or Christian churches, and others were of a social or political nature. Wishing their children to know something of their parents’ homeland, Nisei children were encouraged to attend Japanese school where they were taught about Japanese language and culture. Some Issei went further and sent their children to Japan for periods of education and such children were known as Kibei. However, this led to problems for the Kibei when it came time to reintegrate into American society as they had more in common with the Issei way of thinking than that of the Nisei. Whereas the Nisei were keen to integrate into American society, the Kibei and Issei wanted to preserve their national heritage. In order to differentiate themselves from the Japanese orientation of their parents, the Nisei therefore established their own organisations after the First World War: The American Loyalty League in San Francisco and the Progressive Citizens’ League in Seattle. These two organisations then merged into the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), a national organisation. As is plain from the very titles of the organisations, Nisei felt a burning need to identify themselves with American culture and emphasise their American citizenship.

As immigrants into American society, it is perhaps unsurprising that the types of jobs occupied by the Issei were originally manual labourers for railroads, lumber companies, canneries, mines, or in agriculture. The Issei originally were happy to work for less money than their non-Japanese co-workers as it was still greater than they would have been paid in Japan, which led to complaints, particularly from the Caucasian labour force. As time progressed, the Issei were able to work their way up the farming scale until they were in a position to rent land in the

¹²⁵ “Patria” was circulated by the Hearst International Film Service Corporation and “Shadows of the West” by the American Legion (*Ibid.*, p. 37).

hope of one day owning it in their own right by putting it in the name of their Nisei children. The Issei had great skill in intensive farming and were soon producing much more profitable yields than their Californian counterparts, another factor that counted against them in American eyes. In 1917, for example, among Californian farmers the average production per acre was less than \$42, whereas for the average Issei farmer it was \$141. Their productivity was not just limited to California either – by 1940 the Issei and Nisei were growing an estimated \$2.7 million worth of produce on the West Coast.¹²⁶ The fact that the Issei and Nisei were often producing more than their Caucasian neighbours, despite the fact that the majority of the land that was leased to them was of a very poor standard, led to much malice expressed by West Coast Americans towards those of Japanese ancestry. Japanese immigrants did not solely work in agriculture though; many were shopkeepers but their shops were often patronised by the Japanese rather than Caucasian community. Where the Japanese really struggled to enter employment was in the professions. This was despite the fact that the Nisei were encouraged to be good students by their parents and consistently achieved the highest marks in their classes. As one Nisei student recalled when he was trying to apply for the same courses at College to which his Caucasian friends were applying:

...the teacher told me outright in a very nice way that there was not much of a chance for an Oriental to get a job in these fields [such as engineering or medicine]...I began to see that they took us a little differently and we were not quite American in their eyes in spite of things they taught us in the classes about equality and so forth.¹²⁷

Some Nisei were able to qualify as teachers but were often unable to obtain a teaching position as Caucasian schools only wanted Caucasian teachers. The Nisei grew increasingly frustrated at the fact that even though many of them had a College education they were still barred in practice from entering white collar professions. By 1940, only 960 persons of Japanese ancestry in California were in white collar professional roles, and of those the majority were employed in the federal civil service.¹²⁸ Perhaps the dichotomy of the Nisei situation is best summed up by a Nisei herself:

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-3.

¹²⁷ Cited in Tunnell and Chilcoat, *Children*, p. 3.

¹²⁸ *Justice Denied*, p. 44.

We Nisei were, in effect, rejected as inferior Americans by our own country and rejected as inferior by the country of our parents as well. We were neither totally American nor totally Japanese, but a unique fusion of the two. Small wonder that many of us felt insecure and ambivalent and retreated into our own special subculture where we were fully accepted.¹²⁹

Ironically it was the industrious ethic of the Japanese community that antagonised the West Coast Caucasians to such an extent where they believed more was needed to be done to prevent those of Japanese ancestry from living on and farming the land, or having any influence outside the Japanese community. The Caucasian community felt threatened and were prepared to go to any lengths to solve the 'Japanese problem'.

An innate mistrust of the Japanese was common amongst the American elite in the early years of the twentieth century. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, along with many of his contemporaries, developed a wariness towards Japan in the decades preceding his presidency. This feeling of trepidation was caused by the realisation that Japan had the potential to become a serious rival to America in terms of both economic and military strength.¹³⁰ Restrictions on Japanese immigration were seen to be fair as 'the Japanese themselves were known to have strong taboos against intermarriage and did not wish their distinct cultures to be polluted by racial mixing'.¹³¹ Roosevelt was not considered to be extreme in his views towards the Japanese, and indeed respected many Japanese individuals, however, he also believed that 'people of Japanese ancestry remained innately Japanese no matter where they lived - even if they were born and raised entirely in the United States, spoke only English, and absorbed American customs', a belief that was to drastically shape his handling of Japanese and Japanese Americans during the Second World War.¹³²

Pearl Harbor

As in Britain, there was some monitoring of potentially hostile individuals undertaken in the years preceding the war by the F.B.I. America had no desire to embroil itself once again in a European conflict and similarly felt that the 'Red Terror' was a greater threat than the Far

¹²⁹ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 45.

¹³⁰ Robinson, *Order*, p. 11.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Right. The Department of Justice (DoJ) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) monitored enemy aliens in the United States of America from the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, and lists were compiled of those with links to potentially hostile governments. In the autumn of 1941 the monitoring of the Japanese community was given greater importance by the F.B.I. when it became clear the Japanese government was using its ambassadors to transmit data concerning the American Armed Forces. The F.B.I. reassured the President that lists had already been prepared documenting those believed to be a potential security threat in time of conflict, but even so Roosevelt commissioned a highly classified intelligence report to discover where the loyalties of the Nisei would lie were America and Japan to go to war. The author of that report, Curtis B. Munson, concluded

The Issei...is considerably weakened in their loyalty to Japan by the fact that they have chosen to make this their home and have brought their children here...Many would take out American citizenship if allowed to do so...the Nisei...are universally estimated from 90 to 98% loyal to the United States if the Japanese educated element of the Kibei is excluded.¹³³

Indeed, this had long been the conclusion of the F.B.I., tasked with monitoring the Japanese population for several years. Despite the overwhelming consensus of the intelligence services, the Munson Report was not made known outside the highest circles of the State, War, and Navy departments until 1946 and was not referred to at all after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Indeed, to many in the higher echelons of the military and government the fact that no evidence of espionage or sabotage had been found in the Japanese population was seen to be proof that it was guaranteed to happen.¹³⁴

At dawn on December 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the American naval base and Army airfields at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. After only a few hours of bombing over 3,500 Americans lay dead or wounded, six battleships had sunk or run aground, and 149 American airplanes had been destroyed. By contrast, Japan lost a mere 29 planes with their pilots.¹³⁵ On

¹³³ Munson concluded that the greatest threat was to the Japanese community were war to be declared as their white neighbours might take out their anger on them. Robinson, *Order*, pp. 65-67; Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 34; *Justice Denied*, pp. 52-3.

¹³⁴ Irons, *Justice*, p. 59; Spickard, *Transformation*, pp. 96-7; Regional Oral History Office, *Japanese-American Relocation Reviewed: Volume I, Decision and Exodus* (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, 1976), p. 5b.

¹³⁵ *Justice Denied*, p. 47.

the same day as the Pearl Harbor attack, Japan also struck the Malay Peninsula, Hong Kong, Wake Island, Midway Island, as well as the Philippines where many more American aircraft were destroyed.¹³⁶ America had been caught napping. The most senior commanders in the Armed Forces had believed that the Japanese Army, Navy, and Air Force were vastly inferior to their American contemporaries and therefore an attack on United States soil was considered impossible.¹³⁷ As historian Greg Robinson has noted:

The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor did more than sink ships and kill soldiers; it left a deep wound in the American psyche. The surprise attack provoked nationwide anger and a desire for revenge against Japan which far surpassed American bitterness against Germany or Italy.¹³⁸

Pearl Harbor triggered the first arrests by the F.B.I. and within forty-eight hours several thousand persons were apprehended by the F.B.I.¹³⁹ The F.B.I. and the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) had created what became known as the ‘ABC list’ and this was the basis for the arrests. Enemy aliens were categorised into ‘A’ – those who were considered immediately dangerous, ‘B’ potentially dangerous, and ‘C’ those merely suspected of entertaining pro-Japanese views. Unlike the tribunal system in Britain, no attempt was made to interview the enemy aliens before they were assigned a category as it was feared it would take too long for the Army to accomplish.¹⁴⁰ However, collaboration was sought from the JACL when forming the ABC list. The JACL wanted to demonstrate loyalty to the American cause, hence the willingness to cooperate with the intelligence agencies. However, this ‘fatally compromised’ the JACL’s position in the community during the war.¹⁴¹

The primary targets of the preliminary round up on the East Coast were Germans, while on the West Coast they were males of Japanese ancestry who were prominent in the Japanese

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³⁷ Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 27; Robinson, *Order*, p. 73.

¹³⁸ Robinson, *Order*, p. 240.

¹³⁹ Those arrested were subject to a hearing to determine whether they should remain in custody for the duration of the war See Edward Ennis Interview, *Relocation Reviewed: Volume I*, p. 3c. The arrests were publicised by the F.B.I. to reassure the American public. Hosokawa, *Quiet*, p. 239.

¹⁴⁰ According to the Ringle Report (Irons, *Justice*, p. 204).

¹⁴¹ Irons, *Justice*, p. 78; Honda Interview in REgenerations Oral History Project: Rebuilding Japanese American Families, Communities, and Civil Rights in the Resettlement Era; Los Angeles Region: Volume II ed. Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles, 2000), p. 36.

community. The F.B.I. had to base its decision to arrest on which organisations it felt were pro-German or pro-Japan. As early as October 1941, before Japan had even joined the conflict, FBI agents visited Little Tokyo in Los Angeles to question members of the Japanese community and seize documents.¹⁴² However, despite these interviews, and having Japanese documents in their possession, the FBI's information was not always accurate, and therefore many organisations which serviced purely a social networking need were targeted. This led to arrests taking place because

some were members of the so-called "bad societies" which in reality were not--these memberships may be attributed to forced social obligations, prominence in that certain locality for the solicitation of funds, or the use of their names as convenience on the basis of these organizations without consent of the individual--a common procedure or method used by many organizations in the solicitation of funds.¹⁴³

Leaders of Buddhist temples, Japanese School teachers, and leaders in the business community were popular targets for the FBI.¹⁴⁴ In the German community the majority of those arrested had actually fought for the German army against America during the First World War, unlike the Japanese, some of whom had fought *for* America during World War One.

There were rare cases where individuals were imprisoned because of mistaken identity. A barber who shared the same name with his father was held for three months in the county jail and at an FBI facility before they realised they had the wrong man, despite the fact that the man in their custody clearly had not been born when he was allegedly fighting in the Japanese Navy.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Emily Roxworthy, *The Spectacle of Japanese American Trauma: Racial Performativity and World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), p. 80.

¹⁴³ Letter written to John J. McCloy, Edward J. Ennis, US IMS, Dillon S. Myer, W. Wade Head, and John Provinse (Chief Community Services, WRA) from Dr. T. G. Ishimaru, Poston General Hospital, January 20th, 1943. 'Poston', 1943. See also Chikaraishi Interview in *REgenerations Oral History Project: Rebuilding Japanese American Families, Communities, and Civil Rights in the Resettlement Era; Chicago Region: Volume I*, ed. by Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles, 2000), p. 77. Many philanthropists were caught in this trap as they had willingly contributed to the maintenance of the poor in their communities, which was construed to mean they were influential and therefore potentially subversive.

¹⁴⁴ Funai, *REgenerations: Chicago*, pp. 226-7.

¹⁴⁵ Hironaka, *REgenerations Oral History Project: Rebuilding Japanese American Families, Communities, and Civil Rights in the Resettlement Era; San Diego Region: Volume III* ed. Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles, 2000), p. 61.

Executive Order 9066

Despite the belief that Japanese Americans were as Japanese as their parents, the fact that they were also American citizens could not be denied. Therefore, the Nisei were theoretically safe in wartime because their right to freedom was guaranteed by the constitution. In order for any type of movement to be made against them there would first have to be an Executive Order signed by the President authorising a temporary loophole in their constitutional rights. Any Order that allowed for the possibility of detaining American citizens would provoke national outrage, which meant that the situation had to be handled carefully and preferably not be open to in depth debate in Congress or the Senate. The fact that America was in a time of war and national security was the most pressing concern made it easy to paint Executive Order 9066 in a patriotic light. When the White House asked Congress to legislate that any violation of an order given by a military commander under Executive Order 9066 would be a federal offence they did so, almost without question, seemingly oblivious to the fact that such legislation would restrict the rights of American citizens.¹⁴⁶ Executive Order 9066 was passed February 19, 1942, and gave Secretary of War Henry Stimson the authority to designate Military Areas from which commanders could exclude anyone they chose. As a result of these powers, in March 1942 the West Coast was divided into two Military Areas.¹⁴⁷ Although the Japanese had not been excluded from living in these areas they were encouraged to move if possible, and if they did not move were subject to certain restrictions. All enemy aliens were placed under curfew in Military Area No. 1. German and Italian aliens as well as those of Japanese ancestry who resided within the area had limits placed on their movements and were banned from possessing certain items from March 1942.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Wilson and Hosokawa, *East*, p. 204; Robinson, *Order*, p. 257. Even the Supreme Court only chose to accept without close scrutiny that exclusion was a military necessity (*Justice Denied*, p. 50). See also WRA, 'Collection 131 - 2.19' (1946).

¹⁴⁷ The first such order was issued January 29th, 1942, with subsequent orders issued February 2nd, 4th, 5th, and 7th, 1942. See WRA, 'Collection 131 - 1.1' (1942). Spickard, *Transformation*, p. 98. FDR's decision to sign EO 9066 was made 'with no consideration or weighing of the racial or constitutional implications of that action' (Robinson, *Order*, p. 257). Indeed, 'public response to [Executive Order 9066] was enthusiastic' (Dickerson, *Concentration*, p. 66).

¹⁴⁸ March 27, 1941 was the effective date of curfew order covering German and Italian aliens and all persons of Japanese ancestry in Military Area No. 1, requiring them to be in their places of residence

While a curfew was not an unusual restriction for individuals with citizenship of a hostile nation, it was remarkable that it was also be instituted for the Nisei. Including the Nisei in the category of American ‘enemies’ was a popular refrain in the media of the time. As one *Los Angeles Times* editorial stated: ‘A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the eggs are hatched - so a Japanese American, born of Japanese parents - grows up to be a Japanese, not an American’.¹⁴⁹ For the Nisei, the fact that none of their Caucasian friends with American citizenship were expected to adhere to a curfew and the injustice of the situation led to several test cases being brought by Nisei individuals against the unconstitutionality of the curfew. Minoru Yasui, a member of the Oregon bar and a reserve officer in the U.S. Army who worked for the Consulate General of Japan in Chicago resigned his job at the outbreak of war and attempted to enlist in the Army. Refused acceptance into the U.S. Military he decided to take a stand and was arrested for a curfew violation. Yasui used his legal training to argue that the curfew breached the Constitution when applied to American citizens. While the district judge in the case agreed with Yasui, he was able to get around ruling on the constitutionality by claiming that Yasui’s work for the Consulate made Yasui an enemy alien.¹⁵⁰ Although Yasui’s citizenship was restored a year later by the Supreme Court, the conviction regarding breach of curfew was upheld. In the Spring of 1942 ‘not even the courts of the United States were places of calm and dispassionate justice.’¹⁵¹ Remarkably, in the case of Yasui, and the cases of Hirabayashi, Korematsu, and Endo that shall be discussed in the next chapter, there was a marked reluctance of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to get involved. Despite the ACLU claiming to uphold the rights of racial and political minorities, it had no interest at all in the legality of how Japanese Americans were treated.¹⁵²

between the hours of 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.; forbidding possession of firearms, explosives, cameras, radio transmitting sets or shortwave receiving sets, and barring travel more than five miles from home without permit. See *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Elena Tajima Creef, *Imaging Japanese America: the visual construction of citizenship, the nation, and the body* (New York: New York University, 2004), p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ *Justice Denied*, p. 114; Irons, *Justice*, pp. 81-6.

¹⁵¹ *Justice Denied*, p. 116.

¹⁵² ‘The National Lawyers’ Guild saw internment as ‘a minor item in the heaping quota of human misery which has been produced by the current war.’ Irons, *Justice*, pp. 132, 181.

Conclusion

In both Britain and the United States, anti-alien legislation in the century preceding the Second World War framed the way that enemy aliens were viewed at the outbreak of hostilities. From the nineteenth century into the early years of the twentieth century both Britain and America attempted to impose some form of control over rising tide of immigration. The introduction of a literacy test in both countries, for example, demonstrated the desire to only allow those with at least a rudimentary education the right to remain. However, the language did not need to be English – any language, provided the aliens could read and write a short paragraph, was acceptable. This did not mean that those speaking a foreign language were not still viewed as a threat, however. Fear of the ‘other’, particularly those whose skin was not white, was particularly pervasive during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The 1905 Aliens Act in Britain was aimed solely at Eastern Europeans, the majority of whom were Jews fleeing persecution. In America, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the 1907 Gentleman’s Agreement were explicitly targeted at the Chinese and Japanese respectively. Nor was the 1917 creation of the Asiatic Barred Zone particularly subtle in its wording. However, despite this legislation, Asian immigrants were still often viewed and treated better than African Americans. As one Japanese American explained, ‘We were discriminated on the [West] Coast but at least we were able to sit in a bus wherever we felt like sitting. Our discrimination was very different, not as intense as [the discrimination against African Americans] was’.¹⁵³ Asian immigrants suffered extensive discrimination, and yet they were able to differentiate between their treatment and the treatment of other racial groups. Discrimination towards immigrants was prevalent in both societies– perhaps more explicitly in the United States, but also in the East End of London.

One notable difference between Britain and America, however, was the way they viewed immigrants from Europe in the years preceding the Second World War. Britain was willing to

¹⁵³ Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 81.

receive a certain number, although there was a backlash against the immigration of certain groups from a number of professions and widespread unease in much of the general public. America, by contrast, was completely inflexible in its approach. As the United States Department of State made clear, ‘The fact that an alien may be in danger of going to prison or a concentration camp in his country or that he may be threatened with danger is a matter not covered by our immigration laws and the consul cannot consider this as giving any preferential treatment’.¹⁵⁴ The fact that tens of thousands of European refugees were granted at least temporary leave to remain in Britain showed some latitude towards a persecuted people. This rather more generous approach was also in evidence by the institution of a tribunal system to classify enemy aliens on the outbreak of war. When America was shocked into the conflict two years later, it followed suit with the introduction of tribunals, but only selectively: – tribunals were suitable for those of European ancestry, but not those of Japanese ancestry. While in the early months of the war in each respective country enemy aliens were, for the most part, able to retain their liberty with certain prohibitions on areas in which they could reside, how far they could travel, and what they could own, the question remained as to how long such liberties would last. The clues regarding what might happen next were evident in a century’s worth of legislature and societal prejudice.

¹⁵⁴ HO 213/117 U.S.A. regulations and procedures: State Department letter to British Embassy, New York (1939).

Chapter 2 – Life in the Camps

*An Internee named Cohn, I remember
Applied for release in September.
In March came response:
You can't go at once,
Please, wait and don't lose your temper.*

Limerick in the Hutchinson Square Internment Camp Journal, April 6th, 1941

Children have not seen a kitchen stove, a bath tub, a family dinner table or the privacy of a back yard for two years. They express themselves within the limits of their meagre mile-square environment. Their poems, stories and pictures reflect a barren world of watch towers, barbed wire fence, tar-papered barracks, desert flora and high mountains capped with snow. The only animals in their world are cats, dogs, chipmunks and squirrels.

Genevieve Carter, 1944¹

Arrest and Transit Camps in Britain

When Winston Churchill famously gave the order to ‘Collar the Lot’ in June 1940, internment had already begun. Germans and Austrians had already been arrested due to Fifth Column fears and a belief that it was better to be safe than sorry, and from June Italians were added to that number. However, formal arrangements had not yet been finalised regarding the long term housing for several thousand internees, nor was there an obvious timescale. During the First World War, use had been made of the Isle of Man, and this seemed the logical choice again. However, acquisition of properties on the Isle of Man would take time, so other locations were sought on an interim basis. The first step, however, was to apprehend thousands of male enemy aliens across the country, as well as four thousand female enemy aliens and some of their children. Apprehension took place at either the enemy alien’s home or their place of employment, and very little accurate information was given to those who were detained. The procedure was much the same for the Italians when Italy declared war on Great Britain, the main difference being that there was no attempt to hold tribunals to classify

¹ Genevieve Carter, “Child Care And Youth Problems In A Relocation Center (Manzanar)”, *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1944, 8, 4, (July-August), p. 219.

Italian nationals.² The experience of Italians was therefore quite different in many ways from the experience of Germans and Austrians.³ While the majority of the internees were of German, Austrian, or Italian descent, they were not the only nationalities targeted; after the attack on Pearl Harbor a small number of Japanese men were also interned. Again, not given the opportunity to attend tribunals, the men arrested were ‘only officials, journalists, seamen and persons against whom MI5 have a case’, as well as a large contingent of seamen.⁴

The arrests more often than not were conducted in the early hours of the morning.⁵ Lucky were the ones who had a premonition that their incarceration might not be as short as the arresting policemen and women suggested, on the rare occasions where such comments were made. Max-Otto Ludwig Loewenstein, later known as Mark Lynton, was fortunate in that he packed an overnight case with pyjamas, shirts, and some toiletries when he was asked to accompany plain clothes officers to the station in Cambridge. As he remembered ‘Nothing that had been said prompted me to do so, and I do not know to this day why I did; just as well, though, since I was not to return to Cambridge or to any of my belongings for nine months.’⁶ Eugen Stern, an Austrian refugee, wrote ‘Had I known how everything would turn out, I would have brought a bigger suitcase with all the necessary things.’⁷ Some were fortunate and given plenty of time to pack their belongings, such as the Dalheim family, a mother and

² A Home Office report noted that in general ‘practically all captured Italian seamen are keen Fascists, whereas the bulk of the Italian civilian internees were anti-Fascist’ (HO 215/124 Classification of camps and segregation of internees: general matters (1940)).

³ It is estimated that one in four Italians resident in Britain during the Second World War were arrested and interned. See Ugolini, “Internal Enemy”, p. 141.

⁴ Keiko Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain: From Integration to Disintegration* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 185.

⁵ Arrests varied from three o’clock in the morning (Gaetano Rossi, “Memories of 1940 Impressions of Life in an Internment Camp”, 1991, M 28111); to a more reasonable 7 a.m. (“Extract from Pinschhof Journal Recalling Time Interned on Isle of Man”, 2007, MS 11705). One internee was lucky enough to be spared arrest until after church (Chris Widdows, “William Fritz Sommerfeld interview.” 2008, MS 11926). No special concessions were made even in the case of sick or heavily pregnant relatives; see P. Lachs, “Memoirs of unnamed internee and letter requesting help in securing the release of a brother interned on the Isle of Man.” 1940-1, MS 11689; and Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 49. Arrests were often accompanied by searches of the internee and their property such as in the cases of “Correspondence regarding the internment of Elisabeth Bickel on the Isle of Man.” 1940-2008, MS 11366; and Rosemarie Dalheim, “Papers of Rosemarie Dalheim, a former teenage internee.” 1940s, MS 11806.

⁶ Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, p. 17.

⁷ “Documentation relating to internment of Eugen Stern.” 1939-40, MS 12411. Thoughts echoed by many, including Henry Mendel as recorded by his daughter, Rachel Mendel, “Behind Barbed Wire.” 2009, MS 12140.

four children who were awoken at 7 o'clock on a May morning in 1940. While the family packed their cases, a policeman searched the father's office. He was rewarded for his efforts with two of the girls offering him a fake chocolate in the hope that he might break his teeth by biting it.⁸ The majority of internees who later recalled their experiences could not recall much or any information regarding the likely duration or location of their stay. This made the arrests all the more traumatic for family members who did know when they would be reunited. Renate Steinert, six years of age at the time of her father's arrest remembered locking herself in the bathroom when the detectives came to take her father.

I was asked to come out, and I kissed him goodbye, which was quite dreadful, quite dreadful. I was crying, and my mother was crying, my father was struggling not to cry, and then he was marched off, we didn't know where. The detectives didn't know. They were detectives from Harrow Road police station, what could they know? They wouldn't have known a real enemy alien at fifty paces. So my mother and I were left alone, and there followed weeks of absolute misery, while my mother worried desperately about where my father was. We could get no news.⁹

Some internees were apprehended by kindly policemen and women who did everything in their power to make the process as painless as possible, whereas others were detained by individuals who were ignorant of the identities of those they were arresting, who therefore believed the enemy aliens to be foreign spies.

After arrest an internee would first be taken to the local police station. For how long the internee remained there varied from case to case. Fred Uhlman found the policeman in temporary charge of his incarceration an affable fellow who offered to purchase anything Uhlman might need. Fred gave him some money and the policeman returned with some fruit and chocolate.¹⁰ For most internees, no food would be provided from the point of their arrest, early in the morning, to their arrival at a temporary camp late that night.

⁸ Dalheim, "Papers".

⁹ Renate Olins, "Island Prison," in *What did you do during the war, Mummy?*, ed. Mavis Nicholson (Bridgend, Wales: Seren, 2010), pp. 47-8.

¹⁰ Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 50. Anna Bill-Jentszsch experienced similar kindnesses from her local policemen in Anna Bill-Jentszsch, "Account of Internment." 1998, MS 09990. Some particularly negative experiences of remaining in a cell for several days are included in Lou Baruch, "Reminiscences of Lou Baruch who was onboard the Arandora Star and transported to the Tatura camps." 2007, MS 11709; as well as examples of memories of being held at gunpoint. See also Rossi, "Memories". Other examples similar to Uhlman's include Lachs, "Memoirs"; and "Papers of the

Transit camps came in a number of guises. Anything from vacant land where tents and barbed wire could be erected hastily, to derelict mills, housing estates, and even prisons, were utilised in the temporary housing of the interned. For those women unfortunate enough to be interned early on in the process, their home was often Holloway Prison. One of the earliest female internees, Austrian writer Elisabeth von Janstein, remembered the humiliation of the admission procedure, the discomfort of the accommodation, and the fear and uncertainty of the situation.¹¹ Mothers were separated from their children as the governor deemed it cruel to introduce children to a prison environment.¹² Once the Rushen internment camp had been established on the Isle of Man, however, women and children were more likely to be taken to a transit camp en route to Liverpool, where they would be shipped to the Isle of Man at the earliest possible opportunity. When the Dalheims were arrested, for instance, they were taken to a school in Bradford where they were provided with food and bedding for the night, before proceeding to Liverpool the following day.¹³ Another internee recalled being taken to a newly built but unopened hospital where mattresses that were provided for the women and children stuck to the newly varnished floor.¹⁴ After the immediate panic of the initial round up was over, attempts were made to keep families together and avoid painful separations. The distress of the initial separations was worsened by the experiences that many refugees had fleeing Germany and Austria, and the fear that the same thing could happen again.

Klaffl family relating to the internment of Rosemary 'Bella' Klaffl, her sister Elizabeth (Betty) and mother Maria Theresia in Rushen Camp during World War II." 1940-53, MS 11270.

¹¹ Charmian Brinson, "In the Exile of Internment' or 'Von Versuchen, aus einer Not eine Tugend zu machen': German-Speaking Women Interned by the British during the Second World War," in *Politics and Culture in Twentieth-Century Germany*, eds. William Niven and James Jordan (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), p. 64.

¹² "Papers of Erna Nelki." 1941-2001, MS 12388. See also Julia Ruth Winckler, "Two Sisters: A photographic project in four parts." 2002, MS 10688; and the use of Edinburgh Prison as mentioned in Joan Johnson, "My memories of life in Rushen Internment Camp, May 29th 1940 to August 31st 1941: a personal experience." 1990, MS 08866. Scottish men were temporarily interned in Saughton Prison, 'but you were well treated. Very, very respectfully treated. Cannot say one word against them. I was there for six months' (SA1998.32/33. "Taped interview with Joseph Pia by Dr Wendy Ugolini, 1 August 1998". Held at the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh).

¹³ Dalheim, "Papers". See also Bill-Jentszch, "Internment".

¹⁴ "Pinschof Journal". See also IWM, 'Eva Wittenberg Interview' (1991).



Figure 1 - Women and children boarding trains at Wandsworth en route to the Isle of Man¹⁵

For the men who were interned, the accommodation was much more of a mixed bag. One of the first established transit camps was at the Butlins holiday camp at Clacton. Lou Baruch, arrested in the initial round up of enemy aliens, remembers being transported on

a very pleasant journey with our soldier companions...we got to Liverpool Street station. The guards were hungry and thirsty and so were we. All our, and their, luggage was piled up as well as their rifles. We sat on the luggage and they asked us, the Category "A" prisoners to look after their equipment including the arms, whilst they came back with something to eat. Of course we agreed.¹⁶

Those from the first wave of arrests found themselves at a Warners vacation camp in Seaton. Leo Baruch remembered the huts were unbearably cold and he had 'never been so hungry in [his] life'.¹⁷ Many others, as internment progressed and the number of arrests increased, were taken to Kempton Park race course in Surrey where the grandstand was used for accommodation.¹⁸ Countless other buildings such as schools and barracks were used as

¹⁵ Wandsworth Station. PA photo held at IWM HU 36121, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205022184>

¹⁶ Baruch, "Reminiscences".

¹⁷ *Ibid.* See also "Papers of Ludwig Hess"; HO 215/124.

¹⁸ For examples see "Papers relating to the internment of the Beermann family." 1939-40, MS 11801; "Letters from Herbert Forner to family members." 1940-4, MS 11952; "Memoirs of Willy Leopold Hess, one time internee of Onchan Camp, Isle of Man, 1940-1." MS 11038; "Correspondence documenting the internment of Walter and Leopold Fiala." 1940-1, MS 12125; Fritz Israel Heinemann, "Fritz Heinemann at Onchan." 1940, MS 12196. Lingfield Racecourse was also used, as noted in John A. Bather, "A conversation with Steven Vajda." 1994, MS 11860; not forgetting York Racecourse, as in Fritz Lustig, "Memoirs of Fritz Lustig entitled 'Internment in Peel, July to October

temporary housing.¹⁹ In one instance the winter quarters of a circus was even used.²⁰ However, the most notorious of transit camps was Warth Mill, near Bury, Manchester, more aptly termed ‘Wrath Mill’ by its reluctant inhabitants.²¹

Warth Mill was a rat-infested former cotton mill that had stood derelict for some years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War.²² As one internee remembered:

The rooms were dark, even in those sunny days of July, the floors soaked with the oil which for years had dripped from the looms, the staircases with an open lift shaft were very narrow, the corridors even narrower and damp. In case a fire was started by an incendiary bomb not a single man would have escaped, and had a person forced his way into the open air, the space between the walls and the barbed wire would have been far too small. The hygienic accommodation was of a highly objectionable primitiveness: on the premises were - for about 2000 people - sixty W.Cs - an euphemism for there were just buckets spreading a terrific stench and no water-flushing system.²³

Even the infirmary failed to offer much more protection than the standard accommodation, being ‘a room on the first floor, which looked a bit cleaner but had almost no windows, and leaks in the roof’.²⁴ From the vantage point of the infirmary, an internee named Lachs took the opportunity to assess the types of ‘dangerous’ aliens that had been rounded up for internment. He described

an idiot of 40 years, who could hardly read and write who was not able to do anything for himself and had to be cared for. There was a young boy of 17 who suffered from a mental illness. There was a man with tuberculosis of the legs, one with a heavy heart disease, several with diabetes, one young man had still to suffer from the consequences of injections which he had got against diphtheria so that he could hardly move. There was a young technician, a doctor of tech. science, who was so severely injured when shot down during his services with the Republicans in Spain as pilot, that it took two years to make him fit for life again...He was brought to Warth Mill from a South East camp, and the long transport in the hot train (they were not allowed to open the windows, and had very little to eat) affected him so much, that he suddenly collapsed, and fell on his head, which caused a severe concussion of the brain, affecting

1940.’” 2008, MS 11788. Those interned in Scotland were either held in prisons or in tents in fields. See SA 1998.35. “Taped interview with Renzo Serafini by Dr Wendy Ugolini, 7 August 1998”. Held at the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh; Orazio Cairra Interview; Joseph Pia Interview.

¹⁹ Mendel, “Barbed”; Kushner, *Remembering*, pp. 76-7; Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, p. 17. Not forgetting the prisons that were used, see Werner Kittel, “Papers relating to the internment of the Gerlachs and Wolfgang Kittel.” 2009, MS12211; and “Memoirs of Ludwig Hess”.

²⁰ Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 52.

²¹ Jacobsthal, “Memoirs”.

²² Kushner, *Remembering*, p. 76.

²³ Jacobsthal, “Memoirs”. Further descriptions of the lack of decent accommodation at Warth Mills and the insensitive handling of the internees by the Major in charge including pilfering can be found in Kushner, *Remembering*, pp. 76-7; Camillo D’Alessandro, “Camp life on the Isle of Man in World War II: Memoirs of an Italian Internee.” 1981, MS 11185; IWM, “Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview.” 1978; and Rossi, “Memories”.

²⁴ Lachs, “Memoirs”.

his so painfully regained health. Every night there were brought old people up who could not stand any more the conditions in the common rooms.²⁵

The conditions at Warth Mills made the largest of all transit camps, an unfinished housing estate near Liverpool called Huyton, seem luxurious by comparison.

Given its proximity to the Liverpool docks, Huyton was the place from which a great number of male internees left to embark on their journey to more permanent camps on the Isle of Man. Much like the other temporary camps, there were not enough rooms to sleep all those interned there and so tents were erected in the gardens. Those in the tents lacked washing facilities and those in the houses were often overcrowded.²⁶ The biggest problem for those interned at Huyton was inactivity and restlessness.²⁷ For a very small number of internees, Huyton was the only camp they knew as they were released within weeks of arrest and before they could be transported to Douglas.²⁸

The Isle of Man

For the majority of those interned, the Isle of Man was their final destination until release. The first camp created was Mooragh, in the north of the island in the town of Ramsey. Boarding house owners were given no more than seven days' notice to vacate their properties, and instructed to leave all 'furniture, bedding, linen, cutlery, crockery and utensils in the house', though they were allowed to remove some personal effects.²⁹ Valuations were carried out by

²⁵ *Ibid.* Registered medical practitioners at Huyton drew up a similar list in June 1940, noting that there were 39 patients aged between 50 and 70 with severe heart diseases, 20 diabetics, 20 with tuberculosis, 21 gastro-intestinal disorders, 9 mental disorders (including suicidal tendencies and schizophrenia. See Harkins, "Huyton", pp. 120. Hellmuth Weissenborn noted that in his house in Hutchinson camp there was a man suffering from schizophrenia (Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview). See also Renzo Serafini Interview.

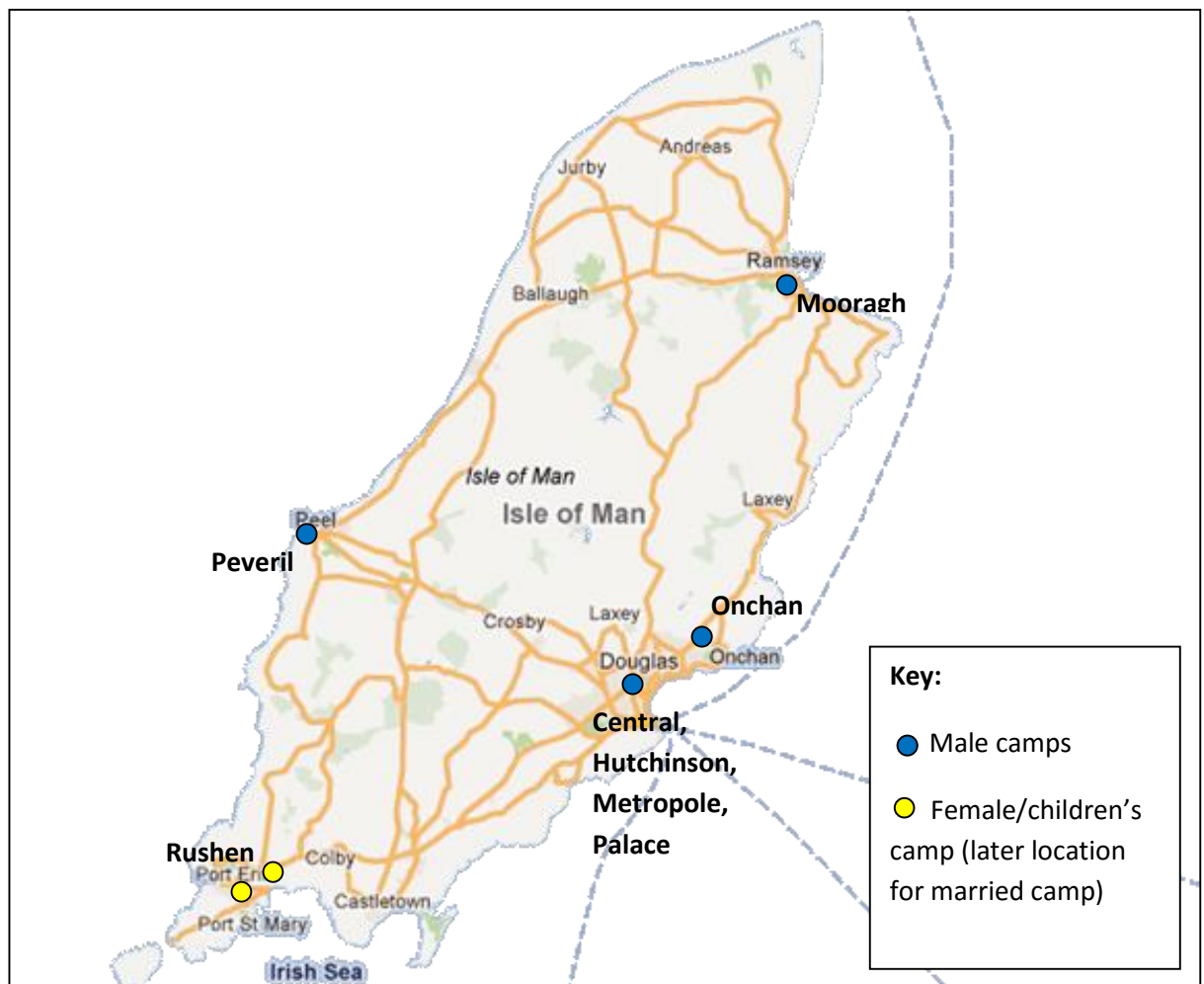
²⁶ Feather, *Art*, p.8. See also Harkins, "Huyton", p. 118.

²⁷ Herbert Forner remarked on his hate of inactivity in "Letters from Herbert Forner to family members." 1940-4, MS 11952; and in "Letters relating to Mr Aberbach relating to internment in Mooragh Camp." 1945, MS 11348, Huyton was summed up with the phrase 'Life at that camp was a bore and I felt rather depressed.'

²⁸ For example, F S Loebel who served as a street father at Huyton and was commended for his 'never-tiring energy, [his] foresight, and above all through the kindness with which [he] tackled the rather intricate material and personal problems which [he] had to encounter.' ("Information relating to internees F S Loebel, Robert Loebel, and Herbert Loebel." 1940, 2008, MS 12197). See also, Lomnitz, "Never Mind!".

²⁹ See Harry Cannell, "Hardships caused by the Internment Camps on the Isle of Man during the 1939 to 1945 War." 1996, MS 09555, for an example of a requisitioning letter. The standard letter was sent to all those whose houses fell within areas designated for barbed wire.

government officials so that a rent could be agreed for the items left in the house, as well as the rental of hot and cold water.³⁰ This caused much hardship for the majority of boarding house owners, forced to rent alternative accommodation, and deprived of their regular income. The situation was significantly less painful for those in the women’s camp in Port Erin and Port St. Mary, in the south of the island. Those owners were able to remain in their houses and received the women and children as guests paid for by the Manx Government.³¹



³⁰ *Ibid.* The agreement signed by the boarding house owners also stated that the furniture could be bought from the owners at any point during the war and that the owners were expected to return to running a boarding house once their property was returned. See also “Papers of N. C. Callister re requisition of 13 Hutchinson Square.” 1940-1945, MS 10661; and Isle of Man Government, “Papers relating to the requisitioning of 13 Royal Avenue West, Onchan.” 1940-7, MS 11720. In 1943 the Manx Government took advantage of the agreement to purchase the furniture at 1940s rates, which represented a loss to many owners as furniture prices had risen during the intervening years.

³¹ Life continued much as usual for such boarding house owners. For example, see Elizabeth Corrin, “Recollections of Elizabeth Corrin or her childhood experiences of internees.” 2003, MS 10778.

Figure 2 - Location of Internment Camps on the Isle of Man³²

The use of boarding houses guaranteed that the quality of accommodation available to the internees was of a much higher standard than the previous locations where the internees had been accommodated. Houses had bathrooms and many rooms had their own washbasins.³³ Every man or woman had a proper mattress on which to sleep, even if they initially had to share it with a stranger.³⁴ The random billeting sometimes resulted in Jewish refugees being forced to share with pro-Nazis, but this was the exception rather than the rule.³⁵ While the mattresses were appreciated, the blankets were not, as they were usually filthy and caused many a case of eczema when they came into contact with the skin.³⁶ Further into internment, as people were moved between camps, complaints were made about the fact that vacated houses had been stripped of all things useful by the time of their next occupation, leaving ‘dilapidated, dirty, drafty and cold, stripped of all furnishings, old boarding houses’.³⁷ This was particularly hard for those moved from camps that closed as their population dwindled, such as the inmates of Central camp who found themselves transferred to Onchan. As the population decreased, most of the internees had single rooms in Central camp, but found themselves forced back into sharing in ‘filthy and poorly equipped’ houses as ‘everything that could be removed had been’, with limited washing facilities. It was at times like these that internees ‘really felt like prisoners’.³⁸

³² © Google Maps

³³ See Rossi, “Memories”. The standard of accommodation could vary greatly; Erna Nelki, for example, shared the house bathroom with 19 other women, but there were water jugs and wash basins in each room (“Papers of Erna Nelki”).

³⁴ Helmuth Weissenborn Interview.

³⁵ Such cases were exaggerated in newspapers sympathetic to the plight of the refugee internee, for example in the *News Chronicle*, 15th October, 1941. A reply to the article was made in the *Daily Telegraph* by internee Renate De Garimberti, who asked the reader to remember that ‘the beds are very big double beds’ and therefore it was not as much of a hardship as the *Chronicle* made out. Dame Joanna Cruickshank, Commandant of the Rushen camp, explained that as soon as it became known a woman was a Nazi she was separated from Jewesses so that the camp could continue in harmony (*Manchester Guardian* interview reported in the *Isle of Man Times*, 25th December, 1940). See also Cyril Cuthbert, “Papers of Cyril R Cuthbert, one-time Commandant of Married Internees Camp.” 1941-5, MS 11196, Eva Wittenberg Interview; and “Papers of Erna Nelki”.

³⁶ Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 86. Due to the dirtiness of the blankets, Willy Leopold Hess ‘anxiously avoided any wool blanket contact directly with [his] skin’, instead asking for a sleeping bag to help protect him at night (“Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs”).

³⁷ Baruch, “Reminiscences”.

³⁸ Mendel, “Barbed”. Professor Jacobsthal in his Memoirs remembers joking with his fellow internees that ‘we often thought that it would have been much worse to have a voluntary holiday in this place’.

Perhaps the greatest improvement to morale was the fact that cooking was done in the kitchen of each house and therefore internees once again had some control over their diet. This was of particular significance to the Orthodox Jews, who had struggled to maintain a kosher diet since their arrest, though some Jews had found that it was possible to get better food in the transit camps if they professed Orthodoxy.³⁹ Results of this freedom to cook varied greatly, as ‘much depend[ed] upon the cleverness of the cook what [was] made of [the] provisions’.⁴⁰ In general, the food available on the Isle of Man was better than what could be found on the mainland but internees could still find themselves going hungry on the rations with which they were provided. When canteens came into existence, internees with money were able to buy snacks or fruit to alleviate hunger and improve their diet.⁴¹ Requests for food parcels were also

³⁹ Even if their religious commitment was limited to wearing a yarmulke at religious meetings when external visitors were present (Rossi, “Memories”). Each camp established its own Orthodox houses, with their own cooks. See Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview; Frank Jochanan, “Inside Out: Isle of Man Revisited, 1940-2000.” 2000, MS 10323; Jacobsthal, “Memoirs”; “Aberbach Letters”; Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 90; and Max Sussman, “A Young Internee on the Isle of Man 1940-1.” 2007, MS 11751. The separate houses for those requiring kosher food were also mentioned in newspaper reports at the time, such as in the *Isle of Man Times*, December 25th 1940, quoting a piece from the *Manchester Guardian*; (Cuthbert, “Papers”).

⁴⁰ “Account of internment at P Camp, Hutchinson Square, Douglas.” 1940s, MS 10739 which also mentions the creation of a camp cookbook containing 100 recipes and ‘influenced food favourably’. See also “Aberbach Letters”; Lustig, “Memoirs”; Ille Pinkus, “Letters Written by Ille Pinkus”, 1940; and Michael Corvin, “Camp Tribune No 1 16 August 1941; published in Y Camp (Married Camp).” 1941, M 31545. Some cooks were feared rather than appreciated for having fine culinary skills. Willy Leopold Hess remembers the two cooks in House 18, Onchan Camp, of being ‘fond of cigarette ends on the tongue which I suppose could easily land in the soup’ (“Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs”). Poor food often came about as a result of poor management. Weissenborn recalled dining very well, particularly during the period one of the men in his house smuggled chickens from his labouring job into the kitchen; (Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview). Some landlords and ladies in Port Erin and Port St Mary were generous with their charges, one even providing extra tinned fruit that they had hoarded in the cellar (Dalheim, “Papers”). Perhaps the worst example of boarding house owners taking advantage of the system however was with Inge Hess, who after giving birth to her daughter in camp had her milk ration so watered down by her landlady that upon inspection by the camp authorities it was declared that there were ‘traces of milk in that water’ (“Ludwig Hess Memoirs”). As Renate Olins remembers, ‘Apparently [the landlord] got a pound a week for each of his residents, so the less food he gave us, the more profit he made.’ Olins, “Island Prison”, pp. 48-9.

⁴¹ Orazio Caira Interview. The fact that fruit was a highly prized commodity in camp is demonstrated by the fact that rewards for competitions were often a choice of either cigarettes or fruit, see “The Camp: Hutchinson Square Internment Camp Journal Issues 1-13/14.” 1940, M 27059. Johanna Rieger complained that the food provided for the children was insufficient and it was essential that she supplemented their diet with fruit (“Johanna Luise Frida Rieger correspondence.” 1940, MS 12203). Inge Hess and her friend would sometimes pick plants from the roadside to clean and eat to supplement their diet (“Ludwig Hess Memoirs”). See also “Klaffl Papers”; Pinkus, “Letters”; Jacobsthal, “Memoirs”; and D’Allesandro, “Camp life” where Camillo noted that he developed a series of abscesses on his chin due the lack of vegetables and had cravings for anything green, even dandelion leaves.

commonplace, especially for cakes and cured sausages.⁴² When people complained about the perceived 'superior' quality of the food in the camps, a local vicar explained that a large number of cooks had been interned and therefore were better prepared for dealing with rations than the general population.⁴³ Certainly, the camp cafes that sprang up and served selections of Viennese pastries and cakes were well received by both the internees and their guards.⁴⁴

The British Government did not wish the internment camps to be run as prison camps, but rather wanted to give the internees some control over their daily activities and minimal responsibilities. The camps were managed by Camp Commandants, and their outlook on the refugee situation informed the general atmosphere of the camp. The overall Commander of the Isle of Man camps in 1940, Lieutenant-Colonel S. W. Slatter, penned the following notice that was displayed for all new arrivals to the camps to read in both English and German:

It is my wish that every man who enters internment on this Island shall be assured that nothing avoidable will be done that might add to his discomfort or unhappiness. It must be obvious to you all that uniform code of discipline is essential if a community of men are to live together successfully. That code will be mine and will be obeyed. There is, however, a good reason for every order, and there will be no aggression. The Officers and troops who are given charge of you are men of understanding... My duty is concerned with your security and discipline, but my interest goes beyond this. With the help of my Camp Commanders and their Staffs I wish every permissible measure to be taken that can relieve your internment of its irksomeness. This can only be done with your own co-operation - your own goodwill and orderly conduct... There are amongst you men of widely divergent political views and religious beliefs. You will neither find favour nor encounter prejudice from us on this account.⁴⁵

⁴² See Pinkus, "Letters" for regular requests for 'salamiwurst'; and D'Allesandro, "Camp life" where Camillo asked his wife to send him special cakes. Walter Fiala enjoyed the cake sent to him by his fiancée ("Fiala Correspondence", March 29th, 1941), as did Lou Baruch the piece of wedding cake he received through the post (Baruch, "Reminiscences").

⁴³ IWM, 'John Duffield Interview' (1979). See also *Isle of Man Times*, October 21st 1940.

⁴⁴ Mendel, 'Barbed'; IWM, 'Claus Moser Interview' (1997). In general, relations were good between the guards and their charges (Orazio Caira Interview, HO 215/130 Camps: Huyton, Lancashire: standing orders; control of internees in hospital (1941)). Shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry and barbers' shops also sprang up in the camps (HO 215/149 Distinction between prisoner of war and civilian internment camps (1941)).

⁴⁵ Notice dated 1st June 1940, as documented by Eugen Stern. This view was reflected by the majority of the Camp Commandants. The Commandant of P Camp was praised for displaying 'intelligent and sympathetic leadership' ("Account of P Camp"), for example. Huyton's Commandant was seen by one internee as 'sensible', with a 'very humane attitude' whereas the Commandant at Central Camp was, on the other hand, considered to be 'very unfriendly, not to say hostile' by the same internee (Mendel, "Barbed"). Another internee criticised the Commandant of Huyton for being 'ignorant' ("Loebl"). Major Daniel, of Hutchinson Camp, was seen by most as 'very helpful' (Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview). The Commandant of Warth Mills was 'a real rascal', perhaps reflecting the poor conditions at the camp (Rossi, "Memories"). There were as many views of the Commandants, therefore, as there were internees. A representative of the International Red Cross reported that 'I should like to stress the fact that the task of these Commandants is by no means an easy one. They have not to deal with disciplined military units, which are used to receive and to carry out orders, but with a haphazard collection of civilian individuals, who, as each one has his special 'case', have little

Most of the Camp Commandants got along well with their charges and did everything in their power to assist the internees. The most notable exception to this was Dame Joanna Cruickshank. One internee described her encounter with Dame Joanna early on in internment: 'I drew up a long list and took them to the camp authorities. And I was apparently unlucky because the lady to whom I started to read my queries became very irate and banged the table and said: "Stop telling us what we ought to do."'46 Dame Joanna continued to cause problems for the female internees until her replacement, Detective Inspector Cyril Cuthbert, was appointed at the end of May 1941.

The male camps soon instituted a system pioneered at Huyton. Each house elected a 'house father' who reported to the 'street father', who in turn reported to the 'camp father', who relayed information to the Commandant. The 'house fathers' were chosen by the internees themselves, but the 'street' and 'camp fathers', whilst selected by the internees, had to be approved by the Commandant. The 'camp father' was the representative of all those interned and received his information from the 'street fathers', who met regularly with the 'house fathers'.47 The onerous task of the 'camp father' was described by one such individual as follows:

The work of the Camp-Father is neither easy nor enjoyable. He has to deal with men who feel themselves treated unjustly and whose nerves are not at their best. Nor are the inmates of the Camp a homogenous body. Amongst them are men of different classes, creeds, professions and opinions, not to mention the extreme individualists...Even a god would not be able to conform to all the wishes of all these men. The Camp-father whoever he may be can only try to make the best of his job and try to facilitate and ameliorate the life of his co-internees, the Camp-father working together with the Housefathers and departmental managers.48

tendency to form a community. Therefore a great deal of psychological understanding is needed to run such camps successfully.' (HO 215/107 Isle of Man (1945)).

46 Brinson, "Versuchen", p. 68.

47 For examples at Huyton see "Loebl"; and Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, pp. 21-6. Isle of Man arrangements are detailed in Account of P Camp. See also 'Home Office Orders for Internment Camps' (1943).

48 "The Camp", October 20th 1941. See also HO 215/149 Distinction between prisoner of war and civilian internment camps (1941); Renzo Serafini Interview.

It was the responsibility of the 'house father' to make sure the general duties for the house were assigned to the men living there, and also to ensure attendance at roll call.⁴⁹ 'Street fathers' were responsible for forwarding grievances and requests to the 'camp father' and ensuring the houses on their street were kept in order. The men therefore took very little time to organise themselves into working units. The female internees, by contrast, were not given the same level of autonomy as the men. Dame Joanna, commandant of Rushen, 'kept the reins firmly in her own hands'.⁵⁰ Unlike the male camps, women were placed into boarding houses where the landlords and ladies were still residing, and therefore had a structure from the very beginning, though rotas were drawn up in the women's camp for basic chores such as cleaning, cooking, and washing.⁵¹ The women's camp also had the additional complication of family arrangements for those women interned with their children.

Arrangements were made in camps early on for the practise of religion. Reverend Harry Johnson, for example, organised services and mid-week discussion groups for the women interned at Rushen Camp, as well as scripture classes for the children.⁵² Visits were made to the camps regularly by men of the cloth to check on the spiritual welfare of the internees.⁵³ Bible classes were held at many of the camps, often with assistance from the Reverend in charge of the diocese under which the boundaries of the camp fell.⁵⁴ Commandants were

⁴⁹ If internees from their house were late for roll call, 'house fathers' could inflict punishments such as cleaning the floor, see Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 69. The evening roll call was much preferred to the morning roll call where individuals might be fighting to use the limited bathrooms all at the same time ("Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs"). See also Rachel Pistol, 'Interview with David Brand about Dr. Angelo Lauria', 2014.

⁵⁰ Brinson, "Versuchen", p.68.

⁵¹ Margot Hodge, "Memories and Personal Experiences of my Internment on the Isle of Man in 1940." 1999, MS 10119. See also Pinkus, "Letters"; and Dalheim, "Papers"; and Olins, "Island Prison", p. 49. Sometimes some of the older internees with means would pay the younger internees to do some of the cleaning for them (Lustig, "Memoirs"), but for the most part everyone did what was required of them, not always cheerfully, as recalled in Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 95, where Uhlman described washing up as 'plain hell'.

⁵² Johnson, "Memories". Rev. Johnson did not limit himself just to providing religious services, he was also active in War Resisters' International, with whom he corresponded regularly in the assistance of his temporary flock, as well as the Central Department for Interned Refugees. See "Papers of Harry Johnson (Methodist minister, Port St Mary) relating to his involvement with Rushen Internment Camp." 1940 - 1945. MS 09378.

⁵³ Dr Downey, Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, Rev. Henry Carter CBE, Methodist Minister and Honorary Chairman of the Board and Executive of the Christian Council for Refugees, were just two of the official visitors to Rushen Camp (*Ibid.*; Orazio Cairra Interview). The Methodist Church in Port Erin hosted many musical concerts for those at Rushen Camp (Brinson, "Versuchen", p. 73).

⁵⁴ See John Duffield Interview for examples in Onchan; Joseph Pia Interview; Itoh, *Japanese*, p. 186.

reminded to be respectful of religious observances and inspections were not to be conducted on Saturdays or Sundays in order to allow religious observances.⁵⁵ In general the internees found that the British '[had] great understanding for anything concerning religion'.⁵⁶

The biggest problem that required immediate attention was what the internees were to do with the time on their hands. They were permitted to write two letters a week of no more than twenty-four lines on official notepaper. The contents of the letters were to 'be confined to private affairs and to business matters in which the writer has a personal interest' though did not have to be written in English so long as the language was marked clearly on the outside of the envelope.⁵⁷ The only exception to this was for the 114 Japanese internees, who were only permitted to write in English.⁵⁸ Delays of a fortnight were commonplace, particularly in the early days of internment. Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of all this was that letters between husbands and wives who were both interned had to pass through Liverpool, and so it could take several weeks for a letter to arrive in Port Erin having been posted in Douglas.⁵⁹ The frustration of knowing a partner was so close and yet so far added to the stress of the environment.

⁵⁵ "Home Office Orders".

⁵⁶ Mendel, 'Barbed'. In the Married Camp the Town Hall was used for Jewish services on Friday evenings and Saturday ("Mona Quillin interview about her memories of her parents' Port St Mary guest house which housed internees during World War II." 2004, MS 11032).

⁵⁷ "Home Office Orders". All letters were subject to processing by the Censor's office in Liverpool, which could cause great delays, particularly for letters written in a foreign language. See also HO 215/130 Camps: Huyton, Lancashire: standing orders; control of internees in hospital (1941); Joseph Pia Interview.

⁵⁸ Itoh, *Japanese*, p. 186.

⁵⁹ "Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs". Comments were made by virtually all those interned about the delay of the post. Some examples include: Ille Pinkus chastising her mother for not writing to her more often, letters often arriving several weeks after dispatch (Pinkus, "Letters"); William Fritz Sommerfeld receiving a parcel of letters June 26th 1940, the majority of which had been posted between the 4th and 10th of that month (William Sommerfeld Interview); Paul Jacobsthal first hearing from his wife almost a month after his internment as none of his wires had gotten through (Jacobsthal, "Memoirs"); and Henry Mendel finding it took some 2 to 3 months to receive messages from his wife and daughter in Switzerland (Mendel, "Barbed").



Figure 3 - Sketch of Onchan Camp, 1940⁶⁰

Pen and pencil sketches were the most common output of artists in the camps as they were the easiest materials to procure. The contrast between the dark and light highlights the harshness of the Manx climate. The view from the camp gives prominence to barbed wire fence, showing the artificially created divide imposed in the town of Onchan.

With the exception of letter writing and morning and evening roll calls, there was much time to be filled by the restless internees, who needed distractions from worrying about the fate of their families. A great number of intellectuals, artists, and musicians were interned. For those with a creative bent the primary issue was finding suitable materials with which to sketch, paint, or sculpt. In Hutchinson Camp, the windows that had been painted a 'poisonous blue' because of blackout regulations and cast a gloom on all inhabitants became the focal point for artistic endeavour with etchings created showing scenes from the Talmud, mythology, and female nudes.⁶¹

⁶⁰ "Beermann Papers".

⁶¹ See the feature articles 27th October, 3rd and 17th November 1940 on the etchings in "The Camp: Hutchinson Square Internment Camp Journal Issues 1-6, 8-16, 20." 1941, M 27060. Paul Jacobsthal mentions the poor light caused by ARP regulations in his "Memoirs".



Figure 4 – Animal drawings scraped out of the blackout paint by the animal trapper Neunzer on the windows in one of the houses in Hutchinson camp⁶²

Pens and pencils were easier to come by, although sometimes paper was in short supply.⁶³ Spare pieces of linoleum and furniture stored in attics or cellars were often looted in order that lino cuttings and wood carvings could be made. Wood was also used to make buttons, toys, and, in the women's camp, for children's creative play along with scraps of cardboard and discarded boxes.⁶⁴ Stair rods at one house were used to make buttons that were given as gifts and sold by the internees, as well as pillow stuffing used in making stuffed toys for the children.⁶⁵ Internees were mostly free to draw and create what they wished within the confines of the camp.⁶⁶ Sculptors found it trickier to procure materials. Kurt Schwitters, for example,

⁶² *Living with the Wire*, ed. Yvonne Cresswell, (Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx National Heritage), p. 74.

⁶³ Ink was more problematic but artists such as Weissenborn used margarine along with pigment as a substitute. A washing machine was press-ganged into use as an impromptu printing press using this ink mixture on lino cuttings in order to create printed items (Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview).

⁶⁴ See newspaper report, September 6th 1940 entitled 'Governor Among the Aliens' in "Papers of Harry Johnson" regarding the creations of school children in the women's camp.

⁶⁵ As mentioned in Mona Quillin Interview. Many a boarding house owner returned to their homes after the war to discover much of what had been left in the house had been used for other purposes. See also Cannell, "Hardships".

⁶⁶ Fred Uhlman created some sketches himself (Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p.62), but also recalls exhibitions of work by Ehrlich, Kramer, Fechenbach, Markiewicz, Kahn, Hirschenhauser, Blensdorf, and Haman (p. 55). He was also familiar with the work of Kurt Schwitters who was interned in the same camp and was prone to recite poetry (p. 53). Other artists included Hellmuth Weissenborn, responsible for starting the etching trend, (Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview; and "The Camp"); Ernst Muller-Blensdorf, a wood carver (November 13 1940 issue of "The Camp"); Severino Tremator

used porridge as a plaster of Paris substitute, much to the consternation of his housemates who had to put up with the smell as the porridge putrefied.⁶⁷ Exhibitions were arranged in the different camps to demonstrate the fact that even barbed wire, man's creativity could not be tamed. As the newspaper of Hutchinson Camp explained:

The human being is not content to live and vegetate only. The tendency to produce, to create and to build up whatever it may be is deeper rooted in our conscience than many of us believe. To keep this spirit even under the most difficult circumstances, not to loose (sic) heart under hard conditions and to secure progress wherever we are, is more than our duty, it is our fate...[An] exhibition is more than a mere collection of drawings, paintings, sculptures and so forth. It is a sign, a signal and a challenge to everybody here: Go on with your work as well as you can; and if you cannot do anything in your old line, try a new one.⁶⁸

The female internees used their creativity for particularly practical needs. When the internees had been arrested it had been in the warmer months of the year. The harsh winters on the Isle of Man resulted in wool stocks being bought up by female internees and knitting became a popular hobby.⁶⁹



Figure 5 - Knitted gloves and handmade items from Rushen Camp⁷⁰

(Rossi, "Memories"); and Paul Felix Franz Nietzsche, who made the most of his internment to draw portraits (William Kaczynski, "Papers of William Kaczynski, one time child internee of Rushen Camp." 1940-2006, MS 11680).

⁶⁷ Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, pp. 87-8. Schwitters was also renowned for painting on cardboard during his internment (Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview).

⁶⁸ "The Camp", 1940.

⁶⁹ Olins, "Island Prison", p. 49; Margot Pottlitzer Interview; Dalheim, "Papers"; "Papers of the Klaffl family"; O'Rourke, *Poems*; Pinkus "Letters"; "Elisabeth Bickel Correspondence".

⁷⁰ *Living with the Wire*, ed. Cresswell, p. 83.

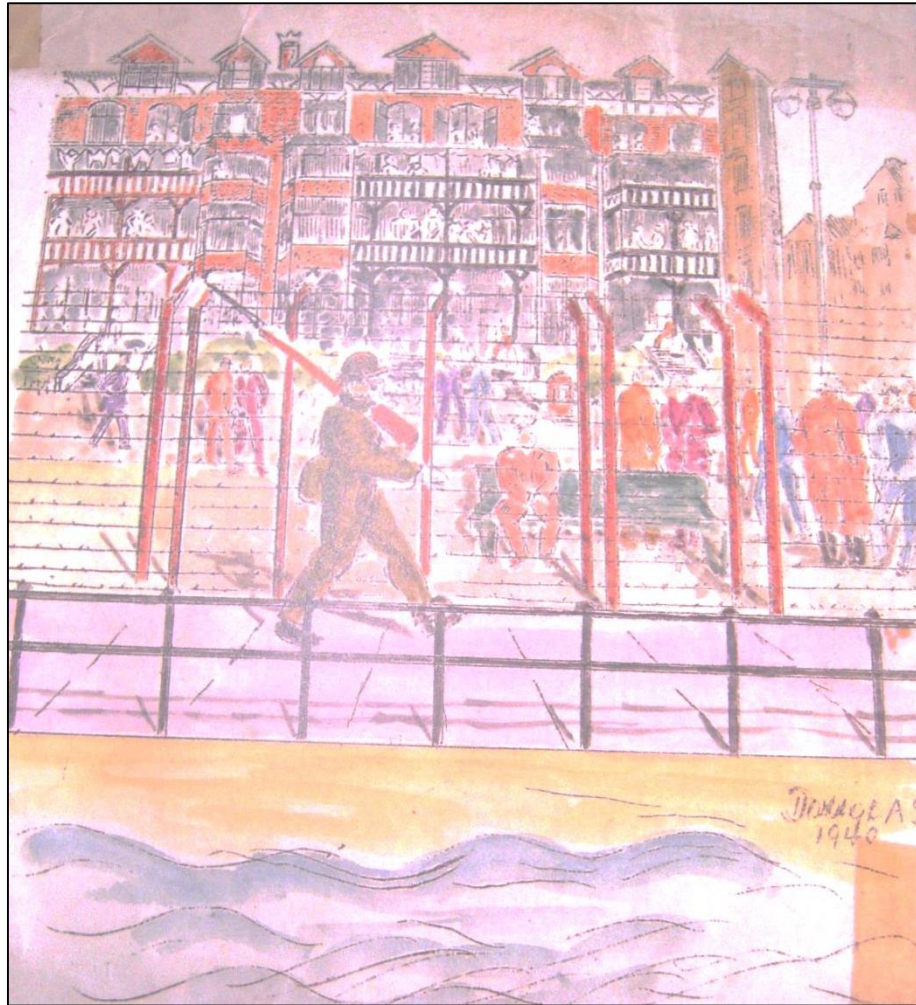


Figure 6 - A watercolour of Douglas promenade, 1940⁷¹

The brightness of the colours suggests a holiday-like atmosphere similar to how the Manx coast would be enjoyed in peacetime. However, the prominence of the armed guard patrolling the double barbed wire fence points to the harsh reality of the confines of camp life. The solitary internee sitting on the bench looks longingly beyond the barbed wire and seems tantalisingly close to the freedom he craves. Others mingle close to the fence but with their backs to the view, perhaps because it is too painful to be so close yet so far from life outside the wire. Unusually, the perspective of the artist is from outside the camp looking in, showing how the internees might be perceived by curious outsiders, and also where the internees would rather be if given the opportunity.

Highly renowned academics were to be found in all the camps, and this led to the creation of camp ‘universities’ in the male camps, where individuals could attend lectures.⁷² The ‘universities’ provided the opportunity for individuals from a broad socio-cultural background to mix with others with whom they would not usually associate. It was a place where ‘new

⁷¹ “Papers of Jacob Schartenburg (later Walter Sharman).” 1940s, MS 12413.

⁷² For examples of some of the academics interned see the ‘Oxford Group’ listing in Jacobsthal, “Memoirs”.

interests were kindled', and created an atmosphere conducive to the free exchange of ideas, one 'learned something, met people worth knowing, people one would not have met normally'.⁷³ Developing out of the trend for education as a form of protection against stagnation within the camp, libraries and reading rooms became commonplace as internment progressed.⁷⁴ Each camp also established its own newspaper. In the early days, these were mainly intended to fill the void created by the ban on newspapers from outside the camp, which was a huge sap to morale. Without reliable news, rumour was rife and 'despair, unhappiness and insecurity dominated'.⁷⁵ Loudspeakers were introduced to the camps late 1940 so that radio could be broadcast as well as messages from the Camp Commandant.⁷⁶

Hutchinson Camp even developed a 'technical school' at which to train members of the camp in vocational skills. The attitude was summed up in their promotional advertisement in the camp newspaper:

'Teaching and learning, training and working, are far better for your release and for your future existence than any grumbling and complaining. DON'T YOU SHARE THIS ATTITUDE? Then why don't you join the Technical School!'⁷⁷

⁷³ "Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs".

⁷⁴ Reading rooms were only possible many months into internment when periodicals were finally allowed inside the camps. A subscription was required from each reader in order to purchase said periodicals, which gave it a slight air of exclusivity (November 24th 1940 issue of "The Camp"). In another issue of the Hutchinson newspaper it was estimated that up to 60% of the internees had at some point used the library facilities (January 14th 1941 issue of "The Camp"). The National Central Library London, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Douglas Public Library provided 'books of a scientific nature' for the internees and it was estimated that there were 7,600 volumes available to browse ("Account of P Camp"). Even when internees were transported abroad, as will be touched on later, the desire for libraries travelled with them (Baruch, "Reminiscences"). Ille Pinkus complained that the only books available in Rushen Camp were 'only bad books, just to learn English and occupy oneself' (Ille Pinkus, "Letters"). See also Dalheim, "Papers".

⁷⁵ "Papers of Erna Nelki". See also Hodge "Memories"; Mendel, "Barbed"; "Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs"; and William Sommerfeld Interview.

⁷⁶ "The Camp" October 27th 1940. There was much relief that news was for the first time available instantly, instead of via out of date copies of newspapers ("The Camp", January 14th 1941). See also Helmuth Weissenborn Interview. Even the Gestapo welcomed the introduction of newspapers into the camps, as noted in Gestapo, "Copy of Gestapo document relating to British Internment Camps including those on the Isle of Man." 1940, MS 09510.

⁷⁷ Issue 1, "The Camp". The Technical School offered training in Technical and Electrical Skills, Maths, Physics, Technical Translation and English to equip its students to help in the war effort upon release – 'self preservation by learning' (Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, pp. 18/24-5). The Canadian government were keen to create a trade school at Sherbrooke (HO 215/161 Canada: B and C category internees).

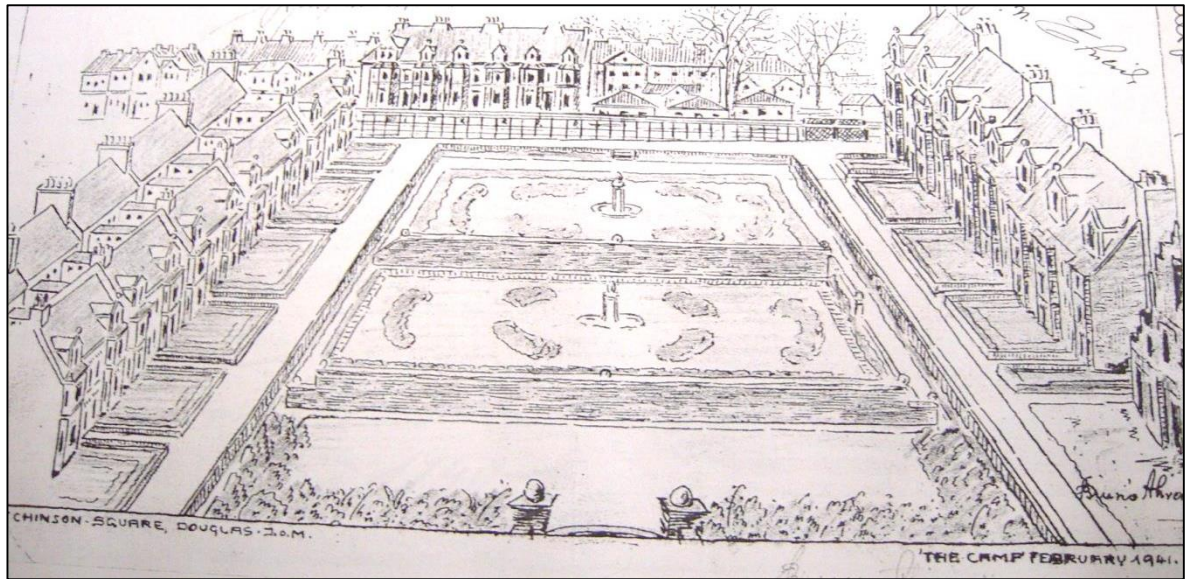


Figure 7 - Drawing of the square in Hutchinson Camp, 1941⁷⁸

There is no indication in this drawing of any type of restriction or any hint of the fact the artist is in fact an internee in a camp behind barbed wire. The serenity of the scene is perhaps due to the fact it was an illustration included in the Hutchinson newspaper, ‘The Camp’, and therefore is an attempt to show the more tranquil side of internment – an imagination of how the square might appear when not thronged with thousands of internees seeking some form of private or personal space.

The subject matter of lectures and classes varied greatly: from experts on nutrition and doctors discussing human physiology, to those teaching French and English classes.⁷⁹ Schools also had to be provided for the children interned in Rushen Camp, though these took several months to come into being, which caused problems for many who worried about their children falling behind their peers.⁸⁰ One school was established at the Strand Cafe in Port Erin and later a second school was created under the leadership of respected educationalist, Minna Specht.⁸¹ The aim of the schools was not only to occupy the children, but also to help prepare them for re-joining English schools upon release. Such was the demand for places that children could

⁷⁸ ‘Drawings of Hutchinson Square’ (Held at the Manx National Archives, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1941).

⁷⁹ November 24th 1940, ‘The Camp’; Ogbe, *Crumbs*, pp. 17-9; Orazio Cairra Interview.

⁸⁰ Comments such as ‘the children need school so badly’ were commonplace at the beginning of internment, see letter dated December 29th 1940 in ‘Rieger Correspondence’.

⁸¹ ‘Papers of Erna Nelki’. Nelki notes that a special class was created for the children still traumatised after Kristallnacht with the help of a social worker. Renate Olins remembers Specht as being very strict but also that by the time Renate returned to school in London she had advanced further than her non-interned fellow pupils. See Olins, ‘Island Prison’, p. 49.

only attend one class per day, either in the morning or the afternoon.⁸² Many of the children resented what they considered to be ‘playing at school’ with their sometimes untrained teachers.⁸³ When Port St Mary became the married camp in 1941, children had to travel under escort to Port Erin for classes until October that year. There was, however, a kindergarten available at both Port St Mary and Port Erin. Adult classes in music and art were also popular, particularly in Rushen Camp.⁸⁴ Unlike in the male camps, women were prevented by Dame Joanna from lecturing in any subject in which they were not academically qualified. In the early stages of Rushen the women therefore turned their frustration into a practical approach to the problems of obtaining items in camp and created a ‘Service Exchange Scheme’ where skills were exchanged for tokens that could be used to purchase food in the canteen or for access to communal services such as the library or camp entertainments.⁸⁵ The Skills Service Exchange was unique to the women’s camp, and can be seen as a creative solution to the frustrations and problems of camp life, particularly under the early leadership of Dame Joanna.⁸⁶

Lectures and classes provided the opportunity to relieve some of the tedium of internment as well as train individuals in new skills that would hopefully assist them in their post-internment careers. Physical exercise was a way of physically expressing the frustrations of incarceration and each camp soon created their own football teams and had inter-camp competitions.⁸⁷ Internees also played card games and for the Japanese *shogi*, or Japanese chess, also served as a distraction.⁸⁸

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Dalheim, “Papers” and “Herbert Forner Letters”. For all the limitations, however, a mixed curriculum was offered, including English, Arithmetic, Geography, History, German, Handicraft, Gymnastics, see Jochanan, “Inside Out”.

⁸⁴ See Pinkus, “Letters”; Johnson, “Memories”; Dalheim, “Papers”; and Ogbe, *Crumbs*.

⁸⁵ Brinson, “Versuchen”, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁶ The Skills Service Exchange was liquidated in November 1941 as the high number of releases made the scheme no longer viable (*Ibid.*).

⁸⁷ Regularly mentioned in “The Camp”; Rossi, “Memories”; Mendel, “Barbed”; and “Sefton Review Nos 1 and 8”; Joseph Pia Interview.

⁸⁸ Itoh, *Japanese*, p. 186.



Figure 8 - A Football Match at Onchan, 1941⁸⁹

Cabaret was a popular form of entertainment in both the male and female camps. The number of talented individuals interned meant that performances were usually of an exceptionally high standard, even with the limitations of having only male actors in the male camps.⁹⁰ In both the male and female camps, comment was often made about how unnatural the circumstances were that they were isolated in their pools of gender.⁹¹ Hutchinson, widely recognised as the most intellectual of all the camps due to the high number of professionals within its confines, offered entertainment at the highest level. Captain Daniels, the Commandant, upon learning that one half of the popular piano duet act Rawicz and Landauer was in his camp, hired two high quality pianos and arranged for a concert, reuniting the two.⁹² ‘The thrill and charm of beautiful music’ had the power to banish thoughts of war from the minds of internees on a

⁸⁹ “Alien Internment Camps in the United Kingdom”, image from the Manx National Archives M 23044.

⁹⁰ “Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs”. “The Camp” wrote that the actors ‘have actually shown – that they are able to give us proofs of their art in spite of these circumstances’. German and English recitals of famous works such as Faust were also commonplace (“The Camp”, 1940).

⁹¹ As the ‘Bradda Glen’ song went “Nowadays on Bradda Glen, Holiday Camp without men, You see women left and right, Same by day and same by night” (“Beer mann Papers”).

⁹² Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 22. That was not the only time Captain Daniels intervened for the benefit of one of his internees. Heinrich Fraenkel was greatly assisted in his work *Help us Germans to Beat the Nazis!*, published by Victor Gollancz in 1941, by the provision of an attic room and a lifting of postal restrictions on his reading material (*Ibid.*, p. 21).

temporary basis.⁹³ Theatre performances were also popular, and later into internment weekly trips to the cinema were arranged, which were ‘the chief distraction in [the internee’s] monotonous life’.⁹⁴ As Alfred Lomnitz remembered, ‘Everybody seemed busy at some occupation of escape from the depression that never relaxed its relentless siege’.⁹⁵

Married Camp

Internment placed a great strain on the internees, especially family members inside and outside the camps. Initially, all those interned were placed in single sex camps, and therefore many married couples found themselves trapped on the same island but unable to communicate with each other with any great regularity. As previously mentioned, mail between the women’s camp in the south of the island and the men’s camps in the north of the island could take several weeks, due to the necessity of passing the letters via the postal censorship office in Liverpool.⁹⁶ The British Government therefore ruled that in cases where a decision needed to be taken by both parties, married visits should take place once a month.⁹⁷ Initially such visits were organised primarily with the intent of encouraging couples to consider the options of transport abroad, rather than for the internees’ emotional welfare.⁹⁸ The married visits also served to showcase the lack of accurate records kept regarding internment. On the first visit many women waited expectantly for their husbands to arrive, only to discover that their men

⁹³ “The Camp” Issue 1, 1940, which then went on to say incredulously ‘And all this on a boarding-house piano!’ Fritz Lustig after receiving his cello spent the majority of his internment practicing and performing with fellow musicians in Peveril Camp in order to boost morale. See Robin Lustig, “The Wandering Scribe”, <http://www.wanderingscribes.com/#!/Back-in-the-Isle-of-Man-after-74-years/c1ybh/837721C8-1C95-493B-88AB-AA3B1B9D748F>

⁹⁴ Henry Mendel commended a performance of ‘The Silver Box’, August 5th 1941 (Mendel, “Barbed”). For references concerning the liberating feeling a visit to the pictures could have see Kittel, “Papers”; Dalheim, “Papers”; Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 70; John Duffield Interview; “Papers of the Klaffl family”; and Pinkus, “Letters”.

⁹⁵ Lomnitz, “*Never Mind!*”, p. 18.

⁹⁶ Although there was a trial of a weekly postal collection between Rushen camp and the other Isle of Man camps for mail between wives and husbands, but not fiancés or other relatives in 1940 (HO 215/290 Communication between camps (1941)).

⁹⁷ See, for example, the *Manchester Guardian’s* interview in *The Isle of Man Weekly Times*, December 25th, 1940.

⁹⁸ See “Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs” for mention of discussion about travelling to Australia. Erna Nelki remembers the Australia meeting and also discussing emigration to British Honduras, San Domingo or Ecuador on the second visit (“Papers of Erna Nelki”). The visits alternated between Port Erin and Douglas. See also Dalheim, “Papers”.

had, in fact, already been sent overseas.⁹⁹ There was much upset caused by this oversight as the sea was a dangerous place, unlike the Isle of Man. For those that were fortunate enough to see their partners, the visits formed a ‘joy and consolation to last until the next time’,¹⁰⁰ though the visits were never long enough to greatly ease the distress of separation, nor the uncertainty of just how long incarceration would last.

Eventually, as the numbers of individuals released increased and the number of camps decreased, the decision was made to turn Port St. Mary into the ‘married persons’ camp in 1941. In the first edition of the married camp newspaper, the *Camp Tribune*, the editor took the opportunity to express his and his fellow internees ‘gratitude for having been transferred to this camp and re-united with our families and for the most satisfactory living conditions as far as the billeting, freedom of movement, food etc. goes’.¹⁰¹ Even though the couples in the married camp still yearned for release, they were able to enjoy a much better standard of living than had been possible before. For the mothers, being reunited with their husbands enabled them to share some of the burdens of childcare. Johanna Rieger, for example, had travelled to the Isle of Man alone with her three children and given birth to her fourth child whilst interned. Support from her husband, Hannes, was therefore greatly appreciated.¹⁰²

Life in the married camp assumed greater regularity than was possible in the single sex camps, certainly for many children life ‘proceeded happily and peacefully. It was really like a family holiday without an end’.¹⁰³ Additional benefits included the allocation of allotments on which many husbands set to work cultivating fruit and vegetables to share within the camp.¹⁰⁴ The

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ “The Camp”, October 27th, 1940. Industrious husbands and fathers would spend the intervening time working on gifts for their spouses or children. Frederick Beermann, for example, made his daughter, Edna, a rocking horse for one such visit (“Beermann Papers”). See also Olins, “Island Prison”, p. 50.

¹⁰¹ “Camp Tribune”, August 16th, 1941. Consideration had been given to creating a married camp as early as 1940 (HO 215/124 Classification of camps and segregation of internees: general matters (1940)).

¹⁰² “Rieger Correspondence”.

¹⁰³ Dalheim, “Papers”.

¹⁰⁴ See Sussman, “Young”; Cuthbert, “Papers”; Dalheim “Papers”; and “Herbert Forner Letters”.

married camp therefore helped families return to some semblance of normality while they awaited their release.

Christmas 1940 and 1941

Although many hoped to be released before Christmas, due to the complexity of the release system, they were often still behind barbed wire as the festive season drew near. Determined to make the best of their situation, every effort was made to make December 1940 as enjoyable as possible. This was easier for those in Rushen Camp as the landlords and landladies of their houses were often keen to help the internees plan festive activities. A poem written in 1940 expresses this sentiment:

Let's be happy tonight, celebrate together
Let's flock always like birds of a feather
As a family protected by father Creer [landlord]
Once again: "Merry Christmas and New Year"¹⁰⁵

Christmas in the male camps was a more subdued affair. Some internees in Onchan Camp invited their local minister to visit with them on Christmas Eve and share a cake, which had been baked from all the internees pooling their rations in the house.¹⁰⁶ As one internee in Hutchinson Camp noted, 'we...men who remained decided "to try to make the best of it". Not to talk about Christmas, but to be together and to try to bear it together and to hope for better things for the New Year'.¹⁰⁷ Some of the Italians decided to brave the chilling Irish Sea on Christmas Day in order to disrupt the guards' celebrations and give them an opportunity to leave the confines of camp.¹⁰⁸

The contrast between the celebrations in the male camps and the women's camp can be explained by the presence of children in the latter. When the Married Camp was created in

¹⁰⁵ Mrs T. O'Rourke, "Poems from Rushen Internment Camp." 1940-1, MS 09337. See also Dalheim, "Papers"; and Pinkus, "Letters". Handmade gifts from unusual materials were commonplace. A particularly attractive figurine of the Good Shepherd was made from river mud that was then baked in an oven to harden it, for example (Johnson, "Memories").

¹⁰⁶ John Duffield Interview.

¹⁰⁷ Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ Pistol, "Brand Interview".

1941, those who were still interned for a second Christmas found the children entertained, their curfews extended, and an attempt to vary the food was made. The men who were still interned further north on the island organised a variety show in order to enter into the festive spirit.¹⁰⁹ In Australia, Bauhaus-trained artist Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack made a woodcutting that was used to create a Christmas card. The scene comprised

A figure stand[ing] behind barbed wire, beneath the brightly-shining Southern Cross and Pointer stars. The words 'MERRY CHRISTMAS 1941' frame[d] this bleak scene. The print juxtaposes an internee's solitude and the annual festival, when many internees' thoughts would have turned to their families, so far away.¹¹⁰

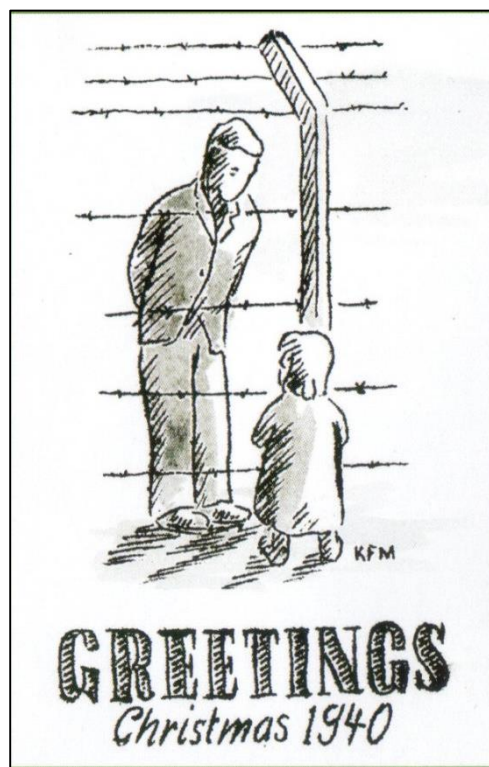


Figure 9 - Christmas Card produced in Onchan by Klaus Meyer¹¹¹

The tumultuous emotions experienced by an internee are poignantly demonstrated through this Christmas image. The barbed wire separates a man from an inquisitive child outside the camp in the drawing, but had a much more significant meaning – the wire separating men from their wives and children. How could there be true festive celebration when individuals were still separated from their family, even on the same island? It would be several more months before the married camp was created in Rushen.

¹⁰⁹ See *The Isle of Man Times* December 5th 1941 and January 5th 1942.

¹¹⁰ Susannah Helman, "The Dunera Boys," *The National Library Magazine* (2010), p. 7.

¹¹¹ *Living with the Wire*, ed. Cresswell, p. 74.

Transport Abroad

What became the most controversial aspect of internment was the government's decision to transport internees abroad. Britain was in danger of invasion and wanted to remove enemy aliens from a position where they could potentially assist the enemy. To this end several governments in the British Dominion were contacted and asked to accommodate some of these 'dangerous' individuals. After some hesitation, the Canadian and Australian governments consented. Canada agreed to take a defined number of internees, whereas Australia left the offer open ended. The terms were made clear – the Dominion governments were only required to provide the camps, guards, and provisions, and the British government would retain responsibility for both transportation and release.¹¹² Thus the transports began, a mere three weeks after the scheme was first proposed.

In total, just over 11,000 men were transported to Canada or Australia. The intention was for the British government to only transport those who posed the highest risk to security, that is, those categorised as 'A' by the internment tribunals, captured prisoners of war, and merchant seamen. The *Duchess of York* set sail for Canada first, on 21 June 1940, with approximately 2,100 German and Austrian 'A' class internees, and 523 POWs. The second ship to depart on 30 June 1940, the *Arandora Star*, had around 1,564 men on board, also en route to Canada. Of these, approximately 734 were Italians, and the rest were a combination of Germans and Austrians, as well as the ship crew and the British soldiers guarding the internees.¹¹³ The Italians had no classification, seeing as the order had been given to 'Collar the Lot' and the tribunals had been wound down. However, as the Italians had only recently been arrested, there were a large number of internees who had not yet been transported to the Isle of Man and were therefore considered 'convenient' for sending overseas. There was no effort to actually adhere to the principle of only transporting those who were perceived to be the

¹¹² Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 96; Chappell, *Island*, p. 28.

¹¹³ Numbers vary between sources. See for example, Memorandum on Internment and Transfer Overseas of Aliens, July 27, 1940 (PREM 3/49 *Arandora Star* (1940)). See also Terri Colpi, "The Impact of the Second World War on the British Italian Community," in *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 178.

greatest security risk. With tight departure schedules and poor records regarding the internees, the easiest option was taken, for which the Italian community paid the ultimate price. The *Arandora Star* was torpedoed and sunk early 2 July 1940, with the loss of over 650 lives. Approximately sixty percent of the Italians on board perished, a much higher percentage than any other nationality due to the poor quality accommodation they were offered on the lowest decks, in contrast to the cabins on the upper decks provided to Germans and Austrians.¹¹⁴ Despite this tragedy, the *Ettrick* sailed for Canada the next day, 3 July 1940, with 1,307 Category 'B' and 'C' internees, 407 'young single' Italians, and 880 POWs. The following day, on 4 July 1940, the *Sobieski* also departed for Canada, with 983 'B' and 'C' internees, as well as 545 POWs. The survivors of the *Arandora Star* had meanwhile been rescued and taken to Scotland, where 444 individuals were deemed fit to endure the further ordeal of another boat journey, this time on the *Dunera* along with a further 2,288 'B' and 'C' category Germans, who departed for Australia on 10 July 1940.¹¹⁵

The internees on the *Duchess of York* enjoyed great freedom, with tragic results that resulted in much harsher conditions on later ships. Because the guards on board the *Duchess of York* were vastly outnumbered, a disturbance on deck ended with a German POW shot and killed.¹¹⁶ Subsequent transports were more closely guarded. The quality of accommodation on each ship varied dramatically. One internee described how on board the *Ettrick* the lowest four decks of the ship were filled with internees on one side and German POWs on the other, with only airshafts connecting them with the upper decks. The experience of being separated 'by a thin strand of wire from hundreds of highly trained, effective, and obviously fanatic Nazis for

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*; HO 215/429 Deaths, Funeral Arrangements Etc. for the *Arandora Star* (1942); HO 352/43 List of Names of Italians Who Perished on the *Arandora Star* (1950); WO 361/4 Losses on SS *Arandora Star* (1940).

¹¹⁵ PREM 3/49; HO 213/438 *Arandora Star* Embarkation Lists (1940); HO 215/262 Voyage of HMT *Dunera*: promises allegedly made to volunteers; parliamentary question (1942); HO 215/265 Voyage of SS *Ettrick*: conditions in Canadian camps on arrival (1941); HO 215/266 Voyage of SS *Sobieski*: embarkation list (1940).

¹¹⁶ Louise Burleston, "The State, Internment and Public Criticism in the Second World War," in *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*, eds. David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1993), p. 99.

almost ten days was distinctly unnerving¹¹⁷. One thing in common on all the ships was the lack of adequate sleeping quarters and sanitary arrangements for the internees, who were crammed into spaces designed for a much smaller number of passengers.¹¹⁸ Queues for the latrines were commonplace, as was seasickness and diarrhoea. The following scene was not uncommon:

I have a ghastly and unforgettable memory of an elderly man, lined up at least one deck away from the heads and clearly convinced that he would not reach them in time, grabbing the nearest suitcase (clearly not his own) and relieving himself into it. All the time he remained in the line, doubtlessly on the assumption that he would be in need again by the time he eventually reached the heads.¹¹⁹

The conditions on the *Dunera* were widely acknowledged to be the worst of all the transports. From the moment of embarkation, the internees knew they were in for an unpleasant journey. The hostile guards pilfered anything of value from their passengers including 1,200 watches and hundreds of gold wedding rings.¹²⁰ Internees were only allowed on deck for one hour per day in order to exercise, guarded by soldiers bearing rifles fixed with bayonets, though this was an improvement over the *Ettrick*, where there was no sight of the upper deck for the duration of the journey. On the *Dunera* however, one man was able to break through the barbed wire in order to commit suicide by jumping from the ship during the journey.¹²¹

The true tragedy, however, was the *Arandora Star*, which was torpedoed and sunk in the early hours of July 2, 1940, with the loss of over 650 lives. None of the transport ships were marked as carrying POWs. Instead they sailed unaccompanied, equipped with anti-submarine guns, and employed a zigzag pattern in their movements, making the ships obvious targets for German U-boats; as one individual described it, the boats were 'sinister like...veritable

¹¹⁷ Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ The *Dunera*, for example, was designed for 1,600 passengers including crew, yet 2,732 internees were sent aboard, excluding guards and crew; see Pearl, *Scandal*, p. 19; Helman, "Dunera", p. 3. Sleeping on the floor was the norm on all transport ships.

¹¹⁹ Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, p. 34.

¹²⁰ Patkin, *Dunera*, p. 37. One internee noted that 'On the boat luggage was strewn about and open cases everywhere looted by the soldiers.' (Baruch, "Reminiscences"). Another remembered 'The suitcases were opened forcefully by soldiers. Many things, sometimes everything were taken out, put into the pocket or thrown overboard' (Helman, "Dunera", p. 3). The aggressive nature of the guards was toned down for the television mini-series 'The Dunera Boys', broadcast in the 1980s, and yet still made for uncomfortable viewing; Lang, "Dunera Boys", p. 183.

¹²¹ Baruch, "Reminiscences".

coffin[s]'.¹²² Like her sister ships that went before and after her, the *Arandora Star* underwent several changes in appearance for her new cargo:

All portholes were boarded up shutting out all daylight and the ship was armed. The boarded up promenade decks were separated from the other parts of the ship by double fences of barbed wire reaching from floor to ceiling. The only means of communication between the aft and forepart and to the boat-decks was through the lower cabin gangways which were closely guarded by sentries.¹²³ The boat had fourteen lifeboats, with a maximum capacity far short of the number of passengers aboard.¹²⁴ No drill was given as to what to do in the event of an emergency. Had some safety precautions been taken, it is possible that many more individuals would have survived. As it was, 'many people, especially sick and older ones, and those from the lower part of the ship could not reach the open decks', and therefore had no chance of survival, even had the lifeboats been functional.¹²⁵ One Italian described his brother-in-law's ordeal:

[he went] under with the ship. Whoosh! And it sucks all his clothes off him. The next he knows, he comes up, bumps his head and he grabs and is holding onto a raft. He is absolutely naked holding onto this raft. And there's about half a dozen other men holding onto the raft as well! And the water is full of oil...He says this oil saved him because the sea was frozen but the oil, you know, took the cold out of the water. He considered that saved him. He was hanging on and every now and again, a man "Oh!" he lost his thread and he went down to his death...But my brother-in-law was lucky. He was able to hold on for a few hours.¹²⁶

The survivors were picked up by a Canadian destroyer and deposited at Greenock, Scotland, where those who were not severely injured were placed upon the *Dunera* and transported to Australia.¹²⁷ That the internees had just survived a tremendous ordeal seemed of no importance to those managing the transportation of 'dangerous' prisoners.

Only males were transported abroad, despite promises that families would be reunited in Australia or Canada if married men volunteered for the transport.¹²⁸ The majority of the men transported had no choice in the matter and so it was not uncommon for their wives to only find out their husbands were abroad some time after their husband's journey.¹²⁹ Sadly this was

¹²² B. Fehle, "Memorandum relating to the Disaster of the SS *Arandora Star*." 1940, MS 09647. See also Balestracci, *Arandora Star*, and Baruch "Reminiscences".

¹²³ Fehle, "Memorandum".

¹²⁴ According to the Snell Inquiry, lifeboats were provided for 750 of the persons aboard, rafts for a further 1,088, and there were also 2,000 lifejackets onboard, see Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 109.

¹²⁵ Fehle, "Memorandum".

¹²⁶ Joseph Pia Interview.

¹²⁷ See *Ibid*; and Baruch "Reminiscences".

¹²⁸ See "Pinschof Journal"; "Willy Leopold Hess Memoirs"; HO 215/161.

¹²⁹ Jochanan, "Inside Out". See also Cuthbert, "Papers"; Patkin, *Dunera*, p. 27; and Koch, *Suspect*, pp. 38-9.

also true in the case of notifying the next of kin after the sinking of the *Arandora Star* as there was no accurate list of who had actually boarded the ship.

The Canadian and Australian governments had been prepared to accept some of Britain's most dangerous POWs. The reception the survivors received upon their arrival in their host country was therefore far from welcoming. The internees who disembarked in Canada and Australia were met by soldiers bearing rifles and filtered off to their respective camps, which were surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers.

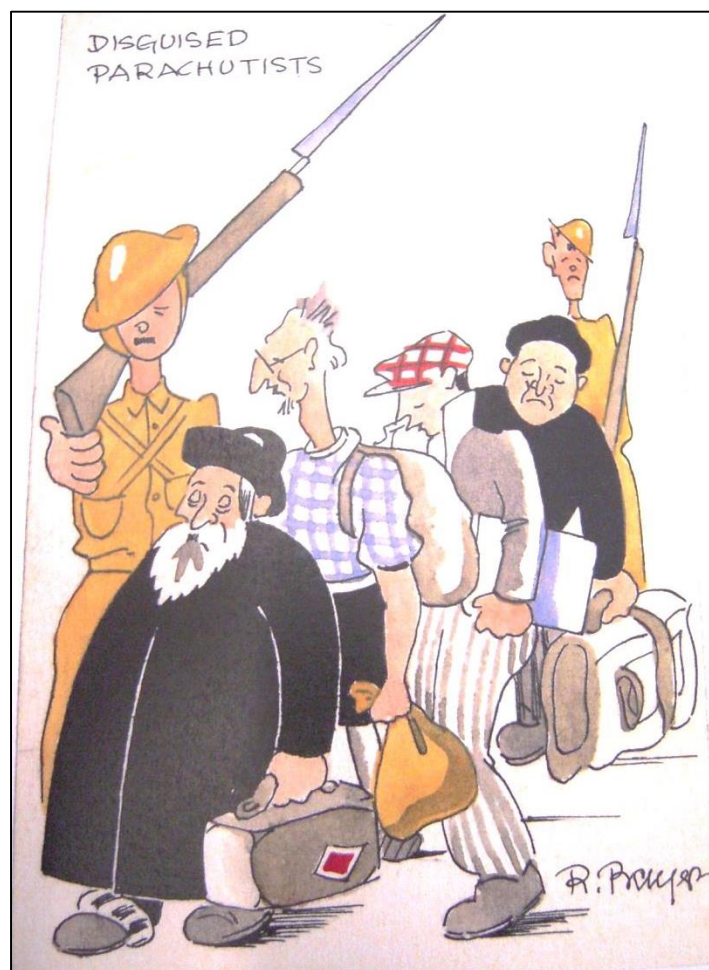


Figure 10 - 'Disguised Parachutists'¹³⁰

The irony of the situation of refugees transported abroad is beautifully captured in this illustration. The Canadian and Australian authorities were expecting dangerous individuals captured because of espionage activities, but for the hordes of refugees, elderly, and Italians who had lived in Great Britain for decades, who arrived in their stead, the authorities were woefully unprepared.

¹³⁰ "Papers of Erna Nelki".

The mislabelling of internees as POWs led to ‘a profound identity crisis’.¹³¹ One internee remembered that: ‘throughout our stay in Canada, that POW delusion was never cleared up, nor was the public amazement that so motley a crowd could ever have had any military impact – the conquest of France, no less!’¹³² Whereas the Canadians never overcame the misunderstanding, the Australians soon entered into a more casual attitude with their charges, quickly realising they were not the ‘Nazi parachutists whom they had been led to expect’.¹³³ The overall feeling of internment in Canada was that it was ‘not a bad experience, but rather boring!’¹³⁴ Initially pro-Nazis were not separated from genuine refugees, which led to several unpleasant incidents.¹³⁵ The internee experience in Canada was also rather cold, with POW uniforms given to the internees in an effort to help them stay warm, although this was in many ways an indignity.¹³⁶

Extremes of weather were common to those in both Canada and Australia. The Australian outback was a forbidding environment, with great variation of temperatures, when the wind ‘turned from dry desert oven heat to blasts from the Antarctic, bringing cold rain; temperature drops of 50-60F within the hour’.¹³⁷ It took a little time to separate the pro-Nazis from the refugees, but once that had been arranged, camp life took on its own momentum. In both Canada and Australia conditions were primitive and it took some time to get provisions beyond the basic needs of daily meals.¹³⁸ Something the internees were extremely thankful for, despite the climatic issues of their new homes, was the quality of the food available. After

¹³¹ Nicole M. T. Brunnhuber, “After the Prison Ships: Internment Narratives in Canada,” in *“Totally Un-English”?*, p. 169.

¹³² Lynton, *Accidental Journey*, p. 38; HO 215/155 Canada: segregation of Nazi and non-Nazi internees (1941); HO 215/161.

¹³³ Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 230.

¹³⁴ June Nathan, “Biographical note about Ernst Geiduschek (late Ernest Garson).” 2009, MS 12120.

¹³⁵ Concerns were also expressed over bias towards Fascists by Camp Commandants. See HO 215/155; HO 215/161. The actor Robert Rietti, for example, was injured by members of the BUF while in a prison in Liverpool (“Robert Rietti Obituary”, *The Daily Telegraph*, April 22, 2015).

¹³⁶ HO 215/161; HO 215/155.

¹³⁷ “Ludwig Hess Memoirs”. Hess also noted that ‘you could easily have fried an egg on the walls at midday heat’. Conditions at Hay were such that members of the garrison were supplied with close-fitting tinted goggles for protection against dust storms. No such provision was made for the internees, however (Pearl, *Scandal*, p. 97).

¹³⁸ For example, there was no paper or ink for writing letters to relatives initially in Australian camps, see Baruch, “Reminiscences”. Replacing items like spectacles could also be a problem as it was not seen as ‘high priority’ by some Canadian Camp Commandants. See HO 215/161; Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 218.

some of the food problems from the previous camps and the lack of edible food available on board their transport ships, the internees could not believe that they could receive ‘fresh butter, milk, sugar, fresh vegetables, and fruit, marmalade, jam, eggs, [and] fresh meat’ as part of their rations.¹³⁹ Fresh fruit and vegetables were available in abundance once the internees created their own market gardens with which to supplement their standard rations. In fact, many more opportunities for farming and animal husbandry were available in Australia than in Britain for the internees, and soon arrangements were also made for Orthodox Jews so that they might observe the Sabbath and prepare kosher food.¹⁴⁰ Much like the camps on the Isle of Man, the internees worked hard to create their own artistic and musical entertainments, as well as forming essential services such as administrations, hospitals, and canteens.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Baruch, “Reminiscences”.

¹⁴⁰ Stent, *Bespattered*, pp. 232-5; HO 215/161.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* See also F. A. Barker, “Letter of thanks for medical care given by Dr Patrick Peel to internees.” 1945, MS 12380; Helman, “Dunera”, pp. 4-5.

Evacuation in the United States

As has been noted in the previous chapter, the first step towards restricting the movement of enemy aliens on the West Coast was the introduction of prohibited zones, where enemy aliens were forbidden from residing. This included not only the Japanese, but also Germans, Austrians, and Italians. However, the treatment of Germans, Austrians, and Italians, should be seen in a different light to the internment of those of Japanese ancestry. Germans, Austrians, and Italians were considered on an individual basis, a policy motivated by multiple factors, including the fact that European enemy aliens had been able to naturalise before the war and therefore assimilate into American society, an option not available to those of Japanese ancestry. This in no way lessens the seriousness of internment suffered by Europeans, but their cases can be seen in the context of selective internment, rather than the exclusion of an entire people group based on their ethnicity.

Enemy aliens on the West Coast were advised that they could 'voluntarily' relocate from Military Area No. 1 to Military Area No. 2, or even further inland. This was not only impractical for many, but when time ran out for voluntary relocation in June, those who had relocated to Military Area No. 2 found that their relocation did not protect them from internment.¹⁴² However, when it came to evacuation, those of Japanese ancestry were afforded the dubious accolade of being the only racial group forced to 'relocate' en masse, and this was accomplished in two stages, beginning June 1941. As General DeWitt, head of the Western Defence Command, said: 'You needn't worry about the Italians at all except in certain cases.

¹⁴² For example, friends of Yushiko Uchida 'had moved from Zone One to Dinuba, where they thought they would be safe...found themselves subject to removal after all, and were eventually sent to a camp in Arizona. Had they not attempted the first move at all, they could have been with their Bay Area friends in Tanforan, and later Topaz, and saved themselves considerable expense as well'. Uchida, *Exile*, p. 95. Hatsu (Matsumoto) Kanemoto's family also voluntarily relocated. As she describes: 'Then all of the sudden, one morning, in the newspaper it says we were going to be evacuated. So we had to run around, run around because we didn't want to go to camp at that time. We were going to go to Colorado. But it might have been easier if we went to camp. We really had to struggle when we went to Colorado.' See *REgenerations Oral History Project: Rebuilding Japanese American Families, Communities, and Civil Rights in the Resettlement Era: San Jose Region: Volume IV*, ed. by Japanese American National Museum (Los Angeles, 2000), p.34.

Also, the same for the Germans except in individual cases. But we must worry about the Japanese all the time until he is wiped off the map.¹⁴³

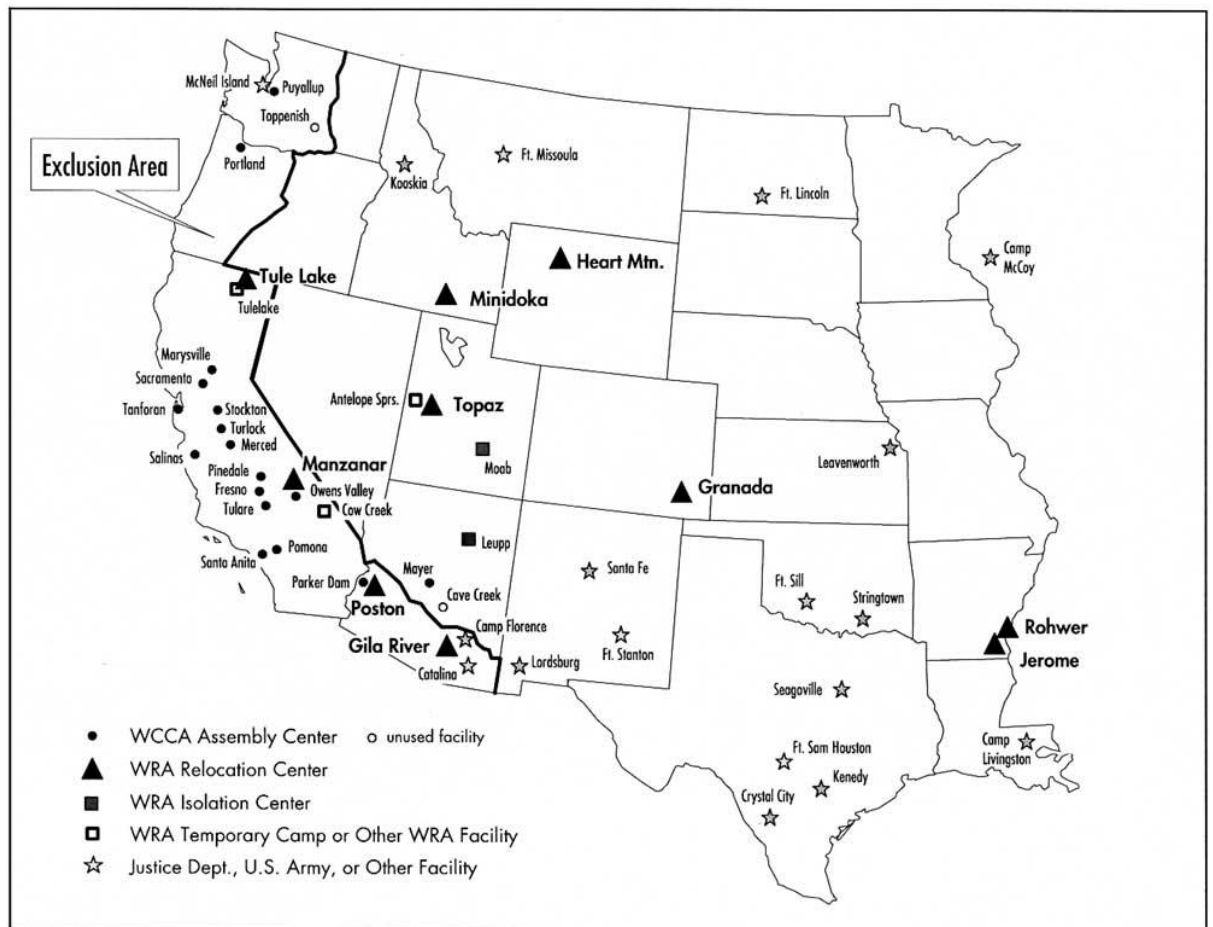


Figure 11 - Camps and Holding Facilities for those of Japanese Ancestry in the Western United States¹⁴⁴

Hawaii

The situation in Hawaii was in stark contrast to that of the United States mainland. Arguably, there was a better case for internment on Hawaii than on the mainland as Hawaii had actually been attacked by the Japanese. However, the decision was taken to declare martial law on the islands instead of pursuing a policy of mass internment. This was partly due to the fact that, whereas on the mainland the Japanese constituted two percent of the population, in Hawaii

¹⁴³ Dickerson, *Concentration*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁴ Image available from the National Park Service at http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/anthropology74/images/figure1.1.jpg

that figure was closer to thirty-three percent.¹⁴⁵ Internment would therefore have paralysed the islands with the loss of a third of the workforce. Instead, around 1,500 Germans, Italians, and individuals of Japanese ancestry, were interned in Hawaii at Wailuku, Maui, Honouliuli, or on Sand Island, a former quarantine station at the entrance to Honolulu Harbour. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts was appointed to report on the disaster. Privately, Roberts believed that the Japanese American population on Hawaii, perhaps more so than the Japanese Americans on the mainland, was untrustworthy. However, Roberts reported publicly that there was little evidence to substantiate the claim that those of Japanese ancestry posed a direct threat to security in Hawaii. He also said that the lack of evidence did not prove the loyalty of the Japanese.¹⁴⁶ Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, along with President Roosevelt, pressured the Hawaiian Department to evacuate those considered the most dangerous enemy aliens to the United States mainland, but the Hawaiian authorities preferred to ‘treat the Japanese in Hawaii as citizens of an occupied country’.¹⁴⁷

The facilities for those interned at Sand Island were rudimentary at best, and conditions on Maui were certainly preferable. For six months the internees lived in tents with no floorboards until barracks were completed in May 1942.¹⁴⁸ As the camp at Sand Island became more established, loudspeakers were installed in every barracks. However, the loudspeakers not only broadcast music, they also contained receivers so that the conversations of the internees could be monitored.¹⁴⁹ Sand Island internment camp existed until 1943, when remaining internees who had not already been transferred to the United States mainland, joined their contemporaries in the Relocation Centers.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Daniels, *Prisoners*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ Curtis Munson had already reported to the President, prior to Pearl Harbor, along with the Honolulu FBI, that the majority of the Japanese population was trustworthy, and the FBI already had records regarding all those deemed suspect. Robinson, *Order*, pp. 75-76, 94-95.

¹⁴⁷ Weglyn, *Infamy*, p.87.

¹⁴⁸ *Justice Denied*, pp. 278-9.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 177. See also Dickerson, *Concentration*, p. 48.

Department of Justice Camps

Those who were arrested in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor were not taken to Assembly Centers. After their arrest and confinement in local police stations and holding camps, suspect enemy aliens were taken to camps managed by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS), on behalf of the DoJ. The INS managed these camps until May 1943, when control was returned to the DoJ.¹⁵¹ Unlike the Assembly Centers, these camps existed prior to the Second World War. According to *Fortune Magazine*, only the DoJ camps could be termed ‘true internment camps’, and they held not only Japanese enemy aliens, but also Germans, Austrians, and Italians.¹⁵² Approximately 11,500 individuals of German ancestry and around 3,000 individuals of Italian ancestry were held in DoJ camps.¹⁵³ Run as military camps, discipline was strict and communication with the outside world severely restricted. Family members from outside the DoJ camps sent their husbands and fathers letters and care packages that were stripped to ensure no secret communications were contained within sweet wrappers, for example.¹⁵⁴ Conditions were basic and the housing often consisted, at least initially, of tents with no floorboards, until barracks were constructed.¹⁵⁵ As time progressed, some of the internees in the DoJ camps were reunited with their families in Relocation Centers, while those who remained could request to have their families transferred to Crystal City, Texas, where the DoJ converted facilities into a family camp. Crystal City was not where any of the internees wanted their families to be but it was preferable to continued separation.

¹⁵¹ Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence. B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Western Archeological and Conservation Center National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000).

¹⁵² ‘Issei, Nisei, Kibei - Fortune Magazine Reviews the Program of the WRA and the Problems Created by the Evacuation from the West Coast of 110,000 People of Japanese Descent’ (1944) in *Gerda Isenberg Papers 3.1*, (1944); Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 78; Burton et al, *Confinement*.

¹⁵³ Stephen Fox, *Uncivil Liberties: Italian Americans Under Siege during World War II* (Parkland, FL: Universal Publishers, 2000), p. xi.

¹⁵⁴ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁵ Kando Ikeda, *Ikeda Family Papers 1.1*, 1942.

Assembly Centers

Before mass evacuation occurred, notices were displayed in prominent places in Japanese neighbourhoods.¹⁵⁶ Every area was treated differently, and so it was possible for as little as twenty-four hours' notice to be given in some areas, whilst others might be given up to ten days to prepare for their departure.¹⁵⁷ As one internee asked, 'How can we clear out in ten days a house we've lived in for fifteen years?'¹⁵⁸ Evacuation caused many practical issues for the Japanese. Anti-alien land laws prevented the Issei from owning property. Some property had been placed in the name of Nisei children, enabling their Issei parents to manage the property. However, if the entire Japanese population on the West Coast was to be interned for the foreseeable future then suitable custodians for not only the properties, but also possessions, had to be found. Evacuation orders stipulated that only as much as could be carried could be taken to the Assembly Centers. Those of Japanese ancestry felt forced to sell as many of their possessions as possible. The involuntary sale of possessions 'was very difficult...because most of the people, neighbors, and so forth, knew that we had to leave. So, the longer they waited, the better bargains they [got].'¹⁵⁹ Some Caucasian members of the West Coast Community were sympathetic to the plight of their Japanese neighbours and offered to store their goods or let their houses on their behalf while they were away. Such arrangements varied in success between the safe storage and return of all goods and property to their rightful owners after the war, and unscrupulous 'friends' who sold off property and pocketed the profits in the internees' absence.¹⁶⁰ The Federal Government was slow to institute safeguards for the

¹⁵⁶ See Mari Okazaki, *Journal April 24 to June 14, 1942* (California, 1942).

¹⁵⁷ Terminal Islanders, for example, were given the minimum time to evacuate, leading to the creation of a highly antagonistic group in the relocation centers, see R. B. Cozzens (Field Assistant Director Manzanar), 'Letter to Dillon Myers', 1943; "Poston." 1943. According to official records, however, the decision for the evacuation of the Terminal Islanders was made 6 days prior (WRA, Collection 131-1.1, 1942).

¹⁵⁸ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁹ Sakamoto, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 293. See also Okazaki, *Journal*. It was not only physical items that had to be left behind. Sumiko Kobayashi remembered leaving her dog, who she had been given on her eleventh birthday, with Spanish neighbours. When camp policy changed allowing pets she sent for Tippy, only to find she had run away 'probably because she didn't like Spanish food as much as Japanese food' (Rachel Pistol, "Interview with Sumiko Kobayashi." 2015).

¹⁶⁰ One family, who leased a hotel but owned the furniture and fixings inside, agreed to let a friend take care of their goods and rent the rooms out on their behalf, on the understanding that the profits would be sent to the family. This agreement worked for the first four months but thereafter not a

evacuees, creating an 'interval of golden opportunity to swindlers and tricksters who had a terrified group of people at their mercy'.¹⁶¹ No Government agency wished to take the initiative to protect the interests of the internees, and so by the time any policy was formulated it was too late to protect the interests of the vast majority of those of Japanese ancestry. Eventually the WRA assumed responsibility, but the organisation encountered constant problems with the law enforcement agencies on the West Coast, who showed 'a considerable indifference to vandalism and even to arson committed upon evacuee property and...put up effective passive resistance to requests to conduct investigations which might lead to arrest and prosecution of offenders'.¹⁶²

penny was received. As the son explained after the war: 'This is typical of what happened. And we had no course of action to be able to collect the money outside of legal action. But nobody had money for legal action and being so far away, too.' See Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 79. See also Koike, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 169. In direct contrast were the actions of Miss Hudson, a Caucasian friend of the Sugi family, who 'rented [the house] out, paid the property tax and insurance, and whatever costs out of the rent proceeds....So when the war ended and my parents were coming back, they notified her, and she had the renter move out, and had all the furniture that belonged to us which she had stored, moved back in place. She even had all of the utilities re-connected in my father's name - the water, gas, electricity, and some basic foods in the refrigerator.' See Hurt, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 134. See also Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, pp.61-2, 75.

¹⁶¹ 'The Wartime Handling of Evacuee Property', WRA, Collection 131 - 2.19, 1946.

¹⁶² The WRA concluded after the war that 'the wartime handling of evacuee property is a sorry part of the war record'. *Ibid.*

Presidio of San Francisco, California
May 3, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY Living in the Following Area:

All of that portion of the City of Los Angeles, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the point at which North Figueroa Street meets a line following the middle of the Los Angeles River; thence southerly and following the said line to East First Street; thence westerly on East First Street to Alameda Street; thence southerly on Alameda Street to East Third Street; thence northwesterly on East Third Street to Main Street; thence northerly on Main Street to First Street; thence northwesterly on First Street to Figueroa Street; thence northeasterly on Figueroa Street to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 33, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. W. T., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Southern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

Japanese Union Church,
120 North San Pedro Street,
Los Angeles, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The following instructions must be observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Monday, May 4, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.

2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:

- (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
- (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
- (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
- (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
- (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.

4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.

5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.

6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

SEE CIVILIAN EXCLUSION ORDER NO. 33.

Figure 12 - Example of the Evacuation Notice

The evacuation notices listed the Civil Control Centers where the internees were to assemble at on the day of their departure. Failure to report to a Center was considered a felony, as Gordon Hirabayashi demonstrated by his refusal to obey the evacuation order. Charged both

with violating the curfew and failing to report, he was found guilty.¹⁶³ Hirabayashi, a peace-loving Quaker from Seattle, was hardly likely to be a threat to national security and yet his conviction was upheld in the Supreme Court in 1943. Fred Korematsu did not initially set out to challenge the legal system; he had surgery to make him look less Japanese so that he could remain living in California. However, the surgery was not as successful as he hoped and so he was arrested and charged with failure to report to an Assembly Center. Korematsu was found guilty, and again the constitutionality of the order to report was avoided in favour of focusing on the issue of obeying a military order.¹⁶⁴ Like Hirabayashi and Yasui his conviction was upheld in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court had decided that ‘the identification and exclusion of a single racial group was allowable through the war powers of Congress and the president’.¹⁶⁵ The only test case in which a favourable verdict was reached was that of Mitsuye Endo, who was handpicked as a prime example of a loyal Nisei who obeyed the evacuation order in full. The Supreme Court eventually ruled that no ‘loyal American citizen could...be held in a relocation camp against [their] will’, but even this was a hollow victory as the case was delayed so that the ruling was made after it became possible for loyal Nisei to leave the camps under their own volition.¹⁶⁶

Apart from a few individuals who breached the evacuation order, all other individuals of Japanese ancestry reported to their assigned Assembly Center unless given special permission to report at a later date. Each family was assigned a number and a tag with that number was to be attached to every family member, as well as to their bags.¹⁶⁷ The numbering of internees was a dehumanising experience: one’s identity was hidden behind an impersonal and imposed form of identification. As Hatsuye Egami explained,

Since yesterday, we Pasadena Japanese have ceased to be human beings - we are now simply numbers or things. We are no longer “Egamis” but the number 23324. A tag with that number is on every suitcase

¹⁶³ *Justice Denied*, p. 115; Irons, *Justice*, pp. 87-93.

¹⁶⁴ *Justice Denied*, pp. 236-7; Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 228; Irons, *Justice*, pp. 93-9.

¹⁶⁵ Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 37; Houston, *Farewell*, p.125.

¹⁶⁶ *Justice Denied*, pp. 100, 239. Houston, *Farewell*, p. 126; Irons, *Justice*, pp. 99-103.

¹⁶⁷ Communication regarding the details of time and location for departure was often contradictory and caused additional anguish for those being evacuated. See Okazaki, *Journal*.

and bag. Even on our breasts are tied large tags with this same number - 23324! Again, a sad and tragic feeling grips my heart!¹⁶⁸

Once assembled, the internees were loaded onto buses and driven to temporary Assembly Centers. Whilst travelling the window blinds were pulled down, allegedly for the safety of the internees.

The Assembly Centers were often constructed at race tracks or fairgrounds where there were some structures that could be adapted into facilities for the internees, and also space to construct additional accommodation. Internees usually spent several months at these locations before the Relocation Centers were completed. Conditions at the Assembly Centers were primitive, and construction was usually still underway when the first groups of internees arrived. For those who were sent to race tracks the stables had been converted into two room 'apartments', deemed suitable for housing one family in each. The rear room often had no windows and the walls, which were thin and full of knotholes, and had horse hair and other detritus painted onto them during the whitewashing process. Mine Okubo described the accommodation at Tanforan as follows:

A swinging half-door divided the 20 by 9 ft. stall into two rooms. The roof sloped down from a height of twelve feet in the rear room to seven feet in the front room; below the rafters an open space extended the full length of the stable. The rear room had housed the horse and the front room the fodder. Both rooms showed signs of a hurried whitewashing. Spider webs, horse hair, and hay had been whitewashed with the walls. Huge spikes and nails stuck out all over the walls. A two-inch layer of dust covered the floor, but on removing it we discovered that linoleum the color of redwood had been placed over the rough manure-covered boards.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Hatsuye Egami, *The evacuation diary of Hatsuye Egami* (Pasadena, CA: Intentional Productions, 1996), p. 20.

¹⁶⁹ Okubo, *Citizen*, p. 35. For more examples of the accommodation at Tanforan see "Letters Written by Two Japanese-American Schoolgirls from Internment Centers", 1942; and Uchida, *Exile*, p. 70. Fresno County Fair Ground was used as an Assembly Center and 'the most offensive aspect of our detention was the nauseating stench of urine emanating from the stable area and constantly in our nostrils' (Violet Kazue De Cristoforo, *Violet Kazue De Cristoforo Papers 1.1*, 1988). Tulare is described in Okazaki, *Journal*. At Merced 'Some doors [were] at least 2 inches too small for the doorway and in some places the rain water and mud seep in through the concrete.' The same internee said that when her family saw their living quarters they 'were so sick [they] couldn't, eat, walk, or talk. [They] couldn't even cry till later...' (Unknown, 'Letter from Merced Assembly Center', 1942) The conditions at Salinas were no better, as described in Kitaji, *REgenerations San Jose*, p. 251. Despite these realities, Justice Tom Clark still claimed almost thirty years later that the stalls had been turned into 'nice apartments' (*Relocation Reviewed: Volume I*, p. 9b).

Bathroom facilities consisted of wash blocks where there were normally no partitions between toilets or showers, or if there were, there were no doors to offer privacy.¹⁷⁰ This caused much embarrassment for the naturally discreet Japanese women. Hatsuye Egami wrote about her first trip to the latrines with her two daughters:

Guided by a neighbor, all of us go to the latrine, which is about a block away. As soon as we enter, my daughters shriek. I could not help become wobbly and stare before me. I indeed felt sorry for my daughters. In the latrine the cloak of modesty must be shed and we must return to the state of nakedness in which we were born. Polished civilized taste and fine sensitivity seem to have become worthless here.¹⁷¹

Makeshift screens were constructed out of cardboard, which women would carry with them to the latrines. Many Issei were also unaccustomed to the use of showers and would therefore bring buckets and barrels into the showers in order that they might attempt to bathe. Mothers also worried about their children falling in to the toilet when using the facilities.¹⁷² Incomplete drainage meant there was often an unpleasant odour emanating from the area of the latrines, and there was also a constant shortage of hot water.

The internees slept on army cots in their ‘apartments’. Any food that required cooking was banned from the camp as all food was to be eaten communally in mess halls. Some internees brought with them hot plates so that they might heat their baby’s milk in their apartment. However, due to fears regarding electricity surges and fire risks, hot plates were branded as contraband and confiscated.¹⁷³ Initially the quality of the food in the mess halls was of a very low standard, and throughout the Assembly Centers’ existence the standard varied immensely. A letter from an early inhabitant of Merced Assembly Center described lunch as ‘a horrid affair--1 frankfurter, a mess of overboiled cabbage, white bread, pasty rice, and canned cherries [but] One consolation is that we don't have to wash dishes yet...’¹⁷⁴ Certainly in the early days

¹⁷⁰ See Uchida, *Exile*, pp. 75-6; Okazaki, *Journal*; and Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 12. Not all the Assembly Centers were fortunate enough to have proper bathroom furniture and therefore were expected to use hastily constructed wooden latrines on ‘hard, fresh-sawed, un-sandpapered wood’. See “Letter from Merced”.

¹⁷¹ Egami, *Evacuation*, p. 27.

¹⁷² Okazaki, *Journal*.

¹⁷³ FBI raids and the resulting confiscation of hot plates and other such items led to much unrest in the camps, particularly in Santa Anita. See FBI, *Files Concerning the War Relocation Authority, 1942-1946 1.15*, 1943.

¹⁷⁴ “Letter from Merced”. A constant complaint was that “The army food we were given was totally lacking in the fresh fruits and vegetables to which we were accustomed, uniformly unappetizing, and

there was a preponderance of starch in the form of bread, potatoes, and rice, and a lack of fresh fruit and vegetables.¹⁷⁵ Internees were required to stand in line in shifts outside the mess halls in order to obtain their meals, which they ate at long tables and benches. Internees would sometimes write to Caucasian friends requesting foodstuffs to supplement their diet.¹⁷⁶ However, as time wore on, the standard and variety of food offered improved.

As the initial shock of the conditions at the Assembly Centers began to lessen, attention turned to the need for some sort of timetable for daily activities. Some structure was unavoidable, such as daily roll call, which was compulsory for all internees. One child at Tanforan described his reaction to the early morning roll call:

When the siren ring I get so scared that I sometime scream...we run home as fast as I could then we wait about 5 minutes then the inspectors come to check that we are all home... After the camp roll call finish the siren rings again...I hate roll call because it scares you to[o] much.¹⁷⁷

However, despite roll calls and mealtimes, there were many hours to be filled, and 'until recreational activities got under way, the internees had plenty of time and no place to go'.¹⁷⁸

An immediate need was the creation of activities for the children so that they would not run riot within the confines of the camps. Nursery schools were created and sports clubs for the children. There were also English language classes for those who wanted to improve their linguistic skills. Requests were made to religious and charitable organisations for basic school supplies so that classrooms could be established in grandstands and auditoriums. Some of the college age women and older teenagers volunteered to help in the nursery, and Japanese American schoolteachers assumed responsibility for taking at least one class per day. The

at times tainted because of the lack of refrigerators and the inexperience of the cooks.' (*Cristoforo 1.1*; Sone, *Daughter*, p. 178; Okazaki, *Journal*). One mother from Santa Anita wrote: 'I don't know how I'm going to keep my children's health because, as I wrote before, Teddy doesn't eat a darn thing at the mess hall besides milk. At first I thought it was Tedd's fault for being so particular, but everyone with children between the ages of about six and seven complains. I don't blame them: even I wouldn't eat it if I weren't so hungry.' (Okazaki, *Journal*). See also Ueno and Zaima, *REgenerations: San Jose*, pp. 481, 633;

¹⁷⁵ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 77. See also "Letters from two schoolchildren".

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* See also Okazaki, *Journal*; Okubo, *Citizen*, pp. 38-9, 41.

¹⁷⁷ Tunnell and Chilcoat, *Children*, p. 11.

¹⁷⁸ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 86.

volume of students was so great, and the times that the grandstands and auditoriums could be used so limited, that teaching sometimes went into the evening.

The Nikkei attempted to adjust to their confinement and were able to receive visitors during certain hours.¹⁷⁹ The visitors often had to queue for several hours and there was no guarantee they would get to see their friends. However, the evacuees were unable to adjust to the continued invasion of privacy that they suffered whenever the F.B.I. decided to conduct raids for so-called contraband. The effect of such raids, when stalls could be turned upside down in the quest for radios, hot plates, and anything else deemed suspect, was to lower morale throughout the camps.¹⁸⁰ Reports that ‘supposedly harmless objects as scissors, nail files, buckets, tubs, geta (wooden clogs), saws, chisels, files, electric razors, knitting needles, crochet hooks, and even cash were being confiscated’ spread through the camps, creating a dangerously charged atmosphere.¹⁸¹ In Santa Anita, this resentment resulted in a riot one Tuesday in August, 1942, and martial law was imposed on the camp for several days until Colonel Karl Bendetsen offered to return non-contraband items to their owners.¹⁸² While the immediate crisis was contained, the seeds for further discontent remained and mothers feared for the safety of their children.

Relocation Centers

The majority of internees spent between a week and several months in the Assembly Centers before being moved to semi-permanent accommodation at the Relocation Centers.¹⁸³ Evacuees were transported to the Centers in crowded and overheated trains.¹⁸⁴ Upon arrival

¹⁷⁹ See Uchida, *Exile*, p. 84; Okazaki, *Journal*.

¹⁸⁰ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 93.

¹⁸¹ Tamie Tsuchiyama, ‘Letters from Santa Anita Assembly Center’, 1942.

¹⁸² FBI, *1.15*. The fact that rioting occurred was used by the Press to bolster arguments for the exclusion of those of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast (Tsuchiyama, “Letters”).

¹⁸³ It should be noted that Manzanar was classed as an Assembly Center until June 1, 1942 (WRA, Collection 131-1.1).

¹⁸⁴ Some of the journeys lasted several days but sleeping berths were only available for infants or those suffering a severe disability. The military insisted that the blinds be drawn, supposedly for the safety of the internees. The trains were also shunted onto sidings whenever a higher priority train was on the tracks, leading to delays of sometimes up to ten hours (*Justice Denied*, pp. 149-151).

internees underwent interviews and physical examinations before seeing their accommodation.

The ten Relocation Centers were located in the Western States, with the exception of two camps in Arkansas. There was much debate over what could be considered suitable semi-permanent sites for the camps. The land chosen had to fulfil the dual criteria of being both government owned and isolated. Some of the camps were constructed on Native American reservations, such as Gila River, and Poston, while others were situated on land acquired for non-payment of taxes or forced purchase, such as Jerome, Topaz, and Granada. When each site was considered various data was obtained to assist in the decision regarding suitability. This included noting seasonal highs and lows of temperature, but only in relation to how it would affect agricultural production, as opposed to how hospitable the habitat would be for the evacuees.¹⁸⁵ Unlike the Assembly Centers, there were no pre-existing buildings to be modified into accommodation for the internees, with the notable exception of Manzanar. Instead it was necessary to construct the camps from scratch, an activity that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers supervised along with volunteer internees.¹⁸⁶ Construction followed a standard pattern of barracks constructed in blocks contained within a barbed wire fence. Terrain influenced the exact layout of each camp but the principles remained the same. Each block usually consisted of twelve barracks, a mess hall, and a recreation hall. There was a wash house for the men, one for the women, and also laundry facilities in a separate building.¹⁸⁷ The barracks at Granada and Gila River had solid concrete foundations and walls constructed from fibre board, which offered slightly more protection against the elements. In all the other camps, barracks were constructed out of green wood covered in tar paper. The use of unseasoned wood meant that as the buildings aged the wood shrank, creating gaps between

¹⁸⁵ Government officials labelled the Centers as being in 'wilderness-type areas' *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ At Manzanar, 1,000 volunteers from Los Angeles arrived in March, 1942 to prepare the camp for the arrival of a further 9,000 over the coming months. The internees were also responsible for constructing the administrative buildings for the Caucasian staff as these were not included in the original construction contracts (*Justice Denied*, pp. 149-151, 158).

¹⁸⁷ At several of the Centers there were exceptions, such as at Heart Mountain where the blocks were twice the size and had two mess halls, recreation halls, and washing and laundry facilities. *Ibid.* It should also be noted that there were, once again, no adapted toilet facilities for the use of children ("Manzanar (Miscellaneous)").

the wall and floorboards. Gila River was unusual in that it was built as a showcase Relocation Center, where the roofs were double tiled in order to protect the internees from the excessive heat, a luxury denied to other camp inhabitants, though Gila had its own issues.¹⁸⁸ In the other camps the roofs were tarred.¹⁸⁹ Each of the residential barracks was subdivided into one room apartments in which a family dwelt, the smallest of which measured 20 by 16 feet.¹⁹⁰ The partitions between each apartment did not reach the ceiling, and so privacy was all but impossible.

Each apartment was furnished with an army cot for each member of the family and internees were given sacks to fill with straw for mattresses upon their arrival. Internees were also issued with blankets, as well as a heater for each apartment, though fuel was not always immediately available.¹⁹¹ The arrival at Manzanar was described by Harry Ueno as follows:

[There was] hardly no privacy...I...put the nail between and pull own sheets for privacy...We could hear all the talking and everything...we got...five steel cots...They give us one sack for mattress. Go to the laundry room and fill in with straw. So we did that. I take about—almost midnight before we get all the mattress ready and they give us two or three blankets each...but that was very cold. They have an oil stove but no oil there. So we can hardly sleep nighttime. The straw makes a lot of noise and my small kid was only five years old. You put the straw too thin; the steel cot hurt your back. So we put a little more. He roll out on the floor...Then our mess hall is not open, so we have to eat in Block 16.¹⁹²

Nothing in the Camps was finished in the early days. Gaps in the floorboards of wooden barracks meant that everything inside was covered with a fine layer of dust, much like the outside.¹⁹³ Most of the internees had lived at sea level prior to their evacuation and the altitude

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Poston and Gila River were the hottest of the ten locations (“Poston.” 1943), though in all locations temperatures often soared during the day and plummeted at night.

¹⁸⁹ One woman in Topaz sustained extensive burns when roofing tar dripped into her apartment while she was resting (“Topaz Daily Log”, 1942)

¹⁹⁰ *Justice Denied*, p. 158. Larger apartments of up to 20 by 20 or 20 by 25 feet were available for larger families.

¹⁹¹ In Topaz in October 1942 225 stoves were still needed yet only 53 were available (“Block Managers’ Meeting Minutes, Topaz”, 1942). In the week preceding Christmas at Poston regular fuel shortages were reported, leading to a rationing of oil (WRA, *Gila River 1.7*, 1943). Poston was still experiencing stove shortages in February 1943 (“Poston.” 1943).

¹⁹² Ueno, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 476. See also Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 63.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*; “They tried everything to control the wind and the dust. They plowed the empty areas, made irrigation ditches, and spread gravel between the barracks. But nothing was successful; the elements won out’ (Okubo, *Citizen*, p. 184). See also Uchida, *Exile*, p. 109; *Lila Wilson Interview* (1968); “Manzanar (Miscellaneous)”.

at many of the Relocation Centers required some adjustment.¹⁹⁴ The terrain was also a shock to many a system. One Caucasian visitor from the YWCA explained the reaction to her host family's arrival at Minidoka:

They thought they had been uncomfortable in their horse stall in the fairgrounds, but they wished they were back. At least they had had cool water and green grass...when they saw how barren the Idaho desert was, they were just sick. Most of them had never lived anyplace but along the coast. The contrast was very depressing.¹⁹⁵

The inhospitable climates at the camps created many practical issues. In the camps situated in desert terrain internees had to be provided with salt tablets to prevent dehydration.¹⁹⁶ Rattlesnakes and scorpions had enjoyed the natural habitat of the camps long before the arrival of the internees, and indeed continued to do so, requiring stock of various anti-venoms in camp hospitals.¹⁹⁷ Mosquitoes and mites were an additional problem in the swamps of Arkansas.¹⁹⁸

One of the reasons for the interviews upon arrival at the Relocation Centers was to ascertain which skills internees had that could be used to the Center's advantage. This was particularly the case where cooks and carpenters were concerned. Feeding a multitude of people required an army of cooks and mess hall workers. Some of those who had risen to the challenge in the Assembly Centers volunteered their services again in the Relocation Centers. Even so, it was only after a few weeks that all mess halls within any given camp were fully opened. Again, like the Assembly Centers, meals were served in shifts and the same problems regarding sourcing fresh fruit and vegetables were frequent in the Centers' early days. Forty-five cents was the amount allocated per day for each internee's food, in direct contrast to the extravagant claims made that the internees were 'among the best-fed civilians in the world', receiving large

¹⁹⁴ Altitude caused problems not least with the cooking initially where the lower boiling point of water led to many meals of half cooked rice. *Ibid*; and Ueno, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 477.

¹⁹⁵ Lila Wilson Interview.

¹⁹⁶ Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 12; WRA, "Poston.", 1942.

¹⁹⁷ "Poston." 1942.

¹⁹⁸ *Cristoforo 1.1*

amounts rationed foods that were diverted from the general population.¹⁹⁹ In reality, rationing affected the life of those in the camps at least as much, if not more, than the rest of the American population. In times of shortage only small children, nursing or expectant mothers, and those with special dietary needs had access to a milk ration, for example.²⁰⁰ The WRA and notable officials involved in the internment process were constantly rebutting claims regarding luxury. Indeed, the First Lady herself felt it necessary to make her opinions clear on the matter to the West Coast, when she stated to the press that '[the internees] are living in conditions which certainly are not luxurious, as some report. Neither can it be said that they are not decent, although I would not like to live that way.'²⁰¹

The practicalities of camp living meant that, as in the Assembly Centers, there were no facilities for mothers to heat their baby's milk in their apartment. Selected mess halls provided a 'baby food service' for the heating of milk, which although inconvenient, fulfilled the need.²⁰² The seating arrangements in the mess halls also created problems when it came to family eating. Seating consisted of benches, sometimes connected to the table that made the feeding of toddlers and small children awkward.²⁰³ As time progressed, the practice of eating together as a family unit disintegrated as the Nisei discovered the freedom they could enjoy by eating in groups with their peers instead of with their parents.²⁰⁴ Years of family tradition was being eroded through the unnatural circumstances in which Japanese families found themselves.

¹⁹⁹ *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1st, 1943 in Charles F. Ernst, *Topaz Scrap Book* (1943). At Topaz, for example, the food was reported by the internees to be 'plain but edible' (*The Desert News*, July 3, 1943 in *Ibid.*), though the standard varied drastically within the camp from 'Enough food, best taste' in Block 14 to 'As far as quantity goes, it's very scarce' in Block 22 ("Block Managers' Meeting Minutes, Topaz", 1942). See also "Poston." 1942 and 1943, where 'The proof of insufficient diet is shown by the fact that many people are necessitated in taking vitamin pills in order to keep their health.'

²⁰⁰ Dillon S. Myer, Collection 131 - 2.2, 1944. See also *The Desert News*, December 28th, 1942 in *Topaz Scrap Book*.

²⁰¹ *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8th, 1943 in *Ibid.* The *Christian Science Monitor* provided some balance to the debate when it published June 24th, 1943: 'The fact that the average cost of food a day an inmate in the Relocation Centers compares almost exactly with the same cost in Alcatraz Federal Prison in San Francisco Bay...supplies a fair answer to the question of how luxuriously these racially Japanese "guests" of the United States are faring?' (*Ibid.*)

²⁰² Community Council, "Topaz Council Meeting Minutes", 1943.

²⁰³ "Manzanar (Miscellaneous)". One young internee reported mostly surviving on apple butter and bread as she usually sat with a family of boys who grabbed food away from the women (Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 15). See also Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 64.

²⁰⁴ 'We never ate together as a family...Food was there, so you just go there to eat.' (Arii, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 23).

Because the Relocation Centers were intended to be in existence for several years, ambitious agricultural schemes were developed in order that the internees might provide some of their own food. The 1943 target for Topaz was to create half a million dollars' worth of foodstuffs, for example.²⁰⁵ However, desert climes were not the most hospitable environments for farming, despite the government's best intentions. Topaz was so barren that even though thousands of trees of various ages were planted in the camp, 'the dust eliminated the trees'.²⁰⁶ This, however, did not prevent the internees from achieving some impressive results. In fact, before the war, several Japanese Americans suggested to the U.S. Government that their skills might be best used during the war in establishing cooperative farms away from strategic areas.²⁰⁷ At some camps there was already cultivated land available such as at Granada, Tule Lake, and Gila River.²⁰⁸ In 1942 at Tule Lake, for example, 450 evacuee labourers harvested 837 acres of barley, 570 acres of potatoes, 208 acres of potatoes, 208 acres of onions, 145 acres of carrots, 152 acres of rutabagas, and other vegetables.²⁰⁹ Poultry and livestock were also raised by the internees in an attempt to make the Relocation Centers as self-sufficient as possible.²¹⁰ Internees were also hired out to farms around the Relocation Centers where they were used as cheap labour, suffering varying levels of abuse.²¹¹ However, despite the problems of being outsourced as workers, many internees at least appreciated the freedom of being outside the barbed wire fence.²¹²

²⁰⁵ *Desert News*, July 3rd, 1943. At Heart Mountain there were a number of former agricultural workers from the Santa Clara valley in California who grew vegetables and grain on approximately 1,500 acres. See Tsu, *Garden*, p.209.

²⁰⁶ Tunnell and Chilcoat, *Children*, p. 58. See also 'Official Report of the First General Assembly of Topaz, Sept. 11', 1942.

²⁰⁷ *Isenberg* 3.1

²⁰⁸ "Poston." 1942; Nobu Takahashi, 'Letters from Tanforan Assembly Center', 1942.

²⁰⁹ *Tulean Dispatch* June 18th, 1943 as cited in Burton et al., *Confinement*.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* See also "Gila Anniversary Booklet 'A Year at Gila' July 20th, 1943" in *Gila River* 1.7. Also WRA, Collection 131 - 1.4, 1943); "Poston." 1943.

²¹¹ Kazuo Inouye, for example, went to top sugar beets in Montana where he was refused service on more than one occasion (Inouye, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 174). See also Ueno, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 490. An estimated 1,600 internees helped relieve labour shortages in the harvesting of sugar beet crops in eastern Oregon, Utah, Idaho, and Montana (WRA, Collection 131 - 1.1). See also 'Press Release, Topaz', 1942. Besides earning extra money some of the internees found the farmers very appreciative. For example, see Teraji, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 529.

²¹² Matsumoto, "Women", p. 9.

Each camp had its own Caucasian Director, supported by an all-Caucasian staff, which was in overall charge of the camps. The existence of the Caucasian staff was a bone of contention because the administrators were paid a competitive wage for their work. Payment for the internees, in comparison, was on a scale varying between \$12 and \$19 per month.²¹³ The Caucasian staff were also housed in far more luxurious surroundings. As the internees of Poston noted:

The administration live in cheery white frame houses, the walls are lined and sealed in contrast to the bare tar-papered barracks of the evacuees. The staff has maid service and towels are changed daily. The food is better and more plentiful. It is served in an administrative dining room by young Japanese American girls.²¹⁴

The desire of the WRA was that the internees should be involved in their governance as much as possible. To this end the role of Block Manager was created. Block Managers could not be elected by their peers, instead they were selected by and reported to the administration. Their duties were manifold:

[To] act as liaisons between the resident and the administration. They requisition and distribute government equipment and supplies and are responsible for non-expendable government property. They disseminate information concerning facilities and administrative regulations. They keep a record of the residents of the block council and distribute mail, report emergencies to health, fire, and police departments. They assist in settling grievances within the block.²¹⁵

The internees were allowed, however, to elect their own Councils and Council members, who could represent their views and wishes to the Camp administration. Through the Camp Councils, committees were formed to advise on every aspect of the Centers' functions including education and general welfare.²¹⁶ The United States Government was keen to make

²¹³ Initially the payments to internees were in line with the payment of US Army Privates, but the Privates' payments increased to \$30 per month, unlike the wages for the internees, leading to great discontent (Starn, "Engineering", p. 708). There was also controversy over a 'slave labour racket' at Tule Lake where Japanese Americans looked after children of the Caucasian staff for a much reduced rate (Drinnon, *Keeper*, p. 47). See also Sone, *Daughter*, p. 179.

²¹⁴ "Poston." 1942.

²¹⁵ "Poston." 1943. As the internees at Topaz noted, "Without an efficient organization, both the Administration and the residents as a whole would suffer a great deal" ("Topaz Council Meeting Minutes", 1943).

²¹⁶ Sub-committees of the councils included those with a focus on food, education, health, and employment. See "Topaz Council Meeting Minutes", 1943; "Poston." 1942; and *Gila River 1.7*.

a distinction between Issei and Nisei, and wanted the Nisei to play a major part in the running of the camp. The reasoning behind this was that the Nisei were American citizens and therefore trusted slightly more than their Japanese parents. This policy naturally created tensions within the Centers as the Issei, by reason of age, had traditionally been the natural leaders. The arrest of so many Issei in the weeks following Pearl Harbor left a power vacuum in the Japanese community, and as the Nisei filled this vacuum, it became very hard for those Issei who had been arrested and were eventually reunited with their families in the Relocation Centers to adjust to their new reduced status. Popular positions for the Issei were as Block Managers, as their age often gave them respect from their fellow internees. Issei could also find positions on the Camp Councils, but were unable to assume any positions that worked directly for the Camp Administration. Once again, government policy was undermining the family structure by encouraging the younger generation to supplant their elders.

Attempts at organising schools began at the Assembly Centers but the process was formalised in the Relocation Centers. Despite the fact there were no allocated facilities, schools were established from the earliest days in camp. It was believed that ‘inadequate schools...were better than unsupervised leisure for so many children without space to play and living in one room with their families’.²¹⁷ The Issei had always invested greatly in their children’s education as it was a means for them to elevate their position in society. One interned student expressed a common Nisei sentiment: ‘since I am sure that American education is the best means of mingling again with my Caucasian friends, I shall not neglect study’.²¹⁸ Even as late as November 1943, schoolrooms were heavily overcrowded and inadequately lit.²¹⁹ During the first winter in the Camps school sometimes had to be cancelled due to a lack of heating, and sometimes in summer the heat was too intense for effective study.²²⁰ Schools were staffed by

²¹⁷ James, *Exile*, p. 47. See also Mayeda, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 445; FBI, *Files Concerning the War Relocation Authority, 1942-1946 1.9*, 1943. Despite the realities of the limitations of schooling within Camp, distinguished educators wrote in professional journals about the high quality of the schooling (see Kehoe 1944 as quoted in Starn, ‘Engineering’, p. 770).

²¹⁸ Schoolchild, ‘Relocation, Its Challenge To Me’, 1942. See also Sakamoto, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 297.

²¹⁹ In Manzanar as many as 40-43 children would be herded into rooms designed for 25-27 individuals and light levels were well below the minimum standard (“Manzanar (Miscellaneous)”).

²²⁰ “Topaz Daily Log” 1942; 1943.

a mixture of Caucasian and Japanese American teachers, which led to some conflict as, like all other roles in camp, the Japanese workers were paid significantly less than their white counterparts.²²¹ The lack of adequate facilities for school-age students in the initial days of the Relocation Centers is shown in the photograph below, taken by Dorothea Lange. Despite the children's lack of freedom, they were still expected to pledge their allegiance to the American flag each day. The High School at Topaz had the motto: 'On the Youth of Today Rests the Democracy of Tomorrow',²²² which was particularly poignant given the denial of constitutional rights to the Nisei.

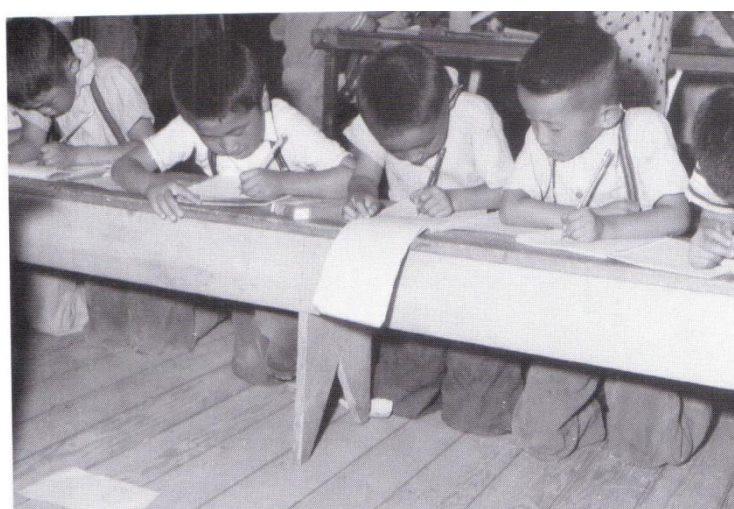


Figure 13 - Children at school in Manzanar²²³

Outside of the school room there were many other educational and social activities. Sports clubs, ikebana (flower arranging), sewing, and art classes abounded.²²⁴ Wives and mothers had more free time than they had enjoyed prior to the war and were no longer expected to cook

²²¹ Teacher retention was an issue across mainland America. The average tenure at Poston in 1942-3 was 4.8 months. Caucasian teachers could choose whereabouts they lived in Camp. Those teachers who had moved to the Centers for ideological reasons tended to reside within internee barracks whereas those attracted by money lived in comparative luxury in the administrators' quarters (James, *Exile*, pp. 50, 3). See also Tunnell and Chilcoat, *Children*, p. 42; Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 64.
²²² Topaz Scrap Book.

²²³ *Impounded*, eds. Okihiro and Gordon, p. 185.

²²⁴ Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 67. See also Koike, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 182; and *Gila River* 1.7. In winter some Centers constructed ice rinks (Okubo, *Citizen*, p. 158). During the summer months it was possible for groups to picnic in areas outside the camp (WRA, *Manzanar Weekly Reports*, 1943. In Manzanar a group of men started a camp fishing club whose tale has been turned into a film that has toured the USA (Manzanar Fishing Club website, <http://www.fearnotrout.com>)

for their families. Women were therefore particularly amenable to learning new skills and hobbies. Rose Honda remembered:

My mother was always interested in sewing. She kept busy with embroidery. She would order embroidery kits and make pillowcases, or pictures to be framed. She also did a lot of crocheting. We were seemingly always ordering things through Sears and Montgomery Wards for her crochet threads and embroidery thread.²²⁵

In Rohwer ‘[t]he women with no houses to keep or meals to cook had leisure to enjoy. Many of them, a waiting line of them, enjoyed it in weaving useful objects and materials on the twenty-two hand looms furnished by WRA.’²²⁶ Indeed, some of the traditional gender roles were altered in camp life. Hatsuye Egami commented in her evacuation diary of how arduous trips to the laundry were and how many Issei men were recruited to assist in the traditionally female enterprise of washing.²²⁷

Social activities served to strengthen the community, acted as a distraction to the deprivations of camp life, as well as a means to fundraise for the benefit of the community. In Rohwer, for example, federal spending on community activities never exceeded \$500 per annum. However, through carnivals, talent shows, and movie screenings, the residents at Rohwer were able to raise thousands of additional dollars to reinvest back into the community.²²⁸ There were numerous festivals organised by the internees during their time in camp, and these served as opportunities to unite communities and mix Japanese and American culture. Traditional practices such as *kabuki*, classical Japanese dance-drama, and *Noh* theatre were ‘radically intercultural, bringing together immigrant Issei and more-assimilated Nisei, Japanese speakers and English speakers’.²²⁹ Indeed, at Tule Lake, a group of visiting *kabuki* artists from Japan had been trapped in American at the outbreak of war and put on regular performances in camp, as well as giving lessons to fellow internees.²³⁰ Performances were not only instigated

²²⁵ Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 57.

²²⁶ Nat R. Griswold, Rohwer: From Final Report: Historical Statistical-Functional Report of Community Activities Section (Berkeley, 1945), p. 38.

²²⁷ Egami, *Evacuation*, p. 39.

²²⁸ Griswold, *Rohwer*, p. 4. See also WRA, *Manzanar Weekly*, 1943; “Manzanar (Miscellaneous)”;

“Poston.” 1942; “Poston.” 1943.

²²⁹ Emily Colborn-Roxworthy, “‘Manzanar, the Eyes of the World Are upon You’: Performance and Archival Ambivalence at a Japanese American Internment Camp”, *Theatre Journal*, 59.2 (2007), p. 204.

²³⁰ Roxworthy, *Spectacle*, p. 158.

by the internees themselves – often the high quality of internee performance was seen as an opportunity by the Camp Administration to involve the local community and show the camps as ‘normal’ communities.²³¹ This sort of event served to turn internment into a ‘spectacle’ for the white audience, effectively reinforcing the idea that these were ‘Japs who think they are American’.²³² Therefore, though performances were popular in camp, this way of being perceived by outsiders through performance has perhaps influenced the fact that, remarkably, in the years following the camp closures, the numerous theatre performances of the time are largely forgotten.²³³ Performance was of particular significance in Tule Lake, where traditional Japanese performances were combined with modern American artistry to celebrate fundamentally American celebrations such as the Fourth of July after Tule Lake became a Segregation Center. This knitting together of two sets of pastimes

‘neither asserted “disloyalty” to American nor admitted an overriding allegiance to Japan and its culture. Rather, the suturing together of national pastimes and cultural performances from both nations asserted the transnational community of these Japanese Americans and their performative statement that this intercultural identity entitled them to partake in U.S. Independence Day.’²³⁴

Thus, performance could be used to register traditions of both nations, melding together the ‘best of both’, and showing how there was much from Japanese culture that could be beneficial to America.

Much better remembered are the communal gardens created for recreational use. Aesthetically there was little pleasing about any of the Relocation Centers, although some were situated near imposing mountain ranges. The internees therefore set about creating water and vegetable gardens, which provided not only physical activity, but also visual inspiration in the wilderness.²³⁵

²³¹ Colborn-Roxworthy, “Manzanar”, p. 213.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

²³⁴ Roxworthy, *Spectacle*, p. 175.

²³⁵ See Okazaki, *Journal*; ‘Notes on Community Government’, Dec 31st, 1943 in “Poston.” 1943. Vegetable plots, or ‘Victory Gardens’ were encouraged but one internee asked ‘what can you do with only 7 packages of seeds (beans, peas, carrots, radishes, squashes, chickory, lettuce)?...each Recreational Center will only receive enough seeds to occupy a space of 5’ x 6’. Now what in the name of Heaven can you do with that!’ (Takahashi, *Letters*, June 5th, 1942). See also “Manzanar (Miscellaneous)”.

Each camp instituted its own periodical through which camp news was disseminated and that also offered employment opportunities to those with journalistic or artistic leanings. The *Topaz Times*, *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, *Minidoka Irrigator*, and *Gila News Courier* were initially published twice a week, the *Manzanar Free Press* thrice weekly, while the *Tulean Dispatch* and *Poston Press Bulletin* were produced daily.²³⁶ There were limitations on what could be published in each paper and negative reporting was actively discouraged. Sections of each newspaper were written in Japanese for the benefit of the Issei but the majority of the paper was expected to be published in English as the camp authorities were highly suspicious of what might be coded into Japanese writing.

As the majority of those interned were in family units this meant that births, deaths, and marriages continued as they would in any society. Many couples who were engaged or had been considering engagement rushed their plans to ensure that legally they could not be separated.²³⁷ The primitive hospital arrangements meant that giving birth in camp, particularly in the early days, was high risk.²³⁸ Each camp had its own cemetery, several of which are still in existence, though family members were often reluctant for the remains of their loved ones to be permanently linked with their enforced incarceration.²³⁹ Some of the deaths were caused by a lack of medical provision, but not all of the deaths were as a result of health problems. There were several accidents in the camps that caused the death of internees.²⁴⁰ The death that caused the most controversy, however, was that of James Wakasa at Topaz in April, 1943.

²³⁶ WRA, Collection 131 - 1.2, 1942. *Victory Bulletin*, June 30th, 1943 in *Topaz Scrap Book*.

²³⁷ Okazaki, "Letters"; "Manzanar (Miscellaneous)"; "Topaz Daily Log", 1942; Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 65.

²³⁸ Some of the more racist of those in command of the operation of the camps called for segregation of the camps to ensure that no more 'Japs' could be born in America (Drinnon, *Keeper*, p. 65). See also *Cristoforo 1.1*; and Community Council, 'Topaz Community Government', 1942.

²³⁹ Manzanar and Amache (Granada) cemeteries are still the focal point for remembrance services to this day. Topaz residents were particularly against using the cemetery in camp and the dead were sent to Salt Lake City for cremation where they were held for burial (Okubo, *Citizen*, p. 162).

²⁴⁰ At least one child was run over in camp (Community Council, "Topaz Council Meeting Minutes." September 20, 1943.) There were also several deaths related to trucks in camp, for example the man crushed behind a dump truck at Tule Lake (*San Francisco Chronicle*, October 29, 1943 in *Topaz Scrap Book*) and a man who was thrown off a farm truck and suffered serious injury ("Topaz Council", 1943). In Arkansas the main source of winter heat came from wood burning stoves. Inadequate training on wood felling led to the death of a man in January 1943 (Bearden, "False," p. 333). Construction projects were also dangerous. Kingo Mitsuayasu was admitted to hospital in a critical condition after one end of the high school wall he was helping construct collapsed ("Topaz Daily Log." 1943).

Wakasa, an elderly internee, was walking close to the perimeter fence when he was shot. The soldier who shot him claimed Wakasa had been trying to escape and that he had shouted a warning twice before firing a fatal shot into Wakasa's back.²⁴¹ Despite promises of a court martial for the sentry, in reality the soldier was reprimanded and then transferred elsewhere.²⁴² The news of the killing rapidly spread, adding to the unrest fomenting within the Relocation Centers. The poor quality of accommodation, food, and paltry pay did nothing to improve the morale in the camps. The often high-handed approach of the Caucasian administration led to many demonstrations of unrest, of which one of the most significant was at Manzanar in 1942. Harry Ueno, an internee who had led the way in investigating sugar shortages in camp, as well as unionizing the mess hall workers, was arrested December 5, 1942 for the assault of Fred Tayama a leader in the JACL. Ueno was never charged for the assault, which had been carried out by masked attackers, but was held without trial because of his stand against the corruption of certain camp officials. Internees were not allowed to organise mass meetings, but hundreds of individuals gathered to demand the release of Ueno. The crowd refused to disperse unless something was done about Ueno's arrest, at which time tear gas was lobbed into the crowd by the MPs and several shots were fired, wounding ten internees – two fatally.²⁴³ For several days Manzanar was under military control and the internees were reluctant to leave their barracks, especially if they had children.

Unrest was not limited to Manzanar. JACL leaders found themselves targets of aggression from pro-Axis supporters who were angry with the rights denied them by the American government. The camps may have been full of a people of shared ancestry, but their views, like of any group of people forced together, ranged across the political and religious spectrum. To expect the internees to live together in harmony because of a shared ethnicity was naïve at

²⁴¹ As a result of the Wakasa shooting, day sentries were abolished at Topaz and the use of firearms restricted. This, however, did not stop further 'near misses' occurring. See "Topaz Daily Log." 1943; Community Council, "Central Utah Project Council." 1944. Elsewhere there was a case of an internee being shot at by a civilian while working in the woods outside Jerome, as well as several incidents of assault at other camps when internees were working beyond the perimeter fence. See Bearden, "False", p. 338; Burton et al., *Confinement*; "Topaz Council", 1943.

²⁴² Tunnell and Chilcoat, *Children*, p. 28.

²⁴³ The two internees who died in the shooting were 18 and 21 years old. Common Ground, "What Happened At Manzanar." 1943. See also Ueno, *REgenerations: San Jose*, pp. 481-88; FBI, 1.15.

best. As time went on the pro-Axis supporters radicalised and it became increasingly dangerous for anyone to be seen to support the United States government in any way.²⁴⁴ Members of the JACL, as a result of its stance to cooperate without hesitation with the government's requests, found themselves the victims of violence. The president of the JACL, for example, had the door of his barracks torn off, his wife and children were terrorized, and he himself was beaten severely because the JACL was blamed for the camps.²⁴⁵ Strikes were called in multiple camps and attempts to take control of Relocation Centers met with mixed success.²⁴⁶

Segregation

One of the most controversial aspects of internment was the creation and distribution of what became known as the 'Loyalty Questionnaire'. Every internee over the age of 17 years was required to complete the questionnaire, which the United States Government hoped to use to ascertain how many of the internees were loyal to America. As J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., noted in 1942:

I remarked that there had not been the weeding out of the Japanese because in the Western Defense Command they had all been placed in camps, both good and bad, whereas over the rest of the country the bad Germans and Italians had been drawn away from the good ones. Therefore, for the reason that we do not have extensive records on most of these Japanese undesirables, any record check made with us would not be all-conclusive.²⁴⁷

As a result of such concerns, the Loyalty Questionnaire was instituted. Questions 27 and 28 were the most divisive: Question 27 asked if an individual was willing to serve in the American Armed Forces, while Question 28 asked the individual to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and, most controversially of all, forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization. For the Issei, denied the right to naturalise and become American citizens, forswearing their Japanese citizenship effectively made them stateless. A refusal to answer 'Yes' to both questions was

²⁴⁴ Poston was the scene of multiple beatings that involved hospitalisation. All the victims had pro-American ties. See FBI, *1.15* and WRA, "Tule Lake".

²⁴⁵ Kataji, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 250; WRA, "Tule Lake".

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Poston was taken over by a mob in November 1942, for example.

²⁴⁷ FBI, *Files concerning the War Relocation Authority, 1942-1946 1.1* (1942).

seen as a declaration of disloyalty to the United States of America. Leaving the answers blank was also seen as a declaration of disloyalty, as was writing anything in addition to the words 'Yes' or 'No'. For Nisei, American citizens by birth, Question 28 appeared a trick, requiring them to prove the American authorities right when they had claimed before internment that the Nisei were loyal to the Emperor because Japanese blood flowed through their veins. Those deemed disloyal were subject to hearings before a Board of Review. If, after a Board appearance, an internee was still considered to harbour pro-Japan views, he or she was to be segregated.²⁴⁸ It was believed that no matter which rights were denied to those of Japanese ancestry, those who were loyal would remain loyal despite their experiences, and would also still be willing to take up arms for their country.²⁴⁹ After sacrificing their freedom, the Issei were being asked to sacrifice their children in the war effort.

Information given to the internees by Camp Administrations varied tremendously, leading to a great disparity between the level of 'No' answers given. Rumours were rife because no one knew what the consequences would be if loyalty was not sworn to America.²⁵⁰ The WRA also failed to appreciate the strains that such questions could put on an individual or family. If an Issei still had family in Japan, they worried that answering 'Yes' to Question 27 could cause problems for their Japanese relatives. If an Issei answered 'No' and was dependant on his or her children for support, his or her children knew that if they answered 'Yes', the family unit would be separated. There were also bands of pro-Axis Japanese who threatened those who they thought had answered 'Yes' on the Loyalty Questionnaire. Intimidation prevented many families from registering at all, which left them categorised as disloyal.²⁵¹ Not all Nisei wanted to join the armed forces, especially with the knowledge it would do nothing to speed the

²⁴⁸ The WRA believed that segregation could be carried out in such a way that there was no bias against those who openly admitted to supporting Japan in the war effort (*Gila River 1.1*). It should be noted that no one of German or Italian ancestry was required to complete the loyalty questionnaire (Dickerson, *Concentration*, p. 226).

²⁴⁹ Cozzens, "Letter to Dillon Myers". See also *Justice Denied*, p. 192; *Salt Lake Telegram*, April 9th, 1943; Drinnon, *Keeper*, p. 78; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 14th, 1943 (*Topaz Scrap Book*).

²⁵⁰ *Justice Denied*, p. 195.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* Registration was never completed at Tule Lake, for example, where approximately 3,000 internees refused to register.

release of their families.²⁵² For those Nisei that did want to fight, the only option was to be in a segregated unit, unlike those of German and Italian ancestry who were able to fight in standard regiments.²⁵³ This segregation of units, as Emily Roxworthy has noted, ‘bore an uncomfortable resemblance to the ideology of racial purity that underwrote fascism’.²⁵⁴ There was, therefore, nothing straightforward about the questionnaire and much hostility arose in camp because of it. The true irony of the situation is captured in the following quote:

In retrospect, the entire registration program appears to have been a sophomoric and half-baked idea, if not indeed a stupid and costly blunder. In the long run, nothing could have been more certain or more simple than this: If there had been any actual Japanese agents or spies in the Relocation Centers, in February, 1943, they would have been the very first to profess their loyalty on paper, so that they could carry on their work.²⁵⁵

This flawed test of loyalty resulted in a policy of segregation. Those who had requested repatriation or expatriation prior to July 1st, 1943 were immediately moved to Tule Lake.²⁵⁶ A Board of Review was formed for individuals who had not answered Question 28 ‘satisfactorily’ to determine where their true loyalty lay, and if not with America the individual and any dependants were also moved to Tule Lake.²⁵⁷ To say that all ‘Segregees’ were disloyal oversimplifies the composition of the camp. It has been estimated that approximately 70 percent of those relocated to Tule Lake post-segregation were American citizens.²⁵⁸ Many of these Nisei were transferred as a result of their parents’ decision and had never visited Japan. This situation put extreme psychological pressure on the youngsters, who feared that they might be forcibly removed from the only way of life they had ever known. However, a great number of American citizens in Tule Lake were Kibei, children of the Issei who were sent to

²⁵² “Utah Project Council”, 1944. Significantly in 1942 provision had been made to exempt from internment any Italian or German aliens who had a relative who was serving or had died in the armed forces. This was never extended to the Japanese Americans (Grodzins, *Betrayed*, p. 282).

²⁵³ *Justice Denied*, p. 193. Some Nisei were assigned to 1800 Engineer Service Battalion along with Germans and Italians over whom the army wanted to keep close watch (O’Brien and Fugita, *Experience*, p. 68). See also ‘Block Managers’ Meeting Minutes, Topaz’, 1944.

²⁵⁴ Roxworthy, *Spectacle*, p. 14

²⁵⁵ O’Brien and Fugita, *Experience*, p. 69.

²⁵⁶ Prior to the Loyalty Questionnaire only 2,255 applications for repatriation and expatriation were made, in contrast to the 6,673 applications made in 1943 (*Justice Denied*, p. 251).

²⁵⁷ *Gila River 1.1*. See also “Poston.” 1943 and 1944; *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 23rd, 1943 (*Topaz Scrap Book*). Those deemed loyal from Tule Lake were transferred to other camps.

²⁵⁸ *Isenberg 3.1*

Japan for their education before returning to America. Radicalisation was particularly common in the Kibei as they felt a much stronger allegiance to Japan than America, and used their influence to intimidate those with pro-American views in the camp.²⁵⁹ Unrest developed in Tule Lake as internees agitated for improved conditions and greater freedom.²⁶⁰ The worst such incident occurred in 1943 when control of the camp was temporarily transferred to the United States Army and arrests were commonplace.²⁶¹ Significantly, Tule Lake was the only camp to have a jailhouse.²⁶² The government, however, refused to acknowledge that there was indeed a prison within the camp, leaving the Tule Lake Military Police free to conduct any ‘discipline’ they deemed necessary.²⁶³ This did nothing to improve the behaviour in camp and strikes led to shortages of food and fuel, adversely affecting the health of the young and the elderly. The jailhouse remained in existence for as long as Tule Lake itself, and beatings were commonplace. The conditions in the stockade led to several hunger strikes by inmates, and is still remembered with horror to this day.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Multiple examples of threatening behaviour were reported including ‘strong arm squads’ patrolling the camps. See WRA, “Tule Lake”, 1943; Cozzens, “Letter to Dillon Myers”; FBI, 1.15; Griswold, Rohmer, Kaneko, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 316.

²⁶⁰ In some ways the 18,000 internees at Tule Lake were considered to be ‘insurance’ for the 10,000 American civilians in the hands of the Japanese (*Gerda Isenberg papers 3.8* (1944)).

²⁶¹ The riots were triggered by two accidents that happened in October, 1943, one of which resulted in the death of Tatsuto Kashima and the serious injury of four others when the farm truck in which they were travelling overturned and crushed them. *Tulean Dispatch*, October 16th, 1943; “Tule Lake (Correspondence).” 1944; Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 205.

²⁶² The jailhouse was built by the internees and a cause of much controversy. Overcrowding was rife and there was inadequate heating in the cells during the winter. The behaviour of the guards towards the prisoners was also questionable. See Drinnon, *Keeper*, pp. 110-15; *Cristoforo 1.1*; “Tule Lake (Correspondence)”; Ueno, *REgenerations: San Jose*, pp. 499, 522; and Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 206.

²⁶³ Weglyn, *Infamy*, p. 166.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-9.

Conclusion

Despite the efforts to accurately classify whether enemy aliens might be a threat to national security in Great Britain, ultimately all men over the age of sixteen were interned, as were several hundred women and children who had been categorised as either 'A' or 'B'. In America, there was no such distinction in the internment of the Nikkei, and children with even a fraction of Japanese blood were removed from their homes. Children and babies were never a threat to national security, further reinforcing the fact that evacuation in America was done for purely racial reasons, as opposed to taking measures against the threat of an imminent invasion. Britain's proximity to Europe made an invasion a much greater risk than Japanese landings on the West Coast of America. More likely, perhaps, would have been an invasion of Hawaii, given its proximity to Japan. However, economic concerns outweighed the perceived threat to national security and there was no mass relocation. Instead there was only selective internment of a few thousand males of Japanese descent and martial law was instead imposed. These inconsistencies in policy fuelled feelings of anger, frustration, and disenfranchisement in the American camps. The Issei, accustomed to prejudice and discrimination 'In conversation and demeanor...seemed far more patient than the Nisei' in camp.²⁶⁵ The Nisei, by contrast, had been betrayed by the country of their birth and had a maelstrom of emotions with which to deal. Conversely, in Britain, many of the younger generation viewed internment with a mix of trepidation and excitement as a sort of adventure.²⁶⁶ As Renate Scholem, a teenager at the time of her internment on the Isle of Man, wrote in 1941 'I learnt to love the rocks and the sunsets and storms while I was there'.²⁶⁷ For the older generation who were fully aware of the gravity of the situation, being interned was, as Hellmuth Weissenborn explained 'something that which is beyond my endurance...even fighting to me is less horrifying to me than being in prison'.²⁶⁸ The age of the internees therefore played a major role in how internment was experienced.

²⁶⁵ Suyemoto, *Remembrance*, p. 79.

²⁶⁶ For examples see Claus Moser Interview; and Lynton, *Accidental Journey*.

²⁶⁷ "Papers of Harry Johnson".

²⁶⁸ Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview.

Gender also affected the experience. In Britain, women and children were initially interned separately to their husbands, though the later creation of a married camp did much to alleviate some of the stresses of single parenthood. In America, families were interned in units, with the exception of men arrested in the initial round up who were held in separate DoJ camps. Ironically, despite the hardships of camp life, many women were in some ways liberated from their daily routines and able to engage in more leisure activities.

On a practical level, the rival approaches to internment led to differences in the construction of the camps. In Britain, nothing new was built as the camps were intended to be temporary. In many transit camps tents were erected, but there was nothing more permanent with the exception of the camps in Canada and Australia. In America, however, even in the transit camps semi-permanent structures were created, and entire camps were created from scratch in the desert and swamps of the American interior. This semi-permanence and involvement of the internees in the work of construction, combined with the fact that the majority of those interned were American citizens, lent the camps a different atmosphere to those in Britain. However, the camps in both countries still shared many common traits. For those interned in America and those transported to Australia and Canada, the climatic extremes required adjustment. Education became the focus of the majority of internees regardless of where they were interned as a means for improvement, to alleviate boredom for all ages, and to create some form of normality for the children. Internees also engaged in artistic ventures in order to protect themselves from the potentially stifling environment of the camps.

The forced proximity of so many strangers led to various tensions in the camps, despite the attempts of the military to involve internees in the internal running of the camps. Riots erupted in several American camps including Santa Anita, Manzanar, and Tule Lake. There was never the same level of unrest in the British camps, though there was also never the same level as provocation as the Loyalty Questionnaire. However, there were tragedies involved in internment in both countries – the shooting of James Hatsuki Wakasa at Topaz, accidents in several American camps, and the sinking of the *Arandora Star* as it transported several hundred

Italian internees and German POWs and internees to Canada. Ultimately though, despite many common themes running through both countries, there were as many different experiences as there were internees, and while looking for commonalities the historian must be careful not to underplay the trauma that individuals suffered during this period.

Chapter 3 – Endings and Aftermath

“I am sorry...but your applications for Release from Internment under seven different categories have been turned down by the Authority concerned.”

“I don’t mind...because there are 16 more running on my behalf and one of 23 categories certainly will be fitting even in my case.”

‘How Till Eulenspiegel wins his bet’ by Klaus E. Hinrichsen, in *The Hutchinson Camp Journal*, June 16th, 1941

...the WRA policy was to try to disperse the Japanese so they won't congregate in any one area. But the places that they tell you to look for accommodations, my friend told me, “Don't even try to go there because the rents are too high.” And naturally when you're working for only \$16 a month or \$12 a month in camp, you had no money. You had enough just to get by for a short time before you find a place to live and start to work.

Ben Tsutomu Chikaraishi, former internee of Stockton Assembly Center and Rohwer Relocation Center¹

Release from the Isle of Man and Dominions

From the very moment of internment, efforts were made by sympathetic members of parliament to expedite the release of the refugees. As Major Cazalet said to the House of Commons 10 July, 1940:

I fear that the authorities in this matter have been somewhat stampeded, even against their own better judgment. Alas, all unwittingly, they have given some material to the German broadcasters as regards conditions in this country and the fact that we are now starting to pursue the Nazi policy of interning every Jew in the country. I think it is understandable, and up to a point excusable, but what is not excusable is delay in sorting the cases and in keeping large numbers of people for a long period in internment, when they ought to be released and when there can be no possible shadow of complaint against them.²

Cazalet, Eleanor Rathbone, Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, and numerous other MPs were vociferous in their calls for improvements to the treatment of internees as well as for the release of individuals who would be of greater benefit to Britain at liberty than behind barbed wire.³ As the Association of Jewish Refugees (AJR) remembered on Eleanor Rathbone’s passing, ‘[i]t wasn’t merely that she gave to every single case the most careful consideration: it

¹ *REgenerations: Chicago*, pp. 82-3.

² House of Commons Debate, 10 July 1940, Hansard, vol. 362, 1209. Cazalet continued, ‘vital keymen have been interned, and we have locked up engineers and scientists who were making a real contribution to winning the war; boys at school have been taken away, their education uncompleted, and, if it is true—I hope it may be contradicted—worst of all, in some cases we have actually mixed in the same camps, Nazis and Jews.’

³ See for example debates in the House of Commons, Hansard, 10 July 1940, vol. 362, 1208-306; 7 November 1940, vol. 365, 1504-31; 20 November 1940, vol. 365, 1988-93W.

was that she never ceased to *think* “How can I best help these people? How can I carry the work a stage further? What is the *next* thing to do?”⁴

As a result of these politicians’ valiant efforts, the release of internees from the internment camps on the Isle of Man became possible through White Papers concerning ‘Categories of Persons eligible for Release from Internment and Procedures to be followed in applying for Release’. The first White Paper was released in July 1940 and contained eighteen categories. However, despite the number of categories, the number of refugees that could apply for release was limited.⁵ There was initially little help offered to political refugees, artists or scientists, or even students. Those who could assist in an obvious way to the war effort, such as engineers, dentists, doctors, and agricultural workers, had fewer problems when applying for release.⁶ For the remainder it seemed that unless they were fit, able, and willing to join the Pioneer Corps there was no hope of freedom or being reunited with their families.

The categories were expanded in a second release of the White Paper at the end of August, as a result of press criticism of the first White Paper and suggestions made by the Asquith Committee. Significantly, this included Category 19, which covered people ‘who by their writings or political activity had over a period of years taken a prominent part in opposition to the Nazi system and who were actively friendly towards the Allied cause’.⁷ This additional category enabled many more internees to apply for release and ultimately 1,502 gained freedom through it, though approximately 1,900 internees had their applications rejected as their cases were not considered appropriate for Category 19.⁸ Finally, the categories were increased to twenty-two in the White Paper of November 1940.

The delays in the process caused anxiety, frustration, and ultimately obsession with the categories for release. The situation was parodied in the camp journals. In one such article in

⁴ ‘Victor Gollancz: Eleanor Rathbone’, *AJR*, Feb. (1946), 13.

⁵ As George Strauss noted, under the first White Paper ‘Einstein, Thomas Mann, and Toscanini would have to remain interned’ (Stent, *Bespattered?*, p. 208).

⁶ Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview; “Fiala Correspondence”; Ludwig Spiro Interview; Goldman, “18B,” p. 126; “Adolf Gruenwald Papers”; Joseph Pia Interview.

⁷ Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 209.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

The Camp, the Hutchinson periodical, a fictional character pondered why he had yet to be released:

Wasn't he under 16 years of age if one took the mental age? Wasn't he more than 65 years if one considered the ages he had lived through? Hadn't his constant longing for freedom developed some acute disease? Was he not a research-worker exploring the depth of his own patience? Wasn't it skilled hardship to live under the same roof with ten Austrians? Wasn't the fact that he never had been a member of any of the 46 German parties a convincing proof of his political eminence?⁹

The alternative to obtaining release through the White Papers was enlistment in the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps (AMPC). Captain Davidson travelled from London to the camps on the Isle of Man to encourage internees to sign up, even though he was viewed by some as 'insensitive' to the needs of the internees.¹⁰ As one internee noted, 'It was so illogical to put people into the Army, who were interned, to release them if they agreed to it, thus to trust them again, but not if they did not join.'¹¹ Another internee remembers having an explaining to a soldier why he was against enlisting:

I've been put into prison and that sort of thing. All my friends might think I'm a...criminal or a spy or a traitor or something. I've done nothing at all! So, release me. Let me be like any other fellow. Let me volunteer for any regiment. I'm quite willing to join the Royal Scots, the HLI, any regiment you like just like any other fellow. But not just the Pioneer Corps.¹²

The AMPC was created in October 1939 as a mainly unarmed corps, with the intention to

absorb into this corps those men whom the normal fighting units and the corps of the army did not want on account of asocial behaviour, mental disabilities or criminal tendencies, or for other reasons, which made them less desirable than others. It was to be organised into 'Q' (queer) and 'C' (criminal) companies¹³

Later this was extended to include 'A' (alien) companies, though the history of the regiment explains the reason why many internees felt it an insult to be restricted to the Pioneer Corps.

The AMPC, later abbreviated to the Pioneer Corps, became the only part of His Majesty's

⁹ "The Camp" June 16th, 1941.

¹⁰ Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview; Ludwig Spiro Interview.

¹¹ Lachs, "Memoirs". Much pressure was put on younger men to sign up. See letter dated March 31st, 1941 in "Harry Johnson Papers"; Renzo Serafini Interview.

¹² Joseph Pia Interview.

¹³ Leighton-Langer, *King's*, p. 8.

Armed Forces where an enemy alien with no special qualifications could serve.¹⁴ The majority of those who served in 'A' companies prior to internment had originated from Kitchener Camp in Kent. By 1942, however, approximately 4,500 Germans, Austrians, Italians, and Czechoslovakians were serving in the Pioneer Corps.¹⁵ Medical examinations were carried out for all those expressing an interest in enlisting. When selected, internees were escorted by armed guard to their training base, but as soon as the uniforms had been collected the internees were 'free' to serve in the Armed Forces. One internee, Walter Horst Nessler, commented on the irony of the situation, noting that 'in a matter of minutes, we were transformed from being dangerous or at least doubtful characters into soldiers of His Majesty the King'.¹⁶ Initially women were denied the option of signing up for military service and therefore could not use that as a reason for release, even if a woman's husband joined the Pioneer Corps. Eventually women were given the opportunity to assist in the war effort through organisations such as the Auxiliary Territorial Service.¹⁷

Before any internee could be released he or she first had to attend a tribunal. This followed a similar procedure to the pre-internment classification tribunals. Only those who possessed a classification of 'C' were considered suitable for release. This meant that any internee classified as 'B' had to be reclassified by the tribunal before their freedom could be assured.¹⁸ This was a time consuming process and priority was given to the young and those who might be useful to the war effort. The initial of one's surname also determined the speed at which one might

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9. As there was no Pioneer Corps in Canada, internees were unable to sign up to any of the Canadian Armed Forces and had to return to Britain to enlist (HO 215/218 Listing of luggage before embarkation to prevent bogus compensation claims).

¹⁵ Ultimately 'Not everyone was a hero. Not everyone even had the opportunity to do anything heroic. But in choosing to be a soldier or a member of the women's services each one did the only sensible thing open to him or her in order to oppose the Nazis effectively' *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 238. See also Steven Vajda Interview; Lustig, "Memoirs".

¹⁶ Leighton-Langer, *King's*, p. 24. Fritz Lustig made a similar observation: 'One step from being guarded to being entitled to wear the same uniform as the chap who had been guarding us!' From the Pioneers some former internees then entered into Military Intelligence where they listened in on conversations had by German POWs. See Lustig, "Memoirs".

¹⁷ Winckler, "Sisters."

¹⁸ Ille Pinkus, a 16 year old, wrote of her joy at being reclassified to a 'C' January 18th, 1941 (Pinkus, "Letters"). See also Ludwig Spiro Interview; Celeste Sidoli, "Letter from Internee in Palace Camp, Douglas." 1941; "Elisabeth Bickel Correspondence"; "Harry Johnson Papers"; Bill-Jentzsch, "Internment."; Orazio Cairra Interview.

appear before the tribunal. Early on the tribunals were ordered alphabetically. The order was then reversed over a fear that those at the end of the alphabet would be disadvantaged. As a result, if one's surname began with a letter in the middle of the alphabet a longer wait was guaranteed.¹⁹ Mr. Peake, the Under Secretary of State for the Home Office attempted to quell some of the fears surrounding the process by publicly stating that

Under the scheme which involves scrutiny of each case individually some persons necessarily obtain their release earlier than others, and the fact that one internee is released before another does not imply that he is more loyal or reliable than the man whose release is deferred. Except in the case of persons detained on security grounds personal to themselves, internees not yet released have no reason to fear that their reputation or future will be prejudiced by their continued internment.²⁰

For those transported to the Dominions the problem of release was aggravated by their distance from Britain. Internees who wished to immigrate to another country, such as the United States of America, experienced multiple problems. Visas could only be granted to free persons, and while in Britain internees could be transported to London and then freed following notification from the U. S. Consulate, Canada and Australia were reluctant to allow similar liberties.²¹ This matter was further complicated for internees in Canada because proof was required that immigrants had paid their own way across the Atlantic, which the internees clearly had not. In order for those internees in Canada, therefore, to have a chance of immigrating to America, they first had to secure transportation back to Britain, almost as perilous a journey as they had endured en route the first time to North America.

Ships for transport were naturally prioritised for use in the war effort, making return almost impossible unless one was to enlist in the Pioneer Corps. For those who chose to enlist re-transport was provided.²² Transport was also provided for the small number of internees in Canada who were granted release on other grounds, although these individuals were transported to the Isle of Man while their paperwork was completed. For many internees their

¹⁹ See Hodge, "Memories."; and Georg Kohlberg and Karola Kohlberg, "Correspondence between internees Georg Kohlberg and his fiancée Karola Krey," 1939–41, MS 10131.

²⁰ February 22nd, 1941 'Sefton Review Nos 1 and 8'.

²¹ Stent, *Bespattered*, pp. 226-7.

²² *Ibid.*; Koessler, "Alien", p. 111; "The Camp Issues 1-6, 8-16, 20."; Nathan, "Ernst Geiduschek."

transport back to Great Britain was luxurious in comparison with their original transport. By the spring of 1942 only a few hundred internees were left in Canadian camps, by which time the Canadian government's attitude had mellowed, allowing release to those who wished to remain in the country.²³ Some of those who remained went on to achieve great success, such as Eric Koch, who became an internationally recognised author, broadcaster, and professor.²⁴

In Australia there were fewer ships with capacity to transport internees back to Britain. When berths became available priority was granted to those who had signed up for the Pioneer Corps.²⁵ Australia, like Canada, was initially reluctant to allow the internees leave to remain in the country. Eventually, in 1941, the Australian government started the process of recruiting internees who could be useful to the Australian war effort, finally creating the Australian Labour Corps for the enlistment of interned refugees.²⁶ The number of internees who remained in Australia was similar to those who remained in Canada, and as former internee and historian Ronald Stent notes:

The men who stayed in Canada and Australia probably found it simpler to integrate and become wholly accepted than those who returned and settled in Britain because it is much easier to do so in new and evolving societies than in old established and relatively closed ones.²⁷

There were several incidences of poor record keeping that led to confusion during the release process. Internees who were transported to Australia or Canada had sometimes swapped with fellow internees. One such transportee, Mark Lynton, was believed to have been on the ill-fated *Arandora Star*, and was therefore informed that no monies had been allocated to return him to Britain as he was believed to be dead. As there was no financial assistance available to Lynton or his friends, they were offered the train fare to Halifax from where the group offered

²³ Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 229.

²⁴ Koch's published works include his account of internment: Koch, *Suspect*.

²⁵ Mendel, "Barbed"; Baruch, "Reminiscences.". Home Office Liaison Officer, Major Julian Layton, was despatched to Australia to try and make release run as smoothly as possible (Helman, "Dunera", pp. 3-4).

²⁶ Stent, *Bespattered*, pp. 238-9; Patkin, *Dunera*, p. 137.

²⁷ *Ibid.* See also Brunnhuber, "After", p. 176; Pearl, *Scandal*, p. 217; Helman, "Dunera", p. 4.

themselves as crew on boats sailing to Liverpool.²⁸ For youngsters such as Lynton, who had been a student at the University of Cambridge prior to internment, this formed part of the adventure of the experience.²⁹ It was not such a positive experience for those who were older or wished to be speedily reunited with other family members.

By the end of August 1940 only 616 people had been released from internment camps, though, as the process was refined, this number increased to 2,516 by mid-September. By mid-October the number of releases had doubled, and by mid-February 1941 this had increased to 10,112.³⁰ As more internees were released, the number of camps decreased, until finally the only camps in existence were Peveril Camp and Rushen camp. The majority of the internees left in Peveril were enemy aliens with pro-Nazi beliefs, political refugees, and those who had been detained under 18B.³¹ Some of these detainees attempted to gain release through their own methods. On their return from a concert just outside of Peveril camp in Peel, three internees with Nazi sympathies slipped away from the main group and stole a boat in Castletown Harbour. Under wartime regulations, all boats were immobilized when left moored. With no motor the escapees used two stolen oars and attempted to row across the Irish Sea to neutral Ireland. Two days after their escape they were apprehended seven miles off the Calf of Man and returned to Peveril.³² Less than two weeks later, an even more audacious escape bid was discovered – a tunnel had been dug from within the camp to a narrow path running between the barbed wire and the outside guardroom on the other side of the fence.³³ It should be noted that the only rioting and genuine escape attempts on the Isle of Man were undertaken by British 18B detainees. Not once did any refugee internee attempt a similar feat.

²⁸ Lynton, *Accidental journey*, p. 53. Another example of poor record keeping can be seen in Evelyn Ruth Kaye Interview.

²⁹ As Lynton notes in *Accidental Journey*, “I left [SS] *Thysville* in Liverpool in mid-February 1941, with about one hundred and twenty pounds in winnings and wages, having been interned with ten shillings nine months earlier. Financially speaking, the internment had been a success.” *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁰ Stent, *Bespattered*, pp. 213-4.

³¹ For more information on the 18B detainees, who were British fascists as opposed to enemy aliens, see Goldman, “18B”, 120–136; “Papers relating to Franz Joseph Buch, an 18B detainee in Peveril Camp, Peel”, 1940-3, MS 12384; Simpson, *Odious*; Cuthbert, “Papers”; Margot Pottlitzer Interview; HO 213/7 The internment of citizens of friendly nations (1942).

³² Chappell, *Island*, pp. 122-3; Joseph Pia Interview.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-2.

The internment experience heightened the desire to assimilate into British culture and therefore led to many cases of name changes. These took place either to mask Jewish origins, such as the case of Manfred Moses who became Steven Vajda, or to Anglicise a Germanic name, such as the case of Ronald Stentsch, better known as Ronald Stent.³⁴ When refugees had arrived in Great Britain the refugee associations had encouraged those seeking asylum to blend in as much as possible, as well as to disperse themselves around the country. Ultimately it was internment that led to both of these things occurring. Many of the areas in which the internees had dwelt prior to internment were designated Protected Areas, and therefore return was impossible. The Dalheim family, for example, had lived in Hull but were unable to return and moved to Leeds instead.³⁵ Anna Bill-Jentzsch, a student nurse based in the South-East prior to internment, moved to Bolton post-release in order to take a job as a staff nurse.³⁶ Sometimes these moves were only temporary, as in the case of Orazio Caira, who moved between Pitlochry and Nairn on his release because they were not Protected Areas, before ultimately returning to Ladybank, where his business had been based.³⁷ Those who had either been in Britain long enough to establish themselves or had lived outside a Protected Area were free to return to their previous location.³⁸ In the Italian community many of the businesses had continued to run through the hard work and determination of the Italian women. This was particularly difficult for British women who had married Italian men and forfeited their citizenship. These women often had to rely on private charity following the internment of their husbands, as well as manage family businesses sometimes from afar, as a result of

³⁴ Steven Vajda Interview; Ronald Stent Interview. Other examples include Max-Otto Ludwig Loewenstein who changed his name to Mark Lynton (Lynton, *Accidental journey*, p. 3), and Jacob Schartenburg who became Walter Sharman ("Jacob Schartenburg Papers". See also Nathan, "Ernst Geiduschek"; "Adolf Gruenwald Papers." Indeed, my own grandfather changed his name from Fritz to Frederick in order to disguise his Austrian roots.

³⁵ Dalheim, "Papers."

³⁶ Bill-Jentzsch, "Internment".

³⁷ Orazio Caira Interview.

³⁸ Camillo D'Allesandro married an Englishwoman and lived in Oxford both before his internment and after his release (D'Allesandro, "Camp life"). Margot Hodge, a trainee nurse, returned to St. James' Hospital in Leeds post-internment to resume her training (Hodge, "Memories."). See also Jacobsthal, "Memoirs."; and "Papers documenting the life and internment of Domenico Traversari, an Italian interned on the Isle of Man, 1940-1945: include copies of correspondence relating to Traversari's attempts to gain release, a handwritten transcription of an account of his life by his eleven-year-old grandson (1978) and colour copies of portraits of Domenico and Cesira his wife, painted on the Isle of Man during his internment." 1943-4, 1978, MS 11273.

Protected Areas.³⁹ For those of Italian ancestry who had lived in Great Britain for decades, even if they were not interned, there was still suffering. As Wendy Ugolini, in her studies of the Scots-Italian community, has noted:

For second-generation women like Rosalina, who remained in protected areas to run businesses and who witnessed the anti-Italian riots at first hand, these incredibly disorienting events served to fatally undermine their sense of belonging within their local communities.⁴⁰ The return of the internees was therefore welcomed, especially because of the losses sustained by the Italian community because of the *Arandora Star*.⁴¹

One of the biggest effects of internment for the former internees was on their careers. In some cases this involved a 'war' occupation, followed by a recommence of studies or plans made pre-conflict. During the war, for example, Max Sussman worked for a firm of furriers who manufactured fur-lined tunics for pilots. After the war he recommenced his studies and ultimately achieved a PhD from the University of Leeds before pursuing a career in academia.⁴² The war interrupted plans and delayed eventual professional qualifications for everyone, not just those who were interned. Hans Sturm began his training to become a first mate in 1939, only achieving this eight years later in 1947.⁴³ Eva Wittenberg had to delay taking her school leaving certificate as a result of internment. However, when she did go on to further education she was able to take up a career in microbiology, ultimately working at the Royal Marsden Hospital.⁴⁴ Wolfgang Nelki was forced out of his legal studies in 1933 and worked as a dental technician before coming to Britain in 1939. It took another 22 years before he qualified as a dentist at the Royal Dental Hospital in London.⁴⁵ Margot Pottlitzer would have embarked on a career in the BBC had it not been for her offer of employment arriving at a previous

³⁹ Wendy Ugolini, "Spaghetti Lengths in a Bowl? Recovering Narratives of Not 'Belonging' Amongst the Italian Scots," *Immigrants and Minorities*, 31 (2013), p. 226.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁴¹ Renzo Serafini Interview; Joseph Pia Interview; Orazio Caira Interview.

⁴² Sussman, "Young". See also Claus Moser Interview.

⁴³ Hans Sturm, "Through Stormy Seas to Calm Waters: memories of a German Jehovah's Witness interned on the Isle of Man during World War II." 2000, MS 11641. Herbert Loebel qualified as an electrical engineer after the war and started his own business manufacturing scientific instruments, ultimately earning an OBE for Services to Exports, the Citizens' Medal of Bamberg, the German Cross of the Order of Merit, and the Bavarian Cross of the Order of Merit ("Loebel"). Moses Aberbach continued his interrupted studies at the University of Leeds and continued to postgraduate study ("Aberbach letters.")

⁴⁴ Eva Wittenberg Interview.

⁴⁵ "Papers of Erna Nelki."

residence. As a result, she instead worked for a group of German businessmen who wished to have an alternative form of representation from Bloomsbury House.⁴⁶ Individuals and families were forced to take any work they could get in order to support themselves and their loved ones.

Some turned the challenges of internment into opportunity. Three of the four members of the Amadeus Quartet, for example, met in the internment camps.⁴⁷ Fred Uhlman, a 'provincial lawyer in a provincial town' before the war, was able to use his creativity during his captivity to change career and become first a painter and then a writer. He painted a vast amount of work whilst in Hutchinson Camp and his exhibitions were well received in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁸

Personal plans were also placed on hold during internment. While some rushed into marriage prior to arrest in order to minimise the likelihood of separation, others were forced to wait until after one or other of the couple had been released. Joseph Pia married his girlfriend, who had visited him several times in camp, six months after his release.⁴⁹ Some even had to wait until many years after hostilities had ceased. Elisabeth Bickel, for example, escaped to Bedford from Germany in 1937 while her fiancé, Emil Rueb, fled to the United States the following year. Bickel was interned on the Isle of Man before returning to London and her job as a governess, before ultimately being reunited with Rueb in 1946 where they married in New York.⁵⁰

There was a lot of transience in the population in general, which naturally translated into transience in the refugee community. It was therefore not only internment that changed the fortunes of the internees but the war situation itself. Internment was one more hurdle to be overcome. Some attempts at compensation for the internees were made during the Second World War and in the years immediately following. There were numerous instances of

⁴⁶ Margot Pottlitzer Interview.

⁴⁷ Lustig, "Memoirs".

⁴⁸ Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 159.

⁴⁹ Joseph Pia Interview.

⁵⁰ "Elisabeth Bickel Correspondence."

internees receiving payment for suitcases damaged en route between Huyton and the Isle of Man, and also compensation for items lost on both the *Dunera*, and the *Ettrick*.⁵¹ Claim forms were issued to internees in Australia but it was hard for the internees to provide all the information required, such as receipts.⁵² There was also some remuneration given to the individuals on the Isle of Man whose houses had been requisitioned, though the monies paid did not adequately represent either the loss of furnishings or income.⁵³ No attempts were made by the former internees in the years following the war to claim reparations. This can in large part be attributed to feelings of mostly gratitude from refugees who survived the war, though it can also be seen as a result of continuing latent anti-alienism in British society.⁵⁴ After the war, many former internees had to contend with the knowledge that family members who had been unable to escape from the continent had perished at the hands of the Nazis.⁵⁵ Internees were grateful that they had been given the opportunity to survive and forge new lives in Britain and in other Allied nations. Perhaps as a result of internment, many former internees became naturalised at the earliest opportunity, though this was sometimes delayed by the post-war bureaucracy.⁵⁶ For those who had lived in Britain for many years prior to the war, the internment experience encouraged them to claim British citizenship so that they could avoid a repetition of such an event in the future.⁵⁷ The group who undoubtedly suffered the most financially and emotionally were the family members of those internees lost on the *Arandora Star*, a large number of them of Italian descent who had lived in Britain for a great many years.

⁵¹ HO 215/221 Losses sustained during transfers to Isle of Man in May 1941; HO 215/209 Departmental opinions on compensation liability for internees' losses: voyage of SS Ettrick; HO 215/213 Voyage of HMT Dunera: compensation for loss or damage; HO 215/199 Australia: property claims of HMT Dunera passengers on release (1941). The government was worried in case further compensation claims would be made when internees returned to Britain from Canada and Australia, which led to lists being compiled of luggage before an internee left any of the camps in the Dominions (HO 215/218).

⁵² Approximately £12 was given to each internee. Stent, *Bespattered*, p. 133. War Office policy was to settle claims of £10 or under and to give two-thirds of any amount over £10 (HO 215/213). See also Helman, "Dunera", p. 4.

⁵³ Johnson, "Memories"; Cannell, "Hardships"; HO 215/222.

⁵⁴ Anti-alien feeling was monitored via organisations such as the AJR. See "The First Five Years", *AJR*, May (1946), 33.

⁵⁵ Ogbe, *Crumbs*, p. 59; "Loebl"; Sussman, "Young"; Brinson et al., *Loyal Internee*, p. 159; Olins, "Island Prison", p. 53; Winckler, "Sisters".

⁵⁶ Eva Wittenburg Interview; Lustig, "Memoirs"; "Ludwig Hess Memoirs." 'Is Naturalisation Good for This Country? A Discussion in the Home Service of the B.B.C.', *AJR*, Oct. (1946), 75;

'Naturalisation', *AJR*, Dec. (1946), 89.

⁵⁷ Joseph Pia Interview; Orazio Cairra Interview.

If anyone would have had a case for reparation it would have been these, but their voices went largely unheeded in the eagerness of Britain to put the experiences of war behind it. Little sympathy could be found from the general population as the country was still suffering from the effects of the conflict well into the 1950s.

The closing of the American camps

From the moment those of Japanese ancestry entered the internment camps the American government intended them to be able to apply for release, or 'leave clearance' as it was known in camp. The WRA wished to encourage 'loyal' Issei and Nisei to disperse to areas of the United States that were away from the West Coast. The poorly constructed 'Loyalty Questionnaire', as discussed in the previous chapter, was the main way for the WRA to ascertain whether an individual was suitable for release or not.

Nisei males of the age for military service who answered 'Yes' to Question 28 of the Loyalty Questionnaire were counted as volunteers for the United States military and were expected to report for a medical examination to determine if they were fit to serve. The War Department had hoped that up to 3,000 Nisei would be recruited out of the 10,000 eligible males, but in reality the number was only 1,208.⁵⁸ Volunteering led to its own complications such as violence and social exclusion within the camps.⁵⁹ In contrast, in Hawaii, where no substantial exclusion or detention was enforced, almost 10,000 Nisei volunteered, surprising the War Department who had predicted only 1,500 would wish to join the army.⁶⁰ In order to plug the hole in recruitment for the armed services a draft was therefore instituted. Many young men, in acts of defiance against the decision of the U.S. Government to restore one constitutional right while withholding another, refused to acknowledge their draft notices and failed to report for their physical examinations. In the majority of cases such action was taken by isolated individuals. However, in one Relocation Center draft resistance became a movement. The Heart Mountain Draft Resisters asked 'if we are loyal enough to serve in the army, what are

⁵⁸ *Justice Denied*, p. 195.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 197. Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 42.

we doing behind barbed wire?⁶¹ The federal response to draft resistance was, in all but one case, to avoid the legality of the issue and instead sentence the resisters to up to five years' hard labour.⁶² The draft resisters took a stand, knowing that they would end up convicted felons if they continued in their defiance, as well as suffer discrimination from certain parts of the Japanese community.⁶³ Thousands of Nisei did join the Armed Forces, however, and they defended both their country and the honour of their families with great valour, be it in Europe, the Military Intelligence Service as translators, or in the Women's Army Corps.⁶⁴ The almost completely Nisei 442nd Infantry Regiment was the most decorated regiment in the United States Army, living by the motto 'Go for broke' and becoming known as the 'Purple Heart Battalion'.⁶⁵ The Nisei hoped that demonstrating their commitment to the war effort would be the best way of convincing the United States government that they and their families were truly loyal. Their sacrifices for freedom abroad were particularly poignant when the flags and medals commemorating their deaths were displayed by their still interned parents in their one room barrack apartments. America had demanded the ultimate sacrifice from American sons without offering any reward to their families.

For those not joining the military, the option of leave clearance remained. Obtaining clearance was a bureaucratic process and it usually took several months from the point of application to the day of release. The problems the process created were summed up by frustrated internees in Tule Lake:

We are...handicapped because of the seeming bottle-neck in Washington in getting clearance for applicants for private employment that we have requested. Most of these opportunities require fast

⁶¹ Muller, *Free*, p. 4.

⁶² The only exception was Judge Louis E. Goodman who declared that to prosecute the 26 men from Tule Lake who appeared before him was 'shocking to his conscience' and 'a violation of due process'. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶³ President Truman pardoned the draft resisters in 1947. *Ibid.*, p. 6. See also "Central Utah Project Council"; Community Council, "Topaz Council Meeting Minutes.", 1944; Teraji, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 549; Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 40. Despite the pardon some felt that the stigma still affected their employment opportunities (Mayeda, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 503).

⁶⁴ Hurt, *REgenerations: LA*, p. 120; Community Council, "Topaz Council." 1944.

⁶⁵ Ito, *REgenerations: San Diego*, pp. 108-112. "The only reason you join is, because you figure that, you owe something to your country, yeah? That's the only reason I can think of. I had no other reason why I joined. The only reason is, because I'm an American, and that's why I joined." (Yoshioka, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 323). The fact the unit was the most decorated in American history has been noted in several television shows, including an episode of the Hawaii Five-0 remake ("Hawaii Five-O 'Ho'onani Makuakane' 'Honor Thy Father.'" 2013, CBS, first aired December 13th.)

action and by the time we get a clearance the job opportunity is gone. I see no hope for this plan of getting people out unless some method is worked out whereby we can obtain faster clearance than we now have.⁶⁶

The process proved a bone of contention in all camps. As Greg Robinson has noted, ‘even Interior Secretary Harold Ickes was forced to wait for some eight months during 1942-43 before he could obtain release and transportation for a pair of Japanese American laborers for his farm’.⁶⁷ The interned artist Miné Okubo noticed there was much ‘red tape’, and that ‘Jobs were checked by the War Relocation offices and even the place of destination was investigated before an evacuee left.’⁶⁸

Students were in the best position to apply for leave as there were several organisations established to assist with finding College places for internees. Between 1942 and 1946 the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council helped 4,084 Nisei leave the camps and continue their studies.⁶⁹ This was not without its own problems as many universities limited the number of Nisei they would accept in order not to ‘upset’ their other students.⁷⁰ Relocated Nisei were encouraged to write back to their still interned colleagues and offer guidance on how to ‘behave’ when released. Lillian Ota reported from Wellesley College:

It is scarcely necessary to point out that those who have probably never seen a [N]isei before will get their impression of the [N]isei as a whole from the relocated students. It won't do you or your family and friends much good to dwell on what you consider injustices when you are questioned about evacuation. Rather, stress the contributions of [our] people to the nation's war effort.⁷¹

From the University of Texas another student wrote:

What a big change it is to live in a city of over 90,000 in which there are only 8 Japanese, having lived in a city like the one I left in which the whole town of 8,000 is Japanese. The transition may be very difficult for many and you had better warn applicants of it. In fact, it may be wisest if you would even try to discourage some, in order to impress on them that life out here isn't a bed of roses. Remind them of the difficulties our parents had when they first came to America, for I believe in many instances the same sort of predicament may arise.⁷²

⁶⁶ WRA, “Tule Lake”.

⁶⁷ Greg Robinson, *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2012), p. 75. See also Okubo, *Citizen*, p. 205.

⁶⁸ Okubo, *Citizen*, pp. 206-7; Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 81.

⁶⁹ Matsumoto, “Women,” p. 10. See also “Topaz Daily Log”, 1942; Griswold, *Robber*.

⁷⁰ Robinson, *After*, p. 52. According to a Nisei student at the University of Texas, their quota was 8 students in the whole University – a not uncommon limitation (“Letter to Topaz from relocated student.” 1942).

⁷¹ Matsumoto, “Women,” p. 11.

⁷² “Letter to Topaz from relocated student”.

The students who relocated often gave the first pictures of life outside the camps and how those of Japanese ancestry could expect to be treated on their release. Treatment of the relocated internees varied from acceptance to the type of hostility experienced by the Issei on their arrival in the United States several decades previously.

If an individual wanted to leave a camp and undertake paid employment, he or she mostly had to look East of the Rockies. Regardless of an individual's educational ability, he or she would more often than not be recommended for a position as a gardener, domestic, or factory worker.⁷³ Many state governors were keen not to have an influx of Japanese or Japanese Americans move into their towns, cities, or agricultural land. When Roy Uyehata went in search of farmland for his parents after internment he found that

[in] San Juan Bautista [they] had a big sign at the cattle ranch owned by Congressman Anderson, which said, "Japs keep out." Every other post had [a] sign: "Japs keep out." So I said, "Gee, this is a heck of a place for trying to find a home."⁷⁴

The Governor of Colorado, Ralph L. Carr, was in the minority when he expressed a desire to support the former internees.⁷⁵ As a result of his pro-Japanese American stance, a number of internees relocated within his state and reported 'no animosity, or fear, or anything...Japanese were good workers, good farmers, so [we] were respected.'⁷⁶ Other popular locations included Chicago and New York. Some of the larger manufacturers instituted a pro-internee hiring policy, such as the Ford Motor Company and the Chrysler Corporation.⁷⁷

In some ways internment offered new opportunities to women as when they relocated they found opportunities as clerical workers, particularly in cities. The Second World War was in fact a turning point for Japanese American women. By 1950, 47 percent of employed Japanese American women could be found in clerical and sales jobs and a mere 10 percent remained in

⁷³ Robinson, *After*, p. 46; *Gerda Isenberg papers 2.1* (1944).

⁷⁴ Uyehata, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 570.

⁷⁵ See Adam Schrager, *The principled politician: the Ralph Carr story* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2008); *Gerda Isenberg papers 3.4* (1942). Also worthy of note were the Attorney General of Utah and Mayor Harry P. Cain for their pro-internee attitude (Wilson and Hosokawa, *East*, p. 211).

⁷⁶ Kanemoto, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 149; Teraji, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 532.

⁷⁷ Other pro-Nisei hirers included the Briggs Manufacturing Company, the Essex Wire Company, Gar Wood Industries, and the Ex-cell-o Company (Robinson, *After*, p. 49). McClurg's publishing house approached the WRA expressing interest in hiring former internees because of the strong Japanese work ethic (Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 41).

domestic service, which was a marked difference from the jobs their Issei mothers had endured.⁷⁸ However, in the immediate years following release, those who returned to the West Coast found that the employment opportunities for women were similar to before the war. Rose Honda, for example, was initially employed as a domestic before securing a job in childcare, while her mother picked vegetables.⁷⁹ Domestic work usually provided the former internee with accommodation, which was another reason why it was urged onto the internees. As Gerda Isenberg, involved in assisting relocation from the camps, wrote to one family: 'Is [your daughter] not able to do domestic work? This is the only way that you could re-settle in California at the present time.'⁸⁰

Hostels and boarding houses were the accommodation of necessity for many upon their immediate release. Sometimes through the contacts made in these crowded places, employment offers would be made by those sympathetic to the plight of the Japanese community.⁸¹ The government provided \$25 per internee to transport them to their post-internment location.⁸² The majority of the internees had come from farming or fishing industries. The jobs they were able to obtain post-internment were mostly in cities and in industry. As a result of the cap on pay in the camps the internees had very little on which to subsist outside of camp. This situation was compounded by the fact that most Americans had prospered during the war, further increasing the gap between internees and other Americans. In such an economic situation the former internees had to take what they could get in terms of accommodation and employment, causing additional stresses on individuals and families.⁸³

⁷⁸ Matsumoto, "Women", p. 11; Harry K. Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 29.

⁷⁹ Rose Honda, *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2.

⁸⁰ *Gerda Isenberg papers 2.6* (1945).

⁸¹ Rose Honda's father, for example, was offered a job as a gardener through boarding house contacts (Rose Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 68.) Masayo (Yasui) Arii received an offer of domestic work from a Jewish lady who wanted to help (Arii, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 25). See also Community Council, *Heart Mountain 1.1* (1944); Yonemitsu, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 283.

⁸² Generously called 'Relocation Assistance Grants'. Community Council, 'Topaz Council Meeting Minutes', 1945.

⁸³ Several internees had placed their money in Japanese banks before the war and these assets had been frozen. The number of yen to the dollar naturally increased exponentially, wiping the value of the savings. After the war the JACL assisted in negotiating a better exchange rate for these depositors. The only financial assistance available was from the Veterans Administration who gave \$20 a week to veterans for up to a year if they were out of work (Harry Honda, *REgenerations: Chicago*, pp. 31, 34).

Many families had been separated at the beginning of internment, were reunited in camp, and then were separated again upon release. It was common for one member of the family to secure a job and accommodation before sending for other relatives. Joe Yoshioka, for example, arrived in Chicago in 1943 alone and found a one room apartment with a gas plate. He then sent for his wife and baby, born at Santa Anita, who travelled up from Poston.⁸⁴ Commonly the husband or adult children would be the first to relocate. The necessity of providing for families that had lost so much financially as a result of the internment experience demanded the postponement of personal ambitions. Two of the adult daughters of the Suzuki family relocated to Chicago and obtained jobs in a factory where they cut bra straps. One of the daughters, Shibby, wanted to become a cosmetologist but had to delay applying for beauty school until the rest of the family were more financially secure.⁸⁵ There was, however, no guarantee that families would be fully reunited outside of camp. In the Honda family the youngest sister relocated to Chicago while her mother, father, and other siblings returned to Los Angeles.⁸⁶ The government had succeeded in its aim to dislocate the family unit and avoid Japanese ghettoization.

As time progressed, those Issei who were able started their own businesses. Dry cleaning stores were seen as a 'safe' option for both Issei and Nisei.⁸⁷ In Los Angeles, stores were reopened in Little Tokyo, but generally by those who had not lived in the area prior to internment, such as former fishermen from the San Pedro region.⁸⁸ Those who had previously owned shops in Little Tokyo often did not restart their businesses, partly because of age but also because of the painful emotions associated with what had happened during the war.⁸⁹ By the end of the war, however, the employment situation had improved dramatically, with Nisei in a variety of skilled and sales jobs such as dental lab technicians, social workers, and the civil

⁸⁴ Yoshioka, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 320. Similarly, the six members of the Suzuki family lived in two rooms of a house and shared a bathroom with another couple on their arrival to the Windy City (Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 20). See also Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 83.

⁸⁵ Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 20.

⁸⁶ Harry Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 19.

⁸⁷ Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 46; Robinson, *After*, p. 50.

⁸⁸ Harry Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 12

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

service.⁹⁰ White collar positions, however, were still out of reach for most unless they were serving the needs of the Japanese community, such as in healthcare.⁹¹ It took several decades for the hardworking Nisei to push through the formidable barriers of internment and racism in order to enter the professions, and this was in part made easier due to the relocation of the former internees away from the West Coast.

Relocation altered the course of thousands of lives, and as more internees departed from the camps the number of camps decreased, until only Tule Lake remained. Those left in the camps by the time they were closed tended to be the elderly or the infirm. Age was a major problem for the Issei. Financially crippled as a result of internment, some were too old to find employment upon release and support themselves. The costs of supporting elderly Issei naturally fell to other family members.⁹² Other reasons for remaining in camp included the difficulty of providing for large families on the sort of wages offered in the jobs the internees were offered outside the camp, as well as a considerable fear factor.⁹³ Stories had been told and retold of racist attacks on former internees after relocation.⁹⁴ Even when not the victims of physical abuse, former internees often found themselves victims of more subtle forms of racism, such as when in search of accommodation:

Wherever there was sleeping room, I rang the bell and said, "I'd like to rent a room." But in practically all cases, they would just tell you that the room was rented already. And you ask them: "Gee, the sign is still in the window." And they said, "Oh, I forgot to take the sign off".⁹⁵ The problem of rehousing internees was acute, particularly on the West Coast, where there was a significant shortage of housing in general.⁹⁶ It was much more likely for an internee to

⁹⁰ Robinson, *After*, p. 50; Harry Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 29; Hurt, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 121.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Hariko Sugi's father, for example, was dependent on his wife picking up whatever work she could find in order to support him as he was too old to work (Hurt, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 122).

⁹³ "Topaz Council Meeting Minutes." 1945.

⁹⁴ Dillon Myers gave several talks in Pasadena to encourage tolerance towards those of Japanese ancestry returning to the West Coast. See Dillon S. Myer, Collection 131 - 2.4, 1944; Dillon S. Myer, Collection 131 - 2.5, 1944.

⁹⁵ Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 83. Katie Koga found that the Japanese were an unknown quantity in Chicago. Her landlady said 'Ooh, gosh, she talks just like me!' on meeting her (Hironaka, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 97).

⁹⁶ "Manzanar (Miscellaneous)"; Uchida, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 439. Government federal housing projects were established on the West Coast in order to provide temporary housing to the returning internees. Voorhies, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 205.

find accommodation at a place where Issei or Nisei had lived previously and those of Japanese ancestry were considered good tenants. Families could therefore expect to continue living in overcrowded conditions after leaving the camps.

Some of the friends with whom the internees had entrusted their property were faithful custodians and not only looked after the internees' property and possessions, but also returned them after the war. Sadly, for many, the opposite was the case. So-called 'friends' absconded with the proceeds from selling the internees' possessions and land. Haruko Hurt (néé Sugi) remembered her family's good fortune with their friend, Miss Hudson:

She took care of our house, had it rented out, because it would be very bad to have it vacant. It could get vandalized. That happened to some other people's homes. So she rented it out, paid the property tax and insurance, and whatever costs out of the rent proceeds....So when the war ended and my parents were coming back, they notified her, and she had the renter move out, and had all the furniture that belonged to us which she had stored, moved back in place. She even had all of the utilities re-connected in my father's name - the water, gas, electricity, and some basic foods in the refrigerator. My mother was (chuckles) so surprised....She was just flabbergasted. But this is in contrast to many, many other families that lost everything.⁹⁷

By contrast, Hisako Koike's (néé Inamure) family 'rented [our house] out to a Caucasian family. For rent—but of course after the first month, my parents never received any monies for the house.'⁹⁸ Despite this theft of monies, however, the Inamure family were fortunate in that they were able to resume living in their house post-release and their 1929 Pontiac was still in 'tip-top condition'.⁹⁹ Others were not so fortunate, told 'I'm so sorry. Somebody broke in and took everything, and the house is gone now. All your things are gone',¹⁰⁰ or sometimes that their possessions had been destroyed by fire or vandalism.¹⁰¹ Ben Chikaraishi's family ran a hotel prior to internment and entrusted the running of the business to a friend:

we were leasing the hotel. But all the equipment there, all the supplies like the beds and the mattresses and whatever you had were all ours. And what we did was, we had a friend. "Friend"—with quotes

⁹⁷ Hurt, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 134. The Honda family had their property returned by the family that had employed the father. They also supplied the Honda family with a car for a minimal price on their return from internment (Honda, *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2). See also William Yardley, "Bob Fletcher Dies at 101; Helped Japanese Americans", *The New York Times*, June 6, 2013 for an account of how Yardley maintained the farms of three Japanese households during internment.

⁹⁸ Koike, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 169.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁰ Hurt, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 134.

¹⁰¹ Voorhies, *REgenerations: San Diego*, pp. 202-8. There were occasional warehouse fires in several of the camps in which internees lost their property that had been transported there for safekeeping. See FBI, *Files concerning the War Relocation Authority, 1942-1946 1.7* (1943); "Topaz Daily Log," 1943; WRA, *Manzanar Weekly Reports* (1944).

on—who said, “They’ll be happy to take care of it for you.” And they’ll pay us a certain amount of the money that’s collected from the weekly rents and things like that. And so we said, “Oh, that’s fine. That’ll be nice.” And so he took over our possessions. We didn’t sell anything. We just left everything as they were. It was all right for maybe about three or four months as he sent some money. And then it stopped. And that was the end of it. He was collecting all this rent and everything on our furnishings and on our possessions and never sending us the money. And we had no way of collecting. And this occurred in many other situations where they leased something out or rented something out, but then you collect money for a while and all of a sudden it just stops coming. This is typical of what happened. And we had no course of action to be able to collect the money outside of legal action. But nobody had money for legal action and being so far away, too.¹⁰²

Despite WRA Property Officers documenting these cases and collecting evidence, they were ‘almost helpless when it came to placing the blame and obtaining reparation.’¹⁰³ As the WRA noted in 1946, ‘Whether the evacuees will receive remuneration for losses depends upon the will of Congress to acknowledge Federal responsibility for losses sustained.’¹⁰⁴

In 1948 the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act was signed with the intention of offering former internees some compensation for the loss of possessions. The 1948 Act was largely the result of a campaign launched by the reconstituted JACL in the post war years. After the war the JACL continued with its platform of Americanization, but the experiences while in camp had convinced JACL leadership that building political coalitions with other minority groups was the way forward.¹⁰⁵ The links formed with groups such as NAACP led to an agenda of challenging white supremacy and demands that some attempt at remuneration be made for the substantial financial losses caused by the evacuation policy. The rate of reimbursement was minimal – approximately ten cents on the dollar – and the paperwork formidable. In order to make a claim, the claimant had to be in possession of receipts of purchase. Given the nature of the roundup for internment and the small quantities of items the internees were able to transport, the likelihood of receipts surviving was exceptionally low. Many Issei were therefore unable to take advantage of the Act or receive compensation.¹⁰⁶ Those who made successful claims were in the minority, but were still unable to regain much of what had been lost. The Act resulted in a government payment of \$37 million in response

¹⁰² Chikaraishi, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 79.

¹⁰³ WRA, Collection 131 - 1.7, 1945.

¹⁰⁴ WRA, Collection 131 - 2.19.

¹⁰⁵ Robinson, *After*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Sakamoto, *REgenerations: San Jose*, p. 307. See also Harry Honda, *REgenerations: Los Angeles*, p. 35; Regional Oral History Office, *Volume I*, p. 20.

to claims of \$148 million. The Federal Reserve Bank estimated that Japanese Americans lost over \$400 million in property, excluding losses of earnings or profits.¹⁰⁷ Many of the Issei wanted to put the experience behind them, not that they had much of a choice as there was little public sympathy for what the former internees had endured. The findings of the test cases brought by Yasui, Hirabayashi, Korematsu, and to a lesser extent Endo, further cemented the understanding that the United States government was not interested in discussing or apologising for its actions during or immediately following the war. Out of necessity then, few mentions were made regarding internment after the 1948 Act.

It was not until the 1970s that the campaign for reparations gained momentum. The Emergency Detention Act, Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 was repealed in 1971, directly as a result of campaigns launched by the JACL. The fact that Title II was on the statute books meant that further detentions of ‘disloyal citizens’ continued to be legal and indeed holding camps were created in Arizona, California, Florida, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania in order to hold communists and other government undesirables.¹⁰⁸ The JACL believed that ‘the American Japanese, as the historic victims, [had] a public duty to prevent a revival of these camps’ and therefore the repeal of Title II became a priority.¹⁰⁹ The revocation of Title II proved to be the first step in the reparations movement and served to free the former internees from their quarter of a century silence. One Nisei, Daniel Okimoto, wrote in his autobiography also published in 1971

For much of my life, I had struggled with the conviction that I was an American in disguise, a creature part of, yet somehow detached from, the mainstream of American society. This sense of alienation had been a fact of my life from its very beginning, as I was born, the last son of immigrant parents, in the stables of a racetrack in Southern California designated as a transfer point for those Japanese on the West Coast who were being herded into wartime internment camps.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Irons, *Justice*, p. 348. Harry Honda’s parents received approximately \$2,000 on their evacuation claim, for example (Harry Honda, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 16).

¹⁰⁸ Dickerson, *Concentration*, pp. 237-8.

¹⁰⁹ Izumi, “Prohibiting”, pp. 168, 172.

¹¹⁰ Creef, *Imaging*, p. 14.

The legal fight enabled many Nisei to begin to come to terms with their experiences, spurred on by their more radical children, the Sansei, who could not understand their parents' reticence on addressing the complex subject of historical injustice.

The Sansei had lived through the campaigns for civil rights in the 1960s, which had given them an impetus for combatting social and racial injustice. Some of the African American leaders had suggested slavery reparations during the campaign for civil rights, and the Japanese American community certainly had an obvious case for financial claims against the United States government. Therefore, spurred on by the success of the battle against Title II, three parallel programmes were launched that contributed to the overall redress movement: the California redress for state employees; the judicial battle of the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR); and three *coram nobis* legal cases.¹¹¹ Between December 1941 and May 1942 all Nisei employed by the Californian civil service had been dismissed without receiving pay or severance on a collective charge of 'treason'. In 1981 a sponsor for a redress bill for the former members of the Californian civil service was finally found and Assembly Bill 4087 became law on August 24, 1988. The bill 'provided state income tax exemption for the national redress payments and the right of surviving spouses to receive the state redress payments if the original state employee was deceased'.¹¹² It thus served as a dress rehearsal for more extensive federal reparative legislation, and demonstrated how long it might take for words to be turned into action – eight years in this instance.

Simultaneously, NCJAR pursued redress from a different angle. The decision to pursue a lawsuit so long after the wartime injustices was a risky business and many expected it to fail. This did not stop over 3,500 individuals subscribing to the NCJAR and donating over \$400,000 towards the legal fight.¹¹³ By 1983 the leaders of NCJAR felt ready to challenge the Supreme Court's rulings in *Korematsu*, *Yasui*, *Hirabayashi*, and *Endo* in order to have the exclusion and curfew decisions reversed. While ultimately unsuccessful, without the copious

¹¹¹ Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 117.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

levels of archival research undertaken it would not have been possible to push forward with the *coram nobis* cases. The NCJAR case also served to highlight the historical injustices to the public and served as a means of education, thereby preparing the way for what was to come.

Finally, between 1983 and 1988 a series of legal cases set to address a fundamental error made in the Supreme Court's rulings on the test cases of Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui. Korematsu, Hirabayashi, and Yasui filed petitions to have their cases reopened under the rarely used legal mechanism of writ of *coram nobis*, 'which is used when a decision is believed to be fundamentally unjust and the defendant has been convicted and already served a sentence'.¹¹⁴ The government had wilfully withheld information from the Supreme Court, and as a result of the archival research of the earlier NCJAR case, evidence had been uncovered to prove that fact. Ultimately the decision in the Korematsu case was found to have been based in error and the Hirabayashi case was reversed. A similar outcome would no doubt have been the case in the Yasui case had he not sadly passed away before a decision had been made. The efforts of all of these cases

continued and expanded the educational focus to expose the unfairness of the exclusion and imprisonment and explain the enormous toll in human suffering and other losses. Thus, the disclosure of evidence attacking the underlying legal bases which upheld the exclusion and detention coincided perfectly with the redress efforts seeking to persuade the public and Congress that no legal, moral, or factual basis existed for the mass imprisonment.¹¹⁵

Yet even though the ground had been prepared and redress seemed a possibility, the final result still depended on the actions of Congress. In response to the growing cries for redress Congress created the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), which reported its findings in 1983. The CWRIC was given three objectives: to review the facts and circumstances of Executive Order 9066 which authorised the detention of American citizens; to review directives of the United States military forces requiring relocation and detention of American citizens including those from the Aleutian and Pribilof

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Islands; and also to recommend appropriate remedies.¹¹⁶ The CWRIC Commissioners held twenty days of public hearings between July and December 1981 in ten locations where testimony from over 750 witnesses was heard.¹¹⁷

Extensive archival research was also used to create a comprehensive account of every injustice that occurred as a result of Executive Order 9066. The Commission reported that

The promulgation of Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, and the decisions which followed from it – detention, ending detention and ending exclusion – were not driven by analysis of military conditions. The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership.¹¹⁸

There could, therefore, be no other option than to apologise for the actions during the Second World War that hinged on the spurious motives of Executive Order 9066. After several years of congressional debates and multiple attempts at writing and rewriting a bill, named for the all Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the question remained as to whether President Reagan would sign it. 1988 was an election year and both the major presidential candidates, Vice President George Bush and Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts endorsed the redress legislation. Bush released a statement describing the forced relocation as

an unfortunate chapter in our nation's history...During times of war, it is often difficult to resist succumbing to hysteria. However, we should always try to remember our basic purpose – to defend freedom and civil rights for all.¹¹⁹

When Reagan finally put pen to paper he admitted the historical error of the American government, based largely on the findings of the CWRIC. He noted

we gather here today to right a grave wrong...More than forty years ago...120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in makeshift internment camps. This action was taken without trial, without jury. It was based solely on race.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ *Justice Denied*, p. xvii.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

¹¹⁹ Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 194.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

The redress movement culminated in the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which offered an official apology and individual reparations of \$20,000 to the approximate 60,000 survivors. The Act had taken over forty years to come to fruition, and it came about a further twelve years after President Ford had publicly declared that ‘We know now what we should have known then – not only was that evacuation wrong, but Japanese Americans were and are loyal Americans’.¹²¹ As one Nisei said ‘the Isseis are the ones who really, really should have benefited. Most of them, I’d say 80 percent of them were gone by then, especially my mother, who would have been so happy.’¹²² Another Nisei captured the mixed emotions involved in the eventual reparation payment with apology:

Well going back to the feeling of hurt and injury, and trying to get over it, [this] really had nothing to do, in my mind, with a monetary payment or reparation. I think the harm had been done. And it certainly was a strong gesture, because money speaks a lot in this country, for the apology and for the payment...¹²³

The overall feeling, however, was relief that finally the internment of Japanese Americans during the Second World War was recognised as wrong on every level.¹²⁴ The Civil Liberties Act was a watershed in American history, declaring that historical injustices should be amended, and this is a theme that other racial minorities who have suffered discrimination in the United States have attempted to use in their separate claims for justice.¹²⁵ Just as the movement for reparations was, in many ways, inspired by the fight for civil rights, African Americans have gained hope for redress from the experiences of Japanese Americans. In this case, the Act was specifically designed with those of Japanese ancestry in mind and excluded those of Japanese ancestry who had been removed from Latin America, as well as those of German or Italian ancestry regardless of their citizenship status.¹²⁶ Similarly, in African

¹²¹ Daniels, *Coming*, p. 303.

¹²² Amino, *REgenerations: Chicago*, p. 64.

¹²³ Yonemitsu, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 300; David Yoo, “Captivating Memories: Museology, Concentration Camps, and Japanese American History,” *American Quarterly*, 48 (1996), p. 697.

¹²⁴ Sumiko Kobayashi Interview.

¹²⁵ Barkan, *Guilt*, p. 30; Daniels, *Coming*, p. 303. As Attorney General Richard Thornburgh said on presenting a reparations cheque to a survivor ‘By finally admitting a wrong, a nation does not destroy its integrity but, rather, reinforces the sincerity of its commitment to the Constitution and hence to its people.’ (Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 213).

¹²⁶ It was not until President Clinton’s time in office that the Japanese Latin Americans were offered restitution. Dickerson, *Concentration*, p. 229; Maki et al., *Achieving*, p. 222. Interestingly, the Italian community brought about the Wartime Violation of Italian Americans Civil Liberties Act in 2001 but no reparation was made (*Ibid.*, p. 231).

American claims for reparations, redress has only been achieved in certain specific cases, such as in the case of the Tuskegee “medical” experiments from 1930 to 1970 where African American men were told they were receiving treatment for syphilis, but in fact were denied medical attention in order to see how untreated syphilis would progress; the events in Rosewood, Florida in 1923 that led to blacks being burned out of their homes and murdered; and the 1921 race riot that took place in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In the 1990s, after the success of the movement for redress in the Japanese community, campaigners for the Tuskegee men, and surviving descendants of the Rosewood and Tulsa riots were successful in achieving financial compensation, either in the form of money directly to family members, memorials, or scholarships for the community.¹²⁷ The decision to ‘atone’ for various individual acts of historical transgression has continued since, and led to increasing pressure in the campaign for slavery reparations, particularly in America. Since these watershed decisions in the 1990s, further acts of apology have been made to the former internees, such as in 2000 when President Bill Clinton awarded the highest military honour, the Medal of Honor, to twenty Japanese American veterans for acts of heroism during the Second World War. During the ceremony Clinton noted

Rarely has a nation been so well-served by a people it has so ill-treated. For their numbers and length of service, the Japanese Americans of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, including the 100th Infantry Battalion, became the most decorated unit in American military history. By the end of the war, America's military leaders in Europe all wanted these men under their command.¹²⁸ It had been a long fight, but finally recognition was won for the survivors of the war, and other ethnic minorities in America have used this as a foundation stone within their campaigns for addressing historical wrongdoing. The significance of the Japanese American redress movement, therefore, cannot be overstated in the effect on American society as a whole.

¹²⁷ Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, ‘Getting to Reparations: Japanese Americans and African Americans’, *Social Forces*, 83.2 (2004), p. 833.

¹²⁸ See the ‘Go for Broke’ National Education Center’s website for how the apology was positively received: http://www.goforbroke.org/about_us/about_us_educational_history.php

Conclusion

In America, the Nikkei had dealt with prejudice for decades, and internment was merely another manifestation of this evil. In Britain many of those interned had experienced concentration camps in Europe and were therefore relieved to be treated better in British internment camps, yet also consumed with anguish over the fates of their family members and the possibility of German invasion. Release was therefore sought as early as possible in both countries. In Britain, release became a possibility very early on, thus minimising the duration of internment for the majority of internees. Those who had to wait the longest were often the internees who had been transported to the Dominions and awaited return transport to the British Isles in order to formalise their freedom. Eventually both Canada and Australia relented on their refusal to admit the castaways from Britain and many internees therefore resettled successfully in these countries. In America it took a lot longer for leave clearance offices to be established, thus prolonging the internment experience. While there were limitations to where internees could relocate in both America and Britain, this had less of an impact on the British internees as few of them had well established roots in a particular area. It was harder for the primarily West Coast population of the American camps to consider new lives East of the Rockies – particularly amongst the elderly – forced to wait out the war in the hope then they could return home.

All internees, regardless of camp location, lost something in the experience. For many this was in a material form of land, houses, or possessions. Those who had arrived in Britain shortly before the outbreak of war had mostly lost their possessions in their country of birth, however, what few possessions they had managed to hold on to often were of significant sentimental value. This makes the actions of the soldiers on board the transport ships to Canada and Australia all the more reprehensible. Loss, however, was also less tangible in the loss of childhood innocence and faith in one's nation of birth – be that America as a direct consequence of internment, or Germany, Austria, or Italy as a result of the war in general. The

greatest loss sustained, however, was of life on the *Arandora Star*. Furthermore, their loved ones suffered and were forced to continue without them.

Only after a long and hard-fought battle did the Nikkei finally receive an apology for the injustices they had endured. The apology came too late for many, but was a welcome gesture to the survivors, many of whom donated their redress payments into education to prevent the same persecution happening in modern times. There has never been a similar movement in Britain, although undoubtedly the family members of those lost on the *Arandora Star* would have a case.

Chapter 4 - Memory

During the first few days after my discharge I was still under the impression of camp-psychosis and imagined that everyone was looking at me and thinking I was another of those “bloody internees”, but this came right after a few days and I got used to the “normal life of an immigrant” again.

Rachel Mendel recalling her release from internment¹

I'm not angry that it happened. I know some people are angry. Because [in] my life, I'm very pleased with the way everything turned out for me. I know some people are very bitter about the camp experience. To me it was a good experience. But it made me too conscious of being different and Japanese, I think, than had I not gone through that.

Hisako (Inamure) Koike recalling internment²

Memory in Britain

Internment in Great Britain for the majority was over within a year to eighteen months. However, the legacy of the internment experience lived on even after the former internees had reconstructed their lives, and indeed continues to this day. For many, gratitude at being offered refuge in Britain meant that memories of internment focused on the frustration at being delayed in assisting in the fight against Nazism. As Margot Hodge expressed her feelings:

I had been in Port Erin 13 months. I have never been bitter about having been unjustly interned - only sorry that so much time had been wasted, when I could have been so much more useful pursuing my proper nurse training.³

Margot was not unusual in her magnanimity towards internment. Gerd Brent, who changed his name after the war to Bern and moved to Canberra, said that in retrospect

I think I'm very lucky to have been interned and sent to Australia ... my enforced stay behind barbed wire for 16 months, together with hundreds of people of all ages and backgrounds I would not otherwise have had the chance to meet, enabled me to upgrade my general education, taught me much about Homo sapiens that helped me in later life, and took me to this splendid country in the antipodes to which, at that time, living in wartime Britain as I did, I would not have gone voluntarily.⁴

Eric Koch reflected some forty years after internment that

we quietly accepted the injustice that was being done to us. As refugees, we were grateful to England for having given us a haven at a time when other countries were making every effort to keep us out. Besides, we felt it was infinitely better to sit behind British barbed wire than to be exposed to

¹ Mendel, “Barbed.”

² Koike, *REgenerations: San Diego*, p. 190.

³ Hodge, “Memories.”

⁴ Helman, “Dunera”, p. 7.

mortal danger in Nazi Europe. After all, refugees usually don't tell their hosts how to behave in times of extreme peril.⁵

This attitude was particularly common in the young, who mostly viewed their time in internment as a prolonged holiday with or without other family members. Renate Steinert, interned at the age of six, remembered her time on the Isle of Man as a 'bittersweet experience', both pleasant but also an anxious time.⁶ She wrote many decades later:

I do understand why we were interned. It was totally ridiculous, it was grossly misjudged, and it was entirely understandable... When you ask, "Is it still a thorn in your side?" well it doesn't even rate, doesn't even score on the register. There was no question that we wouldn't be returned in good condition as far as the British were concerned. It does sometimes surprise people that one can be so charitable about it. But you have to see it in the context of what else was happening at that time.⁷

However, some young people who were interned without other family members found the experience isolating. Ille Pinkus, interned at the age of 16, alone because her parents had secured Costa Rican citizenship, never got over her sense of abandonment and this affected her relations with her family for the rest of her life.⁸

The policy of internment did very little to make Britain a safer country - in the vast majority of cases those who posed a real threat to national security were British citizens, German Prisoners of War, or members of the German merchant navy. The only way that internment was successful was that it quelled the fears of those who worried Britain had already been overrun by a Fifth Column of saboteurs. Internment was a negative experience for the refugees themselves who had fled to safety only to be placed behind barbed wire, not always for the first time. While the refugees retained their belief in the overall sense of British fair play and expected to be released, what troubled them was the anxiety of not knowing which way the war would turn. Had Britain been invaded the internees would have been unable to escape, trapped as they were on the Isle of Man. This mixture of good and bad aspects of the British treatment of the refugees has led to a certain ambivalence in the memory of the camps that has altered over the passage of time. As Helmuth Weissenborn summed up his experience,

⁵ Koch, *Suspect*, p. xiv.

⁶ Olins, "Island Prison", p. 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3.

⁸ Rachel Pistol, "Interview with Gaby Koppel." 2012.

‘I can't remember a more depressing time but I don't blame anyone for that.’⁹ While internees mostly did not enjoy the experience there was, and continues to be, a sentiment that Britain did what was necessary in a time of war.

That is not to say that the shock and trauma of the experience did not last for some time after the events of the Second World War. The separation from one’s family was the hardest burden to bear and even after families were reunited some memories still lingered. Camillo D’Allesandro wrote

The initial shock of being suddenly and without warning removed from family and daily life. It lasted some time... We were not ill-treated, however. This is one of the chapters in my life, with sorrow and a new experience helping me to feel more that of others.¹⁰

D’Allesandro’s words temper the shock of internment with a positive attitude towards things that were learnt in camp. In his case it was empathy, in other cases it was of an intellectual nature. Herbert Loebel remembered of his time in the camps that ‘I found the time I spent in internment not without interest.’¹¹ However, his father, Robert Loebel ‘was very bitter about being interned at all.’¹² This difference in memory between family members cannot be attributed just to factors such as age. Elisabeth Bickel’s mother, for example, whilst anxious during her time in camp remembered it generously, focusing on the positives such as being warm enough, having enough food, and being away from the bombing on the mainland. In contrast, Elisabeth described internment as something that ‘will always be a black spot in history.’¹³

The most common reaction to internment, however, was to attempt to suppress the memories and simply not mention it. David Brand recalled how his stepfather, Dr Angelo Lauria, seldom spoke of his experiences.¹⁴ Certainly the author’s own grandfather never recalled his

⁹ Hellmuth Weissenborn Interview. Another internee was glad to ‘see the back of this place’ (Josef Levy, “English exercise book of Josef Levy.” 1940s, MS 09401) Another internee ‘never spoke about the month spent in Holloway Prison, but her Isle of Man stories generally were quite positive’ (Winckler, “Sisters.”).

¹⁰ D’Allesandro, “Camp life.”

¹¹ “Loebel”

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ “Elisabeth Bickel Correspondence.”

¹⁴ Pistol, “Brand Interview.”

experiences of internment to his children, the only references being made to the fact that his girlfriend, who later became his wife, used to send him textbooks so that he could continue his studies in engineering while interned. Some former internees have chosen to revisit this period of their lives and have returned to the Isle of Man and the streets once encircled in barbed wire. Return visits often provoke mixed emotions – children who were interned remember the holiday-like feel of the camp though this is coupled with the added memories of stories from older family members who understood the gravity of the situation.¹⁵ However, the majority of those who were interned during the Second World War have never returned to the Isle of Man. There are no regular reunions and there are no indications as you walk the streets of the former internment camps. For the few internees who have revisited the Isle of Man trips have been undertaken with younger family members. Fritz Lustig, for example, returned to the Isle of Man during the summer of 2014, seventy-four years after his time in Peveril Camp, with his son Robin. Fritz found the return visit gave him an ‘odd feeling’ as he was able to see the town in a way he had never been able as an internee

Peel is quite an attractive small town – of course we never saw it as internees, as we were allowed to leave the barbed-wire-enclosure of the Camp only on the few occasions when we were permitted to bathe in the sea, and were taken to the neighbouring beach.¹⁶

¹⁵ For example see Jochanan, “Inside Out.”

¹⁶ Fritz Lustig, “Memories, Memories...”, *AJR*, Nov 2014.



Figure 14 - Mooragh camp, Ramsey then and now¹⁷

For those interned on the Isle of Man there was no ill-treatment, even if the food and living conditions left something to be desired. The most unpleasant memories stemmed from the initial arrests, time spent in poorly equipped and unsanitary transit camps, and overcrowded and thoroughly unpleasant journeys to the Dominions. Those who remember internment with the most anger and frustration are those affected from the tragedy of the *Arandora Star*. Gaetano Rossi, a young priest involved in informing the next of kin about the sinking of the *Arandora Star* wrote

The whole affair of the internment was a tragedy which does not say much for those who were really responsible and who were able to deal with the matter. Perhaps I am wrong but I do get the impression that this question of internment was a way of taking the attention of the people away from other problems and it was also a kind of scapegoat to explain certain events...So the Italian emigrants paid the price of the internment and of the *Arandora Star* for a war which they did not want and towards which they had not contributed in any way.¹⁸

¹⁷ Manx National Heritage PG/5396/8; Author's own 2010.

¹⁸ Rossi, "Memories".



Figure 15 - Hutchinson camp, Douglas then and now¹⁹

¹⁹ *Living with the Wire*, ed. Cresswell, p. 68; Author's own, 2010.

By far the most traumatic aspect of internment was the loss of so many innocent lives through the British government's unwillingness to mark the transport ships for the protection of the internees or, failing that, to allow them to travel in convoy.²⁰



Figure 16 - The *Arandora Star* pre-war was a popular cruise liner²¹

The bodies of the victims from the *Arandora Star* washed ashore across Northern Ireland and Scotland, including the Isle of Colonsay, one of the Inner Hebrides. Although Colonsay was not the only location where bodies washed ashore, the islanders' unwavering 'devotion...in preserving the memory of these war dead...[makes] Colonsay...the symbolic burial place...for all the unnamed victims.'²² Memorials commemorating the disaster have been created in England, Scotland, and Wales to remember the Italian losses. An early commemorative plaque was installed in St. Peter's Church, Clerkenwell in 1960. More recently Liverpool installed a commemorative plaque on the Mersey dockside in 2008, which was swiftly followed by one in Middlesbrough in 2009, and a memorial in Cardiff in 2010 to mark the 70th anniversary of the disaster. The Cardiff unveiling was also celebrated with an exhibition that travelled Wales, drawing attention to this aspect of internment history.²³ In 2012 a new plaque was unveiled in

²⁰ It was not uncommon for survivors of the tragedy to view British politicians with contempt thereafter (Frank Whitford, "Sir Eduardo Paolozzi Obituary", *The Guardian*, April 22nd, 2005).

²¹ Blue Star Line postcard of *Arandora Star* by Ellis Silas in her cruising livery c. 1939 - Fraser Darrah Collection, <http://www.bluestarline.org/arandora.html>

²² Balestracci, *Arandora Star*, p. 328. See also the information on the Colonsay website focusing on the tragedy <http://www.colonsay.org.uk/About/Arandora-Star>

²³ "Wales Breaks its Silence...from Memories to Memorials" exhibition toured Wales in 2010. http://www.arandorastarwales.us/Arandora_Star_Memorial_Fund_in_Wales/HOME.html

St. Peter's Church to commemorate the London victims.²⁴ By far the largest memorial, however, is the St. Andrew's Cathedral Italian Cloister Garden, which provides 'a special place to remember those of our loved ones who have died. It also provides a focus for a forgotten tragedy which has never been appropriately marked...'²⁵ The St. Peter's Church and the Cardiff memorials are full of religious imagery, and it is fitting that in a largely Catholic Italian society, the largest memorial can be found next to a Cathedral – God has been the only source of solace the families of those who lost loved ones on the *Arandora Star* have found. The Anglo-, Scots-, and Welsh-Italian communities have never forgotten the devastation caused by the unnecessary loss of their loved ones on the *Arandora Star* and without their dedication the memory of those who perished would be all but forgotten. All the memorials of the tragedy have been installed by the fundraising efforts of the British-Italian community and the lack of a formal government apology despite the passage of time has intensified feelings of frustration and anger.²⁶ In recent years social media has been used in order to campaign for an official apology as well as encouraging younger generations to keep their family memories alive by posting items related to the tragedy online.²⁷ The *Arandora Star*, controversial at the time, remains a highly emotive unresolved event.

²⁴ "The Arandora Star Tragedy", http://www.mazzinigaribaldiclub.org/arandora_star.html

²⁵ Italian Cloister Garden, <http://www.italiancloister.org.uk/why1.htm> Not forgetting the memorial chapel in Bardi, Italy. See Mazzini Garibaldi Charitable Foundation, <http://www.mgfoundation.com/mazzini-garibaldi-projects-arandora.html>

²⁶ See *Ibid.*; "Wales Breaks its Silence...from Memories to Memorials"

²⁷ "The Arandora Star Campaign for an Apology Facebook Group", <https://www.facebook.com/groups/788468851172264/?ref=ts&fref=ts>; "Arandora Star Facebook Group", <https://www.facebook.com/groups/67868197405/?ref=ts&fref=ts>



Figure 17 - Clockwise from top left: The memorial plaques at Middlesborough, Clerkenwell, Liverpool, and Cardiff²⁸

The memory of internment has also been preserved in fictional depictions of internment, which began to appear from the 1980s, though only a few works have been written. Alexander

²⁸ Arandora Star Commemorative Plaque, Middlesborough, http://www.bluestarline.org/arandora_memorial/arandora_mem_plaque.htm; "The Arandora Star - Remembered At Last", <http://www.ancoatslittleitaly.com/Arandora-Star.html>; "Wales Breaks its Silence...from Memories to Memorials".

Ramati, himself a former internee, wrote a documentary novel in which he attempted to capture his experiences as well as those of his contemporaries. In the mouths of his characters he placed sentiments common to many after internment. The paradox of the variance of experiences was reflected in the husband exclaiming ‘Almost two years...Interned like enemies’, while his wife took the more measured view that ‘It wasn't all bad...From the time we were reunited. Two wasted years. I, too, want to contribute to the allied victory...I can do my share.’²⁹ Once again the family separation was seen as the hardest part of internment. Ramati concluded his novel with the statement that his fictional, but highly plausible, family

bear no ill feelings. Recalling those times, they and the others who were in a similar situation express the opinion that ‘all is fair in love and war.’ For they are profoundly grateful to the British for saving their lives and for helping them to overcome their fears and suspicions with love.³⁰

Other fictional representations include Francine Stock’s *A Foreign Country*, published in 1999 and David Baddiel’s *The Secret Purposes*, published in 2004.³¹ Both Stock and Baddiel tell the story of internment mainly from the perspective of British citizens – the female protagonist of *A Foreign Country* is a former War Office employee who was responsible for interviewing arrested Italians during the Second World War, while the female protagonist of *The Secret Purposes* is a translator from the Ministry of Defence. As such they offer an outsider’s view of the internment experience and are heavily influenced by historical research that has taken place in the years since the war. Natasha Solomons’ 2010 book, *Mr Rosenblum's List: Or Friendly Guidance for the Aspiring Englishman* takes inspiration from the guidance offered to refugees on their arrival in Great Britain and touches on internment in her description of the trials and tribulations of a German refugee in his lifelong attempts to Anglicise and gain British acceptance.³² The inspiration for Baddiel and Solomons’ work lies in family history – Solomons’ grandfather was interned, as was Baddiel’s father.³³ Baddiel’s family connection to internment has also been documented through an episode of BBC1 television series ‘Who Do

²⁹ Alexander Ramati, *Barbed Wire on the Isle of Man: The Wartime British Internment of Jews* (London, 1980), p. 218.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-1.

³¹ Baddiel, *Secret Purposes*; Stock, *Foreign Country*.

³² Solomons, *Rosenblum's List*.

³³ Natasha Solomons, “Inspirations – Mr Rosenblum’s List”, <http://natashasolomons.com/inspirations-rosenblum/>

You Think You Are?', first aired in 2004.³⁴ Stock, however, chose to address the internment experience as a result of a chance reference to the sinking of the *Arandora Star* in a book she was reading, causing her to abandon her original piece of work.³⁵ Despite focusing on different aspects of the internment experience, a common theme that links these novels is the emphasis on psychological scarring from the experience that ultimately changed the course of the lives of the main characters. The message of these novels is that all those involved in internment, regardless of which side of the barbed wire they were on, suffered emotionally in some way.

Television has also been used as an accessible way of telling the story of the Second World War. The subject of internment has been mentioned in many popular television shows including the David Baddiel episode of 'Who Do You Think You Are?', the Tamzin Outhwaite episode of the same programme, as well as 'Great British Railway Journeys', all of which were produced by the BBC.³⁶ The topic of internment has also been discussed on radio, most notably by David Cesarani in a two part series called 'Behind the Wire' first aired on BBC Radio 4 in 2001.³⁷ Only one fictional representation has been made that focuses solely on internment – *The Dunera Boys*, a drama written and directed by Ben Lewin, starring Bob Hoskins, and produced in Australia in 1985. The mini-series followed the adventures of a group of Jewish refugees sent to Australia on the *Dunera*. The series attracted complaints from viewers about the depiction of the behaviour of British soldiers on board the ship. In actual fact *The Dunera Boys* toned down the mistreatment of the internees by British soldiers as it was feared if the portrayal were honest the show would be extremely badly received in Britain.³⁸ *The Dunera Boys* also took artistic liberty with the fact that the internment experience is shown solely as a Jewish experience, despite the fact that Italian fascists and National Socialists were also sent to Australia.³⁹ Overall, *The Dunera Boys* was heralded a success for Australian

³⁴ "David Baddiel" <http://www.bbc.co.uk/whodoyouthinkyouare/past-stories/david-baddiel.shtml>

³⁵ "Francine Stock: Break in transmission." *The Guardian*, March 8, 1999

<http://www.theguardian.com/books/1999/mar/08/costabookaward.features11>

³⁶ "Who Do You Think You Are? – Tamzin Outhwaite, 2014, BBC, first aired August 21st ; "Heysham to Snaefell".

³⁷ David Cesarani, "Behind the Wire.", 2001, BBC Radio 4, first broadcast April 21st. See also Claus Moser, "Desert Island Discs." 1988, BBC Radio 4, first broadcast November 6th.

³⁸ Lang, "Dunera Boys" in *"Totally Un-English"*, p. 183.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

television and made accessible the subject of internee transports to the wider public imagination. The fictional portrayal of events in the Australian camp and on board the *Dunera* is a double-edged sword, in part to be praised for discussing an oft forgotten piece of wartime narrative, while also having to sacrifice full historical accuracy in order to maintain audience attention. However, as the only real attempt to engage viewers in a saga where empathy is generated for the main characters it is to be lauded, although more recently the subject of internment was also touched on in an episode of the popular wartime drama *Foyle's War*.⁴⁰

As has been noted in previous chapters there was a multitude of talented artists interned on the Isle of Man and their creativity was hindered, but not suppressed, during their time in camp. Art can therefore be used as a powerful instrument in communicating the subject of internment to the public and keeping its memory alive. Celebrations of interned artists' work have taken place across the country. Kurt Schwitters, perhaps the most famous of the interned artists, has been the subject of several exhibitions in recent years.⁴¹ These include 'Kurt Schwitters, Responses to Place' at the The Sayle Gallery in Douglas, Isle of Man, which followed on from the 'Schwitters in Britain' exhibition shown at Tate Britain, both in 2013.⁴² The exclusive focus on Schwitters followed the highly successful 'Forced Journeys: Artists in Exile 1933-45' exhibition, also held at the Sayle Gallery in 2010.⁴³ The significance of these exhibitions lies in the fact that great emphasis was placed on the fact that Schwitters and his contemporaries had fled Nazi Europe and endured internment. An entire room at the Tate exhibition was devoted to Hutchinson camp, bringing thousands of individuals into contact

⁴⁰ "The German Woman".

⁴¹ Not to neglect the work of renowned sculptor Sir Eduardo Paolozzi, the only male survivor of his family's internment (Whitford, "Paolozzi").

⁴² "Kurt Schwitters exhibition curated by Professor Fran Lloyd", <http://fada.kingston.ac.uk/news/kurt-schwitters-exhibition-curated-by-professor-fran-lloyd/>; "Kurt Schwitters internment camp art exhibition opens", *BBC News*, September 27, 2013 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-isle-of-man-23974500>; Tate Britain, "Schwitters in Britain", <http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/schwitters-britain>. The AJR and Jewish Museum held an exhibition entitled 'Continental Britons' in 2002 which included a section on internment. AJR, "Continental Britons", <http://www.ajr.org.uk/continental-britons/>. A resurgence of interest in Schwitters has also led to republishing his 'fairy tales'. See Kurt Schwitters, *Lucky Hans and Other Merz Fairy Tales (Oddly Modern Fairy Tales)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁴³ The exhibition also toured to Birkenhead that same year. "Forced Journeys: Artists in Exile in Britain c. 1933-45", <http://www.ashgate.com/isbn/9780900157134>; Ben Uri Museum, "Forced Journeys on Tour", <http://www.benuri.org.uk/public/?event-details=8>

with the subject, and mention was made in reviews of the exhibition in local and national periodicals.⁴⁴



Figure 18 - Excerpts from the 'Schwitters in Britain' programme released by Tate Britain

Without the work of the many artists interned on the Isle of Man we would have very little record of what the camps actually looked like. Some photographs exist from the time but there was never a comprehensive attempt made to record camp life. Consumed by boredom many internees used the materials available to sketch their confinement and these allow the camps to live on in a more publicly accessible way. The ability to visualise the camp and its surroundings is a powerful medium for communication and commemoration. This has further been highlighted by the release from the Isle of Man Post of a special set of stamps celebrating the work of six interned artists named the 'Isle of Man Internment Art History' in 2010. An everyday item was thus turned into an instrument for opening new dialogues on internment. Note how the image on the 55p stamp does not shy away from illustrating barbed wire and therefore hints at the reality of camp life, even if the other stamps in the collection do not

⁴⁴ Such as Andrew Graham-Dixon, 'Schwitters in Britain, at Tate Britain, Review', *The Telegraph*, 6 February 2013; Brian Sewell, 'Brian Sewell on: Schwitters In Britain, Tate Britain - Review', *Evening Standard*, 31 January 2013.

hold obvious links to internment. Indeed, the colour and vigour of the artwork on the stamps makes them eye-catching, without giving too much of an idea of the privations of camp life or the loss of liberty.



Figure 19 - Commemorative stamps issued 24th September, 2010

Douglas, the Manx capital, is in many ways the centre of commemorative events for internment. The Manx National Archives holds one of the most comprehensive lists of documents regarding internment.⁴⁵ Former internees are encouraged to write down their memories or donate personal correspondence so that younger generations can capture a glimpse of what life during the Second World War was like for the internees. In 1994 an exhibition called 'Living with the Wire – Civilian Internment in the Isle of Man during the Two World Wars' was held at the Manx Museum and the publication linked to the exhibition

⁴⁵ For documents relating to the Home Office, War Office, and MI5 the National Archives in Kew, London hold the documents, though a significant number of copies can be found in the Manx National Archives. The Imperial War Museum holds an unrivalled collection of oral history of former internees captured from 1979 onwards.

continues to be one of the most popular books sold by Manx National Heritage.⁴⁶ The success of the exhibition can be linked to the decision taken in 2000 create as comprehensive a list as possible of individuals interned on the Isle of Man between 1940 and 1945.⁴⁷ The interest in the subject has continued to grow in the years since the exhibition. As Yvonne Cresswell, Curator of Social History at Manx National Heritage, has noted as the collection has grown, ‘the rich and varied story of those who lived behind the wire is constantly growing and the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle, which seemed so fragmented in 1994, are slowly coming together’.⁴⁸

Another commemorative centre for the subject of Second World War internment is Liverpool. In 2004 an exhibition entitled ‘Art Behind Barbed Wire’ focused exclusively on the art produced by a handful of artists who had been interned in Huyton. The works by Hugo Dachinger and Walter Nessler had been purchased by the Walker Art Gallery five years before and the exhibition was the first time these works had been ever seen in public.⁴⁹ Emphasis was placed on contextualising the pieces of art in the greater narrative of internment and the role that the unfinished housing estate now known as Woolfall Heath Estate played as a transit camp. The exhibition received national recognition, and one reviewer in *The Guardian*, noted the paradox of these images from internment:

Two bitter resonances emanate from and beyond the work. The first is that which makes the pictures additionally unsettling to contemplate: the iconography is exactly that of the Holocaust, which the internees, unknown to them, had escaped by being in Britain. There is disturbing paradox in the fact that these men had escaped the fate of millions they left behind, but were prisoners.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Living with the Wire* ed. Cresswell. In the Summer of 2015 Rushen Heritage has opened an exhibition about the all-female camp. See Rushen Heritage, “Friend or Foe?”, <http://www.rushenheritage.org/calendar-item/friend-or-foe/>

⁴⁷ ‘Second World War Internee Records for the Isle of Man’, *AJR*, Feb. (2008) <http://www.ajr.org.uk/index.cfm/section.journal/issue.Feb08/article=1012>

⁴⁸ Manx National Heritage, ‘Living with the Wire: Civilian Internment on the Isle of Man’, *Isle of Man News*, 10 November 2010 www.manx.net/isle-of-man-news/706/living-with-the-wire-civilian-internment-on-the-isle-of-man

⁴⁹ Walker Art Gallery, “Art Behind Barbed Wire”, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/walker/exhibitions/barbedwire/index.aspx>; Feather, *Art*. See also Corinne Field, “The Walker Reveals A Wartime Life Behind Barbed Wire”, *Culture 24*, March 24, 2004 <http://www.culture24.org.uk/places-to-go/north-west/liverpool/art20510>

⁵⁰ Ed Vulliamy, “The Dispossessed Speak to Us Still”, *The Guardian*, 29 February 2004 <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2004/feb/29/art1>

In Australia the internees have retained a place in Australian history. In 1999 the *Dunera* Museum was created, located in Hay Railway Station, New South Wales, and acts as a permanent reminder of the presence of the internees sent from Britain during the Second World War. The museum collection includes photographs, stories, and music from the camps, and symbolically, the camp searchlight shines for one hour each night.⁵¹ The Dunera Boys, as the internees sent to Australia are collectively known, have not only inspired the television mini-series mentioned earlier, but also several exhibitions. ‘On Board - Behind Wire: The Story Of The Dunera Boys’, for example, was shown at Sydney Jewish Museum from 2007 to 2008, and ‘The Dunera Boys 70 Years On’ was at The National Library of Australia in Canberra in 2010.⁵² Unlike in Britain, the Dunera Boys, as they still refer to themselves, hold reunions every year and in September 2015 celebrated the 75th anniversary of the *Dunera’s* arrival. There is even a Facebook group where the family members of Dunera Boys post memories and news.⁵³ The memory of internment in Australia is therefore still highly active. This is perhaps a reflection of the deeper bonds formed between the internees who were sent abroad. Not only did they survive long and gruelling journeys, those who had initially survived the *Arandora Star* disaster were further bound together by their shared experiences. This, coupled with the fact that those interned in Australia and Canada often had their release delayed as a result of

⁵¹ Dunera Museum, “Hay Prisoner of War and Internment Camp Interpretive Centre”, <http://www.hay.nsw.gov.au/Museums/DuneraMuseum/tabid/99/Default.aspx>; Visit New South Wales, “Dunera Museum - Prisoner of War and Internment Camp Interpretive Centre – Hay”, <http://www.visitnsw.com/destinations/country-nsw/griffith-area/hay/attractions/dunera-museum-at-hay-railway-station>

⁵² Lucy Nash, “Exhibition remembers Dunera Boys 70 years on”, *ABC News*, February 14, 2010 <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2010-02-12/exhibition-remembers-dunera-boys-70yrs-on/330272>; National Library of Australia, “The Dunera Boys 70 years on”, <https://www.nla.gov.au/exhibitions/dunera-boys>; Migration Heritage Centre, “1941 Dunera Boys Hay Internment Camp Collection”, <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/dunera/>

⁵³ “Friends of the Dunera Boys”, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/281170982833/?fref=ts>

their distance from Great Britain, meant that reunions were only organised by those sent abroad.⁵⁴

The memory of internment in Britain has in many ways lain dormant in the public sphere, although not in the private sphere, for many decades. It is in the last twenty-five years that the subject has begun to re-enter public consciousness and only in the last five years that exhibitions have become widespread, opening the history of the camps to a much wider audience across multiple continents. The resurgence of interest can be linked to a general upsurge of interest in stories related to refugee experiences from the Second World War that gained momentum in the 1980s. The *Kindertransport*, for example, became the focus of media attention through the television show 'That's Life' on BBC1 in 1988 and has not left public memory since. The 1973 series 'The World at War' sparked this resurgence in some ways because during the research for the programme, numerous interviews were conducted with individuals who survived the war. As more anniversaries have been and gone, the more obvious it has become that in order to capture the memories of survivors, significant work has had to be done, for example the recording of interviews undertaken by the Imperial War Museum. The depth of research carried out from the 1970s has led to a reassessment of many aspects of the Second World War, and the public perception of the conflict. Many former soldiers had experienced internment and therefore the subject began to re-emerge into public consciousness as their stories were told. Since then, through television, fiction, and art, the public imagination has been sparked into life. However, the coverage given, whilst a vast improvement on previous years, is still somewhat limited and there is more that can be done to bring this area to the masses. The surviving family members of those lost on the *Arandora Star* are attempting to draw on the resurgence of interest in internment to bolster their appeal to the British government to apologise for the terrible tragedy. Certainly the memory of the *Arandora Star* has never left the memory of the British-Italian community.

⁵⁴ Some of those interned in Canada still kept in touch in the years after internment. For example, see Pieri, *Displaced*, p. 145.

Memory in America

Internment in the United States of America lasted for between eighteen months and three years for the majority of the internees, although there were significant variations on the duration depending on whether a family was segregated in Tule Lake or were otherwise unable to leave until the camps were closed. The upheaval of entire family groups caused multiple problems that lasted long after the last camp was closed. By turning Tule Lake into a Segregation Center for 'disloyal' internees the most damaging psychological aspect of internment was set in motion. Families who had argued over their answers to the Loyalty Questionnaire were split up depending on the answers given by the head of the household. When these answers differed with adult children, separation sometimes took place. In one particularly striking example, Mabel Imai Tomita, an infant of internment, was raised by her paternal grandparents. Imai Tomita's mother's family answered 'No-No' to the Loyalty Questionnaire and were ultimately repatriated to Japan, while Imai Tomita's father's family answered 'Yes-Yes' and several family members joined the Army. Both of her parents remarried and created new lives and families while she grew up not knowing the full story until the age of thirty-six.⁵⁵ The stress caused by answering the Loyalty Questionnaire led to many family separations, rifts, and estrangement. So many aspects of internment seem designed to wrest family bonds apart – from eating meals in mess halls to asking families to decide in which country they placed their allegiance. While some of the anger and frustration of the former internees was tempered by cultural traditions that had been ingrained into the Nisei from an early age such as *on*, the lifelong obligation of every citizen to one's government and to one's parents, and *giri*, the obligation to the dignity of one's name, this did not mean that the psychological scars of the time did not remain.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Martha Nakagawa, "Mabel Imai Tomita: How One Family was Ripped Apart at Tule Lake", *Rafu Shimpo*, August 31st, 2014 <http://www.rafu.com/2014/08/mabel-imai-tomita-how-one-family-was-ripped-apart-at-tule-lake/>

⁵⁶ Adams et al., *Manzanar*, p. 115; Mary Jo Patterson, "Released", *Drew Magazine*, Sept 2012 <http://www.drewmagazine.com/2012/09/released/>

During the time that the camps were open, WRA ethnographers and approved journalists created images of camp life in words and pictures that reinforced the view that internment was not a departure from the American ideal. Ethnographers who evaluated the behaviour of the internees, for instance, concluded that ‘far from being an ugly irrational racist enterprise, relocation was fair and democratic’.⁵⁷ This view has since been challenged, as we will soon see, but in the years immediately following the war this portrayal was deeply rooted in American memory. Photographs that were taken inside the camp were also used selectively in order to reinforce this narrative as authorised camp photographers were limited as to what they were allowed to document.

Photographers such as Ansel Adams, however, did their best to challenge this view. Adams, perhaps best known for his stunning photographs of Yosemite National Park, was a friend of Ralph Meritt who invited Adams to Manzanar in 1943 to create a photographic record of internment. In his introduction to the publication of his photographs in *Born Free and Equal* Adams wrote

I believe that the arid splendour of the desert, ringed with towering mountains, has strengthened the spirit of the people of Manzanar. I do not say all are conscious of this influence, but I am sure most have responded, in one way or another, to the resonances of their environment...Out of the jostling, dusty confusion of the first bleak days in raw barracks they have modulated to a democratic internal society and a praiseworthy personal adjustment to conditions beyond their control.⁵⁸

Adams felt the injustice of the situation and respected the internees’ attempts to improve their environment. Despite orders that prohibited photographing the guard towers or barbed wire, Adams was still able to incorporate them into his photographs and the words that accompanied his photographs in *Born Free and Equal* led to copies being burned in protest in 1944.⁵⁹ Adams used his images to subvert the popular view of the Japanese at the time, particularly with his photographs of interned schoolgirls, dressed as any young American girl might be, which ‘thwarts the possibility for a visual memory of Pearl Harbor that the specter of Japanese American schoolboys potentially embodies’.⁶⁰ After the unsuccessful publication

⁵⁷ Starn, “Engineering”, p. 708.

⁵⁸ Adams et al., *Manzanar*, p. xvii.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xviii

⁶⁰ Creef, *Imaging*, p. 22.

of his photographs during the war, Adams gave his negatives to the Library of Congress with the hope that one day his photographs would be published in a more objective time.⁶¹ It was not until 1988 that the works were once again released, by which time a formal apology had finally been made to the survivors of internment.

Adams was not alone in documenting the camps, or in failing to see his work gain public approval. Dorothea Lange, famous for the documentary photographs she took during the Great Depression, travelled around various sites associated with internment. Lange's work was commissioned by the federal government, and also suppressed by them for the duration of the Second World War. The first time any significant portion of the photographs was published was in 1972, and no 'coherent selection' from them was published or exhibited until 2006.⁶² Lange was an avid supporter of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and when hired by the WRA to photograph the internment program it was anticipated that her work would support the work of the WRA. However, the honesty of Lange's photograph failed to show internment in a light favourable to the WRA, hence the suppression of her work. Lange persevered, even when hounded by Military Police and restricted in her movements around the camp, as she believed that 'a true record of the evacuation would be valuable in the future'.⁶³ Lange's work has been invaluable to the preservation of accurate depictions of the camps and has been used in countless exhibitions and publications, presenting internment in an accessible yet thought-provoking way.

One final photographer maintained a record of the camps, but his background could not have been more different than that of Adams and Lange. Toyo Miyatake was a professional photographer interned in Manzanar. In defiance of the law that forbade those of Japanese ancestry to own a camera, Miyatake smuggled a lens and shutter into the camp. Using pieces of scrap lumber he was able to create a wooden box camera with which he documented life

⁶¹ Adams et al., *Manzanar*, p. xviii.

⁶² *Impounded* eds. Okihiro and Gordon, pp. 5-6.

⁶³ The government had hoped that a photographic record 'could protect against false allegations of mistreatment and violations of international law, but it carried the risk...of documenting actual mistreatment'. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

in the camps.⁶⁴ When Ralph Merritt discovered the illegal camera instead of confiscating it he allowed Miyatake to continue his work, and without his photographs we would have a much more limited pictorial record of life inside the camps. Miyatake's work offers an 'insider' view of internment, itself a counterpoint to the 'official' history of the camps eschewed by government agencies and other photographers. Miyatake's work is not the only 'insider' view of camp life, however. Remarkably, Dave Tatsuno, a home movie enthusiast, smuggled a shoebox sized cine camera into Topaz and clandestinely filmed various aspects of camp life between 1942 and 1945. Tatsuno's documentary film, *Topaz*, was released in 1945 and remains one of only two amateur films to be included in the National Film Registry.⁶⁵ His work gives an unprecedented view of camp life and is a powerful medium for visualising the daily realities of life in camp.

Art has also been used to perpetuate the memory of the camps. Miné Okubo, for example, created a series of sketches of camp life that have been widely published.⁶⁶ The internees were given greater flexibility in expressing themselves through art that was mostly uncensored and these images where they survive are powerfully emotive.⁶⁷ In 2010 an exhibition entitled 'The Art of Gaman: Arts and Crafts from the Japanese American Internment Camps, 1942-1946' ran for almost a year at the Smithsonian American Art Museum.⁶⁸ *Gaman* is a Japanese term for 'bearing seemingly unbearable with dignity and patience', which makes an apt title for the diversity of artwork on display, from paintings to sculpture.⁶⁹ The exhibition has since toured Japan but returned to America in 2014 where it is being hosted at the Bellevue Arts Museum in Washington State.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Adams et al., *Manzanar*, p. xx; *Impounded* eds. Okihiro and Gordon, p. 21.

⁶⁵ The other being Zanruder's film of President Kennedy's assassination. See Karen Ishizuka and Patricia Zimmerman eds., *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (Berkeley: University of California, 2007), p. 15.

⁶⁶ Okubo, *Citizen*.

⁶⁷ Creef, *Imaging*, p. 87.

⁶⁸ Smithsonian American Art Museum, "Exhibitions: The Art of Gaman: Arts and Crafts from the Japanese American Internment Camps, 1942-1946", <http://americanart.si.edu/exhibitions/archive/2010/gaman/>

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Bellevue Arts Museum, "The Art of Gaman: Arts and Crafts from the Japanese American Internment Camps, 1942-1946,

As in Britain, internment was not fictionalised until the 1980s. Gene Oishi, a former internee, wrote *In Search of Hiroshi* in order to preserve the memory of children's experiences in the camps. In Oishi's introduction he discusses his research of the time he spent in Poston and the continued effects of internment several decades later:

As I struggled to capture Hiroshi in fiction, and as I talked to other Japanese Americans, I began to see that the war and the internment had affected not only me but my entire generation more profoundly than I had realized. We were not simply scarred; we were crippled in ways that are becoming apparent only today.⁷¹

Oishi's words were reflected in one of Mitsuye Yamada's poems about internment written in traditional Japanese form:

I had packed up
my wounds in a cast
iron box
sealed it
labeled it
do not open...
ever
and traveled blind
for thirty years.⁷²

Since the 1990s there has been an upsurge in publications written by Japanese Americans and others to perpetuate the memory of this provocative period of history. *Snow Falling on Cedars* is perhaps the most famous of these novels, having also been turned into a film.⁷³ Set on the fictional island of San Piedro, off the coast of Washington State, the plot focuses on a murder trial where a Japanese fisherman is accused of murdering a Caucasian fisherman who fell overboard and drowned. The trial brings simmering tensions in the fishing community to a head with multiple recollections of events related to internment. *Snow Falling on Cedars* won multiple awards and comparisons with another great American classic, *To Kill a Mockingbird*.⁷⁴

http://www.bellevuearts.org/exhibitions/current/art_of_gaman/index.html; Maliika Rao, "These Crafts Made By Japanese-American Prisoners Will Renew Your Faith In Human Ingenuity", *The Huffington Post*, August 15, 2014.

⁷¹ Oishi, *Hiroshi*, p. 10.

⁷² Creef, *Imaging*, p. 99.

⁷³ Dave Tatsuno, creator of the only home movie from a relocation center, *Topaz*, was involved in the making of the movie. David Guterson, *Snow Falling on Cedars* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1994).

⁷⁴ Guterson won the PEN/Faulkner Award for Fiction. Both books are both 'a courtroom drama with racial conflict...as well as being a regional novel that portrays a particular time in U.S. history'. (Richard Wasowski, *Snow Falling on Cedars Notes* (New York: Wiley, 2000), p. 5).

Danielle Steel, the prolific writer of romantic fiction published *Silent Honour* in 1997, a story in which internment is the backdrop to emotionally charged interactions and relationships within the Japanese community.⁷⁵ While Steel's books tend to revolve around unrealistic characters, the book topped the bestseller chart in America after its publication. An argument can be made that the characters do not realistically reflect the former internees, although the novel did open up new discourses in the public memory. In 2002 the first publicly acclaimed novel based on family experiences of internment was published by Julie Otsuka. Otsuka's grandfather was arrested by the FBI as a suspected spy for Japan the day after Pearl Harbor was bombed, and her mother, uncle and grandmother spent three years in Topaz.⁷⁶ *When the Emperor was Divine* tells the story of a family's experiences prior to internment, through the camps, and the attempts to rebuild shattered lives after the war.⁷⁷ Significantly, Otsuka's book has 'been assigned to all incoming freshmen at more than 40 colleges and universities,' which will introduce a whole new generation to the subject.⁷⁸

The most recent novel revolving around internment was published in 2009 by Jamie Ford. *Hotel on the Corner of Bitter and Sweet* is based on a different racial relationship than the traditional Caucasian/Japanese conflict. Instead, Ford chooses to focus on the relationship between the Chinese and Japanese immigrant populations.⁷⁹ The Panama Hotel is the central location in the novel and the discovery of property belonging to former internees brings about reminiscences of a time before the community of Japantown was dispersed. All three books have been bestsellers, won awards, and been translated into several languages. Several children's books have also been written in order to engage younger readers. *The Lucky Baseball* is but one example of how the story of internment is being introduced to the next generation.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Danielle Steel, *Silent Honour* (London: Bantam Books, 1996).

⁷⁶ *When the Emperor was Divine* was a *New York Times* Notable Book, a *San Francisco Chronicle* Best Book of the Year, a Barnes & Noble Discover Great New Writers finalist, and has recently been added to the National Endowment for the Arts' 'The Big Read' Library (Julie Otsuka, "About Julie Otsuka", <http://www.julieotsuka.com/about/>)

⁷⁷ Julie Otsuka, *When the Emperor was Divine* (New York: Penguin, 2013).

⁷⁸ Otsuka, "About".

⁷⁹ Jamie Ford, *Hotel on the Corner of Bitter and Sweet* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2009). Ford was the winner of the 2010 Asian/Pacific American Award for Literature.

⁸⁰ Lieurance, *Baseball*. See also Ken Mochizuki, *Baseball Saved Us* (New York: Lee & Low Books, 1995)

The impact of the historically based novel has been to introduce an extremely wide and varied audience to the topic and the emotionally charged writing has helped readers to engage deeply with the subject matter. Internment has become a subject that both Caucasian authors and former internees feel comfortable addressing in fiction.

Films have also been used to convey the deeply complex issue of internment and interracial relations in America. There have been hundreds of documentaries about the camps.⁸¹ One that has gained particular coverage in recent years has been ‘The Manzanar Fishing Club’, released in 2012. The film began as a lecture about the story of several avid fishermen who were interned at Manzanar but would sneak out of camp in the dead of night in order to fish for trout in the Sierra Nevada’s high altitude lakes and rivers. The acts of defiance made by these men have now been remembered in a feature length documentary that has toured the United States.⁸² In addition there have also been a handful of Hollywood feature films, including the 1951 release ‘Go For Broke!’ that starred many of the veterans from the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and ‘Bad Day at Black Rock’ released in 1955. Both films were well received at the time and nominated for several Oscars. Reviews of ‘Bad Day at Black Rock’ drew comparisons with another popular movie of the time ‘High Noon’. While the storyline was recognised as focusing on the treatment of a Japanese family, more was made of the virtues of valour and justice.⁸³ ‘Go for Broke!’, met with some criticism at the time it was released due to the fact that war movies declined in popularity in the early 1950s, as well as criticism over the use of veterans with little or no acting experience. However, for some, this was precisely the film’s strength. *The New York Times* noted that

⁸¹ For example see ‘Unfinished Business’ (1986) which focuses on the legal challenges to internment; ‘The Untold Story: Internment of Japanese Americans in Hawaii’ (2012) which documents martial law in Hawaii; ‘Valor with Honor’ (2010) which documents the 442nd Regiment; and ‘Old Man River’ (1998) in which the actress Cynthia Gates Fujikawa traces the history of her father. These examples are merely the tip of the documentary iceberg.

⁸² ‘The Manzanar Fishing Club’, <http://www.fearnotrout.com/pages/the-film>; Part of the publicity for the film has been garnered through its Facebook page, making the subject accessible and relevant to the next generation. “The Manzanar Fishing Club Facebook Page”, <https://www.facebook.com/TheManzanarFishingClub>

⁸³ For example see Bosley Crowther, “Movie Review: Bad Day at Black Rock”, *The New York Times*, February 2nd, 1955.

it is this quality in the picture—this accomplishment of sincerity and credibility in the Nisei soldiers, many of whom are actually played by veterans and heroes of the 442d—that deserves the highest praise. For in making his Nisei genuine people, with the characteristics of average young men—not fancified little tin heroes—Mr. Pirosh has simply achieved precisely the affection, the understanding and the tolerance for them that they deserve.⁸⁴

More recently ‘Come See the Paradise’ was released in 1990 and ‘Snow Falling on Cedars’, based on the hugely popular book, was released in 1999. ‘Snow Falling on Cedars’ starred Ethan Hawke and Max von Sydow, was released by Universal pictures, and was nominated for an Oscar. ‘Come See the Paradise’, a much smaller production that reintroduced the subject of internment to the general public, starred Dennis Quaid, was released by 20th Century Fox, and was nominated for a Palme d’Or award at the Cannes Film Festival. The storyline of ‘Come See the Paradise’ focuses on Quaid’s character running away from a troubled past, falling in love and marrying a Japanese American woman, and then getting drafted into the United States Army while his wife and daughter are interned. Both ‘Come See the Paradise’ and ‘Snow Falling on Cedars’ have many similarities in plot, yet ‘Come See the Paradise’ was a box office flop whereas ‘Snow Falling on Cedars’ met with great success, which can in large part be attributed to the popularity of the novel upon which it was based. With the release of two major films and countless television documentaries, the images of internment have become readily accessible to the American public. This has further been highlighted in the inclusion in many modern television series of one or more episodes including a character who suffered internment. In a 1983 episode of ‘Magnum P.I.’ a civilian guard who killed an internee on Sand Island, Hawaii is eventually tracked down and murdered by one of the witnesses to his crime.⁸⁵ A ‘Cold Case’ mystery in 2007 told the story of a Japanese-American man who was killed in 1945 while trying to get his deceased son’s heroic war record recognised.⁸⁶ Most recently, in 2013, the remake of ‘Hawaii 5-0’ showed a series of camp reminiscences while the team tried to trace the man who murdered an internee in 1943.⁸⁷ These three programmes

⁸⁴ Bosley Crowther, “Movie Review: Go for Broke!”, *The New York Times*, May 25th, 1951.

⁸⁵ “Magnum P.I. - Forty Years from Sand Island.” CBS, first aired February 24th, 1983.

⁸⁶ “Cold Case - Family 8108.” CBS, first aired December 9th, 2007.

⁸⁷ “Hawaii Five-O”.

illustrate the fascination that America now has with this part of its history, which it initially rejected in the decades following the war. They have also enabled millions of individuals to learn more about certain aspects of their nation's history through entertainment. While liberties are almost certainly taken it is remarkable how modern interpretations of internment invariably are mostly historically accurate, making them powerful tools in keeping popular memory of internment alive. In late 2015 the story of internment will take to Broadway in George Takei's *Allegiance*, a musical that will focus on Japanese Americans during the Second World War. Takei, himself a former internee, has dedicated his life to raising awareness of internment and hope that the musical will be a successful way of engaging new audiences with the subject.⁸⁸ *Allegiance: The Musical* debuted in America in 2012 to mixed reviews. The *Los Angeles Times* opened its article by describing the musical as 'a mild story of broken family ties, not a judgment of U.S. mistakes related to the internment of Japanese Americans in the 1940s'.⁸⁹ One of the greatest criticisms of the musical has been directed at the fact that all the characters in the play are fictional, with the notable exception of Mike Masaoka, leader of the JACL. Gerald Yamada, in his open letter sent on behalf of the Japanese American Veterans Association, voiced the opinion of many that *Allegiance* 'implies that JACL and Masaoka colluded with the government in shaping various governmental policies'.⁹⁰ Significantly, there is little mention of the actions of President Roosevelt or Lieutenant General John DeWitt. Therefore, it is left for the audience to infer that the JACL had a role in shaping governmental policy, which is patently untrue. The writers of *Allegiance* address these criticisms by pointing out the play is only 'inspired' by actual events, and therefore 'need not be held to the standards of strict documentary'.⁹¹ Nonetheless, there has been much controversy in the Japanese

⁸⁸ "Allegiance: The Musical", <http://www.allegiancemusical.com/>; Curtis M. Wong, "George Takei To Make Broadway Debut In 'Allegiance' Musical About Japanese-American Internment Experience", *The Huffington Post*, February 5th, 2015

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/05/george-takei-allegiance-broadway- n_6624528.html
⁸⁹ Anne Marie Welsh, "Theater Review: "Allegiance" Gives Japanese Internment a Soft Focus", *Los Angeles Times*, 20 September 2012 <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/sep/20/entertainment/la-et-cm-old-globe-review-20120921>

⁹⁰ Gerald Yamada, "Open Letter about 'Allegiance,'" *Japanese American Veterans Association*, 10 September 2012 http://resisters.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/JAVA_letter.pdf

⁹¹ Charles Isherwood, "Review: "Allegiance," a Musical History Lesson About Interned Japanese-Americans", *The New York Times*, 8 November 2015

community regarding the play, with individuals torn between applause for making the subject accessible to the general public, and criticism for implying that draft-resisters made the ‘right’ decision and those who served in the 442nd made the ‘wrong’ choice. The open letter from the Japanese American Veterans Association highlights what is still a highly controversial aspect of internment:

In hindsight, both groups should recognize that there was more than one way to show one’s loyalty. Neither choice was the right one or the wrong one. Today, we should celebrate both groups for following their convictions rather than fueling this hostility by continuing to pit these two groups against each other.⁹²

Even the British reviews have had their criticisms, *The Guardian* calling the play ‘an unexceptional though often affecting new Broadway musical’.⁹³ The mixed reviews may be partly responsible for the decision to end the show in February 2016 after a comparatively short run. However, what is agreed across all sections of society is that bringing the story of internment to a larger audience is a good idea, but care needs to be taken in the execution.

Allegiance the musical is designed to reach mixed audiences, hence why the injustice of internment is emphasised. Conversely, within the Japanese community itself a revue called *Camp Dance* has been entertaining aging former internees in retirement homes and community centres since 2001. This is an ‘unabashedly nostalgic revue’ performed by Sansei in Los Angeles’ Grateful Crane Ensemble.⁹⁴ *Camp Dance* is for those directly affected by internment, and therefore seeks to engage the happier memories of internment. The revue also taps into the fact that many of the former internees who are still alive were children when interned, and therefore did not always fully comprehend the gravity of the situation. Robert Nakamura, a filmmaker interned at the age of five years explained that: ‘[w]hen I [later] learned about the injustice of it all, I felt guilty for having had a good time in camp, apologetic even. So camp has been fraught with ambivalence, a nostalgia mixed with deep resentment, and a lot of

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/09/theater/review-allegiance-a-musical-history-lesson-about-interned-japanese-americans.html>

⁹² Yamada, “Open Letter”.

⁹³ Alexis Soloski, ‘Allegiance Review: George Takei Can’t Save Broadway’s Mediocre Pledge’, *The Guardian*, 9 November 2015 <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/nov/08/allegiance-review-broadway-unexceptional-pledge-george-takei>

⁹⁴ Colborn-Roxworthy, “Manzanar”, p. 194.

anger.⁹⁵ The memory of internment continues, therefore, to be not only multi-faceted, but innately complex depending on the role and age of the internee during the war.

The former sites of the Relocation Centers are themselves testimony to the enduring memory of internment. To look at aerial photographs of the former camps shows permanent scarring on the landscape and very obvious footprints of the distinctive camp layouts. All former Relocation Centers and DoJ camps fall under the remit of the National Park Service (NPS). In 1999 an eBook was compiled detailing the geography and history of the former camp locations, along with an inventory of surviving evidence of the camps' existence.⁹⁶ *Confinement and Ethnicity* offers a history of the architecture and archaeology of the sites, as well as a wealth of data concerning the number of internees and from where they originated. The NPS are officially responsible for maintaining the former sites but due to budgetary concerns until now they have only been able to invest in the preservation of selected sites. Manzanar, perhaps the best known of all the camps, has experienced the greatest amount of investment and is seen by many as the centre of the internment story. A well designed and interactive museum is housed in the old High School auditorium.⁹⁷ However, the fact that it is the auditorium is the only surviving building is somewhat ironic. As Emily Roxworthy has noted, '[i]n a real sense, then, a theatre is the only thing that remains of the internees' habitation at Manzanar', and this in many ways has influenced the way in which the site has been 'interpreted'.⁹⁸ The museum includes exhibits from the camp, a partial interior of a barracks apartment, and oral and written testimonies from former internees. As you enter the auditorium you hear, on repeat, the sound of applause. The applause emanates from a recording of President Reagan signing the official apology for internment, giving a 'triumphal soundtrack', which Robert Hayashi calls the NPS's "mission of retelling a progressive history".⁹⁹ As Hayashi has also pointed out, after the presidential apology, the historic sites of Manzanar et al. lost much of their 'potentially

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁹⁶ Burton et al., *Confinement*.

⁹⁷ The auditorium was built in 1944 and used for many years as a heavy equipment garage by the county, before being restored to its present condition (National Park Service, "Manzanar National Historic Site", <http://www.nps.gov/manz/historyculture/index.htm>)

⁹⁸ Colborn-Roxworthy, "Manzanar", p. 191.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

controversial meaning'.¹⁰⁰ Two reconstructed barracks have been created to give a sense of the accommodation in which the internees lived. In 2005 the NPS also rebuilt one of the eight guard towers that stood on the perimeter of the camp.



Figure 20 - The recreated barracks and guard tower at Manzanar¹⁰¹

Many aspects of the hard landscaping such as stairs, foundation stones, and paths are still present in the camp. The road system still exists, as does the camp cemetery, which is the focal point of the annual Manzanar pilgrimage, organised by the Manzanar Committee.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Photographs author's own, 2010.

¹⁰² "The Manzanar Committee",

http://www.manzanarcommittee.org/The_Manzanar_Committee/Home.html



Figure 21 - Manzanar in 1942 and 2010¹⁰³

¹⁰³ ©Dorothea Lange 1942; Author's own 2010.



Figure 22 - A Japanese man tends his water garden in 1942; recently excavated water garden foundations in 2010¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ ©Dorothea Lange 1942; Author's own 2010.

Tule Lake, the most controversial of all the camps, also has a significant NPS presence, although this is based primarily at the Lava Beds National Monument, which is a short drive from the stockade itself. The Tule Lake site, unlike Manzanar, has in large part been built upon by the town and is on mostly private land. The majority of the former barrack buildings were used by residents of Newell after the closing of the Tule Lake camp to create houses and are still very much in evidence to this day. Indeed, the stockade was stripped of all usable materials such as doorframes before it was secured by the current owner of the land. The internees' presence is further felt in the rock promontory opposite the former camp site that houses a cross originally built by the internees when they were allowed out for picnics before Tule Lake became a Segregation Center. In 1982 the cross was replaced with a steel replica placed by the California Japanese Christian Church Federation.¹⁰⁵ Recognition was given to the Tule Lake site in 2008 when President George W. Bush designated the stockade a National Monument.¹⁰⁶ This action further legitimised public acknowledgement of internment.



Figure 23 - The Tule Lake Visitor Centre¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Burton et al., *Confinement*, Chapter 13.

¹⁰⁶ National Park Service, "Tule Lake Segregation Center becomes National Monument", December 5, 2008, <http://www.nps.gov/tule/parknews/new-park-announced.htm>

¹⁰⁷ Author's own 2010.

Pilgrimage to Tule Lake focuses on the stockade and involves the telling of former internees' stories in the hope that it will assist with the healing process from the wartime experience. The pilgrimage is organised by the Tule Lake Committee who even promote their activities via social media.¹⁰⁸ This has enabled a much wider audience to come in contact with their preservation work.

At Camp Amache in Colorado, most of the preservation work is undertaken by the high school students of Granada High School under the supervision of John Hopper, a social studies teacher. A small museum can be found in the centre of Granada and with the cooperation of multiple groups including Denver University the site is slowly being restored. The cemetery was the first area to be restored and is a key location in the annual Amache pilgrimage.¹⁰⁹

All of the numerous preservation organisations concerned are in a constant battle to preserve the integrity of the sites. The Tule Lake Committee, for example, spearheaded a campaign in 2012 to prevent the construction of a three mile long eight foot high fence that would surround the Tulelake airport and also the former internment site.¹¹⁰ The Topaz site was owned by a local farmer who lives on the site in a mobile home that uses the concrete slab of Block 28's mess hall as its foundation. In 1998 the Topaz Museum Board bought 417 acres from the farmer in order to prevent redevelopment of the site.¹¹¹ However, the United States Government has now recognised the importance of preserving these sites and in 2013 pledged \$1.4 million for their support, including almost \$200,000 for the preservation of the Tule Lake

¹⁰⁸ "Tule Lake Committee", <http://www.tulelake.org/>; "Tule Lake Pilgrimage Facebook Group", <https://www.facebook.com/groups/5857573804/?fref=ts> Tule Lake is not the only camp represented on Facebook, see also "Heart Mountain Interpretive Center Facebook Page", <https://www.facebook.com/heartmountainwy?fref=ts>; and "Minidoka National Historic Site Facebook Page", <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Minidoka-National-Historic-Site/151975884819492?fref=ts>

¹⁰⁹ Amache Preservation Group <http://www.amache.org/pilgrimage>; "Amache Preservation Society Facebook Page", <https://www.facebook.com/AmachePreservationSociety?fref=ts>

¹¹⁰ For example see "Tule Lake Committee Files Lawsuit to Stop the Fence at Airport", *Pacific Citizen*, October 24, 2014 <http://www.patrickcho.com/pacificcitizen/tule-lake-committee-files-lawsuit-to-stop-the-fence-at-airport/>

¹¹¹ The farmer, Mervin Williams, continues to own parts of the former camp site. Burton et al., *Confinement*, Chap. 12.



Figure 24 - Inside the Tule Lake stockade 1945 and 2010¹¹²

¹¹² ©24/06/1945 R. H. Ross; Author's own 2010.



Figure 25 - Camp Amache at Granada during the Second World War and in 2010¹¹³

stockade.¹¹⁴ In 2014 the NPS announced \$2.9 million dollars for the preservation and interpretation of Japanese American Confinement Sites from the Second World War. Projects selected for development include

¹¹³ Unknown photographer; Author's own 2010.

¹¹⁴ Restoration is planned to start as early as late 2015. See "Tule Lake Committee.," National Park Service, "Tule Lake Unit, World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument", <http://parkplanning.nps.gov/parkHome.cfm?parkID=535&CFID=8551309&CFTOKEN=8943984823429af6-B8C5A5A9-D7A6-E7E0-DD00D94DA6828199&cjsessionid=1127B8D1EA09D9FA7D0C32DE70C49984.ParkPlanning>

the stabilization of the historic elementary school at the former Poston site in Arizona; an educational training program for 600 teachers across California on the local and national stories about the forced removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II; and an exhibition exploring the significance of the Congressional Gold Medal awarded to Japanese American veterans of World War II who served in the military while their families lived behind barbed wire.¹¹⁵

Further evidence that the US Government sees internment as an important part of American history can be seen in the awarding of the Presidential Medal of Freedom to three of the four challengers to the legality of internment. President Clinton awarded the Medal of Freedom to Fred Korematsu in 1998, and President Obama has awarded George Hirabayashi in 2012, and most recently, Minoru Yasui in 2015. The Medal exists to honour ‘especially meritorious contributions to the security or national interest of the United States, to world peace, or to cultural or other significant public or private endeavors’.¹¹⁶ The move to add Yasui to the list of recipients has been popular, but now the calls for making the fourth legal test case individual, Mitsuye Endo, a recipient have increased, and there is hope this omission will soon be rectified.¹¹⁷ It is a shame that only Korematsu received the honour in his lifetime, once again demonstrating how slow the cogs of historical memory turn at national level.

There are also calls for a set of commemorative stamps, like those released in Britain showing the artwork of internees, to honour the service of Japanese American soldiers. The campaign notes that ‘if Elvis, Batman, penguins, Harry Potter, butterflies, and Garfield all have commemorative stamps, then the most decorated military unit in U.S. history certainly meets USPS criteria.’¹¹⁸ A point that will be hard to ignore, especially since in 2014 commemorative

¹¹⁵ “National Park Service Press Release”, June 12, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/news/release.htm?id=1600>

¹¹⁶ ‘Minoru Yasui Awarded Presidential Medal of Freedom’, *Northwest Asian Weekly*, 34.48 (2015), 23 November <http://www.nwasianweekly.com/2015/11/minoru-yasui-awarded-presidential-medal-of-freedom>

¹¹⁷ ‘Possible Presidential Medal of Freedom to Honor Endo’, *Northwest Asian Weekly*, 34.30 (2015), 20 July <http://www.nwasianweekly.com/2015/07/possible-presidential-medal-of-freedom-to-honor-endo/>

¹¹⁸ Frances Kai-Hwa Wang, ‘Campaign Urges USPS to Create Stamp in Honor of Japanese-American WWII Soldiers’, *NBC News*, 11 November 2015 <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/campaign-urges-usps-create-stamp-honor-japanese-american-wwii-soldiers-n460881>. See also “They Deserve a Stamp”, <http://theydeserveastamp.org/>

stamps were launched by the US Postal Service to celebrate the sacrifices of another segregated unit, the Tuskegee airmen.¹¹⁹

Since 2006 there has been a tremendous boost to the funding of commemorative activities linked to internment that stem from outside the Japanese American community. Prior to 2006 Japanese Americans found that the majority of work on remembrance came through their efforts. Now the long term efforts of these organisations have been rewarded with the establishment of the Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program which has committed a total of \$38 million for the life of the programme, of which \$15 has been allocated during the past six years.¹²⁰ Significantly, on the 73rd anniversary of the signing of Executive Order 9066, President Barack Obama announced the designation of Hawaii's Honouliuli Internment and Prisoner of War Camp as a National Historic Monument. The camp, on Oahu, was the longest running of all internment camps on Hawaii and was only rediscovered in 2002 by a group of volunteers from the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii.¹²¹

Small exhibitions exist at or near all of the former Relocation Center sites, and it is hoped it will be possible to expand these over time. At Minidoka, for example, the memorial exhibition is located forty miles from the site at Hagerman Fossil Beds National Monument, and the exhibition for Topaz is fifteen miles away in Delta.¹²² The former sites are all marked with plaques to explain the significance of the land. In some instances, this was a major battle. Gila River, on the site of the Gila River Indian Reservation, is on Native American sacred land. It took three years to obtain permission to place memorial markers at the Gila River camps and permission was only granted provided the Japanese American community never ask for

¹¹⁹ "Stamp Honoring Tuskegee Airman to be Dedicated in Special Ceremony at North Carolina Civil Rights Museum" <http://uspsstamps.com/blog/2014/7/25>

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* and National Park Service, "Japanese American Confinement Sites", <http://www.nps.gov/jacs/>

¹²¹ See National Park Service, "Honouliuli National Monument", <http://www.nps.gov/hono/learn/historyculture/index.htm>; and Frances Kai-Hwa Wang, "Oahu's Honouliuli Internment Camp Designated National Monument", *NBC News*, February 21st, 2015 <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/oahus-honouliuli-internment-camp-designated-national-monument-n311086>

¹²² National Park Service, "Minidoka National Historic Site", <http://www.nps.gov/miin/index.htm>; Burton et al., *Confinement*, Chap. 12.

National Landmark or any other official designation. In an attempt to recoup an infinitesimal part of what the government has taken away from them in the course of American history, Native Americans demand a minimum fee of \$100 for a permit to visit the former internment site, although this is usually waived for former internees and their family members.¹²³ In other camps memorials have been vandalised. The plaque at Topaz, for example, has been defaced with bullet holes, demonstrating the strong emotions that still surround this subject.¹²⁴ In many of the camps memorials have been placed by Japanese American organisations in the former cemeteries to stand as permanent reminders and focal points for remembrance.



Figure 26 - The memorials in the cemeteries at Manzanar and Granada¹²⁵

Further public commemoration can be found in parts of California State Route 99 which have been designated memorial highway. The stretch between Fresno and Modesto, an area that encompasses several former Assembly Centers, is dedicated to the 100th Infantry Battalion,

¹²³ Burton et al., *Confinement*, Chap. 4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12.

¹²⁵ Author's own 2010.

and the portion between Salida and Monteca bears plaques to the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.

The recent surges in funding have made a huge difference to the preservation of the sites but in the years preceding government intervention it was almost solely the work of Japanese American organisations to preserve their experiences of the Second World War. In 1986, Japanese American veterans formed an organisation called 'Go for Broke' in order to maintain the legacy of 'rising above prejudice and distrust to serve their country with unparalleled bravery and distinction'.¹²⁶ The veterans wished to build a memorial to commemorate the patriotic Japanese American men who served in their segregated units or in Military Intelligence. Over a decade of fundraising eventually resulted in the formal unveiling in 1998 of the monument that now stands in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles. In 2001 this sentiment was echoed on the other side of America with the creation of the National Japanese American Memorial for Patriotism in World War II in Washington DC.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ "Go For Broke National Education Center",

http://www.goforbroke.org/about_us/about_us_educational_history.php

¹²⁷ Annual Cherry Blossom Freedom Walks are arranged to 'raise awareness about the Japanese American experience during World War II and to highlight the vigilant role that American citizens must continue to play in preserving the Constitutional rights of all Americans' and start from the Memorial. See the National Japanese American Memorial Foundation website at <http://www.njamf.com/>



Figure 27 - 'Go for Broke' memorial commemorating the Japanese Americans who served in the 100th, 442nd, and MIS¹²⁸

The 'Go for Broke' memorial stands on ground close to the Japanese American National Museum (JANM), which has been at the centre of all efforts to preserve the memory of the camps so that America never forgets. Part of the mission statement for the JANM explains the importance of its commemorative work:

We promote continual exploration of the meaning and value of ethnicity in our country through programs that preserve individual dignity, strengthen our communities, and increase respect among all people. We believe that our work will transform lives, create a more just America and, ultimately, a better world.¹²⁹

The preservation of the camps is just one aspect of the work in which the JANM is involved, but it is an integral part. The permanent exhibition 'Common Ground: The Heart of Community' focuses on evacuation and includes part of a barracks transported from Heart Mountain.¹³⁰ In Sacramento, Northern California, the California Museum also hosts a

¹²⁸ Author's own 2010.

¹²⁹ National Japanese American Memorial Foundation.

¹³⁰ See Yamato, *Moving* for the story of how this feat was accomplished.

permanent exhibition on internment: ‘Uprooted! Japanese Americans during WWII’.¹³¹ In Pasadena, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) hosted a temporary exhibition, ‘50 Years Later: Remembering the Japanese American Internment, from the files of the American Friends Service Committee’, which drew upon artefacts, memories, and memorabilia from Pasadena’s Japanese American population.¹³² The California Museum offers an education programme every winter led by former internees and the exhibition does not only focus on the time of incarceration but takes the story up to the 1980s to show how former internees have overcome the hardships imposed upon them. On the West Coast, then, the story of internment continues to be told through a range of museum exhibitions, continuing the necessary legacy of education regarding this turbulent time, and opening public discourses through public facing events.

¹³¹ “California Museum”, <http://www.californiamuseum.org/uprooted-japanese-americans-during-wwii> An exhibition of the same name is in Ontario, Oregon for the last three months of 2014 and includes lesson plans for the exhibition to be incorporated into mainstream teaching. See “Uprooted: Japanese American Farm Labor Camps During World War II”, <http://www.uprootedexhibit.com/>

¹³² The preparations for this exhibition ultimately led to the publication of Hatsuye Egami’s *Evacuation Diary*, itself unusual because fewer diaries and memoirs have been published by Issei internees. See Egami, *Evacuation*, p. 10.



Figure 28 - Part of the 'Common Ground' exhibition at the JANM¹³³

Founded in 1992 the JANM is a community based organisation that has sought to capture the rich oral histories of Japanese American society in tandem with the Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive (JARDA) and Densho. Densho's mission, since its creation in 1996, has been to 'preserve the testimonies of Japanese Americans who were unjustly incarcerated during World War II before their memories are extinguished. We offer these irreplaceable first-hand accounts, coupled with historical images and teacher resources, to explore principles of democracy and promote equal justice for all'.¹³⁴ JARDA's aim is similar, providing over 200,000 digitised items to assist in the education of others regarding Second World War internment.¹³⁵ Having been rejected by their nation, Japanese Americans have

¹³³ ©Norman H. Sugimoto

¹³⁴ "Densho", <http://www.densho.org/>

¹³⁵ "Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives", <http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/>

worked hard to ensure that the public learn the danger that can be posed to all American citizens when the government makes decisions in the interests of ‘national security’.

Interpretation of the past has been a constant consideration for all organisations involved with preserving the memory of the Relocation Centers, including the JANM’s ‘Common Ground’ exhibition. The significance of all commemorative actions regarding relocation is to ‘make sense of World War II and its lasting influence on the United States’.¹³⁶ When discussing America’s failing in racial relations there is always a fine line to tread in order to communicate the facts effectively without alienating the general population. One Japanese American reviewer summed up the exhibition:

To the Museum’s credit, the camps did not serve as a historical foil for an insidious narrative in which internment is seen as a blessing in disguise--an event heralding the assimilation of Japanese Americans. A racially-based framework identifies what former internees have known all along: despite their claim and right to full access as Americans, Nikkei have had to deal with the consequences of racism throughout their history. The exhibit vividly displayed the devastating consequences of American racism...Remembering what happened to Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II is not an easy task, for it means coming to terms with a period when democracy failed. Nevertheless, the Asian American and redress movements have indicated the possibility of positive social change and offer a measure of hope for the United States.¹³⁷

Such exhibitions and permanent monuments give expression to the feeling of the former internees themselves. The victory of the redress movement has given the Japanese American community the freedom to express their narrative of the Second World War and give voice to their feelings regarding this tumultuous period of American history. Since the Presidential apology the subject of evacuation has been added to American school and college curricula. Numerous reference books for school age children and college students now exist which break down the subject into accessible portions of history.¹³⁸ Former internees, such as Yoshiko Uchida visit schools and talk to children about the experience. As part of explaining what happened Uchida draws on her memoirs from the time and explains ‘I wrote it...for all

¹³⁶ Yoo, “Captivating”, p. 681.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 694, 697.

¹³⁸ For example see Gail Sakurai, *Japanese American Internment Camps* (Toronto: Children’s Press, 2002); Susan Dudley Gold, *Korematsu v. United States: Japanese-American Internment* (New York: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, 2006); Bryan J. Grapes ed., *Japanese American Internment Camps* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 2001).

Americans, with the hope that through knowledge of the past, they will never allow another group of people in America to be sent into a desert exile ever again.¹³⁹ Never before has the subject been discussed so freely, despite remaining controversial. In the words of one Nisei

the more times that I have spoken to people individually, or even in little groups about this experience, I have found that I have eased off a little bit more, and a little bit more. Maybe I'll become more levelheaded about the whole thing. But that doesn't run away in other people minds, even if they're educated and so on. But I have a military friend who says, "But it had to be done, because you were from the enemy country, although we were not from the enemy country." And [that] the U.S. had to think of its own safety and protection. I guess whatever other evidence they had as "military," may have backed up their thought. But I've had more friends and people who feel that it was not the right thing to do to many people who, even though they were of Japanese ancestry, to some portion, had no connection with the enemy country at that time, nor in any other significant way. I believe that some of the people were taken to the prison-type places, camp, may have been rounded-up with as language school teachers, or church leaders, or community leaders, or something that made them stand out more as active people in the Japanese community. But even that, I don't find as a good excuse. I don't. I think it is essential to inform and educate our young people, not just our children and their families, but in the education system, about what happened, and perhaps how our politics and our government could be more thoughtful about such a situation. I really feel that. Our own efforts, to make friends with everybody, were very important.¹⁴⁰

Decades of perseverance have finally paid off for the Japanese American community, not only directly through the success of the redress movement and the receipt of a presidential apology, but also in the freedom that now exists to recognise this period of American history. Through memorials, museum exhibitions, television and films, books, and education the subject has permeated American society so that the consequences of Executive Order 9066 and how the Constitution was denied to certain American citizens cannot be forgotten. The memories of the Japanese Americans are not happy ones and the psychological scars from the persecution of their race continue to manifest themselves in society today. The Sansei, for example, have the greatest rate of intermarriage of any generation of Japanese Americans as the overriding desire of the children of the survivors of internment has been to become as American as possible in the hope that future persecution might be avoided. The one area that remains silent in American internment history has been regarding the internment of German and Austrian nationals from South America who were forcibly removed to the mainland United States. The lack of official apology to those survivors may well result in further campaigns in the future,

¹³⁹ Uchida, *Exile*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁰ Yonemitsu, *REgenerations: San Diego*, pp. 300-1.

modelled on the success of the Japanese American redress movement. The American government eventually accepted the need for an apology to its citizens, time will tell whether non-citizens who were interned will be treated similarly, although this remains unlikely due to the fact it could potentially open a floodgate of claims from America's past. However, the perseverance of the Japanese American community has resulted in their narrative gaining prominence in the historical memory of the Second World War.

Conclusion

In both Britain and the United States, the memory of the camps has never been lost to those who were interned during the Second World War. However, these memories for the sake of necessity were, in large part, repressed as new lives were forged and attempts to put the trauma behind were made. Many former internees were stoic in their appraisal of their wartime experiences. As Sumiko Kobayashi, formerly of Topaz, remembers, 'Being in the camps was a small part of my family history. Traumatic, but a small piece'.¹⁴¹ Steven Vajda, formerly of Sefton Camp, recalled

I could not help but reflect on my arrest in Giessen and subsequent transport to Buchenwald 18 months earlier and the difference between the horror then and the gentlemanly procedure now. I, personally, unlike some others, quite understood the motive for internment but deplored the mindless, ignorant, reaction and lack of knowledge and judgement of officialdom (by depriving the country, inter alia, of valuable skilled labour for the war effort).¹⁴²

This by no means downplays the emotional suffering and loss experienced by the former internees, but rather demonstrates the tenacity and sheer force of character required to move on from these experiences and put the war behind them. Certainly neither the British nor the American general populations wished to dwell on what had happened during the conflict. It was not until the 1970s, therefore, that internment became recognised as part of the American war narrative, initiated by the legal fight for redress that lasted into the 1980s. The official apology in 1988 opened the doors for public engagement with the subject of internment, and this has been embraced to include depictions in fiction, television programmes, films, and even on Broadway. In Britain, by contrast, there was no such legal movement, yet there was renewed interest in the history of the war during the same period. This led to research uncovering previously untold stories from the war such as the *Kindertransport*, which leapt to public prominence in 1988. The 'discovery' of the *Kindertransport* led to further research on the fate of refugees at this time, uncovering the stories of internment. However, despite this resurgence of interest, references to Second World War internment are still minimal in British

¹⁴¹ Patterson, *Released*.

¹⁴² Steven Vajda Interview.

popular culture, although reference was made in the Prime Minister's Holocaust Commission Report in January 2015.¹⁴³

Internment has become accepted as part of the narrative of the Home Front, and significant developments have been made in how the camps are commemorated. Government grants in America have been promised to help continue the work the Japanese community has done in commemorating the physical sites of internment. No such efforts at site preservation have been made in Britain, though this is in large part due to the fact the sites were temporary and therefore consisted of requisitioned properties. However, in both nations there have been attempts to engage the public with the artefacts of internment, such as paintings, photographs, and items the internees crafted during their incarceration. Exhibitions continue to be displayed in prominent locations such as Tate Britain and the Smithsonian, engaging new audiences with the subject.

In Britain, the internment story is part of the greater wartime narrative of European racial persecution and illustrates the resilience of the refugees who left their countries of birth. The greatest trauma surrounds the memory of the *Arandora Star*, and this is perhaps why there are a significant number of memorials commemorating this tragic event. In America, the memory of internment falls into a history of racial prejudice, and again illustrates the resilience and perseverance of the Nikkei. The former internees' collective desire is to ensure that America never forgets what happened during the war, and as a social group they continue to stand up for the rights of fellow American citizens. As those who survived the ordeal grow fewer in number over the years, it becomes the responsibility of the next generation to pick up the baton of historical memory and build on the solid foundation of the work in which their predecessors engaged.

¹⁴³ "Britain's Promise to Remember: The Prime Minister's Holocaust Commission Report", January, 2015, p. 23
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/398645/Holocaust Commission Report Britains promise to remember.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/398645/Holocaust_Commission_Report_Britains_promise_to_remember.pdf)

Conclusion

So the Italian emigrants paid the price of the internment and of the Arandora Star for a war which they did not want and towards which they had not contributed in any way.

Monsignor Gaetano Rossi, former internee of Metropole camp¹

The Nisei were definitely more vulnerable than the Issei, but the effects which persist are hard to measure. There are instances of marked cynicism regarding civic and social obligations which seem to date from evacuation. There are also some over-aggressive tendencies and some tendencies to withdraw readily from any situation where expressions of prejudice are encountered or may be encountered...Of course, the results of evacuation are not all in yet. Getting started again may take its toll...The situations faced by different families and individuals vary a good deal.

Department of the Interior epilogue on internment, 1946²

When both Great Britain and the United States of America instituted policies of internment during the Second World War it was a disappointing state of affairs, but not a surprise in any real sense. Internment of enemy aliens during times of war is a recognised aspect of international law. There is nothing illegal about locking away citizens of a country with which one is at war, rather it is a recognised form of maintaining security. How internment is conducted, however, varies considerably depending on the values of the interning country. Both Britain and America have some standing in the global community for their moral codes, therefore high standards were expected. Due to the fact internment happens during times of conflict, countries are often lacking in adequate resources and sympathy to provide for enemy aliens – who may or may not be a threat to the interning country. In times of conflict, the issues affecting internees, such as religious or racial persecution, are not considered in the way that they might during peacetime. No longer seen as individuals, but grouped together in terms of nationality or ancestry, it was no wonder that the internees experienced so many avoidable hardships, and in many cases, tragedy.

Internment in both countries can be seen as a direct continuation of over one hundred years of anti-immigration laws. Great Britain did at least attempt to differentiate between enemy aliens and refugees, but for the most part, only before 1940. Once internment had been

¹ Rossi, "Memories".

² WRA, Collection 131 – 2.8, 1946.

implemented, it mattered little as to initial classification. As in America, the only time a classification as friendly to the nation returned to importance was when opportunities were finally created for release. The United States was more interested in maintaining its quota laws prior to the outbreak of war, as opposed to pursuing a more humanitarian agenda. For those of Japanese ancestry this was nothing new: the Issei, arriving in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, had first landed at Angel Island, where they were temporarily incarcerated before being granted permission to enter the country.³ The American view of the Asian as inferior and a potential threat to concepts of Americanism was, therefore, very clear from the beginning, and something that those of German, Austrian, or Italian citizenship did not experience on their arrival at Ellis Island, where detention was a rarity. The way that the Japanese were treated during internment, in contrast to European enemy aliens, was thus a continuation of decades of discrimination. That is not to say there was absolutely no equality in treatment between enemy aliens in America. Certainly, the vast majority of Germans, Austrians, Italians, and Japanese arrested following their native country's entry into the war were male, considered influential in their ethnic group, and transported to Department of Justice camps. The initial round ups were made on the basis of judgements made by the F.B.I., and those arrested were, to some extent, considered as individuals. Sadly, that is where the similarities end. After the initial round ups of Caucasian men, very few threats of detention were made to European families within the continental United States. It is important to note, however, that those on Hawaii and those taken from South America often endured similar conditions to those of Japanese ancestry in the continental United States: that of complete uprooting and loss of rights and property.

In both countries, the targets of internment were primarily males between the ages of 16 and 60 years. In Britain, the elderly or infirm were supposed to be exempt from internment, but this decision was often slow to filter down to the arresting officers, and those in poor health

³ See chapter 3 of Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Japanese and Japanese Americans landing at Angel Island were likely to be detained only for a day or two, unlike other Asian nationalities such as the Chinese.

were rounded up along with their healthier compatriots. In America, little concern was given to an individual's medical record before arrest took place. In Britain, some women were considered a threat to the nation's security and were also arrested. In certain cases, children were entered into care, and in others children were interned with their mothers. In America, there were isolated cases of female internment similar to that of Britain. Where the two nations diverged was in the case of the internment of family units en masse. Entire families were interned in Britain only in select instances, specifically in the Married Camp from 1941 where both husband and wife were still interned. In America, anti-alien feeling on the West Coast was stirred up to such an extent that Executive Order 9066 granted the right to uproot all those of Japanese ancestry, regardless of age or, most significantly, citizenship. In Britain, only a small proportion of enemy alien women were ever interned on the Isle of Man, which therefore meant the number of children interned was kept relatively low. The United States took matters infinitely further, insisting on the internment of *all* Japanese women and *all* of their dependents, which resulted in camp populations with large proportions of minors. In fact, internment was not limited to families – even children in orphanages were transported inland. The removal of infants who had even a portion of Japanese blood in them shows how far America had moved away from the policy of interning for the sake of national security. Thus, the policy of internment was used as a cover in America for a much more worrying policy – the detainment of American citizens for no other reason than the colour of their skin. British citizens were also detained in Britain – just under 2,000 British citizens under Defence Regulation 18B – but these were assessed on a case by case basis, and those detained were arrested because they were against, or believed to be against, the British war effort. Clearly, in America, Japanese infants and young children were not actively participating in espionage or sabotage, so the use of EO 9066 cannot be compared to 18B in the way it was used.

In American history, racial discrimination is sadly nothing new; the treatment of African Americans is testament to the lack of rights granted to those who were not white. The similarities between the treatment of those of Japanese ancestry and African Americans cannot be ignored. Concepts of American superiority based on skin-tone affected all aspects of

internment with regards to those of Japanese ancestry. In Britain, only a very small number of Japanese were resident during the Second World War, and, therefore, only a handful of Japanese men were interned. These men were treated no differently from the other internees on the Isle of Man. Segregation, though, did occur in both countries, particularly when it came to giving internees the option to participate in the war effort. In America, Japanese American men were expected to bear arms for the United States, despite their families remaining trapped behind barbed wire. As in the case of African American men, the Nisei were only permitted to serve in a segregated unit, though many also served in the Military Intelligence Service as translators. It is hard to marry the concept of Japanese American and African American men serving in Europe for the freedom of persecuted minorities, with the reality of life in a segregated democracy in America, and yet thousands of men served with great courage and made the ultimate sacrifice. Even when a soldier perished in the line of duty, though, this did not mean his family would be treated any differently as regarded their freedom. Britain also created a segregated unit – the Pioneer Corps – but this was based largely on the fact that those who were signing up were foreign nationals. While joining the unarmed and largely logistical Pioneer Corps was considered an insult to the refugees wanting to fight against Nazism, ultimately those who joined were able to join regular troops. Therefore, while segregated units occurred in both countries, it was only in the United States that citizens were segregated as a result of their skin-tone.

Internment, by its very nature, tends to be a kneejerk reaction to current affairs, and plans are seldom finalised for accommodation before the arrests begin. In both America and Britain, those arrested found themselves in makeshift accommodation at racetracks, amusement grounds, and holiday parks. This use of leisure areas for housing suggested, in many ways, to the native population that internment was not a serious matter with which to concern themselves. The choice of locations that had happy memories for much of the population masked the reality of the harsh living conditions the internees were enduring in overcrowded grandstands and hastily converted stable blocks. In Britain, this misperception continued when internees were transported on a more permanent basis to the Isle of Man, a popular peacetime

holiday destination. This gave the impression that internees were effectively enjoying a holiday at the expense of the British taxpayer, therefore diminishing the potential for ordinary British citizens to understand the plight of those trapped behind barbed wire, separated from loved ones and worried for their personal safety. In America, there was nothing holiday-like about the Relocation Centers or their locations, but it was more a case of 'out of sight, out of mind'. In Britain, the internees were taken to a location impossible from which to escape, due to its position in the Irish Sea. In America, again escape was unlikely due to the fact the camps were in isolated desert and swampland. Even in Hawaii, where martial law was imposed and only a small proportion of those of Japanese ancestry were interned, camps were located in the most inhospitable of areas. Therefore, it was hard for the general American public to imagine what life was like for the internees, if they were even interested, and their views of the treatment of internees was heavily influenced by reports in the press. Much of the media in America was biased against those of Japanese ancestry, consistently reporting faintly ludicrous stories about internees being pampered and living in the lap of luxury. In Britain the press coverage swayed between articles that promoted prejudicial views, to those where genuine issues were reported, such as the sinking of the *Arandora Star*. Reports of transport abroad ultimately strengthened the case for ceasing this policy, by stirring up public outrage. In America, by contrast, the press reports and photographic documentation of the camps by Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams were used to justify why internment was acceptable. The camps were either portrayed as microcosms of American society, fully of happy individuals doing their part for the American war effort, or camps were ignored and given no or very little press coverage – such as in the case with many of the Department of Justice camps – if this would reflect negatively on the United States government.

Attempts were made in both countries to make the camps as 'normal' as possible. Nonetheless, there is a limit as to how 'normal' life can continue when individuals are denied their liberty. Many of the administrative roles within the camps were expected to be carried out by the internees, and even medical and teaching roles were assigned to those interned. In the American camps, this was one of the more controversial aspects of life inside the camps, as

internee teachers, nurses, and doctors were paid considerably less than Caucasians carrying out the same roles, which again showed how little the authorities thought of the abilities of their charges because of their race. In Britain, the internees, after the initial round ups, were generally treated with consideration and an understanding of the existence of large numbers of refugees in camp, with the notable exception of camps established in Canada. Refugees were eventually separated from Nazi sympathisers, particularly in camps populated with Germans and Austrians, though this took some time to be enforced. When the Italians were interned, there was considerably less understanding with regards to which Italians were and were not pro-Fascist, leading to incidents of violence in the Italian camps where Fascists intimidated and abused those who were not political or anti-fascist. In America, similar violence occurred between the Kibei, who were largely anti-American, and any Nisei or Issei who were pro-American. This issue was compounded by the ill-conceived Loyalty Questionnaire, and the transformation of Tule Lake into a Segregation Center. The poorly worded questionnaire tore families apart and increased the levels of tension in camp exponentially. In America there were riots, whereas in the British camps the closest internees came to rioting was when they were treated as Prisoners of War in Canada. As riotous behaviour is usually a last resort, this would suggest that the British were, in some ways, more effective at communicating with their charges and negotiating settlements than their American cousins. This is not to say that the British approach was without its problems, as the transport abroad debacle demonstrates. The abuse of the internees on board the transport ships was inexcusable, just like the Loyalty Questionnaire.

The number of deaths directly caused by internment was significantly higher in Britain than America due to the tragic sinking of the *Arandora Star*. It was an avoidable tragedy: had the ship been adequately marked as carrying POWs and civilians it is possible it would not have been targeted. The trauma of the sinking has never truly been resolved. Although the Snell Inquiry was conducted after the disaster, the results were never made public, and there is evidence to suggest that the guards on the *Arandora Star* did not believe everything had been

done that could have to avert the tragedy.⁴ There has therefore never been any closure for the families of those who perished in the icy waters of the Atlantic. Across the coast of Scotland and Ireland bodies were buried where they washed ashore, and therefore memorials have been erected in more obvious sites, in the midst of the communities that were traumatised by the loss of loved ones and breadwinners. The lack of a formal apology has left the tragedy with no resolution. The British government did attempt to make some amends to those transported abroad on the other ships, offering some compensation for items lost, destroyed, or looted during transit, but the elephant remains in the room that no one will discuss regarding the *Arandora Star*.

In America, by contrast, very few individuals lost their lives as a direct consequence of internment. James Hatsuaki Wakasa was an obvious exception to this rule, and the fact that he was shot in the back and that the guard was never properly disciplined, again did nothing to ease tensions between any of the Camp Administrations and their charges. There were also the three internees killed by guards firing into the crowds during the Manzanar riot: deaths that were avoidable had the guards chosen to rely on non-lethal methods of crowd control. Internees suffered from a lack of healthcare that led to the ultimate demise of many, either in camp or thereafter, and there were accidents in camps that could have been prevented had better facilities and equipment been available. Physical ailments aside, it is the negative psychological effects of camp life that have endured and caused trauma long after the last camp shut its gates. It was not just those of Japanese ancestry who were affected. As mentioned before, Germans, Austrians, and Italians were also detained, and they too remember the hardships of camp life. Entire families of enemy aliens were deported from South America, and they suffered greatly. The United States went well beyond the bounds of other nations when securing its borders. This heavy handed approach led, perhaps unsurprisingly, to a move for reparations in the 1970s, following on from the civil rights victories of the 1960s. It took several decades, but the eventual apology and symbolic

⁴ See WO 361/4 Losses on SS Arandora Star (1940).

restitution has marked a watershed in American history, opening the doors to other ethnic minorities to make similar claims. So far, the government has shown willingness to resolve specific instances of wrongdoing where events concern American citizens, and where survivors, or descendants of victims, are readily identifiable. While this may not appease those campaigning for reparations for slavery, it shows how far America has come in the past seventy-plus years.

With the reparations watershed, the memory of the camps has been treated differently. Essentially, in the post-apology era, a large part of the controversy surrounding the former sites of internment has been eradicated. The US government has tried to atone for its sins, and this has led to a large amount of investment in the preservation of these sites from monetary sources outside of the Japanese community. Still, the new investments do not come without strings attached, and there is a feeling that the National Park Service, responsible for the upkeep of Relocation Center sites, is sanitising the history of internment. There is a tendency to focus on the eventual apology and downplay the suffering of the preceding decades. By apologising, the government has again assumed some control over the image of internment, much as it did during the war through the release of selected photographs and press releases. That does not mean that the significant investments in these sites is negative, as there is much preservation work to be carried out, and the Japanese American community continues to, quite rightly, exercise its voice regarding what constitute appropriate projects.

The motivation behind the commemoration in America stems from the fact that the United States perpetuated an unjustifiable action against its own citizens. In Britain, only a comparatively small number of citizens were detained, and so very few calls have been made to commemorate, for example, the area in Peel where the 18B detainees were held. Similarly, as internment is a justifiable action during wartime for enemy aliens, there has not been a united movement for commemoration of the other sites on the Isle of Man that housed internees. America cannot afford to forget its actions regarding the internment of Japanese American citizens, whereas Britain has skirted the issue to a certain extent because it used

internment selectively. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the only significant investment for memorialisation has come from the Italian community, with the creation of the St Andrew's Cloister Garden in Glasgow. Essentially the British-Italian community is in the same place as the Japanese American community was in the pre-redress movement era. However, it is unlikely that there will ever be any proper closure, as, were the British government to apologise and offer reparations, it would open up the floodgates for other claims against the country from its former Empire.

There is some parity between Great Britain and the United States in terms of the commitment to remember the past, in the hope that such intolerances do not perpetuate themselves in the future. The emergence in the last few decades of references in popular culture and touring exhibits is ensuring that large audiences are continuing to engage with the subject, and hopefully gaining some understanding as to the mistakes made during the war, and how racial and ethnic groups can be persecuted and misunderstood by their host country. However, with the current rhetoric surrounding the influx of refugees from the Middle East and Africa into Europe and America, one may wonder if anything has been learned. In July 2015, for example, comparisons were made in Britain between a *Daily Mail* article of 1938 about Jewish refugees, and media coverage of the Calais migrant crisis, where talk continues to revolve around the scaremongering idea of 'aliens entering [Britain] through the "back door"'.⁵ Many similarities can also be seen in how the internees on the Isle of Man were considered to be on a taxpayer funded holiday, and how modern day migrants are viewed; the *Mail on Sunday* leading one of its articles with the poorly-written sub-headlines: 'Migrants given hotel room, three cooked meals a day and £35 cash a week. Migrant (sic) get a double ensuite room, usually priced at £70 a night'.⁶ As historian Tony Kushner has noted, 'The Daily Mail has been an anti-alien newspaper since the 1900s. There's great continuity.'⁷ As the crisis in Europe continues, it is

⁵ Sophie Brown, "Daily Mail Headline From 1938 Draws Comparisons With Current Reporting Of Calais Migrant Crisis", *The Huffington Post UK*, July 31, 2015

⁶ Brendan Carlin, "Free hotels for the Calais stowaways in soft touch Britain: Outrage as immigrants illegally entering UK get cooked meals and £35 cash a week within days of arrival", *The Mail on Sunday*, August 1, 2015

⁷ As quoted in Anne Karpf, "We've been here before", *The Guardian*, June 8, 2002

likely that these type of headlines will continue to be produced, giving a misleading view of the true issues at stake, and continuing to feed on latent societal xenophobia. In the United States, there are many similarities to be drawn between the way Asian immigrants were portrayed in the decades preceding the Second World War, and how modern day refugees are being used as a political football in the upcoming Presidential election. Donald Trump, a potential presidential nominee for the Republican party, believes refugees are a ‘Trojan Horse’, a sentiment that harks back to the concept of a Japanese ‘Fifth Column’ in the 1930s and 1940s.⁸ Much in the same way that Asians were excluded from immigrating to the United States through legislation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a rush was made back to the legislature to restrict the immigration of Syrian and Iraqi refugees. In November 2015, a bill was passed that would have ‘required that the director of the F.B.I., the secretary of the Department of Homeland Security and the director of national intelligence confirm that each applicant from Syria and Iraq poses no threat.’⁹ While this bill has since been defeated by a procedural vote in the Senate, the fact remains that very little has changed in either Britain or America in the past seventy years regarding the treatment and views of the foreign ‘enemy other’. There are still many lessons to be learned from Second World War internment that are incredibly relevant to the modern day situations in which both countries find themselves.

⁸ For example, see Tal Kopan, “Donald Trump: Syrian Refugees a ‘Trojan Horse’”, *CNN*, November 16, 2015

⁹ Jennifer Steinhauer, “Senate Blocks Bill on Tougher Refugee Screening”, January 20, 2016

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