

**Japanese Internment in Australia  
during World War II**

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### Statement

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Signed

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## Abbreviations

ACAC	Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee
AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AMF	Australian Military Forces
ANU	Australian National University
AWM	Australian War Memorial
BCSC	British Columbia Security Commission
CJA	Canadian Japanese Association
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
HRC	Human Rights Commission
ICEAFRD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
JACL	Japanese American Citizens League
JCCL	Japanese Canadian Citizens League
Lt.-Col.	Lieutenant Colonel
NJCCA	National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association
NAJC	National Association of Japanese Canadians
NSS	National Selective Service
N.E.I.	Netherlands East Indies
POW	Prisoner of War
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
PWJM	Prisoner of War Japanese Merchant Seaman
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RSL	Returned Services League
SCAP	Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
WRA	War Relocation Authority

### A note on sources

Both the official and the oral sources on which this thesis is based have some unavoidable defects, though not such as to undermine the value of the thesis.

Most of the official records used in this research were obtained from the Commonwealth Archives or the Australian War Memorial. Some were found in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives in Japan. Archives in the Netherlands, France, the United Kingdom and New Zealand have not been consulted. Some files were not completely open for access, so information is sometimes fragmented.

Almost 50 years have passed since the end of World War 2 and many guards and internees have died. Almost all former internees interviewed were either children or young men and women at that time. Significantly, most senior camp staff and internees have died. This will have influenced what I was and was not told. I was not able to learn much about how internees conducted camp affairs, and the relationships and tensions between them. A few interviewees wished to remain anonymous. This is indicated by the notation "name withheld" in footnotes. When quoted accounts of ex-internees are in Japanese or Chinese, they are translated by the author and indicated with [J] or [C] in footnotes.

I was able to see a film of Loveday camp taken by Mr. George Bolton of Adelaide during the war. The film is now in the possession of Mr. Bolton's son, Mr. George Bolton, in Adelaide.



## Summary

During World War II Australia held approximately 4,000 civilian Japanese internees. Approximately 3,000, from such parts of South-east Asia or the South Pacific as the Netherlands East Indies, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and New Zealand, were held on behalf of other Allied Governments. They included over 600 Formosans who had been arrested as Japanese.

In 1939-41 internment of registered aliens of German and Italian origin living in Australia had been selective - 31% and 32% respectively. By comparison, in 1941-2 97% of registered Japanese aliens were interned. This thesis tells of their experiences. Much of it is devoted to reconstructing camp life and to the consequences of internment. The thesis also examines the Australian Government's internment policies, and its attitude to releases.

The Japanese were interned in three camps - Loveday in South Australia, Hay in New South Wales and Tatura in Victoria. The general atmosphere among internees in all three camps was one of resignation. Interviews with former internees indicate that the majority of the Japanese settled into the camps well and found ways to make life behind barbed wire tolerable. Former internees agreed that their treatment by Australian authorities was excellent. There was, however, some internal friction between internees. Each compound was run by an internees' committee which had firm control. Although it has proved difficult to discover how the committees kept control, it is clear that anyone who did not conform to accepted conduct was subject to intimidation.

At the end of the war, all Japanese, except for the Australian-born or those who had Australian-born children, were repatriated to Japan. Some asked to remain in Australia or to be sent back to their homes in South-east Asia or the Pacific islands. They were refused permission by the governments involved. A few eventually returned to Australia and other former homes.

Even though the numbers were far larger, there are some parallels to the Australian experience among Japanese interned in North America. Americans and Canadians of Japanese extraction, in addition to long-term Japanese residents of both countries, were displaced during hostilities with Japan. As in Australia their liberty was curtailed and in many cases property was forfeited.

## Introduction

During World War II both the Allied and Axis Powers interned people of enemy origin in the name of national security. When Japan entered the war on 8 December 1941, Japanese living in many parts of the world under Allied control were interned. The United Kingdom arrested about 5,000 Japanese in various places including India, Malaya and Singapore, and held them in camps in India.<sup>96</sup> Japanese were also arrested in the UK and held on the Isle of Man. The American and Canadian governments pursued policies of wholesale internment of Japanese. About 22,000 Japanese Canadians and 112,000 Japanese Americans were put in camps. In the Philippines 17,800 Japanese were interned for a short time until Japanese forces landed on Mindanao on 20 December.<sup>1</sup> Japanese were also interned in South America. For example, the Peruvian government interned approximately 1,800 Japanese at the behest of the United States and these were later transferred to the USA.<sup>2</sup> The internment of Japanese in Australia was one part of world-wide actions taken by the Allies against the Japanese. This thesis deals with the experiences of Japanese nationals and people of Japanese origin who were interned in Australia during the war.

Australia interned about 16,700 people who were classified as being of enemy origin - mainly German, Italian or Japanese. They comprised two groups - local internees arrested within Australia and its territories (hereafter

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<sup>1</sup>Asahi Shinbun [*Asahi*], 29 Dec. 1984, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner, C. H., *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States*, University of Washington Press, 1981, p. viii.

referred to as "local internees"), and overseas internees held on behalf of other Allied Governments (hereafter referred to as "overseas internees"). 4,301 Japanese were held in Australia. 1,141 were locals and 3,160 were from overseas, principally the Dutch East Indies (hereafter N.E.I.), New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands and New Zealand. About 600 Formosans were arrested as Japanese and included among the internees from N.E.I. Some Koreans were also arrested as Japanese, but their number is unknown as they used Japanese names. Although this thesis deals with common experiences of both overseas and local internees, such as background to migration, arrest, internment and repatriation, the emphasis is on local internees. Australia only accepted overseas internees at the request of Allied nations and was not legally responsible for them beyond their internment whilst in Australia. There is closer analysis of the pre- and post-war experiences of local internees and discussion of internment policy is limited to this group.

The Japanese in this study had emigrated for various purposes. They ranged from single men earning money to take back to Japan, to families who settled and raised children. There were people from poverty-stricken parts of Japan who emigrated because they hoped to find economic opportunities that they could not find at home. Some were also hoping to find personal freedom. Some saw themselves as the advance guard of the Japanese Empire, fulfilling Japanese destiny in the region. Bankers and businessmen also came, as did prostitutes and others who provided services for those better placed than themselves. They lived both in Japanese communities and in isolation from other Japanese. Finally, there was a second generation, frequently born to mixed marriages between Japanese fathers and local mothers.

Relatively little research has been done on the wartime experiences of internees in Australia. Margaret Bevege has written a Ph.D. thesis on the internment of enemy aliens in Australia which was published as a book in 1993. It covers all the nationalities and one chapter is devoted specifically to the Japanese. Kay Saunders has written extensively on the wartime experiences of people in Australia and has written a number of articles on treatment of enemy aliens and internment in Australia. D.C.S. Sissons has written extensively on the early history of Japanese immigration to Australia, while others in both Japan and Australia have written on migration between Japan and Australia.<sup>3</sup> The presence of Japanese prisoners-of-war at Cowra in Australia is well-known due to the mass breakout which occurred there.<sup>4</sup> This thesis is concerned only with civilians who were interned as Japanese.

The migration patterns, policies and events up to and surrounding World War II in the USA and Canada form a useful basis for comparison with the experiences of Japanese civilians in Australia during the same period. Because of the continuity of the North American Japanese communities and much larger numbers involved, there has been greater opportunity for research into their experiences. This research has sometimes been triggered by the controversies which surrounded internment there. American and Canadian internees and their descendants have successfully pursued claims for compensation from their governments for wrongful deprivation of their rights and property during the war. These claims were based on legal grounds in the case of the USA and largely on US precedent in the case of Canada.

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<sup>3</sup>See the bibliography for major works by Saunders and Sissons.

<sup>4</sup>Three books have been written on the Japanese POW breakout at Cowra. They are Charlotte Carr-Gregg's *Japanese Prisoners of War in Revolt: The Outbreak at Featherstone and Cowra During World War II* (1978), Harry Gordon's *Die Like The Carp* (1978) and Teruhiko Asada's *The Night of the Thousand Suicides* (1970).

A major part of the information for this thesis came from interviews with people who were on both sides of the barbed wire - former internees now in Australia and Japan, and former Australian military personnel involved with the operation of the camps. Official documents held in both Australia and Japan were further sources. Most ex-camp personnel who were approached agreed to be interviewed. Many responded to an advertisement put in newspapers all over Australia in 1985. Seventeen ex-Australian Military Forces (AMF) personnel were interviewed. The same method was used to locate former internees, and a number of letters came from them or from people who knew about them. The research involved travel to many places in Australia, Japan and Taiwan to meet these people and to search for others. 40 former internees and their families were interviewed in Australia, 27 in Japan, three in Taiwan. The majority of the first generation of internees have died, so it was usually only possible to interview those who belonged to the younger generation during the war. Most of the former internees were at first reluctant to talk about their past. Many, both in Japan and Australia, still feel ashamed about having been prisoners during the war. Post-war repatriation and, in some cases, deportation frequently divided family units. The Japanese community which existed in Australia before the war has largely disappeared.



## CHAPTER I

### Background to Japanese Migration

By the early seventeenth century the Japanese were a well-established presence in the western Pacific, and domestic stability and the rise of a stronger merchant class were making foreign trade increasingly attractive.<sup>1</sup> Japan's abundant silver was able to pay for a growing volume of foreign goods, notably silk from China. At the start of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868) determined to consolidate Japan's commercial strength in Asia and, to this end, encouraged traders to establish commercial settlements overseas. Japanese ships extended their activities into the whole of the western Pacific region as far south as Java and west to Burma. Between 1615 and 1625 it is estimated that up to 100,000 Japanese men and women may have established themselves in Japanese settlements, between 7,000 and 10,000 as permanent settlers. They were of respectable social credentials and included merchants, entrepreneurs, craftsmen and samurai.<sup>2</sup>

In 1633, attempting to isolate the country from external political influence, the Shogunate reversed previous policy and the process of Japan's isolation from the rest of the world was begun. In 1635 it became a capital offence for any Japanese to attempt to leave the country or, having left it, to return.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Frei, P. H., *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia : From the Sixteenth Century to World War II*, Melbourne University Press, 1991, pp. 9-12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 13-15.

<sup>3</sup>Adachi, K., *The Enemy That Never Was*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1976, p. 4.

Japan became virtually closed to foreign contact for over two hundred years. But by the mid-nineteenth century, European, Russian, British and American commercial and strategic interests were expanding in the Far East, and Japan was forced to open trade with the West in 1853.<sup>4</sup> Japan's abandonment of its policy of seclusion also eased restriction on movements out of the country. In 1866 the death penalty was removed and Japanese people could apply for passports for the purposes of study or trade overseas.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, the Japanese government signed commercial treaties with the United States, England, France and Holland. Under these treaties, Japanese were theoretically allowed to leave the country if they were employed by interests from those four countries.<sup>6</sup> The new exemptions were granted to very few, but included some government officials, students and merchants. They were allowed to go only to the United States, China, France, England, Germany, Holland and Russia.<sup>7</sup>

In 1868 the Tokugawa Shogunate was overthrown and Imperial rule was restored. Japan entered the modern age during the Meiji Era (1868 -1912). The new government encouraged the nation to adopt western ways under the slogan "Enrich the nation and strengthen its arm." To build up Japan's military power and to gain equality with western powers was the most urgent desire of the Meiji leaders. The Emperor Meiji encouraged the nation to seek knowledge throughout the world. He stated in 1871:

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<sup>4</sup>Beasley, W.G., *The Modern History of Japan*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1978, pp. 40-47 and 57.

<sup>5</sup>Sissons, D.C.S., "*Australian-Japan Relations: The First Phase 1859 - 91*" (hereafter referred to as A-J Relations), Mimeograph, Australian National University, 1973, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup>Yano, T., *Nanshin no Keifu*, Chuko Shinsho, Tokyo, 1975, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

My country is now undergoing a complete change from the old to the new ideas... During youthtime it is positively necessary to view foreign countries, so as to become enlightened as to the ideas of the world: and boys as well girls, who will themselves become men and women, should be allowed to go abroad, and my country will benefit from their knowledge so acquired.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1868 and 1875, 4,637 passports were issued to Japanese for travel to the Asiatic mainland, and over 1,100 for the United States and Europe.<sup>9</sup> These were mainly for government-sponsored students. Yet the Meiji government was reluctant to allow emigration to western nations for the first fifteen years after the restoration.<sup>10</sup> According to Irie, this reluctance was an indication of the legacy of the seclusion period where the social mobility of the people was completely suppressed.<sup>11</sup> At this time many countries, including the United States, Holland, Spain, Australia and Peru, approached Japan for cheap labourers. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected all their requests.<sup>12</sup> Some people did leave illegally, including poor farmers, theatrical performers, peddlers and prostitutes. Their destinations were usually mainland Asia and islands in Nan'yo.<sup>13</sup>

By the 1880s, Japan had more or less rebuilt its political and social frameworks and was increasingly confident of its place in the world. Japan

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<sup>8</sup>Adachi, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Waga Kokumin no Kaigai Hatten: Iju Hyakunen no Ayumi*, Tokyo, 1971, p. 54.

<sup>11</sup>Irie, T., *Hojin Kaigai Hattenshi*, Vol. 1, Hara Shoboo, Tokyo, 1981, reprint of original published in 1942, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup>Imai, T., "Kindai Nihon Saisho no Shudankaigaiju to sono Hamon", *Iju Kenkyu*, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), No. 17, 1980, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup>Yano, pp. 26 & 32. Nan'yo literally means the South Seas. According to Yano's definition, it includes not only the South Pacific, but also Southeast Asia. The term was used before and during the war and was replaced by Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands after it.



had ambitions to match the western powers in territorial expansion. The western powers were actively expanding in the South Seas and the Pacific. For example, England colonised Fiji in 1874, and in 1877 France colonised Tahiti. In 1885 Germany took over the Marshall Islands and in 1884 eastern New Guinea was divided by England and Germany.<sup>14</sup> The Meiji government lifted the ban against emigration as part of its strategy towards becoming a world power. Overseas emigration became vigorous by "the introduction of Malthusian fears of population growth and by a general admiration for western overseas expansion."<sup>15</sup> Japan's population expanded from about 36 million in 1870 to close to 44 million in 1900 and to 55 million in 1920.<sup>16</sup> The Meiji government carried out modernisation and industrialisation at the cost of primary industry which occupied 77 per cent of the Japanese population.<sup>17</sup> There was a surplus of labour which could not be absorbed by urban industry, but people from poor villages were still willing to leave home to find a secure living.<sup>18</sup>

In 1883 the Japanese government permitted 37 people to go to Australia to work for an Australian pearler, Captain J. A. Miller. Japanese had worked as pearlmen in Australia before, but this was the first contract approved by the Japanese government for Japanese labourers to work in a western country.<sup>19</sup> In the following year, Hawaii's minister plenipotentiary came to

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<sup>14</sup>Irie, p. 32.

<sup>15</sup>Myers, R. and Peattie, M., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895 - 1945*, Princeton University Press, 1984, p. 174.

<sup>16</sup>Tachi, M., *Jinko Mondai no Chishiki*, Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, Tokyo, 1969, p.98.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid, p. 97.

<sup>18</sup>Adachi, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, p. 18.

Japan to negotiate for labourers to work on sugar plantations. 28,000 people applied and 945 were chosen. They reached Honolulu in February 1885 and were followed by another party of 989 a few months later.<sup>20</sup> These labourers were poor peasants, mostly men, from the prefectures of Hiroshima and Yamaguchi. For them, leaving the country was an attractive option with the offer of free passage, food, lodging, medical care and relatively high wages. Irie wrote that early emigration schemes were initiated by receiving countries and if the Japanese government had accepted other invitations in the early years of Meiji, more desperately poor people would have been able to migrate.<sup>21</sup> The emigration to Hawaii stimulated national interest in further migration and was the vanguard of a movement to the United States, Canada and other areas.<sup>22</sup>

In the following two decades Japan saw an active period of emigration. In 1891 the Japanese government established the Department of Emigration in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1893 created the Japan Colonisation Association.<sup>23</sup> The government also allowed private companies to facilitate and promote emigration and recruit migrants. The first emigration company was the Nihon Yoshisa Emigration Company which was formed in 1891.<sup>24</sup> In 1903, 36 emigration agencies were operating.<sup>25</sup> In 1896 the Japanese government introduced the Emigrants Protection Law, which supervised the activities of

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<sup>20</sup>Irie, pp. 54-57.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>22</sup>Adachi, p. 9

<sup>23</sup>The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 55.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>25</sup>Kodama, M., "Shoki Imin Gaisha no Iminboshu to sono Jittai", *Hiroshima shi Kenkyu*, No. 3, March, 1987, p. 43.

private companies and tried to prevent unlawful acts and put emigration under government control.<sup>26</sup> Under this law all emigration companies had to be registered. According to Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs statistics, by 1910 approximately 252,000 people had gone to North America, 20,000 to Central and South America, and 12,000 to the Nan'yo region including Australia.<sup>27</sup>

The increased interest in emigration from Japan coincided with growing resentment about non-white migration in countries of destination, including the United States, Canada and Australia. Prejudice had often been triggered by anti-Chinese feeling in the aftermath of gold rushes and the Japanese were often seen as part of the same threat to white values and lifestyles.<sup>28</sup>

The United States was one of four countries to which the Japanese government officially allowed Japanese to go in 1866. In the period from 1866 to 1880 fewer than 400 went to the US.<sup>29</sup> Although some of the Japanese who went to Hawaii continued on to the mainland of the United States in the 1880s, not until the late 1890s did Japanese migration to the US mainland increase considerably. At first the Japanese were well-accepted in the US, both on the mainland and in Hawaii. Mostly young men, they were hard-working and compliant, gaining a reputation as ideal imported labourers. By 1904 there

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<sup>26</sup>Moriyama, A., *Nichibei Iminshigaku*, PMC Shuppan, Tokyo, p. 61.

<sup>27</sup>The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 137. The number of emigrants to the mainland China and Manchuria was not known as passports were not required to go there.

<sup>28</sup>Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 55; Hawkins, F., *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989, pp. 8-9, 11-21; Yarwood, A. T., *Asian Migration to Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1964, pp. 91-96.

<sup>29</sup>Bahr, H., Chadwick, B. and Stauss, J., *American Ethnicity*, Massachusetts, D.C. Heath and Company, p. 84.

were 53,764 Japanese on the mainland, concentrated mainly on the west coast.<sup>30</sup> Because of the influx of Chinese during the gold rushes, there was already resentment against the Chinese. This resulted in a government policy to exclude Chinese from the country in 1882. Anti-Japanese feeling existed on a lesser scale as early as 1887 in San Francisco when the number of Japanese there was still as few as 2,000, but not until after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) did considerable anti-Japanese sentiment begin to surface. Between 1900 and 1910, the Japanese population of California quadrupled. According to Daniels and Kitano, "this relatively tiny group became the focus of a mass movement whose international implications were serious enough to involve the diplomatic intervention of the President of the USA."<sup>31</sup> Front page headlines of the San Francisco Chronicle during 1905 included:

CRIME AND POVERTY GO HAND IN HAND WITH ASIATIC LABOR  
HOW JAPANESE IMMIGRATION COMPANIES OVERRIDE LAWS  
BROWN MEN ARE MADE CITIZENS ILLEGALLY  
JAPANESE A MENACE TO AMERICAN WOMEN  
BROWN MEN AS AN EVIL IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS  
ADULT JAPANESE CROWD OUT CHILDREN  
THE YELLOW PERIL - HOW JAPANESE CROWD OUT THE WHITE RACE  
BROWN MEN ASSUME NATIONAL PROPORTIONS  
BROWN ARTISANS STEAL BRAINS OF WHITES<sup>32</sup>

In 1907 the Japanese government signed a "gentlemen's agreement" with the United States to restrict Japanese migration to family reunions. The 1920 census found 111,010 Japanese, alien and citizens, in the entire country and 71,952 of them in California.<sup>33</sup> In 1922 the United States government decided

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<sup>30</sup>Wakatsuki, Y. and Jooji Suzuki, *Kaigai Ijuu Seisaku Shiron*, Fukumura Shuppan, Tokyo, 1975, p. 61. This number includes those who initially went to Hawaii as contract labourers and moved to the mainland to earn better wages upon finishing their contracts. The number increased particularly after Hawaii was annexed by the US in 1898.

<sup>31</sup>Daniels, R. and Kitano, H., *American Racism : Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice* Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1970, p. 46.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52.

to remove the right to naturalisation for Japanese and in 1924 the Oriental Exclusion Act, a revised immigration policy, totally banned Japanese migrants.<sup>34</sup>

Japanese migration to Canada began in 1877 and flourished in the 1890s.<sup>35</sup> For the most part the migrants came as indentured labourers to work in such industries as fishing, lumbering, mining, railway construction and farming. Anti-Japanese sentiment in Canada developed similarly to the United States and was also triggered by anti-Chinese feeling. By the 1890s there were several attempts to limit arrivals of both Chinese and Japanese and to restrict their employment,<sup>36</sup> and in 1900 British Columbia attempted to pass a restrictive immigration act aimed at these two groups. It was subsequently disallowed by the federal government.<sup>37</sup> In 1901, 4,738 Japanese were living in Canada, 4,597 of them in British Columbia.<sup>38</sup> Anti-Japanese feeling heightened with the sudden influx of Japanese when the United States stopped entry of Japanese from Hawaii in 1907.<sup>39</sup> On 7 September 1907 an anti-Japanese rally in Vancouver became violent and a mob attacked "Little Tokyo", where most Japanese lived.<sup>40</sup> The reactions of the press were strongly anti-Japanese. On 9 September the Vancouver Daily Province wrote:

We are all of the opinion that this province must be a white man's country...We do not wish to look forward to a day when our descendants will be dominated by Japanese, or Chinese, or any color

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<sup>34</sup>Wakatsuki and Suzuki, p. 62.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>36</sup>Adachi, p. 41.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Table 3, Appendix.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

but their own...We are an out-post of the Empire, and that outpost we have to hold against all comers.<sup>41</sup>

Further xenophobic agitation caused the government to make an arrangement with the Japanese government to restrict further migration, although it fell short of total exclusion. In 1907 specific quotas were introduced for certain classes of migrants and the total number of migrants dropped from 7,601 in the year ending March 1908 to 495 in the following year.<sup>42</sup> The agreement did not place any limit on the number of wives entering Canada and a large number of women came under the "picture bride" system,<sup>43</sup> which continued until 1928.<sup>44</sup> In 1921, of 15,868 Japanese in Canada, 5,348 were female.<sup>45</sup> According to Adachi, this altered the nature of Japanese settlement, from predominantly itinerant contract labourers to a more settled, family-based community.<sup>46</sup>

In the decade before federation, the Australian colonies viewed Japan's rise to international prominence with some concern. Although there had been racial resentment against the Chinese who came to Australia during the gold rushes earlier in the 19th century, Yarwood claims:

Neither miners' riots nor quayside protest gave urgency to the parliaments ... The initiative for the extension of the "White Australia" legislation of the nineties came not from popular demand, but from politicians, who, though primarily concerned with the Japanese

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

question, took the opportunity of completing the statutory wall behind which an essentially Anglo-Saxon society could be nourished.<sup>47</sup>

Australian legislators were more concerned with "potential rather than actual influx".<sup>48</sup> Although there was awareness of the growing importance of trade links with Japan, racial enmity was predominant in discussion of future relations. Individual colonies proposed extension of their anti-Chinese legislation to include all "coloured races", but the difficulty of coordinating these actions was a further, if not the main, incentive to federation.<sup>49</sup> Queensland allowed migration of Japanese to work on the pearling luggers and in the sugar cane fields and differed from the other colonies in trying to negotiate convenient arrangements with Japan to allow only migration which was seen as beneficial to its needs. Interpretation of this position caused confusion and disagreement between the Japanese and Queensland governments. With federation in 1901, the Commonwealth completely banned Japanese immigration. There was to be no "gentleman's agreement" as with the USA and Canada.<sup>50</sup>

The restrictions on migration to English-speaking countries caused a change in the destination of Japanese emigrants. The discriminatory barriers erected by the US and the British dominions led Japanese to seek admission to alternative destinations in Central and South America. From around 1910 to just before World War II, approximately 242,000 went to Mexico, Brazil, Peru,

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<sup>47</sup>Yarwood, A. T., "The 'White Australia' Policy: A Re-interpretation of its Development in the Late Colonial Period", *Historical Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 39, 1962, pp. 257-8.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

Argentina and Chile. The overwhelming majority, 188,986, went to Brazil.<sup>51</sup> The first emigration to Brazil began with 781 farmers in 1908.<sup>52</sup> Migration to Brazil flourished during the 1920s and 1930s as the Japanese government gave full sponsorship to emigration to ease unemployment. These Japanese went to work as labourers and farmers.<sup>53</sup> The second biggest group of Japanese emigrants, 33,070, went to Peru.<sup>54</sup> They laboured on sugar and cotton plantations.<sup>55</sup> According to Gardiner, for decades before W.W.II anti-Japanese sentiment flourished in Peru and in 1940 an anti-Japanese riot occurred in Lima.<sup>56</sup> By 1934 no less than 34% of all Japanese emigrants were living in Brazil and Peru.<sup>57</sup>

Nan 'yo also attracted Japanese emigrants. According to Yano, prostitutes and peddlers paved the way for later Japanese commercial activities and Japanese settlement in some areas of Nan 'yo. Most prostitutes were young women from poor villages in Nagasaki who were smuggled out to work in brothels. Often peasants were forced to send out their daughters in search of some relief from continual poverty. Many young women were sold to brothels in Japanese cities or overseas to Southeast Asia.<sup>58</sup> The women sold overseas were called "Karayuki". Singapore, the transit port for many

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<sup>51</sup>The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pp. 140-141.

<sup>52</sup>Irie, T., *Hoojin Kaigai Hattenshi*, Vol.2, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup>The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 56.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>55</sup>Gardiner, p. 4.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>57</sup>Thomas, B., *International Migration and Economic Development*, Paris, UNESCO, 1961, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup>Mihalapoulos, B., *Japan's Forgotten Commodities: The Karayuki, Honours thesis*, University of Adelaide, 1983, p. 3.



emigrants going to other parts of Southeast Asia, had many Karayuki. According to a memoir written by a Japanese resident of Singapore, "in 1896 the number of Japanese in Singapore was approximately 1,000, of whom 900 were women, and 99 per cent of these women were engaged in prostitution."<sup>59</sup> By the early 1900s, Japanese brothels were widespread in the Pacific Basin. In 1907, a peak of more than 22,000 Japanese prostitutes abroad was reached.<sup>60</sup> Although there was international pressure to reduce prostitution from the early twentieth century, the Japanese government was slow to respond. Japanese residents in Singapore took some action to restrict the trade and the Karayuki were forced to be less open in their activities. By 1929 numbers of Karayuki outside Japan had fallen to 4,748, but the trade continued until the outbreak of the Pacific War.<sup>61</sup>

By 1941, 88,176 Japanese emigrants had gone to various parts of Nan'yo, including 53,120 to the Phillipines and Guam, 10,095 to Malaya and the Straits Settlements, 7,095 to N.E.I., 5,073 to New Caledonia, and 4,819 to Oceania.<sup>62</sup> N.E.I. was a traditional destination in Nan'yo for Japanese. In the early 1600s Batavia was not only an important diplomatic and trade link between Holland and Japan, but also one of the places in the Western Pacific where the Japanese established a Nihonjinmachi [Japanese Town].<sup>63</sup> In the late 1800s

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<sup>59</sup>Konno, T. and Fujisaki, Y., eds, *Iminshi*, Vol. 2, Shinsensha, Tokyo, 1985, p. 26.

<sup>60</sup>Yamamoto G., "Overseas Prostitutes", pp. 271-272, cited by Mihalopoulos, p. 24. In 1907 there were 16,424 Karayuki in China, 2,086 in Singapore, 980 in Batavia, 392 in Manila, 913 in Honolulu, 371 in San Francisco, 1,087 in Vladivostok.

<sup>61</sup>Mihalopoulos, p. 43.

<sup>62</sup>The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pp. 142-143. The others were 2,705 to British Borneo, 1,803 to Macao, 986 to India, 582 to Indochina, 541 to Tahiti, 243 to Siam, 90 to Fiji and 129 to other Pacific islands.

<sup>63</sup>Frei, pp. 14-15.

Japanese again began to be seen in the area. In 1897, 125 Japanese were living in N.E.I. (25 males and 100 females) and in 1909 the number had reached 614 (166 males and 448 females).<sup>64</sup> Of the 166 males, about 50 per cent were engaged in commerce and another 26 per cent were probably connected with prostitution, while 80 per cent of the females were probably prostitutes.<sup>65</sup> By 1935 the Japanese population of N.E.I. had grown to 6,598. This was largely due to the establishment of the Nan'yo Kyokai [Nan'yo Association] in 1915 which strongly promoted the development of commercial links with the area.<sup>66</sup> By this time prostitution had been suppressed and no Japanese women were officially recognised as being engaged in it. Half the male population was in commerce and others worked in fishery and horticulture.<sup>67</sup>

Japanese emigration to New Caledonia began in 1900. Japanese emigration companies recruited workers for mines operated by British and French nickel companies. By 1911, 3,663 labourers had gone to work in these mines. Living conditions were extremely bad. According to a 1911 report on emigrants to the Pacific region by the Japanese Consul-General in Sydney, of these 3,663 labourers, 1,598 returned to Japan, 643 abandoned the work and disappeared, and 131 died. Most of those remaining were still working as miners.<sup>68</sup> After 1920 small numbers of merchants also arrived. According to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 5,073 went there between 1900 and 1940.<sup>69</sup> The

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<sup>64</sup>Yano, p. 18.

<sup>65</sup>Jagatara Tomo no Kai, *Shashin de Tsuzuru Ranin Seikatsu Hanseiki*, Tokyo, 1987, p. 301. These figures are assumed from those listed as engaged in "other occupations".

<sup>66</sup>Yano, p. 76.

<sup>67</sup>Jagatara Tomo no Kai, p. 301.

<sup>68</sup>Konno, T. and Fujisaki, Y., pp. 214-217.

<sup>69</sup>Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pp. 142 - 143.

number remaining in 1941 is not clear, but 1,124 were interned at the outbreak of the Pacific War.<sup>70</sup>

Other South Pacific islands also attracted Japanese indentured labourers. From 1905 the British Pacific Phosphorus Company employed Japanese on three-year contracts in the New Hebrides. In 1910, 350 Japanese were in the New Hebrides, all working either in the production of phosphorus or as carpenters, boatbuilders, engineers, cooks or blacksmiths.<sup>71</sup> Numbers at the outbreak of war are not available, but in 1941, 34 were interned.<sup>72</sup>

Nan 'yo became increasingly important for Japan's economic and territorial expansionism after World War I. In 1920 Japan claimed German-held Micronesia - the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas (excluding Guam) - under the auspices of the League of Nations.<sup>73</sup> The establishment of regional administrations in the area in 1922 led to increasing consciousness of the Japanese role, and by 1937 there were 50,657 Japanese living in these mandated territories.<sup>74</sup> Many of these settlers were from Okinawa,<sup>75</sup> an area which produced many emigrants. They were engaged in various industries in the region including mining phosphorus and bauxite, agriculture and fishing.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>They were interned at the outbreak of war and were transferred to Australia.

<sup>71</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, pp. 224-225.

<sup>72</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, Vol. 1, p. 93.

<sup>73</sup>Myers and Peattie, p. 187.

<sup>74</sup>Konno, T. and Fujisaki, Y., Map of the world-wide distribution of Japanese abroad, Appendix.

<sup>75</sup>Yano, T., *Nihon no Nan'yoshikan*, Chuuo Shinsho, Tokyo, 1979, p. 116.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

Before the outbreak of the Pacific War, Japanese communities thus became well-established throughout the Americas and the Asia-Pacific region. In 1935 there were 1,146,462 Japanese and of Japanese descent living abroad, excluding Formosa and Korea, which the Japanese counted as colonies.<sup>77</sup> With varying degrees of local acceptance and policy, numbers differed widely from region to region. There were small numbers in the South Pacific islands where the reasons for settlement were limited. In areas such as the west coast of North America, there were well-established settlements with schools, Nihonjin-kai [Japanese Societies/Clubs], Japanese language community newspapers and commercial activities distinguished by a relatively Japanese lifestyle. Some communities had reached the stage of second-generation settlement, while others remained temporary addresses for those who intended to return home. It was not uncommon for the second generation to have Japanese language education in ethnic schools while they received local education in government schools. The immigrant parents hoped that the ethnic schools would be a means of maintaining contact between their children and their own language and traditions. For example, in most of these Japanese language schools in Canada, in Adachi's words, "the courses of instruction were limited to reading and writing in the Japanese language, but a few schools...included intensive reading of Shuushin [ethics] and Japanese history and thus attempted to inculcate reverence for the Emperor and pride in serving Japan."<sup>78</sup> Some of the second generation Japanese in Canada and the US were sent to Japan for education. They were generally referred to as the "Kika Nisei" [returning second generation to Canada]<sup>79</sup> and the "Kibei Nisei" [returning second

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<sup>77</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, pp. 236-237.

<sup>78</sup>Adachi, p. 128.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

generation to the US].<sup>80</sup> A similar pattern occurred in South American countries and Australia.

In Nan'yo, schools were established in the larger Japanese settlements. In N.E.I., for example, Japanese schools were established in Surabaya in 1925 and Batavia in 1928.<sup>81</sup> In the Nan'yo region, education was increasingly coloured by the climate of Japanese nationalism and militarism during the period leading up to the outbreak of the war. This area was later to be included in official plans for southern expansion of the Japanese Empire. Education in these schools promoted regimentation, Japanization and a sense of duty to the Emperor. The pupils wore the same school uniforms as in Japan.<sup>82</sup>

In November 1940 Prince Fumimaro Koiso, Japanese Minister for Overseas Affairs, wrote to overseas Japanese about the celebration of the 2,600th anniversary of the founding the Japanese Empire.<sup>83</sup> In the letter he indicated his concerns over second generation migrants:

One of the problems of overseas compatriots, which are of the greatest concern, is the problem of the second generation. We must at this juncture remove the defects in our emigration policy, which have brought about the result that overseas compatriots have been considered to be discarded citizens. I keenly feel that we must wisely inspire the children of overseas compatriots with the Japanese spirit, guiding them to be nationals of the second generation.

During the months before the outbreak of the Pacific War the Japanese government repatriated many overseas Japanese, mainly temporary residents and their families whose intention had been to return to Japan. The remaining

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<sup>80</sup>Thomas, D. & Nishimoto, R., *The Spoilage: Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement During World War II*, University of California Press, 1946, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup>Yano, pp. 131-135.

<sup>82</sup>Myers and Peattie, p. 121.

<sup>83</sup>A 373, 10298 (hereafter referred to as "Thursday Island Material"), List 6.

residents and those who had established local family ties were left to their fate. At the outbreak of war between Japan and the Allies, most of them were interned.

## CHAPTER 2

### Japanese Settlement in Australia

The number of Japanese resident in Australia has never been large. The earliest known were twelve acrobats and jugglers who performed in Melbourne at the Princess Theatre in December 1867.<sup>1</sup> They were billed as "Lenton and Smith's Great Novelty for the Colonies - The Great Dragon Troupe of Japanese - Twelve Wonders from Yeddo."<sup>2</sup> In February 1874, the thirteen members of the "Royal Tycoon Troupe" appeared in the same theatre.<sup>3</sup> The first recorded Japanese resident in Queensland was one of this troupe, Rikinosuke Sakuragawa. He brought his son to Australia and the son subsequently became a pearl diver on Thursday Island.<sup>4</sup> Rikinosuke married an Australian in Melbourne in 1875 and moved to Queensland where they had a family. He continued to be a theatrical performer and was naturalised in 1882.<sup>5</sup> According to Sissons, apart from these theatrical performers, the only Japanese who arrived in Australia before 1883 seem to have been seamen who were employed on foreign ships in Japan and paid off in Australian ports.<sup>6</sup> Some of these seamen eventually engaged

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<sup>1</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>Jeff Taylor, greatgrandson of Rikinosuke Sakuragawa, Brisbane, 4 June 1992.

<sup>5</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 14

themselves in the pearling industry which brought many Japanese immigrants to Australia after 1883. These early settlers were the vanguard of later Japanese settlements which developed around the pearling industry.

In 1876 a private proposal to bring out Japanese as free settlers to the Northern Territory received tentative approval from the South Australian cabinet. The scheme failed owing to conservative opposition in Japan. A similar proposal was made in 1898, but this scheme was also rejected by the Japanese, possibly due to dissatisfaction with the restrictions that were to be put on Japanese settlement. Japanese rejection coincided with increasing pressure in Australia for a White Australia.<sup>7</sup>

In 1901, when the Immigration Restriction Act (the White Australia Policy) was introduced, there were about 3,500 Japanese in Australia.<sup>8</sup> The majority were contract labourers either in the pearling or sugar industries. Most came from farming and fishing backgrounds in heavily populated areas - Wakayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Kumamoto prefectures. They left Japan for economic reasons. In Australia they saw prospects for wealth far greater than they possessed at home. Usually they intended to

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<sup>7</sup>Sissons, D., "Japanese in the Northern Territory: 1884-1902" (hereafter referred to as "Japanese in N.T."), Mimeograph, ANU, 1974, pp. 25-43. The abortive plan in 1876 was put forward by a South Australian, Wilton Hack, who had spent some time in Japan as a missionary and an English teacher. The 1898 plan was proposed by J.L. Parsons, an Adelaide merchant, who first went to Japan to promote a market for South Australian products in 1895 and who, in 1896, was appointed honorary consul at Adelaide by the Japanese Government. A descendant held the position of honorary consul in Adelaide until 1990.

<sup>8</sup>Wilson, S., 'Japanese in Western Australia', p. 325, in Anne Atkinson, *Asian Immigration to Western Australia 1829-1901*, The Bicentennial Dictionary of Western Australia, Vol. 5, University of Western Australia, 1988.



work temporarily in Australia, to remit their surplus income to their families and to return home with their accumulated savings.<sup>9</sup> Many were young men.<sup>10</sup>

Thursday Island, Darwin and Broome were the three major towns where Japanese worked in the pearling industry. The first Japanese to work in the pearling industry in Australia was, according to Sissons, Nonami Kojiro of Shimane, a seaman who signed off at Sydney. He joined a pearling lugger as a pumper and arrived on Thursday Island in about 1878.<sup>11</sup> This was only a year after the first European officials had been sent there. Pearl shell gatherers had already been attracted to the island, and employed South Sea Islanders, mainly women, to dive and gather the shell for them. In the early 1870s, boats equipped with helmet apparatus appeared.<sup>12</sup> By 1880 more than 100 boats were working.<sup>13</sup> Nonami became a successful diver within a few years of his arrival. His success attracted more Japanese to the island and by 1883 about fifteen were working on the luggers. Most were ex-seamen recruited by Burns Philp and Company in Hong Kong.<sup>14</sup> The success of these men prompted Captain J. A. Miller, manager

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<sup>9</sup>Sissons, D., "The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry" (hereafter referred to as "Pearling"), *Queensland Heritage*, Vol. 3, No. 10, 1974, pp. 10-18.

<sup>10</sup>Sissons, *Pearling*, p. 18 and Kodama, M., "Shoki Imin Gaisha no Iminboshu to sono Jittai" [The Early Years of Recruitment of Emigrants by Emigration Companies], *Hiroshima Shi Kenkyu* [Local History of Hiroshima], No. 3, Mar. 1978, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Sissons, *A-J Relations*, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup>Foley, J. C., *Timeless Isle: An Illustrated History of Thursday Island*, The Torres Straits Historical Society, Thursday Island, 1986, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>14</sup>Bain, M.A., *Full Fathom Five*, Artlook Books, Perth, 1982, p. 84

of the Australasian Pearl Company, to go to Japan in 1883 to recruit Japanese labourers.<sup>15</sup> The performance of these Japanese men was such that Australian pearlers continued to seek labour in Japan.<sup>16</sup>

The first known Japanese to arrive in Darwin were also pearlers. In 1884 the North Australian Pearlshell Company, inspired by Thursday Island, brought 15 Japanese divers to Darwin. All or some of these may have been among the 37 Japanese Miller had brought to Thursday Island, as some of Miller's boats also worked out of Darwin.<sup>17</sup> The first Japanese diver in Darwin was a former seaman called 'Charley Japan' from Nagasaki. He originally found employment in the pearling industry in Cossack, Western Australia in 1883,<sup>18</sup> and then moved to Darwin where he was employed as a diver by an Australian pearler. Before the end of 1892 he was able to equip his own boat and bring some of his countrymen from Western Australia to serve as his crew. Other Japanese heard about his success and came to Darwin, bringing the Japanese population there up to about 30 in 1892.<sup>19</sup>

Broome was settled in the early 1880s and at that time men from the United Kingdom dominated pearling there. By the mid to late 1880s Japanese were working in pearling areas along the Western Australian coast from Roebuck Bay to Exmouth Gulf. Pearling fleets operated from coastal towns, including Broome, Cossack, Port Hedland and Onslow.<sup>20</sup> It is not certain

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<sup>15</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, p. 15.

<sup>16</sup>Sissons, Pearling, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup>Sissons, Japanese in N.T., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Bain, p. 231.

when the first Japanese came to Broome, but in 1891 there were 322 Japanese recorded as living in Western Australia, mostly in Broome.<sup>21</sup>

In 1884 the Japanese government approved contracts similar to Miller's and allowed Fearon, Low and Company, a British firm working from Broome, to employ 69 men. In the following year it also allowed Streeter and Company, the largest of the Western Australian pearling companies, to employ six men.<sup>22</sup> After this, the number of contracts approved was limited. Immigration did not take place on any significant scale<sup>23</sup> until 1892 when the Nihon Yoshisa Emigration Company, the first officially approved company, began sending contract labourers. This company and a branch it established later, the Toyo Emigration Company, sent most of the indentured labourers to Australia.<sup>24</sup>

The majority of the Japanese in the pearling industry came from Wakayama Prefecture. Some came to free their families from debt and were "very keen to make money".<sup>25</sup> According to Ganter, "Wages that were meagre by Australian standards were considered attractive in the Japanese context. Eighteen-year olds could earn the equivalent wage of a Japanese high school principal..."<sup>26</sup> A former diver interviewed by Ganter said:

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<sup>21</sup>Wilson, p. 325.

<sup>22</sup>Sissons, *Pearling*, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup>Sissons, *Pearling*, p. 13; Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 55. In 1891 the Japanese Department of Emigration was established and the government took a more positive approach to emigration.

<sup>24</sup>Kodama, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup>Sissons, *Pearling*, p. 18.

<sup>26</sup>Ganter, R., "Images of Japanese Pearl-Shellers in Queensland", *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, May 1991, p. 269.

I went to Australia to make money. If I worked as a cook for two years (on a lugger) I could build a big house ... In Japan it would take you fifty years to earn that sort of money. I endured for ten years, yes endured.<sup>27</sup>

Japanese divers were highly efficient and much sought after. In 1898, a report prepared by the Queensland government commented on the Japanese:

They are the Scotchmen of the East and are industrious, frugal, clean, tractable and law abiding... Their frugality impels them to forward their savings to Japan instead of squandering them.<sup>28</sup>

In Broome they were described as "the most industrious, thrifty and well conducted element"<sup>29</sup>, while at Darwin they were described as "a fine, sturdy lot of men".<sup>30</sup> By 1894 the Japanese were the largest national group working in the pearling industry in the Torres Strait.<sup>31</sup> By the mid 1890s the Japanese were threatening the monopoly of white ownership. By 1898 the Japanese population on Thursday Island exceeded that of the Europeans - 619 Japanese and 608 Europeans.<sup>32</sup> The Japanese had gained complete control of some aspects of the pearling industry, such as ship-building and repairing, and were strongly represented among lugger owners and divers and in the business and professional sectors of Thursday Island.<sup>33</sup> In Broome the Japanese remained a minority, although they had a virtual monopoly of diving and associated tending.<sup>34</sup> The number of Japanese in Darwin was small in comparison with that of Thursday Island

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 270.

<sup>28</sup>Bain, p. 83.

<sup>29</sup>Wilson, p. 325.

<sup>30</sup>Sissons, *Japanese in N.T.*, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Armstrong, J., "Aspects of Japanese Immigration to Queensland before 1900", *Queensland Heritage*, Vol. 2, No. 9, 1973, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Bain, p. 125.

and Broome, as the total catch of shell at Darwin was the smallest of the three.<sup>35</sup> In 1893 there were 21 Japanese men in Darwin, all but one engaged in pearling.<sup>36</sup>

In the north, according to Bach, Europeans were "faced with the problem of how, on the one hand, to retain access to such labour in defiance of a national anti-Asian feeling while, on the other, to make certain that the imported labour remained subordinated."<sup>37</sup> As early as 1889, white shellers in Queensland were complaining about Chinese and Japanese boats and urging the government to refuse all ship licences to alien applicants. "The large shelling companies which had originally encouraged the introduction of such aliens as cheap labour were now seeking legislative protection against the consequences of their own cupidity."<sup>38</sup> By 1892 Asians were excluded from owning boats.<sup>39</sup>

From 1901 the Immigration Restriction Act meant that Japanese could "not be admitted as settlers, irrespective of their relationship to domiciled persons or of their economic status", while the Australian government retained "a final control over the movements of Japanese who arrived on conditions of temporary entry."<sup>40</sup> This had the effect of freezing the number of Japanese at 1901 levels.<sup>41</sup> The Japanese government

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<sup>35</sup>Sissons, *Japanese in N.T.*, p. 24.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>37</sup>Bach, p. 205.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>40</sup>Yarwood, *Asian Migration in Australia*, p. 84.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

found this offensive and strongly objected through the British government. The Australian government attempted to placate Japanese sensitivities without retreating from its firm position on non-white immigration.<sup>42</sup>

The Australian pearl shell companies were in a difficult position. Despite anti-Japanese feelings in the trade, they had come to depend to a large degree on Japanese expertise and abilities. According to Bach, they "reacted vigorously, stating repeatedly that if the provisions of the new Act were applied to them they would be forced either to abandon the enterprise or to move to the adjacent Dutch islands, beyond Australian control. The threat persuaded the federal authorities to make exemptions for them."<sup>43</sup> But in 1912 the Pearlshelling Act, which contained a specific prohibition against alien licences, was introduced to further restrict the Japanese. Between 1892 and 1912, the Japanese were effectively deprived of any direct legal participation in ownership within the industry, but the dependence of the industry upon their labour was in no way diminished.<sup>44</sup>

Japanese dominance of diving and tending lasted until World War II, with the exception of a short period during World War 1 when pearling was suspended around Thursday Island and reduced at Broome, and many were

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<sup>42</sup>Patience, A., "Towards an Intergrated Western Pacific: A Comment on Developments in Japan-Australia Relations", in *Oosutoraria Kenkyu Kiyō*, Oitemon Gakuin University, Kyoto, Vol. 9, 1984, p. 34.

<sup>43</sup>Bach, p. 205.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 207.

repatriated to Japan. Normal activity did not recommence until 1919.<sup>45</sup> In Broome, in 1925, only 720 of the Western Australian pearling labour force of 1,746 were Japanese, but Japanese accounted for 193 out of 210 divers.<sup>46</sup> By 1928, ninety-nine percent of all divers' licences in Torres Strait belonged to Japanese.<sup>47</sup> In 1941 approximately 500 Japanese were working in the Australian pearling industry.<sup>48</sup> They formed very closely-knit communities in the Japanese quarters of their towns - "Chinatown" in Broome and Darwin, and "Yokohama" on Thursday Island. Men from the same town in Japan tended to live in the same boarding house which would be named after the town, such as Kushimoto House and Ooshima House. Most could not speak English.<sup>49</sup> According to Ogawa, Broome and Darwin had men from more varied places of origin than Thursday Island, where almost all were from Wakayama.<sup>50</sup> Social activities reflected Japanese customs. The entertainment available during off-seasons was limited, although there were Japanese brothels. Gambling and drinking were popular pastimes. According to Sissons, gambling was a "great problem" and many lost a lot of money.<sup>51</sup> They tried to reproduce the Japanese diet as closely as possible and on Thursday Island a soy sauce factory in "Yokohama" was run by Haruyoshi Yamashita, president of the Nihonjin-kai on the island before

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<sup>45</sup>Narita, K., ed., *Nichigo Tsusho Gaikoshi*, Shinhyoron, Tokyo, 1971, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup>Wilson, p. 325.

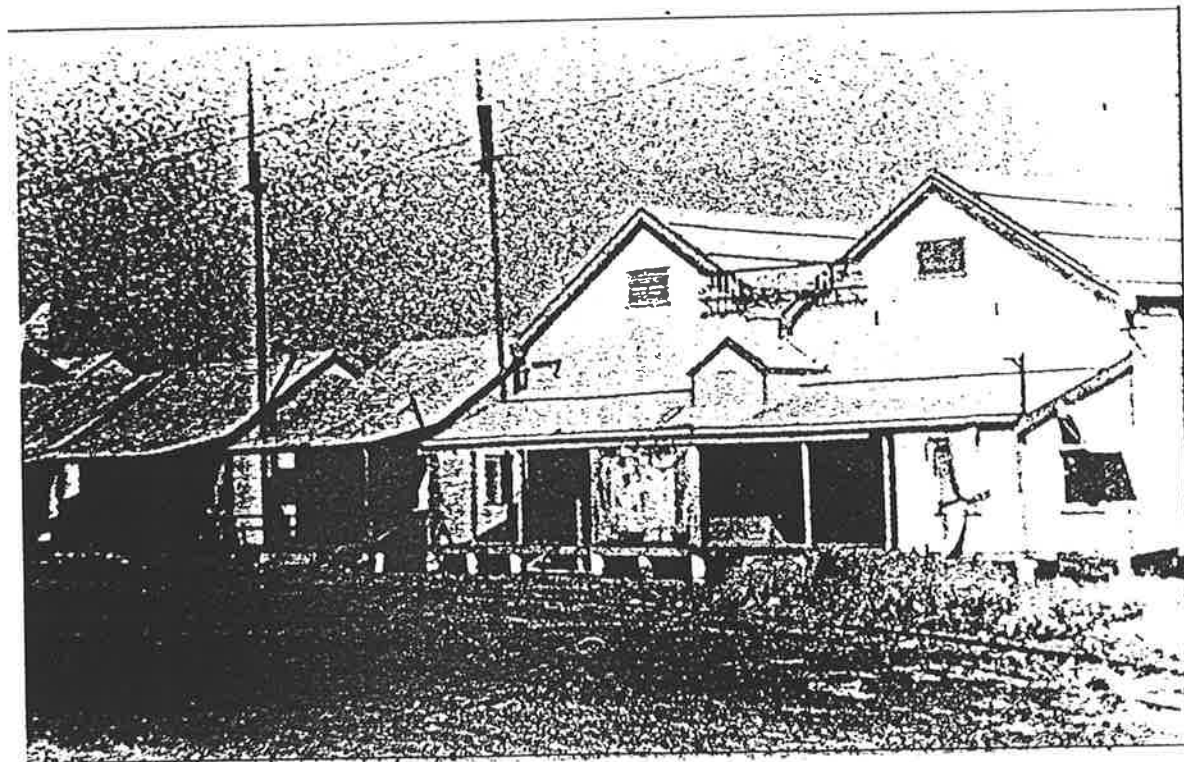
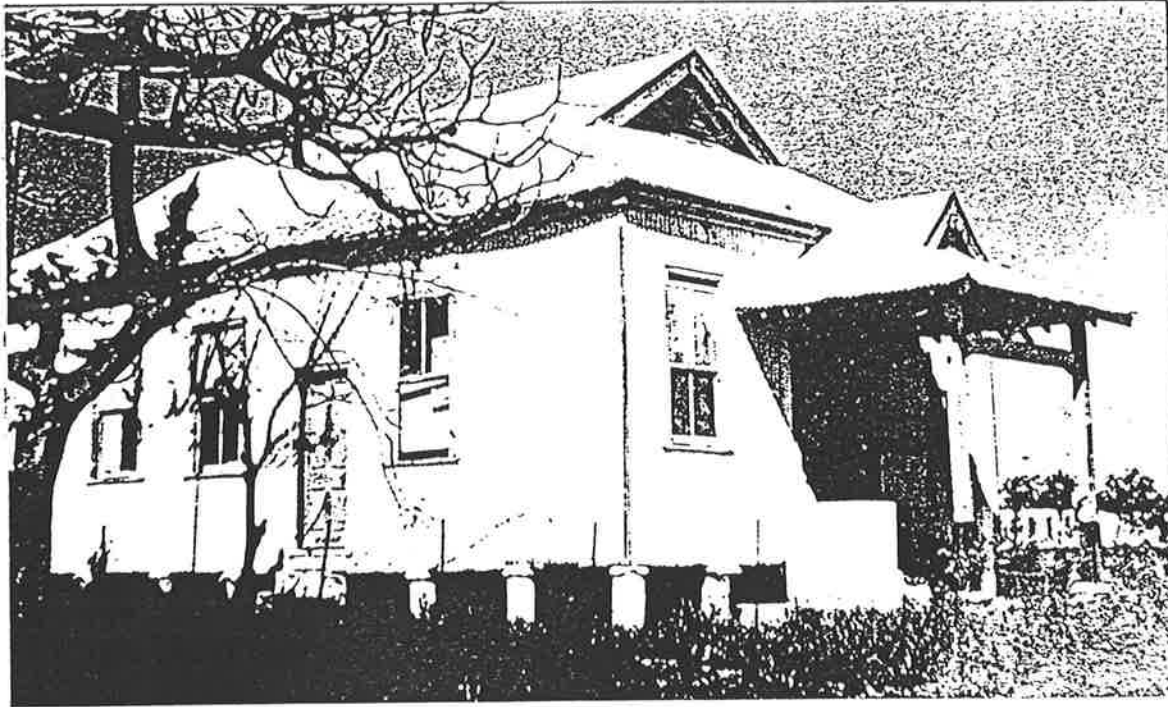
<sup>47</sup>Thursday Island High School, *Pearling in the Torres Strait*, Thursday Island, 1986, p. 15.

<sup>48</sup>MP 742/1, 255/2/283, 21 Apr. and 7 July 1943.

<sup>49</sup>Ogawa, T., *Arafurakai no Shinju* [The Pearl of the Arafura Sea], Tokyo, Ayumi Shuppan, 1976, p. 170.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>51</sup>Sissons, *Pearling*, p. 21.



Top: Broome Nihonjin-Kai Club house

Bottom: Chinatown in Broome

(Courtesy of Broome Historical Museum)



the war. Almost all the Japanese in the pearling towns belonged to a local Nihonjin-kai, which was not only the centre of social life, but also served as an information centre for the local Japanese community. Members tried to re-create many of the cultural traditions of Japan. The Nihonjin-kai played a bridging role between the community and the home country. According to Ogawa, the Nihonjin-kai on Thursday Island was very well organised and "made various contributions to the Japanese residents." Thanks to the initiative of the Nihonjin-kai, the Japanese communities at Thursday Island and Broome were allowed to have a Japanese doctor.<sup>52</sup>

Diving was dangerous and had a very high death rate - about 10 per cent per annum.<sup>53</sup> According to Ogawa, 561 Japanese divers on Thursday Island and 977 in Broome died up to 1941.<sup>54</sup> Many other divers suffered paralysis because of the 'bends'. According to Sissons, despite the risks "Many Japanese found that employment by Australian pearlers suited their needs better than life in Japan." Most went back to Japan when their contracts expired, but signed up again later.<sup>55</sup>

Until 1901 the largest number of Japanese emigrants worked as indentured labourers in the canefields, or as tradesmen in the sugar mills. In 1888 the Mourilyan Sugar Company proposed a contract for the employment of 100 Japanese on the canefields, but this scheme fell through

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<sup>52</sup>Ogawa, p. 177. Ogawa does not explain how and when this arrangement came about. His statement is based on his interviews with the former Nihonjin-kai members on the island.

<sup>53</sup>Ganter, R., "Death of Pearl-Shell Industry Comes Under Scrutiny", *Griffith Gazette*, Vol. 7, No. 5, June 3, 1992, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>In Oshima, G., "Japanese Pearl-Seekers in Australian Waters", Japanese Studies Association Biennial Conference, Sydney, 1989, Appendix.

<sup>55</sup>Sissons, *Pearling*, p. 22.

when the Japanese government requested conditions beyond the company's resources.<sup>56</sup> In 1892 Burns Philp employed the first 50 contract labourers on the canefields on a three-year contract arranged through the Yoshisa Emigration Company. All were from Hiroshima Prefecture.<sup>57</sup> While men from Wakayama went to the pearling industry, Hiroshima was a major source of labourers for the sugar industry. By 1898 some 2,300 Japanese worked in the Queensland sugar fields.<sup>58</sup>

The Yoshisa Emigration Company was, according to Kodama, a well-behaved broker, handling emigrants to Australia conscientiously.<sup>59</sup> The employment conditions for Japanese in the sugar industry were very clearly detailed. Armstrong writes that "their working and living conditions were better than those of the white labourers and certainly they were superior in all respects to those of the Kanakas."<sup>60</sup> According to their contracts, they were to work 10 hours a day, were paid 30 shillings a month, and were to be provided with hot baths, two suits of clothing a year and Japanese-style meals.<sup>61</sup> The Japanese were known to go on strike if these conditions were not met.<sup>62</sup>

Because the Japanese were the most expensive non-European labour, their employment was restricted to the large plantation owners and the

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<sup>56</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, p. 25.

<sup>57</sup>Kodama, p. 27.

<sup>58</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, p. 49.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>60</sup>Armstrong, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup>Kodama, pp. 23-24.

<sup>62</sup>Armstrong, p. 4.

larger mills. The owners of small plantations opposed the use of Japanese in any capacity and this attitude was supported by the labour movement and large sectors of the Queensland community.<sup>63</sup> However, the Queensland government regarded Japanese as an excellent form of indentured labour to supplement the diminishing numbers of kanakas, as many Japanese left the country when their three- to four-year contracts expired.<sup>64</sup> Reasonably large groups of Japanese continued to arrive until 1900, when Queensland concluded an agreement with Japan establishing a quota system. In 1900, 632 Japanese were working in North Queensland cane fields and about 250 around Mackay.<sup>65</sup>

The Japanese never dominated the sugar industry as they did the pearling industry. After the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) continued to employ Japanese, but the number declined steadily between the two world wars.<sup>66</sup> In October 1940, 178 Japanese were recorded as residents on the Queensland mainland excluding the Brisbane metropolitan area, and were living in major sugar farming areas including Cairns, Innisfail, Mourilyan, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton and Maryborough.<sup>67</sup> Most were probably engaged in sugar farming, but some worked in hotels and ran laundries.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Armstrong, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Kikkawa, Jiro, "Japanese in Queensland", *Multicultural Queensland*, ed., M.B. Brandle and S. Karas, The People & Communities of Queensland: A Bicentennial Publication, 1988, p. 138.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>67</sup>MP 729/6, 65/401/135, 18 Nov. 1940.

<sup>68</sup>Jack Takagaki, Jnr., son of Jack Takagaki who was a former sugar cane farmer in Mackay, Mackay, 6 July 1992.

Probably because the Japanese in these locations tended to be spread out, it is claimed that only Cairns and Mackay had Nihonjin-kai and these organisations were not as active as those in the pearling communities.

In 1896 a Japanese consulate (1896 - 1908) was established in Townsville to protect the interests of Japanese workers at sea and on land.<sup>69</sup> By then some who had been working in the pearling and sugar industries had left and established their own businesses, such as laundries or general stores. Some found their way south to cities such as Brisbane and Sydney and established themselves in small businesses, mainly laundries.<sup>70</sup> In 1895 the government resident on Thursday Island remarked that the Japanese had begun to "evinced a greater appetite for independent enterprise than any other of the Asiatic races".<sup>71</sup> Before 1941 many Japanese laundry owners in Sydney had been pearling divers on Thursday Island.<sup>72</sup>

Most women who came to Australia arrived either as wives or prostitutes. Prostitution was probably the third most common occupation, after pearling and sugar, which brought Japanese to Australia before 1901. In areas where Japanese labourers were settled, prostitutes often followed and by 1888 Japanese brothel keepers had established themselves in

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<sup>69</sup>Kikkawa, p. 138.

<sup>70</sup>According to former internees who were residents of Sydney and Brisbane, many Japanese laundry owners in those cities originally worked in the pearling industry. Douglas Umino, the son of the president of the Association of Japanese laundry proprietors in Sydney before the war, Sydney, 3 Jan. 1993, and Claude Tanaka, who worked in a Japanese laundry owned by Tonda in Brisbane before the war, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

<sup>71</sup>Armstrong, p.3.

<sup>72</sup>Hanna Matuschik nee Suzuki, Adelaide, 31 Oct. 1990. Hanna is the step-daughter of the late Sakuhei Suzuki, a former internee and diver who owned a laundry business in Sydney.

Australia.<sup>73</sup> In 1897 the Commissioner of Police for Queensland reported that there were 116 Japanese women in the colony and that all but one, the consul's wife, were engaged in prostitution from Cooktown to Childers. The largest group of reported prostitutes was 34 on Thursday Island.<sup>74</sup> In 1894 Hattori published more detailed information about the Japanese women on Thursday Island. According to his study, there were 32 women - 21 prostitutes and 11 "respectable" women in 1893.<sup>75</sup> The Japanese prostitutes there were widely criticised by church leaders and citizens. Japanese residents themselves claimed that they were embarrassed and disgusted by the activities of their countrywomen. In 1893 John Douglas, the Government Resident, inspected the brothels and reported to the Queensland Colonial Secretary:

The profits are very considerable. I have not been able to ascertain exactly how these profits are divided - Several Japanese women are known to have made a good deal of money, and much of this has been invested in shares of shelling boats.<sup>76</sup>

Both the Queensland and Japanese governments agreed that the emigration of all women from Japan to Queensland should stop. However, the trade continued to grow throughout the decade, with 219 Japanese women engaged in prostitution in 1898.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Sissons, D., "Karayuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916", Part I, (hereafter referred to as "Prostitutes I"), *Historical Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 68, Apr. 1977, p. 25.

<sup>74</sup>Sissons, *Prostitutes I*, p. 324.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>77</sup>Armstrong, p. 5.

In 1897 only the government of Western Australia had statutory powers to prevent the landing of prostitutes.<sup>78</sup> The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 specifically prohibited the entry of "any prostitute or person living on the prostitution of others".<sup>79</sup> Japanese brothels in Australia declined steadily after 1902, but did not disappear altogether. As late as 1928 "the Queensland Branch of the National Council for Women forwarded to the Customs authorities allegations that Japanese women were being landed at Townsville at regular intervals."<sup>80</sup> H. MacDonnell, who came to Cairns in 1897, talked of early Cairns in the 1900s:

It (Chinatown) was a very colourful place. People of every coloured race in the world congregated there, including a great many Japanese prostitutes who in the late afternoon and evening would promenade in groups of two or three, all dressed in most gorgeous kimonos.<sup>81</sup>

In 1916 12 Japanese prostitutes were reported in Perth and Fremantle, and 20 in Broome. The brothels in Western Australia were usually thinly disguised as legitimate businesses, and prostitutes operating alone or in small groups often described themselves as 'dressmakers' or similar. Most of the men living off the earnings of prostitutes also operated legitimate businesses such as laundries, or worked as cooks or waiters.<sup>82</sup> According to Kyuuhara, when the prostitutes became aged, around sixty years old, they retired and went back to Japan. Some remained as they had married.

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<sup>78</sup>Sissons, "Karayuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916", Part II (hereafter referred to as "Prostitutes II"), *Historical Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 69, Oct. 1977, p. 474.

<sup>79</sup>Immigration Restriction Act, No. 17 of 1901, Section 3 (f), in Yarwood, A.I., *Asian Migration to Australia, Appendix 1*, p. 157.

<sup>80</sup>Sissons, *Prostitutes II*, p. 475.

<sup>81</sup>MacDonnell, H., "Early Reminiscences of Cairns", Apr. 1959, in *History of Cairns: Reminiscences*, Part III, The Historical Society of Cairns.

<sup>82</sup>Wilson, p. 326.

Kyuhara's examination indicates that 58 married couples were legitimately registered from 1885 to 1938 on Thursday Island. Of those, 24 wives were from Nagasaki, the area where a large majority of the prostitutes came from.<sup>83</sup> Just before the outbreak of the Pacific War there were four to six prostitutes in Yokohama on Thursday Island.<sup>84</sup> Six single women were included among the Japanese interned on the island at the outbreak of the war.<sup>85</sup> It is most likely that they were prostitutes.

Japanese prostitutes were not the only group smuggled into Australia, as it was also common for Japanese men to arrive as stowaways. According to Ogawa, the reasons were the high fees charged by Japanese emigration companies for arranging employment, the long waiting period, to evade conscription, or because they could not enter legally.<sup>86</sup> According to Ogawa, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) most men working on Thursday Island received call-up notices, but ignored them even though they knew they could be charged with a criminal offence in Japan.<sup>87</sup>

Unlike the north, in the south the Japanese were more scattered and their entry into Australia more haphazard. In 1901 there were 26 males and 4 females in Victoria, and 66 males and 6 females in New South Wales.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Kyuhara, S., *Remains of Japanese Settlers on the Torres Strait Islands*, Wakayama, 1977, p. 16.

<sup>84</sup>The late Ted Loban, Thursday Island, 31 Aug. 1987.

<sup>85</sup>BP 242, 1942-1954, Q 39362.

<sup>86</sup>Ogawa, p. 39.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-40.

<sup>88</sup>Sissons, A-J Relations, p. 27.

Despite the fact that South Australia was first interested in Japanese settlers, only a small number of Japanese went there. According to the South Australian census of 1901, 18 Japanese were employed in the mining industry.<sup>89</sup> In the southern part of Western Australia, there were 207 males and 59 females. One study indicates that most of these men were engaged in three occupations - laundrymen, cooks and brothel keepers. All the females were prostitutes.<sup>90</sup> According to Sissons, some Japanese migrants would have been household servants.<sup>91</sup> It was quite common for the Japanese government to issue passports in Japan for nationals to take up service as domestics overseas. Sissons continues, "Some young men began as houseboys until they had acquired sufficient command of the language. A table published by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1882 showing the destinations and the purposes for which passports had been issued during the years 1868-1881 indicates that out of a total of 24 passports issued for travel to Australia, ten were for servants, nine government officials, four commerce, one study."<sup>92</sup>

Japanese also came to Australia to establish trade links between the two countries. Australia began exports to Japan as early as 1865, the year Japan opened its doors to the west. The first recorded commodity was coal.<sup>93</sup> In 1879 Japan set up a consulate in Melbourne and appointed Alexander Marks, an Australian merchant who had previously lived in

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<sup>89</sup>Sissons, *Japanese in N.T.*, p. 21.

<sup>90</sup>Sissons, *Prostitutes I*, p. 326.

<sup>91</sup>Sissons, *A-J Relations*, p. 27.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup>Rix, A., *Coming to Terms*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1986, p. 22.



Yokohama, as the first honorary consul in Australia.<sup>94</sup> He tried to develop Japanese-Australian trade. According to Tsunoyama, "the reason why Japan set up a consulate in Australia so early is not clear, but it is certain that Australia was an important export market for Japan in the 1880s."<sup>95</sup> Japan appointed honorary consuls in other parts of Australia including Hobart in 1885,<sup>96</sup> Adelaide in 1896,<sup>97</sup> Broome and Brisbane. The Japanese consulate in Townsville was transferred to Sydney in 1897<sup>98</sup> and in 1901 it became the consulate-general.<sup>99</sup>

The first Japanese businessman to establish a successful two-way enterprise was Kanematsu Fusajiro of Kobe, who first came to Australia in 1887. The firm initially imported traditional Japanese manufactures, such as silk, to Australia.<sup>100</sup> Kanematsu established offices in Sydney and Melbourne, and his was the first firm to ship regular consignments of Australian wool to Japan, starting in 1890.<sup>101</sup> In 1896 Nippon Yusen

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<sup>94</sup>Tsunoyama, S., "The Early History of Japanese-Australian Trade: An Addendum to Japanese Consular Reports", *Business History*, Frank Cass & Co.Ltd., London, Vol. 23, Nov. 1981, p. 288. By 1879 Japan had 23 consulates world-wide, of which nine were administered by non-Japanese honorary consuls.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Tsunoyama, p. 287.

<sup>97</sup>Sissons, *Japanese in N.T.*, p. 37.

<sup>98</sup>Consulate-general of Japan in Brisbane, *The Japan-Queensland Relationship*, no date, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup>The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Hachijuunendai no Nichigoo Kankei*, Tokyo, 1980, p. 225.

<sup>100</sup>Sissons, *A-J Relations*, p. 29.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

Kaisha commenced regular shipping services to Australia.<sup>102</sup> The service was encouraged not only by the growth in trade between the two countries, but also by the growing number of immigrant labourers for the Queensland sugar industry.<sup>103</sup> From this period till the 1930s wool and wheat were Australia's main exports to Japan, while silk piecegoods and other textiles were the main imports.<sup>104</sup> The expanding trade led other big trading companies to establish branches in Sydney and Melbourne. Takashima-Iida did so in 1905, followed by Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nihon Menka and Iwai Shoten. In 1916 the Yokohama Specie Bank established a branch in Sydney.<sup>105</sup> By 1935 "the largest ten Japanese companies operating in Australia controlled 95 per cent of Australia's export trade with Japan and 89 per cent of the import trade."<sup>106</sup> By the 1930s five Japanese shipping lines provided direct services.<sup>107</sup>

By the mid-1930s Japan was second only to Britain as a customer and fourth as a source of imports into Australia.<sup>108</sup> Some minor commodities were almost wholly taken by the Japanese - for example, 90% of the mother-of-pearl and 70% of the iron ore.<sup>109</sup> Despite some temporary fluctuations due to Japanese resentment about protectionism, the Japanese expressed

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<sup>102</sup>Johnson, M.R., "The Japanese State and Australia-Japan Economic Relations 1854-1936" in *Oosutoralia Kenkyu Kiyō*, Oitemon Gakuin University, Kyoto, Vol. 9, 1984, p. 71.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>Rix, p. 21.

<sup>105</sup>Johnson, p. 71.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>108</sup>Rix, p. 21.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 22.



Members of Nihonjin-kai in Brisbane, 1939

(Courtesy of Claude Tanaka)

strong interest in building further ties to secure long-term commodity supplies.<sup>110</sup>

Like Japanese pearling communities, Japanese residents in Sydney and Melbourne formed closely-knit communities. The Sydney community established a Nihonjin-Kai in 1909 with 23 members, comprising two consular officials, 19 businessmen and two students. The honorary president was the consul-general of Japan. By 1940 membership had increased to 92, comprising people from the consulate, one bank, three steamship companies and 18 trading companies.<sup>111</sup> The membership did not include Japanese who had been settled in Australia for a long time and who had largely taken up an Australian lifestyle or who had married locally. However, the Nihonjin-kai held events such as film nights and talks which were open to local settlers. Harry Suzuki, who owned a laundry business in Sydney, recalled in 1987: "We didn't mix with company people very much. Sometimes I went to the Undookai [sports meeting] and that's about it."<sup>112</sup>

In 1927 the Japanese consul-general proposed a "Dooshi-kai" [Kindred Spirits Club] of Japanese laundry proprietors in Sydney to promote amity and cooperation among the long-time residents. The association was formed for trade purposes and to prevent unfair business competition among them.<sup>113</sup> In 1940 the Dooshi-kai had 29 members, most of whom were laundrymen.<sup>114</sup> According to Suzuki, most of the laundrymen in Sydney did

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

<sup>111</sup>Narita, pp. 51-54.

<sup>112</sup>The late Harry Suzuki, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>113</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, 1 July 1942.

<sup>114</sup>Narita, pp. 55-56.

join the Dooshi-kai, but he felt that it was almost compulsory because the consul-general had established it.<sup>115</sup>

The establishment of a Nihonjin-kai in Melbourne was delayed as the business community there was much smaller. In 1927 it was formed with a membership of 14, all employees of five trading companies. The membership had risen to 40 by 1940. As with the Sydney Nihonjin-kai, local long-term residents were not included. Chambers of Commerce were established in Sydney and Melbourne in 1931 and 1933 respectively.<sup>116</sup>

The Japan-Australia Society was formed in Sydney in 1928, and later a branch was set up in Melbourne, to promote "mutual understanding between the Japanese and Australian people".<sup>117</sup> Membership revolved around trading interests from both sides and included prominent members of Australian society, notably academics. The first president of the Sydney Society was Sir John Beverley Peden, KC, dean of the Faculty of Law at Sydney University.<sup>118</sup> Members included Sir Mark Sheldon, former Australian representative at the League of Nations and former president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Sir Mungo MacCallum, vice-chancellor of Sydney University and Major W.J.R. Scott,<sup>119</sup> prominent rightist,

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<sup>115</sup>The late Harry Suzuki.

<sup>116</sup>Narita, pp. 54-55.

<sup>117</sup>Lockwood, R., *War on the Waterfront*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1987, p. 78.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., p. 78. In 1917 Sydney University introduced the first Japanese language course at an Australian university. See Brewster, J., "You Can't Have a Failure Rate of 75%: Idealism and Realism in the Teaching of Japanese in Australia, 1917-1950", Conference of Japanese Studies Association of Australia, Sydney, 6-9 July 1989, p. 1.

<sup>119</sup>Lockwood, p. 79.

conservative militarist and businessman.<sup>120</sup> The Melbourne president was Sir James Barrett, chancellor of Melbourne University,<sup>121</sup> where Japanese was taught from 1922.<sup>122</sup> According to Lockwood, "the movement for cooperation with Japan was not nearly as strong in Victoria as in New South Wales, Australia's main base for the wool and metals industries, or as in Queensland, where primary industry was still dominant."<sup>123</sup>

While the restrictions on Japanese immigration to Australia existed, male Japanese working in Australia were not able to bring their families with them. Consular staff were automatically exempted and the presence of some other wives and children in Australia indicates that other exceptions were made. Japanese who married locally were able to establish a family life in Australia. Some Japanese men visited Japan to marry women of Japanese descent who had been born in Australia. The wives, and the children if any, of these marriages were able to enter Australia. For example, Jirokichi Nakata from Thursday Island, who first came to work in the pearling industry in Darwin in 1898, went to Japan in 1925 to marry an Australian-born woman who had been sent to Japan for education.<sup>124</sup> In 1927 his wife and 11-month old son joined him in Gordonvale near Cairns where he was leasing a sugar cane farm.<sup>125</sup> The wife of Haruyoshi Yamashita, the soy sauce factory owner on Thursday Island, was also an Austra-

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<sup>120</sup> *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 12, Melbourne University Press, 1988, pp. 550-552.

<sup>121</sup> Lockwood, p. 83.

<sup>122</sup> Brewster, p. 4.

<sup>123</sup> Lockwood, p. 83.

<sup>124</sup> A 373, 1/505/48, Case No.32.

<sup>125</sup> Tamiya Nakata, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.



Early settlers in Broome  
This photo was taken by Yasukichi Murakami in 1929.

(Courtesy of Broome Historical Museum)

lian-born Japanese who was taken to Japan at the age of 2 and returned to Australia when she was 20.<sup>126</sup> According to one of her daughters, she could not speak English well even after she spent the rest of her life in Australia.<sup>127</sup>

Unlike the USA, Canada and N.E.I., the Japanese population was small and widely distributed, so Japanese schools, Japanese language newspapers and other formal trappings of community life did not exist in Australia. Most children of Japanese immigrant families in Australia went to local schools. It was not uncommon for second-generation Japanese born in Australia to spend some time in Japan (hereafter referred to as "Kigoo Nisei/Sansei" [returning second/third generation to Australia]). Some children of the Murakami family had this experience. The mother, Shigeno, was already a Nisei born to Japanese parents in Cossack, W.A., in 1897. Shigeno married an Issei [first generation], Yasukichi Murakami of Wakayama who came to Cossack in 1897 when he was 17. They met in Broome where he owned a photography business. In 1935 the Murakami family moved to Darwin.<sup>128</sup> The three daughters were sent to Japan to acquire a Japanese education. The youngest went there at the age of 14, just before the war, and remained there during the war. The other two returned to Australia before the war and were therefore looked upon as Kigoo Nisei. According to Joe, the third son of the family, "Darwin was no place for growing girls."<sup>129</sup> Some families also sent their sons to Japan to be educated. Two of the eldest Murakami sons went to Japan as small children

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<sup>126</sup>Harumi Ahloy, Thursday Island, 1 Sept. 1987.

<sup>127</sup>Harumi Ahloy, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

<sup>128</sup>Bain, pp. 301-318.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid.



and spent most of their school years there. The eldest remained there until he was 21.<sup>130</sup> Joe said: "I was eagerly looking forward to my turn (to go to Japan) when the war broke out." According to him, Darwin was "a very cosmopolitan town" in the years just before the war. Joe wrote in 1988:

I never experienced any feelings of being racially different in those days...My best friends were a couple of Greek brothers. There were also some Chinese boys, but we were never very close. In hindsight, their parents were probably indignant about the Japanese invasion of their homeland.<sup>131</sup>

According to Bain, most parents of children born in Broome desired to give them a complete "national education". A steady movement of Japanese families to Japan began from about 1923, increasing in the years 1935-38. When the war broke out there were few young children of Japanese parentage left in Broome.<sup>132</sup> Miki Tsutsumi, manager of Tonan Shokai in Broome and secretary of the Nihonjin-kai there, sent his older children to Japan. Kaname Tsutsumi, one of the children, was in the care of relatives in Japan during the war. He said: "I hated school. Children called me a spy because I was born in Australia. I had a hard time."<sup>133</sup>

Some Japanese men married either white or black Australians. The children of these marriages were mostly educated in Australia and most spoke only English. One of the few exceptions was Claude Tanaka, a Kigoo Nisei born in Brisbane to a Japanese father and an Australian mother of European origin. Claude spent 18 years in Japan and speaks both Japanese

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<sup>130</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, Case No. 26.

<sup>131</sup>Joe Murakami, letter, Yokohama, 16 July 1988.

<sup>132</sup>Bain, pp. 321-322.

<sup>133</sup>Kaname Tsutsumi, Kawasaki, 10 Jan. 1987.

and English. He said: "Mum left us when I was still a baby. Dad decided to send me to his brother's place in Japan as he thought it would provide a better environment for me to grow up in."<sup>134</sup>

All the children of the Shiosaki family in Broome, half-Japanese and half-Aboriginal, went to St. Mary's convent school in Broome. The eldest daughter, Peggie, said:

There weren't many pure Japanese kids in the town. They were all sent to Japan. But a few went to the state school with white kids. Half-Japanese kids, like us, went to St. Mary's with Aboriginal kids.<sup>135</sup>

Children on Thursday Island also went to local schools. Ted Loban, a local resident of Islander origin on the Island, said:

There were two schools on T.I. One for the white children and the other for coloured. Children from the Yamashita and Nakata families went to the white school. The Shibasaki kids came to my school.<sup>136</sup>

There were six Shibasaki children. The father, Kyukichi Shibasaki, first came to Australia in 1918 as a pearl diver. He married a woman of Malay and Islander origin when he resumed his work on Thursday Island in 1929.<sup>137</sup>

Some of those who worked at sugar cane farming married local women and established families. Kiichi Kawano, who first came to work on railway construction in North Queensland in the late 1890s, married a woman of Aboriginal-Chinese origin in Innisfail. George, their only son, went to a local primary school. In 1992 he said, "I only spoke English. Dad never

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<sup>134</sup>Claude Tanaka, Sydney, 3 Jan. 1993.

<sup>135</sup>Peggie Carlie nee Shiosaki, 26 Sept. 1990.

<sup>136</sup>The late Ted Loban, Thursday Island, 31 Aug. 1987.

<sup>137</sup>A 373, 1/505/48.

tried to make me speak Japanese."<sup>138</sup> The children of the Takagaki family in Mackay grew up speaking only English and went to a local school. Jack Takagaki, who came to Mackay as a sugar cane labourer on a contract in 1902, stayed on and married a local woman of European origin.<sup>139</sup>

Some families lived in isolation from the Japanese community. Arthur Yamaguchi was born to a Japanese father and an Aboriginal-Chinese mother at a cattle station near Burketown in the Gulf of Carpentaria, 500 kilometres north east of Mt. Isa, in 1921. The family moved to Burketown in 1930 and later opened the town's only bakery. Arthur went to a local school, but his schooling was mainly by distance education. He grew up speaking only English.<sup>140</sup> The Takasuka family settled in Victoria. Jo Takasuka, a graduate of an American university and a member of the Japanese Parliament after his return from the United States, came to Australia in 1905.<sup>141</sup> Accompanied by his wife Ichiko and two infant children, a son and a daughter, he was admitted to Australia on an annually renewable Certificate of Exemption for the purpose of exporting and importing.<sup>142</sup> The family settled at Nyah near Swan Hill where their third child, Mario, was born. They tried to introduce wet-field rice farming to Australia on a 200-acre selection on the Murray. Although unsuccessful, Jo's efforts were recognised. In 1924 the government, while reserving its right to reverse the decision at any time, granted him "de facto permanent

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<sup>138</sup>George Kawano, Innisfail, 10 July 1992.

<sup>139</sup>Jack Takagaki, Mackay, 6 July 1992.

<sup>140</sup>Arthur Yamaguchi, letter, Mt. Isa, 16 July 1992.

<sup>141</sup>Sissons, "An Immigrant Family", mimeograph, ANU, 1975, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.

status".<sup>143</sup> In 1934 he moved to Huntly, near Bendigo, where he started to grow tomatoes. Eventually the conduct of the business passed to his sons, Sho and Mario. He died in 1940 during his first visit back to Japan in 35 years.<sup>144</sup> Having grown up where there were no other Japanese, the three children, Sho, Aiko and Mario, mixed with white Australian children. English was the only language they knew. Sho left school when he was 13 and worked on a farm. He was always active in sports and community activities. Aiko became dux of Swan Hill Higher Elementary School and taught full time in schools in the Swan Hill district until 1933, when she married a local Cornish migrant.<sup>145</sup>

According to a Japanese government source, 3,072 Japanese were living in the Oceania region in 1935.<sup>146</sup> 1,175 people over 16 years of age were registered as Japanese aliens in July 1941. In addition there were 21 Japanese entitled to diplomatic and consular privileges, including three wives.<sup>147</sup> These were not required to register as aliens. The largest group of Japanese in Australia were indentured labourers engaged in the pearling industry, but many worked offshore and were not registered. On 16 August 1940 it was estimated that there were approximately 700 Japanese on pearling fleets in North Australian waters near Darwin and Broome, and of those 217 were registered at Darwin.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid, pp. 17-20.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-25.

<sup>146</sup>Konno & Fujisaki, pp. 236-237.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., 26 May 1941.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid.

In the months before the Pacific War families in Japan wrote to their sons, fathers and husbands telling them to return to Japan. In December 1939, a son in Japan wrote to his father on Thursday Island:

Prices have gone up from 150 to 200%...You may have plenty of money, but you can only buy a fixed amount of goods. You would have to spend half a day walking in the streets even for doing a little shopping. We must put up with such inconveniences for the sake of contributing to a New Japan. We are worrying about you, Dad, who is in Australia, fearing that something might happen to you. Please come home as early as possible.<sup>149</sup>

On 15 August 1941 the "Kashima Maru" repatriated most of the businessmen working for Japanese Japanese firms, mainly from Sydney and Melbourne, leaving only minimum staff in the offices. Mr. Hamaure, an employee of Mitsui in Sydney, was repatriated. He wrote from the "Kashima Maru" to the Australian staff in the Sydney office:

When the Kashima Maru was going to leave the wharf in Sydney under the dull light and the guard of the officers, I found that there was hot stuff in my eyes. I had not expected such a departure when I first arrived in Australia more than six years ago and I sincerely hope the normal peaceful time will come shortly and all the nations of the world will enjoy their own life...<sup>150</sup>

Those left in Australia were contract labourers and permanent settlers and their descendants. Approximately 50 per cent of those Japanese who stayed in Australia were engaged in the pearling industry, and approximately half of the remainder were single men who were either in the sugar cane industry or small businesses. The rest were family groups. Some of the families were well established and some had already produced Sansei [third generation] Japanese who were only part-Japanese. Some Nisei sons had enlisted when the war in Europe began in 1939. The Nisei and Sansei descendants of Sakuragawa Rikinosuke, the Japanese acrobat who settled in

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<sup>149</sup>T.I. Material, Box A, List 1, p. 2.

<sup>150</sup>E. Hamaure, an employee of Mitsubishi in Sydney, letter written on the "Kashima Maru", 20 Aug. 1941, held by Mrs. Boylson, Sydney.

Queensland in the 1880s, enlisted.<sup>151</sup> Some of the long-term residents had experienced war in Australia before the Pacific War. Now they were to experience a war where they were to be interned as enemy aliens.

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<sup>151</sup> Jeff Dicoski, Brisbane, 4 June 1992.

## CHAPTER 3

### Australian Internment Policy

During World War I Australia interned 6,890 people, of two groups - those from outside Australia and those of German and other enemy origin resident in Australia. About 4,500 had been residents of Australia before the war. Of the "Australian" Germans interned, about 700 were naturalised and 70 were native-born Australians.<sup>1</sup> The other Germans were either sailors from enemy ships or were held on behalf of the British government and came from other British dominions.<sup>2</sup> Anti-German feeling created by the outbreak of war was intense. Michael McKernan argues that "the Australians needed to manufacture threats and crises to make the war real and immediate...The need to create a war situation, fraught with danger and uncertainty, affected the German residents of Australia most directly."<sup>3</sup> The Australian press encouraged hatred of the Germans by reporting real and alleged atrocities by German soldiers in Europe. The press presented a monstrous image of the Germans.<sup>4</sup>

Internment was provided for under the War Precautions Act (1914). In the years following the declaration of war with Germany on 4 August

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<sup>1</sup>Fischer, G., *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-1920*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1989, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Fischer, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>McKernan, M., *The Australian People and the Great War*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1980, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 154.

1914, the Australian Government arrested German nationals under this Act. In the Commonwealth census of 1911, 33,381 residents in Australia were German-born.<sup>5</sup> McKernan estimates the number of people of German descent by calculating adherents to the Lutheran church throughout Australia. There were 74,508 Lutherans in Australia in 1911.<sup>6</sup> Being a native born or naturalized Australian did not always protect people of German descent from internment. Many were detained under Regulations 55 and 56 of the Act. The first stated:

Where the Minister has reason to believe that any naturalized person is disaffected or disloyal, he may .... order him to be detained in military custody ...

And the second:

Where the Minister has reason to believe that any natural-born British subject, one at least of whose parents was or is a subject of a State which is at war with the King, is disaffected or disloyal, he may ...order him to be detained in military custody...

In August 1915 the internment policy was widened under Regulation 56A:<sup>8</sup>

Where in the opinion of the Minister for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, it is expedient in view of the hostile origin or association of any person that he should be detained in military custody the Minister may ...order him to be detained ... during the continuance of the present war.<sup>9</sup>

The government was thus empowered to intern anyone it thought disloyal or dangerous. By March 1915 the camps had 1,930 internees, and by October this number had grown to 3,135. Only 58 were females.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>7</sup>Commonwealth of Australia, *War Precautions Regulations*, Statutory Rules 1914, No. 7.

<sup>8</sup>Commonwealth of Australia, *War Precautions Regulations*, Statutory Rules 1915, No. 135.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>McKernan, p. 174.



The German community was not only placed under threat of internment, but was also subject to various social, economic and legal restrictions throughout the war years. Violence against Germans was common and many felt driven to anglicise their names.<sup>11</sup> Many workers of German background were dismissed and were unable to support their families.<sup>12</sup> Fischer argues that the internment system was used as a tool of social control not only to exclude people because of their ethnic background, but also because some of them were perceived as being of undesirable socio-economic status.<sup>13</sup>

Many Australian-born internees felt deprived of what they believed to be their civil rights and despaired at their prolonged imprisonment. This was particularly true for those who had lived most, if not all, their lives as Australians. Max Tannenberg lived in Australia for forty two years and had been naturalised for twenty seven. He was sixty five years old when interned and constantly protested his innocence. Another even older internee was Edmund Resch, who had come to Australia at the age of sixteen and was seventy one when he was arrested. Resch not only had little or no connection with Germany, but was even honorary consul for the Netherlands.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to deprivation of civil and legal rights, many internees and their families were separated. Although camps at Berrima and

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<sup>11</sup>Harmstorf, Ian and Cigler, Michael, *The Germans in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1985, pp. 127-128.

<sup>12</sup>McKernan, p. 162.

<sup>13</sup>Fischer, pp. 85-86.

<sup>14</sup>McKernan in Fischer, p. 62.

Bourke were reserved for families, the authorities refused to allow most wives and children to be interned. Of the 6,890 internees detained, only 67 were women, and 84 were children.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the pain of separation, this often caused financial hardship for the families,

throwing a tremendous burden on the mothers to assume the role of breadwinner and to take over the responsible duties of running the farm, business or household affairs without any help and warning and with the added strain of emotional anxiety and insecurity which could only grow the longer the separation caused by the internment lasted.<sup>16</sup>

When the stress of living in an anti-German society was added to these already considerable problems, the difficulties for families left uninterned were often immense.

In 1916 The Australian-born internees formed an association at Liverpool camp, New South Wales, and protested at the injustice of their internment. In August 1918 members of the Naturalised British Subjects Association at Holsworthy camp in the same state were still writing to the Minister of Defence similarly protesting. Cabinet reviewed the question of Australian-born internees and decided that they should remain interned.<sup>17</sup> As the regulations allowed a very wide interpretation of who could be interned, it was extremely difficult for the internees to protest their innocence. According to McKernan, "the whole system of arrest and the length of imprisonment appears quite arbitrary."<sup>18</sup> In August 1918 internees at Holsworthy Camp appealed to the Minister of Defence:

The mental torture and resulting frailty of physical health is so pronounced in the case of those who are uncomfortable enough to

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<sup>15</sup>Bevege, p. 53.

<sup>16</sup>Fischer, p. 267.

<sup>17</sup>Harmstorf and Cigler, pp. 132-133.

<sup>18</sup>McKernan, p. 174.

have been interned for any lengthy period, that the time has arrived when an urgent appeal on the grounds of humanity must be made for consideration of our cases with some sense of fair play and justice. All we ask is a civil trial.

That such occurrences are possible in the twentieth century in such an advanced democracy as that of Australia seems hardly credible. But it is so, and there is being registered in Australian history a chapter which all real Australians will some day heartily wish could be expunged.<sup>19</sup>

It was intended that all German overseas internees would be returned to Germany, and internee residents of Australia were to be deported with the proviso that they could appeal to a tribunal.<sup>20</sup> Uninterned enemy aliens were to be examined with a view to repatriation. Even naturalised persons of German origin could be requested to submit to a process of review after which their naturalisation could be cancelled, leaving them open to deportation. There was provision for repatriation of those who no longer wished to remain in Australia, and in Western Australia and Queensland circulars and advertisements encouraged voluntary repatriation.<sup>21</sup>

Fischer clearly sees the period after the end of the war as a time for further social engineering.

Reduced to its core, the government's thinking was characterised by an extremely parochial economic point of view. At stake was not the question of loyalty or security; the issues were parsimony and control, the interests of the state, very narrowly conceived in its imperial context, and the interests of an Australian bourgeoisie engaged in a trading relationship with England. The first priority was to avoid unnecessary government expenditure... Simultaneously, the expulsion of German businessmen cleared the way for the establishment of an Australian economy linked to the Empire...controlled solely by the sons of English immigrants who

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<sup>19</sup>Harmstorff and Cigler, p. 133.

<sup>20</sup>Fischer, p. 287.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 288-289.

could go about their business without fear of competition by "non-Britishers".<sup>22</sup>

The total number of deportees was 6,150, of whom 5,414 had been interned. Others were either family members or both voluntary and compulsory repatriates. Appeals against deportation were made by 1022 people, but 716 of these were refused permission to stay.<sup>23</sup>

Although there were some instances of disloyalty on the part of Australians of German descent, according to McKernan "the German-Australians became the scapegoats for Australia's fanatical, innocent embrace of war."<sup>24</sup> For many years after the war the German community in Australia felt the effects of this. Harmstorf and Cigler write that, by the late 1920s, "gradually German descendants were re-elected into local government, parliament and public office".<sup>25</sup> But when war against Germany was declared on 3 September 1939, the cycle began again.

The internment policy implemented by the Australian Government during World War II was laid down in the War Book, which had been prepared by the Department of Defence. This Book, modelled on the United Kingdom War Book, covered "the precautionary measures to be taken when war was imminent and the measures to be taken immediately after the outbreak of war".<sup>26</sup> It stated:

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 302.

<sup>24</sup>McKernan, p. 177.

<sup>25</sup>Harmstorf and Cigler, p. 133.

<sup>26</sup>Hasluck, Paul, *The Government and the People 1939-1941*, vol. 1, Canberra, 1952, p. 122.

It is not intended to intern all civilian enemy aliens immediately on the outbreak of hostilities. Internment should be restricted to the narrowest limits consistent with public safety and public sentiment ...

As a general rule, women of whatever nationality will not be interned. When the interests of public safety so demand, they will be kept in custody.<sup>27</sup>

On 24 August 1939, ten days before war began, Cabinet gave tentative approval under the Defence Act to a number of Statutory Rules for the control of aliens.<sup>28</sup> These were replaced by the National Security (Aliens Control) Act which came into operation on 9 September 1939, retrospective to 25 August, and granted extremely wide powers to the Commonwealth for securing public safety.

Regulations under the Act required the registration of all aliens over the age of sixteen, restricted travel and movement, and notification of any change of residence. In addition, enemy aliens had to obtain written permission to leave the police district in which they resided. The most severe restriction was internment.<sup>29</sup> Regulation 20 (amendment 59 of 1941) set out the detention provision for enemy aliens:

If the Minister or any person authorised by the Minister to act under this regulation is of opinion that it is necessary or expedient in the interests of the public safety, the defence of the Commonwealth or the efficient prosecution of the present war to detain any enemy alien, he may, by warrant under his hand, order the enemy alien to be detained in such place, under such conditions and for such period as the Minister or person so authorized determines.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>MP 729/6, 65/401/135 (Hereafter referred to as *Internment Policy*), 17 Feb., 1941.

<sup>28</sup>Hasluck, p. 149.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 593.

<sup>30</sup>Commonwealth of Australia, *National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations*, 1939, No. 88.

The British Government had formulated a policy of internment just before the war. It stated that no general internment of enemy aliens was contemplated, but that some measure of general internment might be inevitable at an early date, particularly in regard to Germans, and in response to public opinion.<sup>31</sup> The Australian government also saw "no justification for a policy of general internment".<sup>32</sup> On 8 September 1939, the Prime Minister, R.G. Menzies, stated that the only aliens liable to internment were those engaging in subversive activities.<sup>33</sup> He stressed that "It is as important to preserve justice in our own land as it is to fight for it internationally."<sup>34</sup> To implement this policy, commandants of Military Districts were instructed that "no person should be interned unless his being at large constituted a danger to public safety or the defence of the Commonwealth".<sup>35</sup> As a result, the general policy contained in the War Book was amplified as follows:

Internment is only to be resorted to when it is considered that other forms of control would not be adequate.

There must be a reasonable case against an individual enemy alien before he is interned. Apart from evidence of activities, membership of an organization such as the N.S.D.A.P. [Nazi Party] or any of its offshoots, or Allied organizations, or Fascio or its offshoots, is to be considered as a prima facie ground for internment. In any borderline cases the benefit of the doubt is to be given to national interests rather than the individual.

With respect to persons generally classified as refugees it is to be borne in mind that it is the practice of the Germans (for example) to use relatives and property in Germany as a means of exerting pressure to serve Nazi ends. When considering the case of an enemy alien "refugee" that aspect

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<sup>31</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579, *United Kingdom Policy*.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Bevege, p. 51.

<sup>35</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6. Vol 1, Part 1, p. 2.

should be taken into consideration. It is specially desirable that no enemy alien admitted to the country as a refugee, or generally so regarded, should be interned unless he has been given an opportunity of stating his case. The onus is on him to show that he is not likely to be influenced by the possible consequences to his relatives in enemy territory and that he has thrown in his lot with the Commonwealth to such an extent that there is no prospect of his yielding to pressure by the enemy.<sup>36</sup>

The authorities were conscious of the problems caused by internment during World War I. According to Bevege, "Concern to keep cost to a minimum was highlighted by the World War I experience."<sup>37</sup> Internment during the 1914-1918 war cost Australia 1.5 million pounds. There were also considerations of human rights. The authorities needed to take into account public morale, freedom of speech and the economic contributions of those who might be interned. There were other considerations such as the use of valuable manpower to guard internees. Nevertheless, national security had to be considered.<sup>38</sup> In Bevege's words, "It was a question of balance."<sup>39</sup> In the early days of the war, while there was no external threat to public safety, Bevege claims internments were "few and carefully considered."<sup>40</sup> By late November 343 Germans and Austrians had been interned, although 66 were soon released. Of the remainder 170 were declared Nazis.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Internment Policy*, 17 Feb. 1941.

<sup>37</sup> Bevege, p. 52.

<sup>38</sup> Bevege, pp. 52-55.

<sup>39</sup> Bevege, p. 53.

<sup>40</sup> Bevege, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> Saunders, K., "Inspired by Patriotic Hysteria? : Internment Policy towards Enemy Aliens and Prisoners of War in Australia during the Second World War", p. 15.

Italy entered the war on 10 June 1940. At that time the Italian community in Australia was 27,500, the largest migrant group after those from the British Isles. Of these 14,000 were naturalised<sup>42</sup> and 12,348 were Italian nationals.<sup>43</sup> The Australian government had anticipated the internment of Italians and had prepared detention orders for all Italian males under categories according to their suspected capacity for being a security risk. Category A included people suspected of espionage and members of the Italian armed forces, hostile political organisations and criminal groups. Category B comprised people with knowledge of opportunities for sabotage or espionage. Category C included leaders and people of influence in the Italian community and Category D all Italian males of military age. All others were grouped as Category O.<sup>44</sup> The Australian army had prepared detention orders for all Italians who were classified under A, B, and C, while detention of people grouped under D was considered on the merits of each particular case.<sup>45</sup>

Although the internment of Italians was supposedly effected under the same policy as that adopted for Germans, significant Allied reversals in June in Europe led to more vigorous measures. Indiscriminate internment occurred in Western Australia.<sup>46</sup> Saunders claims that "Although Commonwealth policy laid down in the War Book required restricted and selective internal internment such as members of the NSDPA and direct

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<sup>42</sup>Bevege, p. 104.

<sup>43</sup>Bosi, P., *Blood, Sweat & Guts*, Pino Bosi, Sydney, 1970, p. 63.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>46</sup>Cresciani, G., *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1980, pp. 172-174.



security risks, actual procedures reflected the Allies defeats on the battle field rather than a fair assessment of any individual's case."<sup>47</sup> The War Cabinet amplified the policy of internment, which had previously been restricted "to the narrowest limits", to give it more general application. In July 1940 it was officially decided, on the basis of the United Kingdom's policy on the internment of Italians, to intern all males of Italian descent. This was to be whether or not they were British subjects by birth or naturalization, unless they were over 70 years or had resided in Australia for more than 20 years.<sup>48</sup> In practice relatively few were included. By 10 August 1940 1,901 Italians had been interned, 1,044 of them in Western Australia. Husluck notes that the palpable injustice of indiscriminate internment aroused much public sympathy.<sup>49</sup> Following public protests and appeals by migrants, the application of the policy was liberalized and at the end of November 1940 internees were given the opportunity to appeal to an Aliens Tribunal which could recommend release.<sup>50</sup> That month 650 Germans and 1,726 Italians were in internment. Among them were 76 naturalized British subjects of German origin and 182 naturalized British subjects of Italian origin.<sup>51</sup>

Japan's attacks on Malaya, Singapore, the Philipines and Pearl Harbour on 8 December 1941 Australian time, was "the beginning of a new

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<sup>47</sup>Saunders, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579, 18 Jul. 1940.

<sup>49</sup>Cresciani, p. 174; Hasluck, p. 594.

<sup>50</sup>Hasluck, p. 594.

<sup>51</sup>Hasluck, p. 594.

war".<sup>52</sup> In Hasluck's words, "Australia was shocked by the vigour and daring of the opening blows. Yet there was no dismay... The events about which there had been recurrent discussion in Australia for more than half a century had at last come. Japan was attacking."<sup>53</sup> "The Australian Government received the news (of the Pearl Harbor attack) within an hour and a quarter of the event. The War Cabinet met soon after."<sup>54</sup> By midday it was clear that Japan had struck at targets ranging from Malaya and Singapore to the Philippines, Guam, Hong Kong, Wake, Midway and Ocean Island.<sup>55</sup> In a national broadcast, Prime Minister Curtin, who had taken office a couple of months previously, told the nation that Australia was at war with Japan.<sup>56</sup> He said:

This is our darkest hour for the nation itself is imperilled... Men and women of Australia, the call is to you for your courage, your physical and mental ability, your inflexible determination that we as a free people shall survive. My appeal to you is in the name of Australia, for Australia is the stake in this contest.<sup>57</sup>

The very nature of the attack confirmed Australia's fear of the "yellow peril" and inflamed its anti-Japanese attitudes. Almost all the "Japanese" in Australia and its territories were rounded up within 24 hours of Pearl Harbour.

The Australian Government had anticipated the internment of "Japanese" in the event of hostilities with Japan. Up to June 1940,

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<sup>52</sup>McKinlay, Brian, *Australia 1942: End of Innocence*, Collins, Sydney, 1985, p. 38.

<sup>53</sup>Hasluck, p. 557.

<sup>54</sup>McKernan, Michael, *All In: Australia During the Second World War*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1983, p. 97.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>56</sup>McKinlay, p. 96.

<sup>57</sup>McKernan, p. 97.

Australia had hoped that war with Japan might be averted.<sup>58</sup> These hopes faded as Allied reversals in Europe coincided with the various declarations by Japan of a "new order" and a "co-prosperity sphere" in East Asia. Australia's hopes were finally shattered on 29 June 1940 when Japanese Foreign Minister Arita announced Japan's intention to expand to the south. In a broadcast he stated:

Japan, while constructing a new order in East Asia, is paying serious attention to the development of the war and its repercussions in various quarters, including the South Seas. I desire to declare that the destiny of these regions - and any development in them, or any disposal of them - is a matter of grave concern to Japan in view of her mission and responsibility as a stabilising force in East Asia.<sup>59</sup>

In the same month the Australian authorities took steps to complete dossiers of all Japanese nationals with a view to their immediate internment upon the outbreak of war with Japan. These dossiers were prepared with information obtained from alien registration applications or from district police officers. Each Military District speedily carried out the registration of all Japanese residents over 16 years of age. By July 1941, lists of "Japanese" registered in Australia and its territories were largely completed.<sup>60</sup>

There were always many fewer Japanese in Australia than Germans and Italians. On 28 July 1941 Military Intelligence indicated that 1,139 Japanese were living in the Commonwealth and 36 in its overseas territories.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 524.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>*Internment Policy*, 28 Jul. 1941.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

Japanese nationals over 16 years of age registered in the  
Commonwealth of Australia on 12 July 1941

Military District	Males	Females	Total
1 (Thursday Island)	301	16	317
(Elsewhere in Qld)	396	16	412
2 (N.S.W.)	122	66	188
3 (Vic)	44	7	51
4 (S.A.)	0	0	0
5 (W.A.)	77	24	101
6 (Tas)	0	0	0
7 (N.T.)	65	5	70
8 (Papua)	2	0	2
(Mandated Territory)	25	9	34
Total	1,032	143	1,175

Members of Military Intelligence and the Security Service had been watching the activities of all Japanese for years and paid special attention to possible agents. The activities of Nihonjin-Kai were known to be patriotic and attracted the interest of the Australian authorities. They were believed to be centres of a spy ring.<sup>62</sup> The activities of the Japanese Consulates and Legations were also closely observed. Their close contact with the large Japanese corporations, such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi, as well as the Nihonjin-Kai, seems to have suggested co-ordinated spy activities to the Australian authorities.<sup>63</sup> On 1 July 1942 members of the Security Service in Sydney wrote:

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 27 Aug. 1940.

<sup>63</sup>A 373, 5290, *Aide Memoire*.

Japanese nationals living abroad are much more strictly controlled by their Consular officials than are nationals of other countries. Every Japanese living abroad is under a permanent obligation to his Consul to report items of intelligence and information on which Japanese policy may benefit. This is regarded as a duty incumbent upon them all.<sup>64</sup>

Military Districts had compiled lists of all Japanese in Australia classified as dangerous. They included Japanese seamen on Thursday Island and those who were known to have good knowledge of the waters around Torres Strait. Northern Command was also aware that many of the seamen were "100% naval trained".<sup>65</sup> In August 1940 the Commandant of the 7th Military District at Darwin reported that "many of the lugger crew boys who have visited Darwin this season have come ashore wearing Japanese Army F.S. Caps".<sup>66</sup>

The largest Nihonjin-Kai was at Thursday Island. In March 1939 it had 479 members.<sup>67</sup> Documents in its office were confiscated upon the outbreak of war. Among these was a membership list. It showed that a majority of the Japanese seamen on Thursday Island were either "replenished soldiers" or reservists.<sup>68</sup> The confiscated material also contained information about some of the patriotic activities. The Nihonjin-Kai conducted various fund-raising activities for Japan, sending 1,688 pounds as a National Defence Contribution during the years 1937-1940, and 120 pounds for the celebration of the 2,600th anniversary of the

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<sup>64</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, 1 Jul. 1942.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>*Internment Policy*, Aug. 1940.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 27 Aug. 1940.

<sup>68</sup>*Thursday Island Material*, List 2, Section 38.

founding of the Japanese Empire.<sup>69</sup> These contributions were sent to the Foreign Ministry of Japan via the Japanese Consulate-General in Sydney. Prince Fumimaro Konoe, President of the Tokyo Congress of Overseas Japanese Compatriots for the Celebration of the Anniversary, acknowledged the donations on 20 November 1940:

1,500 overseas compatriots ...participating in our glorious celebration of the 2,600th Anniversary ...our expected aim has been achieved ... I would like to express my warmest thanks to you.<sup>70</sup>

The 2,600th Anniversary was celebrated worldwide and other Nihonjin-Kai in various countries also made contributions. It is reasonable to assume that other Nihonjin-Kai in Australia participated in this fund-raising, although Toshio Fukuda, the former secretary of the Nihonjin-Kai in Broome, said that "he had no recollection of such contributions made by the Broome Japanese".<sup>71</sup>

The indentured labourers of the Queensland sugar cane industry were more scattered than the pearlers and their activities seem to have been less organized. The Nihonjin-Kai in Innisfail had fourteen members in 1939.<sup>72</sup> The Nihonjin-Kai in Brisbane had thirty members, most of whom were businessmen, including Professor Ryunosuke Seita, chairman of Japanese Studies at the University of Queensland from 1938. He was considered "the leading Japanese" in the state.<sup>73</sup> Various reports written about him before the war clearly indicate that the Australian authorities

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Section 13.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>Toshio Fukuda, Tokyo, 26 May 1988.

<sup>72</sup>*Thursday Island Material*, List 2, Section 38.

<sup>73</sup>BP 242/1, Q 24301(hereafter referred to as *Seita Material*), Feb. 1939.

suspected him. The state's Police Investigation Branch closely observed his movements and lectures at the university.<sup>74</sup> Correspondence confiscated from his residence upon the outbreak of war revealed some of his activities. It was found that he had been in close contact with pro-Japanese Australians. A large quantity of pro-Japanese pamphlets written by the leaders of the Australia First Movement, including P.R. Stephenson and Thomas and Adele Pankhurst Walsh, were also found in his possession.<sup>75</sup> Apparently there was no proof that Seita had personal contact with these activists. In June 1942, the Director of Security for Queensland reported:

It can be concluded...that Seita was held in high esteem by the Japanese Government and that he was sent here as a Government agent. His particular function appears to have been the creation of a friendly feeling towards Japan and the collecting of information dealing with that aspect.<sup>76</sup>

In the view of the Australian authorities, "Sydney was the principal centre for Japanese espionage and Melbourne was also a point for quite considerable activity of that kind".<sup>77</sup> The Nihonjin-Kai in Sydney had 185 members, most of them short-term residents employed by Japanese companies. The rest were long-term residents who came to Australia before Federation.<sup>78</sup>

The internment of people of German origin was selective and even though indiscriminate internment of Italians occurred in some areas, the

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 22 Aug. 1940.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 29 Jun. 1942.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Aide Memoire..

<sup>78</sup>Thursday Island Material, List 2, Section 38.

military authorities never intended to intern all of them. The internment of Japanese, however, did not follow this pattern. They were all to be interned because their membership of a particular ethnic group placed them all under suspicion of being a security risk.

On 9 May 1941 the War Cabinet adopted the internment policy to be implemented in the event of war with Japan.<sup>79</sup> The relevant sections of the policy provided for:

- (a) Internment of all Japanese males over 16 years, within Australia and its territories, except those with diplomatic or consular privileges.
- (b) Internment of all Japanese women until they could be transferred out of the country.
- (c) The negotiation with Japan of an exchange of internees other than those required to be held for security reasons.
- (d) Acceptance of Japanese internees from New Caledonia if so required by the Free French Movement, as well as those from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, British Solomon Islands Protectorate and New Hebrides.
- (e) Provision of separate accommodation for internees who are between the ages of 16 and 19 years, for the aged, i.e., over 65 years, and for women, other than those whose male relatives have been interned.<sup>80</sup>

The policy against the Japanese was made because:

1. No association equivalent to the N.S.D.A.P. or Fascio, membership of which is an indication of the sentiments of the individual towards the country of his origin, are known to exist among the Japanese in this country.
2. Japanese nationals are not absorbed in this country as are many Germans and Italians.
3. Their well-known fanaticism and devotion to their country would probably lead to attempts at sabotage on the part of any Japanese here in a position to do this.

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<sup>79</sup> *Internment Policy*, 9 May 1941.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*



4. Male Japanese if left at large, would probably be the object of demonstrations which it is very desirable to avoid.<sup>81</sup>

The Australian government had previously decided not to intern enemy aliens over 70 years old or those who had resided in Australia for more than 20 years.<sup>82</sup> The Japanese did not receive this consideration. The decision was to "collar the lot" as the authorities thought that "Japanese males of any age, even 65 to 70 and over, may endeavour to engage in sabotage."<sup>83</sup> In the few months before the outbreak of war with Japan, this section of the policy was questioned and brought to the attention of the Cabinet by Western Command. It queried whether Japanese males who were infirm or senile needed to be interned. It recommended that in the circumstances some form of restriction and surveillance would be sufficient.<sup>84</sup> The Cabinet seems not to have agreed. More than 70% of Japanese males, excluding the pearlers, were elderly. More than half were well over 65 in 1941. Three men were in nursing homes in Queensland. The average period of residence was more than 40 years.<sup>85</sup> All were to be interned.

Under the earlier internment policy, no women were to be interned, except where the interests of public safety so demanded. The Army thought that "women are not generally so involved in organizing activities

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<sup>81</sup> *Internment Policy*, 9 Jul. 1941.

<sup>82</sup> BP 242/1, Q 30579, 18 Jul. 1940.

<sup>83</sup> *Internment Policy*, 27 Jul. 1940.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 Oct. 1941.

<sup>85</sup> These figures have been calculated from internees' lists. A 437, 46/6/72.

inimical to the Empire as men of enemy nationality".<sup>86</sup> However, the internment of all Japanese women was anticipated.<sup>87</sup> According to an intelligence report of 10 April 1942, on 28 March 1942, 3 German, 4 Italian and 78 local Japanese women were being held in internment.<sup>88</sup> The number seems to include some of the older girls. An examination of records of release during the war, postwar repatriation files and accounts of former internees indicate that 66 Japanese women of mature age were interned during the war.<sup>89</sup> Approximately 90 per cent were married, 11 of them being widows. The origin of all Japanese women was:

	(married/widowed)
Japanese	48 (40)
Aboriginal	5 (5)
Torres Strait Islander	2 (2)
Malay	2 (1)
Filipino	1 (1)
Thai	1 (-)
German	1 (1)
Spanish	1 (1)
Japanese-European mix	5 (-)
Total	66 (51)

This suggests that no women of Anglo-Celtic origin were interned. Some Australian-born women of "white European race" were married to

<sup>86</sup>A 2673, Vol. 3. War Cabinet Minutes, No. 464, 29 Aug. 1940.

<sup>87</sup>*Internment Policy*, 9 May 1941.

<sup>88</sup>CA 753, BP 242/1, Q 30579, Extracts from G.H.Q. Intelligence Summary No. 172, 10 Apr. 1942.

<sup>89</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 4 Jan. 1947; AP 308/1, No. 12, 1941-43 and No. 18, 1944.

Japanese nationals in the Sydney and Melbourne areas. According to an Eastern Command report on 6 June 1941, 17 women and one girl were registered as Japanese in the Sydney area and of those 10 were of British birth and had become Japanese by marriage.<sup>90</sup> Southern Command reported that seven women were registered as Japanese in the Melbourne area, five of them of British birth.<sup>91</sup> In August 1941 Eastern Command questioned "whether these women who were British subjects before marriage were to be summarily interned, or whether in the circumstances some form of restriction or surveillance would be deemed sufficient".<sup>92</sup> Section 18 of the Nationality Act of 1920-30 stated that "the wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien". In accordance with this Act, such women were regarded as enemy aliens and subject to internment.

However, Section 18 of the 1936 Nationality Act allowed wives of aliens to apply for, or regain British nationality which they lost by marrying aliens. They would then be entitled to "all political and other rights, powers and privileges and be subject to all obligations, duties and liabilities, to which a natural-born British subject is entitled or subject". The Minister for the Army decided that such women would only be interned where specific evidence, or reasonable grounds, existed.<sup>93</sup>

In Geelong, Victoria, four laundry shops were run by four Japanese - Hasegawa, Furuya, Nagai and Itoh - all of whom married white women.

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<sup>90</sup>MP 729/6, 65/401/135, 6 Jun. 1941.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 12 Aug. 1941.

<sup>92</sup>*Internment Policy*, 4 Aug. 1941.

<sup>93</sup>*Internment Policy*, 13 Aug. 1941.

Setsutaro Hasegawa of Hokkaido came to Australia in 1897 at the age of 26,<sup>94</sup> worked as a houseboy in Melbourne, and learnt English. He set up a laundry business on Toorak Road in Melbourne before he established his laundry business in Geelong. He married a European woman and had three sons.<sup>95</sup> According to Ida Hasegawa, his daughter-in-law, the other three had similar backgrounds in Australia. Three wives kept the businesses running while their husbands were interned. The exception was Hasegawa, a divorcee, whose shop was closed while he was in camp.<sup>96</sup> In New South Wales 13 men were listed as having either white wives or white de facto wives in 1946.<sup>97</sup> Hashi Oyama from Kagoshima was one. He arrived in Townsville in 1903 at the age of 17 and found employment as a sugar plantation worker, but left for Brisbane where he worked as a domestic servant and learnt English. He established his laundry business in Sydney in 1912 and in 1941 was a member of the Japanese Laundry Association there.<sup>98</sup> In 1944 he wrote:

In the year 1912...I took Miss Margaret McKee to wife. The new laundry had been named as 'Japanese Laundry' and we had been struggling hard so as to bring our business into a success. In the year 1913 a daughter was born to us... Peaceful family of mine had been interrupted by this War and I had to leave my beloved family behind to look after my business...they look after my business at present...<sup>99</sup>

Violet Umino, born in Australia, was married to Denzo Umino, a Japanese laundry man and the head of "Dooshikai" or the association of

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<sup>94</sup>MP 529/3, CA 5, 10 Feb. 1942.

<sup>95</sup>Ida Hasegawa, Geelong, 16 Aug. 1987.

<sup>96</sup>Ida Hasegawa, Geelong, 16 Aug. 1987.

<sup>97</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, No date.

<sup>98</sup>D 1901, O 3261, 14 Aug. 1944.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

Japanese laundry proprietors in Sydney. She regained her British nationality before the outbreak of the war and escaped internment by going to live in West Wyalong, 200 miles from the coast, while her husband and Australian-born son were interned. According to Douglas Umino, their son, the laundry business was run by Mrs Umino's sister while Mrs Umino was living in West Wyalong. She was able to return to Sydney in November 1942, but was placed under a restriction order as set out in the National Security Regulations until the war ended.<sup>100</sup> In Bevege's words, "the facts that she and her son were registered in Japan, and she had her name on a list of donors to the Japanese Forces Comforts Fund, told against her."<sup>101</sup>

Rose Inagaki, who was born in Australia and in 1907 married Moshi Inagaki, a Japanese lecturer at the University of Melbourne, was "furious when the police demanded her fingerprints and photograph for alien registration in early 1940"<sup>102</sup>. She wrote:

I am an Australian woman of British parentage...married to my husband for more than thirty-two years. We have both been loyal citizens of the Empire and my husband has most faithfully served this State for all those years as a teacher, twenty years at the University...I have naturally been, perhaps violently, British. I object strongly to my treatment at the hands of a Policeman. I spoke my objections, but my fingerprints were somewhat forcibly taken. I was also told that they would be used against me. I wish to know how and why this is to be done. Is it a criminal offence to marry a foreigner?<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Douglas Umino, Sydney, 3 Jan. 1993.

<sup>101</sup>Bevege, p. 232.

<sup>102</sup>Bevege, p. 233.

<sup>103</sup>Thomson Zainu'ddin, A., "Rose Inagaki: Is it a Crime to Marry a Foreigner?" in Farley Kelly and Marilyn Lake, ed., *Double Time: Women in Victoria's 150 Years*, Penguin Books, 1985, p. 335.

She applied to regain her British nationality and only her husband was interned the following year. She died in August 1943 while her husband was still interned.<sup>104</sup>

In November 1941 25 women were registered as Japanese in Western Australia. Of these, three were Australian-born.<sup>105</sup> Margaret Shiosaki was one, and one of five Aboriginal wives interned in Australia. She was married to Shizuo Shiosaki, a second-generation Japanese born in Broome to a Japanese father and an Aboriginal mother. The Shiosaki family had a laundry business in Broome. Their eldest daughter, Peggy, was 14 years old when she was interned with her parents and 6 brothers and sisters in Broome. She recalled:

Dad was taken first. He was in the Broome gaol. Some days later police came to get us. Dad and other Japanese were going to be sent somewhere in the south. Mum was very upset and my little brothers were crying ... Mum didn't want to be separated from Dad. She chose to go (with him).

Because no one in the family was left to run the laundry, they lost everything.<sup>106</sup>

Of 29 Japanese families arrested in Australia, five had Aboriginal-Japanese backgrounds. Three of these were from Broome. Because Aboriginals were not regarded as British subjects, Aboriginal wives of Japanese did not have the entitlements which wives of "white European race" enjoyed. Evidence suggests that Aboriginal wives could choose to remain home, but all five decided to go with their husbands.

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<sup>104</sup>Bevege, p. 233.

<sup>105</sup>PP 302/1, W.A. 8, 26 Nov. 1941.

<sup>106</sup>Peggy Carlie nee Shiosaki, Derby, 28 Aug. 1986.

Lora Yamaguchi, the wife of Rinzoo Yamaguchi, the baker in Burketown, chose to stay with her son Arthur while her husband was interned. She was born in Burketown to a Chinese father and a full-blood Aboriginal mother in 1903. In 1993 Lora recalled:

I bin miss him. Cryin', cryin' all night. Dogs bin miss him too because he had to feed them and play with them. Them dogs was howlin' and I was howlin' too, meanin' I started the dogs. Everybody said, "You start your dogs howlin' like that, it's no good. Everybody don't like it." I said, "OK".<sup>107</sup>

Aboriginal Women and children from Burketown were all evacuated to an area some miles inland from the town in early 1942. They lived there in tents. She said: "Truck took us back. Everything what we had. Back again our home. We all had a home there together."<sup>108</sup> In 1992 Arthur wrote: "We did not lose anything - through confiscation or likewise but then we did not have anything of value."<sup>109</sup>

In the early days of the war, the Army did not allow families of German internees to accompany their men as it thought the cost of having them in internment "would be very great in the provision of extra accommodation, food, clothing and guards."<sup>110</sup> However, there were problems of loneliness and family separation. Bevege wrote that "wives began to feel that camp life, despite its prison stigma, was a desirable alternative."<sup>111</sup> On 17 August 1942 the Department of the Army advised the Director General of Security on the internment of wives and children. It expressed the opinion that children under 16 should be permitted to

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<sup>107</sup>Lora Yamaguchi, Mt. Isa, 6 June 1993.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>Arthur Yamaguchi, Pioneer, 16 Jul. 1992.

<sup>110</sup>MP 729/6, 63/401/85, 9 Feb. 1940.

<sup>111</sup>Bevege, p. 88.

accompany parents into internment only if both parents were interned and if both agreed. It was also felt that wives should not be permitted voluntarily to accompany interned husbands and that children should not live in an internment camp if one parent was at liberty. This was largely based on economic considerations.<sup>112</sup>

The authorities applied Regulation 13 of the National Security (Aliens Control) Act 1939 to take Australian-born Japanese into military custody.<sup>113</sup> Regulation 13 was a "catch-all" providing for arrest without warrant of any person suspected of committing an offence against the Act, or of being about to commit such an offence. It allowed any person, not only an approved officer, to perform such an arrest. The Act protected any person arresting someone under it from prosecution for false arrest. The 1940 Act to amend the National Security Act 1939 removed the provision that any person might perform arrests under the Act, but provided for the placing of the services and property of anyone at the disposal of the Government.<sup>114</sup>

Approximately 100 Nisei were interned as Japanese during hostilities. They ranged in age from infants to those in their 50s. Approximately half were children under 16 and some were Sansei.<sup>115</sup> The Tanaka family was

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<sup>112</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579, 17 Aug. 1942.

<sup>113</sup>MP 1103/2, Individual Detention Order, WJ 18060, WJF 18074, WJF 18085 and WJF 18079.

<sup>114</sup>*National Security Act*, 1939, Section 13 and 1940, Sections 7 & 8.

<sup>115</sup>This figure has been calculated from two sources - the number of those who were released during hostilities (see Chapter 4) and A 373, 1/505/48, 19 August 1946 which indicates the number of people in this category who remained in detention until after the war.



summarily interned. The Acting Director-General of Security, R. Browne, described them after the war:

This is a nondescript family. The husband is Australian-born of Japanese blood and the wife Australian-born of Filipino blood. They have all lived in Thursday Island since birth. They have three children. The family speak only English and ... state that they do not get on with the other Japanese in the camp because they are regarded as Australians.<sup>116</sup>

They were British subjects by law. Section 6 of the Commonwealth Nationality Act 1920-30 stated that "any person born within his Majesty's dominions and allegiance" is deemed to be a natural-born British subject.<sup>117</sup> However, being a "natural-born British subject" did not always guarantee the rights to which British subjects were entitled. A natural-born British subject who was the wife or child of an alien, could be classified as an alien under the Aliens Registration Act of 1920<sup>118</sup> and the Nationality Act of 1920.<sup>119</sup> Section 12 of the same act provided for certificates of naturalisation to be revoked under a variety of circumstances. These included dealing with an enemy state, being convicted of crimes of certain gravity, and not being "of good character". A final blanket proviso was so open to interpretation that it would suffice to revoke naturalisation on almost any grounds. It stated that certification can be revoked if "the continuance of the certificate is not conducive to the public good."<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>116</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 1946.

<sup>117</sup>*Nationality Act, 1920-1930, Section 6.*

<sup>118</sup>*Aliens Registration Act, 1920, Section 3.*

<sup>119</sup>*Nationality Act, 1920-1930, Section 18.*

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid., Section 12.*

Commonwealth nationality laws also contained various provisions to revoke the British status of wives and children of aliens. Naturalised wives and children could have their status rescinded, reverting automatically to the status they had before naturalisation.<sup>121</sup> A natural-born British subject who fell within one of the categories under "Disability" in the same Act could have naturalisation denied. "Disability" was defined under Section 5 of the Act as "the status of being a married woman, or a minor, lunatic or idiot". The "citizenship" granted was, in Campbell and Whitmore's words, "of a very inferior nature".<sup>122</sup>

Under the "collar the lot" policy, some who were half-Japanese through their mothers were interned. The Ahmat family in Cossack, Western Australia, was in this category. The father was Thai and the mother was Japanese. They had three sons and one daughter. Apart from the father, and the youngest son who had enlisted, all were arrested.<sup>123</sup> Jimmy Chi was interned. He was a British subject born in Broome to a Chinese father, a former Ballarat gold prospector who became one of Broome's first pearlers, and a Japanese mother. In January 1946 an intelligence report stated:

Chi, J.J.....dwelt on the injustice of his internment which, he declared, was brought about by the jealousy of citizens of the town where he lived in Western Australia. He went on to say that his father was Chinese and that the fact that his mother was Japanese was no reason why he should have been interned as he knew many males of Japanese blood who had not been arrested.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup>Nationality Act, 1920, Sections 18 & 20.

<sup>122</sup>Campbell, E. and Whitmore, H., *Freedom in Australia*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1966, p. 107.

<sup>123</sup>Patrick Ahmat, Perth, 22 Aug. 1986.

<sup>124</sup>AP 719/3, SA 12667, 8 Jan. 1946.

Jack Tolsee was born to a white mother and a Sikh father in Perth. He was six when his mother became too ill to care for him, he was taken in by an aunt on his mother's side. She was married to a Japanese tomato farmer named Yamamoto who had a property in Geraldton, Western Australia. When Yamamoto was arrested on 8 December 1941, Jack was not taken. He was interned in the following month. He had not been adopted by Yamamoto and was not of Japanese descent. The only reason for his arrest, in his words, was that he was living with a Japanese family.<sup>125</sup> After the war Browne described him:

It seems incredible that this young lad, then only 15 years of age, and who is not particularly Japanese in appearance and who was quietly living with his aunt, an aboriginal woman, should have been interned and kept in internment for almost five years. If he has any nationality, I imagine that it is Australian derived by birth from his aboriginal mother...<sup>126</sup>

Another case which Browne found difficult to explain was that of Toshio Nagano (Martin Wellington). He commented:

This man is interned under the name of Toshio Nagano but it is quite problematical whether he has any Japanese blood in him at all and the name was merely given to him by Japanese whilst in association with them in the pearling industry. He has no knowledge of his parents at all but from his appearance he would seem to have had at least one aboriginal parent, probably his mother. He is very well spoken, highly intelligent...He spent his early years in the north and came to Brisbane when he was about 21...He became known to an elderly Japanese widow (interned)...and has been accepted by her as a foster son...<sup>127</sup>

The internment of the Japanese was not as complete as the policy makers allowed for. In Victoria, Ichiko Takasuka, a 65 year-old widow of Bendigo, was exempted from internment. The only member of the family

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<sup>125</sup>Jack Truan (formally Tolsee), Palmers Island, N.S.W., 22 May 1993.

<sup>126</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, Case No. 9.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., Case No. 34.

interned was her older son, Sho. Her younger son, Mario, was in the AIF and her daughter was not interned.<sup>128</sup> Because of the good reputation of the family, Southern Command advised the Minister for the Army to exclude the widow from internment lists in the event of hostilities.<sup>129</sup> The Minister replied that "it was beyond the power of a single minister to overrule the collective decision of his colleagues but drew attention to the fact that the minute specified no date before which implementation must be completed."<sup>130</sup> Southern Command took the hint and never got to interning her.

In Queensland, all but seven Japanese whose names appeared in the warrants were arrested. Five of the seven were deceased, one was in hospital, and the other was an Australian-born woman who was not arrested by direction of Northern Command.<sup>131</sup> According to Evelyn Suzuki, she was Kazuko Fukushima, an Australian-born daughter of Mr. and Mrs Fukushima, who was allowed to live in a boarding school in Cairns during the hostilities while her parents were interned.<sup>132</sup> Arthur Yamaguchi, the son of the Japanese baker in Burketown, was 20 when the war broke out. He was not interned. He wrote in 1992:

...there never were any questions asked me or any indication that I might be taken in at any time to my knowledge...It never even occurred to me that I might or could have been interned too...I guess that question could have been discussed by the authorities

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<sup>128</sup>Sissons, *An Immigrant Family*, pp. 21-25.

<sup>129</sup>*Internment Policy*, 28 Oct. 1941.

<sup>130</sup>Sissons, *An Immigrant Family*, p.22.

<sup>131</sup>BP 242/1, Q 39362, 24 Dec. 1941.

<sup>132</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

concerned and my employers. I worked on cattle stations in those years as a stockman.<sup>133</sup>

He was later recruited into the North Australia Observer Unit (known as the Nackerroos or Curtin's Cowboys) established in May 1942.<sup>134</sup> In 1993 he said:

There was no ill-feeling, or anything like that. Now and again they'd say "Here comes the Jap!" ... They checked whether I really wanted to be there and explained the situation. Some Aussie might not trust you and you might get shot from behind or you could be shot in front. I said I'd just have to take that chance. Without being brave or anything like that. That was the fact. I was prepared to do whatever I could for Australia because that's all the country I know.<sup>135</sup>

According to a diary kept by an internee from Broome, two Japanese men in Western Australia were not interned. One was arrested in Pinjarra on 8 December 1941, but was released soon after because he was medically unfit to travel. The other was a 75 year-old man in Geraldton, whose internment was anticipated, but the authorities could not locate him.<sup>136</sup> There is no record showing how many were not interned. In 1947, 335 people in Australia were registered as Japanese.<sup>137</sup> This included 69 who had been released during the war and 143 who were allowed to remain in Australia after the war. The remaining 123 comprises either sons who were fighting for Australia or those not interned for various reasons, including the above-mentioned cases.

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<sup>133</sup>Arthur Yamaguchi, *Pioneer*, 16 Jul. 1992.

<sup>134</sup>Walker, R. and Walker, H., *Curtin's Cowboys: Australia's Secret Bush Commandos*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 9.

<sup>135</sup>Arthur Yamaguchi, Mt. Isa, Qld., 6 Jun. 1993.

<sup>136</sup>Diary of Miki Tsutsumi (Hereafter referred to as Tsutsumi's Diary), 29 Jan. 1942.

<sup>137</sup>Palfreyman, A. C., *The Administration of the White Australia Policy*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, Table V, p. 146.

Under Australian Military Regulations & Orders No. 177, those who were not substantially of European origin were excluded from service in the armed forces.<sup>138</sup> Inevitably this was open to local and individual interpretation by authorities. For example, Sissons quotes the case of Mario Takasuka who had been rejected twice under the provisions of the above regulations. Although wholly of Japanese descent, he was finally accepted after travelling to Melbourne where "he was unknown and the Recruiting Officer was unfamiliar with the regulations."<sup>139</sup> Other Nisei of mixed descent were also accepted in the Australian armed forces. According to a list prepared by the Department of Immigration on 16 October 1946, during 1939 to 1945 about 3,000 aliens served in the Australian armed forces. Of these, 630 were ex-internees including 390 Germans and 5 Italians. The records, however, do not list the Nisei as Japanese.<sup>140</sup> The authorities officially treated them as "Australian" while other Nisei were interned as "Japanese". The fact that interned Issei had sons in the military did not always guarantee that the authorities would consider early release for them. Some of those who had enlisted sons remained interned for the duration of the war.

Except for some who were Australian-born, most "Japanese" were arrested in Australia on 8 December 1941 in an attempt to implement total internment as policy intended. The arrests were facilitated by the fact that the Japanese community was small, identifiable and largely concentrated in the north-east. Army Headquarters sent a telegram to Northern Command on 31 December 1941 which clearly indicated the Army's

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<sup>138</sup>Sissons, "An Immigrant Family" mimeographed, ANU, 1975, p. 23.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.

<sup>140</sup>A 437/1, 46/6/84, 16 Oct. 1946.

brief. It read: "All men and women who are Japanese by race should be interned."<sup>141</sup> Northern Command was given the power to intern suspected aliens without higher authority and the police were allowed to recommend internment based upon simple suspicion of disloyalty. During the first half of 1942 the number of aliens interned doubled and 90 per cent of the new internees, mostly of Italian origin, were from Queensland.<sup>142</sup> Saunders argues that: "Those of non-British origin were detained according to their geographic location rather than their ideology."<sup>143</sup> During this period some Australian-born who had not been taken into custody at the commencement of hostilities with Japan attack were interned. During hostilities, 97% of the registered aliens of Japanese descent were imprisoned, while 31% of Italian and 32% of German descent were interned.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579, 31 Dec. 1941.

<sup>142</sup>AWM 54, pp. 91 and 93.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid.

<sup>144</sup>Lamidey, Noel W., *Aliens Control in Australia: 1939-46*, (hereafter referred to as *Aliens Control in Australia*, Sydney, p. 53.

## CHAPTER 4

### Internment

On 8 December members of the Commonwealth Investigation Department, Military Intelligence and state police forces were busy rounding up members of the small Australian-Japanese community and closing all Japanese Consulates. Army Headquarters in Melbourne ordered that:

Japanese Consulates are to be closed and the archives sealed. No communications by any means are allowed between Japanese Consulates or between Consulates and Legations pending further instructions.<sup>1</sup>

The doors of the Japanese Consulate in Sydney were sealed. Police guarded all entrances to the home of the Japanese Consul-General, Mr. Goto, at Point Piper, and the telephone was disconnected.<sup>2</sup> In Canberra the Japanese flag was flown at the Legation mast during the morning, but was taken down early in the afternoon. The Canberra Times reported that "Volumes of smoke rising from an incinerator gave rise to the suggestion that the Legation staff was busy destroying documents."<sup>3</sup> Under international agreements, diplomatic officials and their staff were given immunity from search and restraint. Members of Japanese Consulates and Legations in Australia were gathered in Melbourne. Legation staff and their families were housed in Toorak, while Consulate officials were kept at Mt. Macedon.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>BP 242/1, Q39362, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>2</sup>Sydney *Morning Herald*, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>3</sup>Canberra Times, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>4</sup>Taijiro Ichikawa, Fujisawa, Japan, 29 Jan. 1987.



According to Bob Freeman, a retired member of the Queensland Police, individual warrants of arrest had already been drawn up for other Japanese and Japanese Australians, and only needed to be dated and signed.<sup>5</sup> He arrested two Japanese in Cairns, Queensland, on the morning of 8 December. He recalled:

We didn't know about it (the outbreak of war with Japan) and that morning a friend and I were handed two warrants to arrest two Japanese... I realized it then, warrants had been prepared. It was so organized.-

In Sydney police raids on suburban homes and city buildings began immediately after Japan commenced hostilities. Most Japanese arrested in Sydney were company staff, but some were taken from laundries and other small businesses in the suburbs.<sup>7</sup> Harry Suzuki, an Australian-born of Japanese descent, was reading the morning paper when around 9 a.m. two policemen appeared at the door of the dry cleaning shop in Neutral Bay where he worked. He recalled:

One of the policemen said that we were under arrest. They were friendly. They went upstairs and came down...looked everywhere and said, "Don't take much with you. It won't be too many days for you because you are an Australian-born". So I took only a toothbrush and pyjamas...

The policemen escorted him and the owners of the shop, Nishimura and Ishikawa, to the local police station. They never saw the shop again. It was burnt down not long after they were interned. The plant and contents were not insured, so they lost everything.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Bob Freeman, Brisbane, 26 Aug. 1987.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>*Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>8</sup>Harry Suzuki, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>9</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, the wife of the late Harry Suzuki, letter, 14 Aug. 1992.

During the morning a crowd gathered in Martin Place to watch the staff of the Yokohama Specie Bank being escorted to police cars. Some people hissed and booed.<sup>10</sup> Internees arrested in the Sydney area were all taken to the Internment Camp at Liverpool. Among them was Shiroo Kikuchi, manager of the Mitsubishi Trading Company Ltd. On 10 December he wrote from the camp to his Australian colleague, Boylson:

I am sure you all had worrying time the day before yesterday but hope by now you are settled down...Are you allowed to come to office...I was taken from my house to the Darlinghurst Station, and after formalities finished, was put on a comfortable bus together with other colleagues numbering thirty. We arrived at this camp at 9:30 p.m.<sup>11</sup>

According to Tadashi Kurozumi, a correspondent from the Asahi newspaper who was arrested in Melbourne, 16 Japanese were arrested in Victoria on that day. He and another Japanese man were taken to the Army barracks at Broadmeadows where they joined two other Japanese—Shoo Takasuka from Bendigo and an old gardener called Sakai. On 12 December they were taken to Tatura Internment Camp. Twelve other Japanese were already there.<sup>12</sup> Among them were Professor Inagaki of Melbourne University, the four laundrymen, Furuya, Itoh, Nagai and Hasegawa from Geelong, and four members of the Ueno Circus who had been performing in Australia since October 1940.<sup>13</sup> Two other members of the Circus who were then performing in Brisbane were also arrested.<sup>14</sup> The internees who had been arrested in the Melbourne area that

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<sup>10</sup>Sydney *Morning Herald*, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>11</sup>Shiro Kikuchi, letter, 10 Dec. 1941, held by Mrs Boylson, Sydney.

<sup>12</sup>Statement of Kurozumi, interviewed by Mr. Naomasa Oshimoto, cited in Oshimoto, Naomasa, "Nichi-Go Shinzen ni Kokenshita Nihon Imin [Japanese Immigrants Who Contributed for Friendly Relations Between Australia and Japan]" in *Iju Kenkyu [Emigration Studies]*, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Tokyo, 1982, No. 19, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup>The late Albert Ueno, Yokohama, 16 Jan. 1987.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

day were taken to the local gaol and from there were moved to Tatura. Ida Hasegawa, daughter-in-law of Setsutaroo Hasegawa, was busy cooking lunch at home when the police came to arrest him:

My father-in-law was in his bed. He was crippled from arthritis ... couldn't move. He'd been very sick ...72 years old he was. They took him out of his bed, you know, and said, "You'd better take something with you." So he took a pair of pyjamas.<sup>15</sup>

At this time Hasegawa's enlisted son, Ida's husband, was coming home at night to do the starching while Ida did the washing and soft ironing. They were not allowed to continue the business after Hasegawa was interned.<sup>16</sup>

The usual procedure of arrest included a thorough search of the homes or offices of internees. All correspondence and documents were confiscated. Firearms and other articles prohibited by the National Security Regulations were also sought.<sup>17</sup> Bob Freeman, who arrested the two Japanese in Cairns, did find something:

The amazing thing to me about this particular episode was that one of them had a transmitter/receiver. He obviously knew because all the suitcases were packed ... I wasn't quite sure if he was waiting for us or trying to get away ... They were polite and calm. They seemed to know. That puzzled me. We were told later that they were naval officers...<sup>18</sup>

It was not uncommon that a member of the local police known to the Japanese arrested them. Rinzoo Yamaguchi, the Japanese baker in Burketown, was arrested by a sergeant of the local police on 8 December. Arthur Yamaguchi, his son, recalled:

The sergeant told Dad that he was ordered to take Dad into custody, much as he disliked the task. I believe to this day it was genuine as Dad was well liked and respected by everyone in Burketown. Dad was not

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<sup>15</sup>Ida Hasegawa, Geelong, 16 Aug. 1987.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>C123, Criminal Investigation File, General instruction to police carrying out the duties of internment of listed aliens.

<sup>18</sup>Bob Freeman, 26 Aug. 1987.

locked up in the "jail house" as they were called, but slept on a bed outside the prison.<sup>19</sup>

Yamaguchi was the only Japanese in Burketown, an isolated country in north-west Queensland. Arthur continued:

there was no need to intern Dad, but I understand that. That was government policy and I guess would apply anywhere where particular nationals were at war.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that Yamaguchi was granted an early release in February 1945<sup>21</sup> as the people in town wanted him back suggests that he was well accepted by the local community.

The Japanese arrested in northern Queensland were taken to Stewart Creek Gaol just outside Townsville. Mr. and Mrs. Iwanaga and their 20 year old adopted daughter Anne were among those arrested. On the day of her arrest she discovered, to her great astonishment, that she was an adopted daughter:

That morning when the war broke out, police came to the house and went through everything and took us to the police station. During the time we were there, Dad went out to the office and came back. He said, "You're not a Japanese." Dad showed me my birth certificate. I was allowed to go home ...It was more than a shock ...The next day all the Japanese were put on a train. They didn't know where they were going. Mum and Dad thought they were being taken away all to be shot ...<sup>22</sup>

From Stewart Creek Gaol the internees were transferred to the Gaythorne Internment Camp before being sent to permanent camps in the south.

Professor Seita of the University of Queensland was arrested at 1.50 p.m. on 8 December. He was taken to his home where his possessions were

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<sup>19</sup>Arthur Yamaguchi, Pioneer, 16 Jul. 1992.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>AP 308/1, 18, 1944.

<sup>22</sup>Anne Iwanaga, Brisbane, 25 Aug. 1987.

thoroughly searched.<sup>23</sup> According to a report written by the Deputy Director of Security for Queensland, the material confiscated from him was "one of the largest and most varied collections of political propaganda found in the possession of any one person since the outbreak of war in September 1939."<sup>24</sup>

In Queensland the round-up was carried out with the utmost speed. On 14 December *Truth* reported:

the round-up in the capital [Brisbane] was finalised in a few hours. The operations were completed without a single hitch ... Quietly and unobtrusively yet firmly the procedure was carried out in apprehending all enemy aliens in the State.<sup>25</sup>

The paper continued:

One optimistic laundryman had gone out when the military called at his shop. He had left a note posted on the door, "back at 3 o'clock". Unfortunately, for him, instead of getting back to his shop, he was escorted in an army vehicle to quite another location.<sup>26</sup>

223 Japanese were arrested on mainland Queensland and kept at Gaythorne before being transferred to permanent camps.<sup>27</sup>

The greatest number of Japanese detained was 359 at Thursday Island.<sup>28</sup> Preparations were well under way before Japan attacked. On 1 December an internment operation was activated by Fortress Headquarters on the island, which during the following week took delivery of 8.75 miles of barbed-wire

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<sup>23</sup>BP242/1, Q 24301, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>*Truth*, 14 Dec. 1941, BP242/1, Q 39362.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>BP242/1, Q 30579, 30 Apr. 1942.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

fencing and other supplies to make the Japanese quarter, "Yokohama", a secure prison.<sup>29</sup>

On the morning of 8 December, "Yokohama" was transformed into a temporary internment camp where, as far as possible, daily life was allowed to continue. Children went to school every day from the camp. Harumi, one of the daughters of the Yamashita family which owned the soy sauce factory, is one of the few who still lives on the island. She recalled:

I was 11 years old then. I remember the barbed-wire going up ... it was strange ... Every morning I went through the little gate to go to school and came back through the same gate. Soldiers were always there and let us go in and out...<sup>30</sup>

The eldest son of the Nakata family on the island said:

I and my brothers and sisters still went to school with the camp's approval. The atmosphere at school was no different to me. No children were antagonistic or anything. We still played together at sports until the final break-up day.<sup>31</sup>

A local resident remembered:

The Japanese town was surrounded by barbed wire with machine guns on each corner of the town...The soldiers used to take the Japanese for a bath in the salt water. They stood guard with fixed bayonets. There was no trouble.<sup>32</sup>

Pearl divers accounted for 90 percent of the adult Japanese on the island. More than half were working at sea on 8 December.<sup>33</sup> They were arrested as they returned.<sup>34</sup> Another local resident said:

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 1 Dec. 1941.

<sup>30</sup>Harumi Ahloy nee Yamashita, Thursday Island, 1 Sept. 1987.

<sup>31</sup>Tamiya Nakata, letter, Thursday Island, 10 June 1988.

<sup>32</sup>Statement of E. Ware Snr. quoted in *Torres Straits at War: a recollection of wartime experiences*, Thursday Island State High School, 1987, p. 34.

<sup>33</sup>BP 242/1, Q 39362, 15 Dec. 1941.

<sup>34</sup>Evelyn Suzuki nee Yamashita, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

We got on well with the Japanese before the war...the Japanese trained us to use boats, navigate the luggers and how to dive for pearl. We had to arrest the Japanese because we were now at war.<sup>35</sup>

The first group of Thursday Island internees was sent to the mainland on the "Zealandia" bringing internees from Darwin. The "Marela" later transferred the remaining Japanese divers from the island.

The Japanese in Darwin were also taken into custody on 8 December. Guards were stationed outside Japanese homes and the children were removed from their school under armed guard.<sup>36</sup> Peter Murakami was seven when arrested at St. Mary's Convent School. He "didn't know what was going on."<sup>37</sup> His eldest sister, Masuko Murakami, was married to her cousin, Yoshio Murakami. She had not heard that war had broken out. She described that morning:

I took my son to Mum's house and saw two soldiers standing in front of the house...They said, "What are you doing? You are not supposed to be out. You are not allowed in"...back at home there were also two soldiers...They said, "You are under arrest...This is for your protection."<sup>38</sup>

Masuko's parents and her brothers were inside the house when soldiers armed with rifles came in. Joe, the third eldest son, wrote:

The officer-in-charge told us to pack just the minimum of clothing. Some of the soldiers were now brusque in their attitude, but not unduly so. A.C. Gregory appeared in his full tropical naval officer's uniform while we were packing. I don't remember what he said to my parents but I have faint recollections of hearing something like "I'm sorry. There's nothing much I can do."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Statement of Ettie Pau, quoted in *Torres Strait at War*, p. 34.

<sup>36</sup>Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography, Vol. I: -1945, p. 218.

<sup>37</sup>*The Bulletin*, 18 Feb. 1992, p. 41.

<sup>38</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, Darwin, 19 Aug. 1986.

<sup>39</sup>Joe Murakami, letter, Yokohama, 16 July 1988.

Gregory also told Joe's father that he would look after anything valuable that Yasukichi might want kept in safe custody. Because of his long association with the Murakami family, Gregory was suspected of being a spy.<sup>40</sup> According to Bain, he died in Perth in December 1942, ostracised by friends and associates.<sup>41</sup>

The Darwin internees were gathered at the Adelaide River camp, a military gaol which had been hurriedly emptied to accommodate them. Joe wrote:

Treatment of the internees was quite good, considering the circumstances. There were no insulting remarks from the troops outside the fence, as far as I can recall. The Japanese lugger crews used to play catch ball for exercise and, occasionally, an Aussie soldier would join them.<sup>42</sup>

The *Western Australian* reported the situation in Darwin:

The Japanese who were arrested yesterday have all been interned. When arrested, some of them could not believe that Japan was at war with America. They had not heard the news and were at a loss to understand why they should suddenly be taken from their homes. A few broke down and sobbed pitifully.<sup>43</sup>

After spending a few weeks in corrugated iron huts, family groups, 16 people in all, were put on board the "Zealandia", on the lowest deck in the fore-castle.<sup>44</sup> They left Darwin sometime before Christmas. It was cramped and hot in the cabins. The same ship carried Australian civilian evacuees from Darwin. Geoff Chin, an Australian-born Chinese, was one of the evacuees. He was quoted by Joe Murakami as saying: "The white civilians had comfortable, roomy

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 28 Sept. 1991.

<sup>41</sup>Bain, p. 318.

<sup>42</sup>Joe Murakami, letter, 16 July 1988.

<sup>43</sup>*Western Australian*, 10 Dec. 1941.

<sup>44</sup>BP 242/1, Q 39362, Nominal Roll of Japanese Internees Ex Darwin.



accommodation, while non-whites had to put up with conditions almost as bad as enemy prisoners."<sup>45</sup>

From Darwin the "Zealandia" picked up the Japanese from Thursday Island.

Masuko Murakami said:

We were allowed to carry only 35 pounds in weight ....We were originally to leave Darwin by plane but ended up being on a ship. We didn't have anything much but clothes. We could 've taken more if we had known we were going by ship ... Japanese from Thursday Island had lots of things, even pots and pans ...<sup>46</sup>

The sea was calm up to Thursday Island, but the voyage to Sydney was very rough. "All of us suffered severe seasickness which was aggravated by our cooped up, confined, hot cabins,"<sup>47</sup> Joe Murakami recalled. Harumi Ahloy (nee Yamashita) said:

A few days later no fresh water was available and we had to drink 'semi-desalinated' water...We managed to swallow it by mixing it with 'enos' fruit salt we had brought with us. Christmas Day was spent on the ship with sour tripe and white sauce for dinner.<sup>48</sup>

On New Year's Day they arrived at Sydney where the internees were divided into two groups.<sup>49</sup> Single men from Thursday Island were put on a train to Hay Internment Camp, while family groups and single women were sent to Tatura.

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<sup>45</sup>Joe Murakami, letter, 16 July 1988.

<sup>46</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, Darwin, 29 Aug. 1986.

<sup>47</sup>Joe Murakami, letter, 16 July 1988.

<sup>48</sup>Statement of Harumi Ahloy nee Yamashita, quoted in *Torres Strait at War*, p. 35.

<sup>49</sup>Evely Suzuki, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

On 29 December, 51 single men were put on military trucks at Adelaide River and were taken to the Loveday internment Camp in South Australia.<sup>50</sup> On the way they picked up another internee called Inokuchi Suzuki or Ivan Steel, who had been arrested in Tennant Creek.<sup>51</sup>

In Broome about 100 Japanese residents were arrested on the morning of 8 December. Miki Tsutsumi, secretary of the Nihonjin Kai in Broome, was one of them. He had come to Broome in 1921 as manager of the Tonan Shokai, a company which sold Japanese goods mainly to the Japanese community.<sup>52</sup> He began writing a diary from the day of his arrest. His first entry reads:

After I got up, I heard people were talking about Japan's attack on Hawaii and Malaya. I couldn't believe it... At about 10.30, Inspector Lawson and three other policemen came and told us that we were to be taken to the gaol. They gave us a little time to pack up. At about 11.00 we got to the gaol ...<sup>53</sup>

Hatsu Kanegae, who came to Broome in 1896 from Nagasaki,<sup>54</sup> was one of the 5 single Japanese women arrested that day. Her niece, Yoshi, remembers the day her aunt was taken by the police:

I was at my auntie's house ...Auntie and I were washing and cleaning as we always did at that time of the day. It was about ten in the morning. We didn't know the war had broken out...One policeman came and took her. He said, "I'm sorry but I have to arrest you." She packed a few things up and asked her neighbours to look after things ...They were Filipino, good friends of hers.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>MP 729/6, 63/401/416, No date.

<sup>51</sup>MP 1103/1, Box 1; BP 242/1, Q 30579, 10 Apr. 1942.

<sup>52</sup>Atkinson, p. 383.

<sup>53</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 8 Dec. 1941.

<sup>54</sup>Atkinson, p. 346.

<sup>55</sup>Yoshi Nabeshima nee Kanegae, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

Others voluntarily prepared themselves for arrest. According to a resident of Broome, Australians were surprised as Japanese emerged from the lanes and paths of Chinatown, gathering together in Carnarvon Street awaiting internment.<sup>56</sup> On the next day an old Japanese man appeared at a pearler's home and said, "Waited all afternoon, boss, all packed up. No one came for me, boss. What'll I do?"<sup>57</sup> On the second day, Tsutsumi noted that:

Everyone is fairly calm. Women are also taking it all well ...I am angry at the fact that women were arrested ...A few more were brought in today.<sup>58</sup>

The 100 Japanese were crammed into Broome gaol, built to hold between 40 and 50 prisoners. Probably because of this lack of space, the authorities did not arrest all the Japanese in Broome straight away. Those not immediately imprisoned were placed under restriction orders until they could be taken into custody.<sup>59</sup>

Some Broome luggers were at sea on 8 December. Masataro Okumura, a diver, recalled:

We had been collecting pearl shells for a week or so when a patrol boat found us ... A few local Aborigines were aboard and told us to return to Broome immediately. That was the way we found out about the war... It didn't really register and we were taking it easy and continued working leisurely... We had enough food on board... I think we remained at sea for about a week until we ran out of food...<sup>60</sup>

On 18 December they returned to Broome:

As we came to the dock, we saw soldiers standing with guns pointing towards us. As soon as we got off the boat, we were taken onto a military

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<sup>56</sup>Bain, p. 320.

<sup>57</sup>M.de Castilla, interview by Bain, Perth, 1976, in Bain, p. 321.

<sup>58</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>59</sup>Yoshi Nabeshima nee Kanegae, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>60</sup>Masataro Okumura, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

truck to our divers' house. We were told to pack up a bag. Then they took us to the Broome gaol.<sup>61</sup>

The remaining Japanese divers were arrested as they returned to Broome, bringing the number arrested to 162.<sup>62</sup>

The Japanese community was one of the biggest ethnic groups in Broome. Non-Japanese well-wishers sent in soy sauce, rice, Japanese tea, fresh fruit and vegetables and fish. According to Tsutsumi, the Japanese had enough suitable food and they were allowed to have visitors and go out occasionally, so they had easy access to whatever news was available.<sup>63</sup>

Jimmy Chi was a regular visitor to the gaol. He was a successful businessman and had a close association with the Japanese community. On 20 December he was arrested. In 1986 Chi talked about the time with resentment:

The white people in town thought I was communicating with the Japs and my brother was in the Japanese Air Force ... Sgt. Cowie came up one day while I was driving the taxi and told me to go with him ...I left the car there in the street and he put me in gaol...<sup>64</sup>

Although he was released the same day as he was a natural-born British subject, he was taken in again a week later:

I was picking up passengers from the jetty and Sgt. Cowie came up and said, "I want you again,"...I packed my stuff and they put me in gaol again. I couldn't do anything... My wife and son were still here in Broome and my business was just left sitting...<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 18 Dec. 1941.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 9-25 Dec. 1941.

<sup>64</sup>Jimmy Chi, Broome. 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

On 21 December the internees were told that they were to be transferred south. By this date 185 had been detained.<sup>66</sup> On 22 December a prisoners' committee was set up in the Broome gaol to organise welfare matters. Approaching New Year, the committee debated whether it could display the Emperor's picture for the New Year celebration in a gaol. Those against were in the majority, and the New Year events took place without the Emperor's portrait. The internees celebrated the New Year as best they could in the gaol and enjoyed special Japanese food prepared for the occasion. Some later enjoyed a game of mah-jong.<sup>67</sup>

On 18 January the Japanese were taken by trucks to board the "Koolinda". On the previous day, Australian-born wives and children had been taken into custody. The Shiosaki family was included. Alf Shiosaki was 10:

I can't remember exactly when, but one day I was outside with Dad and saw the aurora (sic). Dad said, "War's coming." And one day sometime after that, a truck came and took us ...we were having lunch then, had to leave everything behind...<sup>68</sup>

Alf's older sister, Peggy, also remembers the day. In her home in Derby, she said:

The policeman told us to pack up things, a change of clothes and things...We were put in a tent at the Broome gaol. The gaol was already packed with the Japanese. We slept in the tent for one night and the next day we were taken on a ship...<sup>69</sup>

Yoshi Kanegae, an Australian-born of Japanese-Aboriginal origin, was neither upset nor afraid of being arrested. She said: "Dad was in and Auntie was in ...so I was excited to go and looking forward to seeing them again."<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 21 Dec. 1941

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 22 Dec. 1941.

<sup>68</sup>Alf Shiosaki, Perth, 21 Aug. 1986.

<sup>69</sup>Peggy Carlie nee Shiosaki, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>70</sup>Yoshi Nabeshima nee Kanagae, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

At noon on 19 January the "Koolinda" left Broome carrying 212 Japanese internees, picked up 34 Japanese internees at Port Hedland, Point Samson, Onslow and Carnarvon, and arrived at Fremantle on 24 January.<sup>71</sup> The internees were divided into two groups - the family groups being taken to Woodmans Point Internment Camp, and the men to Harvey Internment Camp.<sup>72</sup>

Harvey was about 100 kilometres south of Perth. The men arriving there were given a friendly welcome by Italian internees. They were housed in 11 huts in one compound which had a tennis court, garden, canteen, mess hall and wash house. They settled in well and found the facilities satisfactory.<sup>73</sup> An internees' committee was formed and Tsutsumi was chosen as compound leader. He sent a telegram to Woodmans Point Camp on 29 January 1942:

Arrived safely Saturday evening without troubles and all of us are in good health but much colder and windy than expected. Desires all your side are in good health. Pass your time pleasantly. Kindest regards.<sup>74</sup>

On 31 January, however, they were informed that they were to be moved to an eastern state, and on 1 February 195 unattached men left for Loveday. On 8 February Tsutsumi wrote:

It has just been two months since we were interned. We have been told that family groups are to travel by rail to the East. The exact destination is still unknown ... There is not much else to talk about. We chatted about what is going to happen to us over a cup of tea and the cakes which our dear Italian friends baked for us.<sup>75</sup>

The internees at Harvey had access to local newspapers, which gave them some idea of how the war was progressing. In early February, the papers

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<sup>71</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 24 Jan. 1942.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 25 Jan. 1942.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 29 Jan. 1942.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 1 Feb. 1942.

reported that it looked as though Japan was going to take Singapore. The news delighted both the Japanese and the Italians. The Italians baked special cakes and biscuits in anticipation of Japan's victory. On 11 February, Japan's National Day, Tsutsumi wrote: "If the news is true, my heart is filled with joy for Japan's victory in Singapore which happened on this very special day."<sup>76</sup>

On 15 February Singapore surrendered to the Japanese.<sup>77</sup> On the same day the remaining Japanese left Harvey for Perth where they were reunited with their families. They left Perth station at 8 p.m.

The sun was setting as we left the station. The station building was huge and spectacular, but the Japanese could not find it in their hearts to be impressed. White people crowded the railway to watch us on the train.<sup>78</sup>

Some children found the train ride across the Nullarbor exciting. "It was like having a picnic every day, seeing places I had never seen before,"<sup>79</sup> said Alf Shiosaki. But the plain depressed Tsutsumi. He wrote: "It only made me sad to see so few bushes in the vast open space. I saw this vast plain without much feeling."<sup>80</sup>

On 18 February they reached Adelaide. 24 single males were sent to Loveday on military trucks, while family groups had a short break in the Adelaide Showgrounds before continuing their journey to Tatura. They arrived in Melbourne on the morning of 19 February and were put on military trucks, finally reaching Tatura at 8 p.m. They were exhausted. "I was very tired. All

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 11 Feb. 1942.

<sup>77</sup>McKernan, *All In*, p. 110.

<sup>78</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 15 Feb. 1942.

<sup>79</sup>Alf Shiosaki, 21 Aug. 1986.

<sup>80</sup>Tsutsumi's Diary, 17 Feb. 1942.



I can remember is that I just wanted to lie down somewhere,"<sup>81</sup> said Peggy Shiosaki. Alf recalled the time when he walked into the camp:

I was standing at the big gates. I think it was the entrance to the compound. There was barbed-wire everywhere. A guard patted my head and said. "Hey son, this is going to be your home for a while".<sup>82</sup>

The internees from Western Australia were one of the last groups to arrive at the camps. There they learnt that overseas internees had been treated badly on their journey to Australia. Former local internees thought the treatment they had received from the Australian military had been fair and not humiliating. Masu Tsutsumi, the wife of Miki Tsutsumi from Broome said:

We had much more luggage compared to people from the islands. They had nothing ... I felt sorry for them. Some of the conditions they had been subjected to were just unbelievable...We were treated fairly.<sup>83</sup>

34 Japanese were arrested in New Guinea, including 5 women, and 2 in Papua.<sup>84</sup> About one third of the New Guinea men were married to local women and had children. The men had been residents for 30 to 40 years. They included plantation workers, ship engineers, boatbuilders and a transport worker.<sup>85</sup> Michael Asanuma, the eldest son of Ichimatsu Asanuma who married a woman of Filipino origin, was 14 in 1941.

We were taken out of the school that morning and sent to the local prison in Rabaul. My mother came a little later...the authorities took us children only out of the prison. We were sent to Wide Bay where our uncle had a plantation. Mother was released a little later.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Peggy Carlie nee Shiosaki, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>82</sup>Alf Shiosaki, 21 Aug. 1986.

<sup>83</sup>Masu Tsutsumi, Nagasaki, Japan, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>84</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579, Extracts from G.H.Q. Intelligence Summary No.172, 10 Apr. 1942.

<sup>85</sup>A 373, 11505/48, 2 Oct. 1946.

<sup>86</sup>Michael Sugitaroo Asanuma, Brisbane, 29 Nov. 1992.





All the families remained in New Guinea. The men were transferred from Rabaul and Kieta on the MV "Malaita". The two men from Papua joined the ship at Samarai late in January 1942.<sup>87</sup> Michael Asanuma's younger brother, Tony, said:

Mum and us children all wanted to go with Dad and other families too, but we were not allowed. We missed him very much, but Mum's family is big and we weren't lonely or anything.<sup>88</sup>

On 23 January 1942 Japan occupied Rabaul. Tony continued:

We decided to move to Rabaul as it was not safe in Wide Bay. In Rabaul life became so easy...plenty of food. Major Abe looked after the family. We grew vegies and gave to Japanese soldiers. We went to a Japanese school in Rabaul and learnt Japanese.<sup>89</sup>

Most overseas Japanese later interned in Australia were also rounded up on 8 December. 34 men were arrested in the New Hebrides on that day, transferred to Australia on the S.S. "Morinda" in January 1942,<sup>90</sup> and sent to Hay. In February 1942 the S.S. "Morinda" brought 3 Japanese men<sup>91</sup> - two divers and a boatbuilder<sup>92</sup> - from the Solomon Islands. One diver, Fujita, had married a local woman. His wife and children remained in the Solomon Islands.<sup>93</sup> The three men were interned at Hay.

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<sup>87</sup>MP 742/1, 255/10/12, 21 Nov. 1942.

<sup>88</sup>Tony Asanuma, Brisbane, 15 Jan. 1993.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>AWM 54. 780/1/6, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 17.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>MP 1103/1, Box 3.

<sup>93</sup>Salome Palmer, granddaughter of Seigoro Fujita, Adelaide, 25 March 1986.

1,124 Japanese, including some families, were arrested in New Caledonia.<sup>94</sup> There were miners, farmers and fishermen.<sup>95</sup> They were brought to Australia in two groups - on the S.S. "Cap les Palmes" and the S.S. "Cremer".<sup>96</sup> The Free French authorities treated them badly in Noumea. The men were arrested first and had to spend that night on the ground in the open air. Next morning they and their families were taken to Nouville Island near Noumea where they were kept in a ruined building until they were embarked on the "Cap les Palmes". The conditions on their voyage to Australia were appalling. The Murayama family had owned a tailor's shop in Noumea from 1927. Yuri Murayama, the wife, spoke bitterly about their experiences during the voyage:

It was the worst part of my wartime experiences. There were about 40 children on board. We had packed biscuits and other things for them, but the soldiers confiscated them all ...the conditions on the ship were terrible ...no proper toilet facilities ...no bedding. But the women and children at least had a change of clothes. The men had nothing except what they were wearing when they were arrested. It was so sad to see them.<sup>97</sup>

Takao Miyake, later compound leader at Hay Internment Camp, was in this party. He was quoted in a report by the Swiss Consul-General, Hedinger:

We were packed in a dark, airless hatch ...slept on the bare iron floor with no bedding ...we were allowed to go on deck for a period of half an hour each twice a day. For meals we had no plates, no cups and ate with our fingers. No water to wash. Upon all this we were treated with brutality by the sailors guarding us.<sup>98</sup>

The ship arrived at Sydney on 22 December. Single men were taken to Hay and Loveday, and family groups to Tatura. On 26 January 1942 Hedinger visited

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<sup>94</sup>AWM 54, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup>MP 1103/1, Box 2.

<sup>96</sup>AWM 54, p. 16.

<sup>97</sup>Yuri Murayama, Tokyo, 30 Jan. 1987.

<sup>98</sup>A.7.0.0., 9/11/10/2, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pacific War Files, 16 Feb. 1942.

Hay internment camp and took particular notice of the conditions of the internees from New Caledonia. He reported:

A problem of considerable urgency was created by the fact that the Free French Authorities of New Caledonia apparently did not allow the Japanese under arrest sufficient time to provide themselves with proper clothing, and daily necessities, to undertake the voyage to Sydney. Most of them arrived clad only in a shirt and shorts. As the temperature in Hay is subject to great variations ... on account of the danger to their health, an extra issue of clothing should be made available in the shortest possible time.<sup>99</sup>

In December 1941 the Australian government agreed to accept Japanese internees from N.E.I., subject to the Netherlands government accepting responsibility for transfer and for the costs of erecting necessary accommodation, keeping guards and incidental expenditure incurred by the Commonwealth.<sup>100</sup>

The Japanese sent from N.E.I. were the largest group of internees held in Australia. In January and February 1942, 1,949 people, including 550 women and children, were transferred to Australia on the S.S. "Cremer" and the S.S. "Heemskirk".<sup>101</sup>

In July 1941 Japanese assets in N.E.I were frozen, commercial activities were restricted, and the Japanese government began evacuating Japanese residents.<sup>102</sup> Women and children went first. By November 1941 most employees of Japanese companies were also evacuated. According to Miyakatsu Koike, a former employee of the Yokohama Shoogin Bank in Surabaya, at the beginning

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>AWM 54, 788/1/6, p. 18.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Miyakatsu Koike, *Yokuryuu Nikki [Diary of Internment]*, a memoir, Tokyo, 1987, pp. 2-4.

of December those remaining were told by head office in Japan that all branches were to be closed. Koike's office decided to remain open until 10 December to prepare all the documents to take back to Japan. But on 6 December they were ordered to settle accounts on 8 December.<sup>103</sup> On the morning of 8 December Koike went to check the manager's house before going to work as the manager was away in Batavia. Just as he was about to leave, he saw about 10 policemen at the gate. He wrote:

I knew instantly what we expected had happened... I greeted a Dutch officer who appeared to be the commandant. He told me that they were there to arrest the manager...I was asked to accompany them to search the manager's house. I was kept under gunpoint by two policemen the whole time. They were going to arrest me there and then, but I said "I am not ready. Let me go back home and change."<sup>104</sup> I wanted to get my suitcase which I had prepared for this.

He was taken to the local police station where he was joined by two other employees from his office and other Japanese arrested in the area. They were taken to the city hall in Surabaya. It was surrounded by barbed-wire fences, and quickly became crowded with other detainees, including pro-Japanese Indonesians and pro-Japanese Chinese. Koike wrote:

It was so funny to see one man whose hair was half done. Obviously he was arrested at a barber shop... We heard news about the Pearl Harbour attack on a radio which a Chinese brought in with him. The news made some of us cheerful...Some people talked like war commentators...We hoped the fighting spirit of the Japanese soldiers would last.<sup>105</sup>

On the following day they were moved and interned at an army barracks at Sumoono for a month.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

About one third of internees from N.E.I. were Formosans and Koreans who had been arrested as Japanese. Alice Pao, of Formosan origin, was in grade five in primary school in Surabaya. She recalled:

I was at school. The teacher called me out and told me to go home with the soldier. I didn't know what was going on. When I got home, Mum told me that Dad had already been arrested and we had to go too. I said, 'Why? We are Chinese.' Mum said, 'They have to ask us a few questions and we will come back soon.' So I took my geography book as there was a test at school on the following day.<sup>107</sup>

The family never returned home.

The Mori family had a coffee plantation in the Celebes. They also knew that Japan would probably enter the war, and the mother and daughters went on an evacuation ship back to Japan. The male members of the family were arrested on 8 December. Taishiro Mori, one of the sons, talked about that morning:

We saw soldiers approaching our house. Dad noticed them first and told us to go into the coffee plantation. So we did. Dad sat in an armchair on the verandah waiting for them to reach the house ... A Dutch officer accompanied by ten armed Indonesian soldiers surrounded our house. Me and my brother decided to come out as there seemed to be no danger. We pretended we knew nothing of their presence. I still remember the look on the soldiers' faces. They were too astonished to point their guns at us. The soldiers were all locals that we knew anyway. The officer said politely to Dad, "War has broken out. You all have to come with us". Dad replied, "This war is going to be trouble".

They were escorted to the local gaol.<sup>108</sup>

Shigeru Nakabayashi did not know that the war had started when about 30 Dutch soldiers came to surround a cultured pearl nursery owned by Mitsubishi on Butung Island in the Celebes. Nakabayashi had gone there as a diver in 1930 and was working as the captain of a ferry when war broke out.<sup>109</sup> He said:

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<sup>107</sup> Alice Pao, Rushworth, 4 Jan. 1993.

<sup>108</sup> Taishiori Mori, Saga, Japan, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>109</sup> Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 12 Dec. 1986.

There were only 8 of us at Butung...On 5 December we received a telegram from the Surabaya office telling us to go to Surabaya by 15 December...but we couldn't make it...We had a short-wave radio, but it had been out of order for some time. I was working in the mechanics' room when three soldiers came in and threatened me with bayonets.

The eight Japanese were taken to the detention block at the Baubau army barracks on the island.<sup>110</sup>

Masaichi Nabeshima, a Dutch subject born in N.E.I. to a Japanese father and Indonesian mother, was arrested in Manado, Celebes, on 8 December. He had just got out of bed when a soldier came into the house. "I will never forget that morning", he said with bitterness:

One soldier came on a motor bike and grabbed me by my arm and said, "You get on the bike". I didn't know why. He didn't tell me why either. I grabbed my wallet and left the house with him. That was it.<sup>111</sup>

He was put in the local gaol where he spent two nights without food:

It was a real gaol. I had nothing but the clothes I had on and a little money and Dad's photo in my wallet. They took the money and tore the photo. We don't have any photo of Dad now.<sup>112</sup>

The internees arrested in various places in the Celebes spent the next three weeks being moved from one place to another, either by train or on foot. Nabeshima described the journeys as the most intimidating experience of his life:

We didn't know where we were 'cause we moved from one place to another and were never told where we were going ...One day it was raining hard ...we were told to shift somewhere ...walked in the rain all night. I don't have any words to describe how I felt then.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid.

<sup>111</sup>Masaichi Nabeshima, Kobe, Japan, 16 Jan. 1987.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid.

They were gathered at Makasar (Ujung Pandang) and shipped to Surabaya, Java. At Surabaya they were put on a train and travelled to Port Cilacap where they boarded the S.S. "Cremer". The ship was already carrying internees from Sumatra, Java, East Borneo and the Straits Settlements.<sup>114</sup>

The Japanese Army was advancing rapidly. Hong Kong was occupied on 25 December and most of the Philippines on 2 January 1942.<sup>115</sup> There was a lot of military movement in the region. The "Cremer" picked up internees at Tandjoeng Priok near Batavia (Jakarta). Among these was Tony Imaizumi, who owned a shop in Medan, Sumatra. He described that time:

several times during the night Japanese bombers attacked and bombed the airfields located in the vicinity of the city. Fortunately, we were spared the calamity.<sup>116</sup>

On 9 January 1942 the "Cremer" left Cilacap carrying about 2,000 internees, its destination unknown to the internees. One anonymous internee described the voyage as "hell" and left a vivid picture of conditions on the ship in a diary:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| Jan. 9  | The ship is packed. Women and children were crammed into the stern and the hold and some on deck. It's after five. We haven't eaten today. Babies are crying. |
| Jan. 10 | Many are sick with high fever but no supply of medicine. Request for milk for babies is refused.  |
| Jan. 11 | Request for our luggage. Find many of the contents are broken or missing. Deeply disappointed.  |
| Jan. 13 | Sick people increase in number. Request for medicine is again refused.  |

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<sup>114</sup>An anonymous Japanese diary in AP 613/1, 90/1/101, Jan. 1942, Tony Imaizumi, 19 May 1985, and Shigeru Nakabayashi, 12 Dec. 1986.

<sup>115</sup>Ienaga, Saburo, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945*, Random House, New York, 1978, p. 143.

<sup>116</sup>Tony Imaizumi, letter, Osaka, 19 May 1985.

- Jan. 18 Chilly weather. Request for more blankets is refused. More people are suffering from diarrhoea or sea sickness. No medicine.
- Jan. 19 An internee, Ueda, 63 years old, dies.
- Jan. 22 A Formosan internee, Lie Kao, 47 years old, dies.
- Jan. 23 Two babies were born. Water shortage is serious.<sup>117</sup>

Taishiro Mori remembers the terrible journey:

The condition of the ship was just unspeakable ...We had no light ... all the mess from the toilet was everywhere ...it was so bad that we made plans to kill the Dutch guards on the ship. But how could trapped rats catch a cat...<sup>118</sup>

Shigeru Nakabayashi still cannot forget the experience on the ship. He said, "Small children were begging for water...but couldn't do anything. I felt devastated."<sup>119</sup>

On 27 January 1942, after a "hellish" voyage of three weeks, the ship reached Port Adelaide, and for the first time the internees learnt that Australia was their destination. The Australian officers came on board to check the internees. One of them named Sergeant Smith spoke to the internees in fluent Japanese: "Anyone sick? I am sorry to see you in this condition."<sup>120</sup> Sergeant Smith is one of the names remembered by many former internees from N.E.I.. The officers generally impressed the newly-arrived internees. Koike noted in his diary:

The Australian officers looked respectable. They weren't carrying any guns with them. Security on the pier didn't look as alarming as we expected. After all, they are a member of the British Commonwealth.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup>AP 613/1, 90/1/101 (Hereafter referred to as Diary), 9-23 Jan. 1942.

<sup>118</sup>Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>119</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 12 Dec. 1986.

<sup>120</sup>Miyakatsu Koike, p. 55.

<sup>121</sup>Koike, p. 55.



Nabeshima described his feeling of relief:

I felt I would live when we got to Australia. The sunshine, the blue skies and smiling faces ...somewhat gave me hope and strength. We said to each other, "It's going to be all right."<sup>122</sup>

The next day a medical examination was carried out on board to take special measures to prevent the introduction of contagious tropical diseases into Australia. The sick and those identified as disease carriers were disembarked and taken to hospital.<sup>123</sup> On 29 January about 550 men were disembarked, leaving about 1,000 on board in family groups, and the "Cremer" then headed for Port Melbourne. It arrived on 31 February, and family groups were put on the train for Tatura and the men were put on a train for Loveday. The anonymous diary noted:

A few Australian soldiers sat with us in our compartment. They offered us cigarettes and gave us a blanket ... opened the window for us. The Dutch Army treated us so badly that we were delighted and relieved by the kind attitudes of the Australian soldiers. We slept well for the first time in three weeks.<sup>124</sup>

On the morning of 30 January they arrived at Loveday. Albert Whitmore, who was officer-in-charge of the Engineering Section of the camp, remembers that day:

They looked very, very straggly ...We thought, "There's going to be a mess here." But in a matter of a few months, with good food and hygiene, they did exceptionally well here.<sup>125</sup>

The internees were stripped for quarantine check and delousing. After the quarantine check, the internees settled down to breakfast. The diary read:

We were so delighted with the butter, jam, coffee, all so fresh. We had a big appetite as the food on the ship was shockingly poor... We had a

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<sup>122</sup>Masaichi Nabeshima, 16 Jan. 1987.

<sup>123</sup>AWM 54, p. 258.

<sup>124</sup>Diary, 29 Jan. 1942.

<sup>125</sup>Bert Whitmore, 8 Sept. 1984.

wash which we rarely had on the ship. We scrubbed ourselves so many times.<sup>126</sup>

After breakfast their belongings were searched. Koike noted:

The diary, which I had hidden in my socks, was found but wasn't confiscated. The officer simply asked me if I was a journalist.<sup>127</sup>

One other group of overseas Japanese was later to be interned in Australia. These were the Japanese arrested in Tonga and Fiji and taken to New Zealand and held in internment camps at Wellington, Pahiatua and on Somes Island.<sup>128</sup> They included employees of Banno Shokai, a Japanese trading firm which had a branch in Fiji, carpenters, merchants and farmers.<sup>129</sup> 50 of these Japanese were brought to Australia in November 1943.<sup>130</sup>

Most Japanese internees, local and overseas, were in camps by early February 1942. The Australian community was by then deeply concerned about the war with Japan. In January the Japanese landed a large number of troops in New Guinea and in February the Japanese bombed Darwin and other northern towns. Japanese submarines attacked Australian shipping in 1942 and 1943 with damaging effect on the east coast from Brisbane to the Victorian border. On 31 May two Japanese submarines entered Sydney Harbour and attacked local shipping. From February to May 1942 invasion seemed imminent.<sup>131</sup> Various organisations such as trade unions, the Diggers' Association, and the Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia (RSS & AILA) urged

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<sup>126</sup> *Diary*, 30 Jan. 1942

<sup>127</sup> Miyakatsu Koike, p. 59.

<sup>128</sup> A.7.0.0., 9/24/2, 15 Feb. 1943.

<sup>129</sup> MP 1103/1, Box 3.

<sup>130</sup> AWM 54, p. 19.

<sup>131</sup> McKernan, *All In*, pp. 132-134.

the government to intern aliens.<sup>132</sup> In February 1942 the council of the New South Wales Branch of the RSS & AILA passed the following motion:

That in pursuit of the immediate internment of all enemy aliens Sub-Branched be requested to take up petitions in their respective districts, such petitions to be tendered to the local Federal Member by the President of the particular Sub-Branch, and further that all State Branches through Federal office be requested to take similar action.<sup>133</sup>

On 7 March the Ballina Sub-Branch sent their petition to the Prime Minister with the following reasons as to why all aliens should be interned:

(1) That feeling of greater security would exist among the people, and in particular women and children, by the knowledge that the power has been taken from such enemies, potential or otherwise, against a treacherous attack.

(2) Our women and children, aged persons and all loyal subjects should receive all protection possible.

(3) That the possibility of invasion does exist and to allow enemy aliens the freedom they now enjoy, is giving them the opportunity to endanger life and property as well as to assist the invaders in many other ways.

(4) No certainty exists that enemy aliens have not concealed stores of arms and ammunition.

(5) For the security of Australia.

(6) For the protection of enemy aliens themselves.

On 9 March the Townsville Sub-Branch complained to the Prime Minister:

Disappointment and dissatisfaction were ... generally expressed that the internment of these enemy aliens has not been carried out on a more extensive scale...it is our considered opinion that the naturalised enemy alien is a source of greater danger than the unnaturalised as he is able to cloak his activities under his naturalisation... We are therefore particularly anxious to impress on your Government the urgency of having a complete round-up of all enemy subjects...without delay...<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>Bevege, p. 258. Bevege lists the Orange Lodge of Leichhardt, NSW; the Anti-Enemy Alien Association of Punchbowl, NSW; War Patriotic Committees and branches of the Australian Natives' Association; and the Royal Society of St George as other pressure groups.

<sup>133</sup>A 373, 2026, 18 Feb. 1942.

<sup>134</sup>A 373, 2026, 9 Mar. 1942.

By May 1942, out of concern that they may aid the Japanese, other aliens even of non-enemy origin were interned. Some were neutral nationals such as Danes, Portuguese and Swiss, or aliens from other countries including Indonesians, Javanese and Chinese.<sup>135</sup> In Sydney, Chinese were frequently insulted and occasionally assaulted when they were mistaken for Japanese. The Military Police Intelligence Section and the Consul General for China in Sydney thought of issuing a distinguishing badge to all Chinese nationals.<sup>136</sup> In Condobolin, N.S.W., a proprietor of an electrical goods and footwear shop who was of Chinese descent displayed his family tree in the window of the shop during the war. This document traced his lineage back to a particular part of China.<sup>137</sup>

The nominal roll of internees, which indicates their movements and locations from January 1942 to December 1945, shows that 56 Chinese were interned in Western Australia, Queensland and New South Wales.<sup>138</sup> Although reasons for their internment have not been substantiated, a Sydney resident of Chinese origin said that some Chinese in Sydney were mistaken for Japanese and interned.<sup>139</sup>

In view of the imminent danger from Japan, the War Cabinet decided to strengthen security. In March 1942 the Commonwealth Security Service was

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<sup>135</sup>Saunders, "Inspired by Patriotic Hysteria", p. 26.

<sup>136</sup>CRS C123, Criminal Investigation Files, 1 July, 1942.

<sup>137</sup>Cooley, P.J., letter, Condobolin, 18 Nov. 1991.

<sup>138</sup>AP 308/1, Files 12 and 18.

<sup>139</sup>Name withheld, 10 Mar. 1990.

re-organised.<sup>140</sup> The main alteration was the appointment of a Director-General of Security for Australia and six Deputy Directors, one for each state.<sup>141</sup> There was an increase in the number of people interned during 1942-1943.<sup>142</sup> In Queensland 634 Italians, including naturalized British subjects of Italian origin, were interned between February and April as a precautionary measure,<sup>143</sup> and a few Australian-born Japanese who had not been interned were taken into custody. Ann Iwanaga, the adopted daughter of Mr. and Mrs Iwanaga in Cairns, was one of them. Six months later Ann was interned. She said:

I regularly wrote to my parents who had been interned at the internment camp in Victoria. Isn't it natural that we worry about our parents? ...The police came to arrest me and said that my sympathies were Japanese.<sup>144</sup>

She was reunited with her parents in the internment camp at Tatura, but was released on 6 May 1943.<sup>145</sup>

Claude Tanaka, Australian-born, was taken into custody in Brisbane at about the same time as Ann Iwanaga. He was looking after the Tonda family dry cleaning shop at Kangaroo Point. They had been interned at the outbreak of the war. Claude had a long association with the family and was engaged to their Australian-born daughter, Tokue, who was not interned. Claude and Tokue were living in a house in Kangaroo Point which they were buying. Claude said:

After the war began, the business was not good at all, but we had to keep it going. It was a difficult time. People noticed that we were

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<sup>140</sup>D 1919, SS 994, Attorney-General's Statement on Security Matters, Sept. 1942, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>144</sup>Ann Iwanaga, Brisbane, 25 Aug. 1987.

<sup>145</sup>AP 308/1, 12, 1941-43.

Japanese and threw stones at the windows of the shop, but some people remained kind to us. I was arrested, but my fiancée wasn't. But she decided to come with me as no one else was left.

They lost the house, but their friend, Mr. Farley, kept their furniture for them while they were interned at Tatura.<sup>146</sup>

Floriya Torimaru and her six children aged from 3 to 12 were also taken into custody at their home in Brisbane. Their father had already been interned.

The oldest daughter, Oriel, recalled:

I was getting ready for school, and several men and women came to the door and said, 'We've come to take you away to join your husband to be interned. Mum said, 'why didn't you tell me so that I could pack our suitcases.'... One of the women accompanied her into the bathroom. Mum was very humiliated... We just had to pack some clothing and things in suitcases and shut the back and front door and we were shot into the car.<sup>147</sup>

They were first taken to Gaythorne Internment Camp in Brisbane where they were detained before being sent to Tatura. On the following day the mother was allowed to go home to pack a few more things and found that much of their property, including Oriel's piano, had been stolen.<sup>148</sup>

Patrick Ahmat, the second oldest son of the Ahmat family in Perth, was interned during this period. The rest of his family, except for his Thai-born father and his enlisted brother, had been interned since the outbreak of the war. Patrick would probably have been arrested had he been living with the rest of his family, but he was away from home. Patrick said: "Australia just panicked. I thought it was unfair."<sup>149</sup> He was interned at Loveday.

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<sup>146</sup>Claude Tanaka, Sydney, 31 Jan. 1993.

<sup>147</sup>Oriel Vallance nee Torimaru, Brisbane, 24 Aug. 1987.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid.

<sup>149</sup>Patrick Ahmat, Perth, 22 Aug. 1986.

After the entry of Japan into the war in December 1941, all aliens, in common with Australians, were required to perform some kind of national service.<sup>150</sup> Neither Patrick Ahmat nor Claude Tanaka had begun any volunteer service for the war effort at the time of their arrests. They were 23 and 25 in 1941. Claude was approached by an intelligence officer from Brisbane before the war and asked if he was interested in working in the Intelligence Office to do some translation work. Claude turned it down by saying, "I am not interested in it and don't want to do anything against Japan." He is a Kigoo Nisei who had spent 18 years in Japan and said in 1993 that his sympathies were then Japanese.<sup>151</sup>

In March 1942 an Englishman named H. Woodfield was interned. He was described by the Deputy Director of Security for Queensland as "one of the leading (pro-Japanese) suspects".<sup>152</sup> His Japanese wife, a British subject by marriage, and his daughter were also arrested on the same day and taken to Gaythorne Internment Camp. Woodfield was interned because of his long-term association with Japan and Japanese interests. He had been employed by a Japanese petrol company and it was also claimed that he travelled widely in China in areas under Japanese military control with the full support of the Japanese government.<sup>153</sup> In April 1942 he appealed against his detention, but was unsuccessful. The family were then transferred to a permanent family camp at Tatura. His wife and daughter were released in December 1944.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup>Husluck, p. 595.

<sup>151</sup>Claude Tanaka, Sydney, 31 Jan. 1993.

<sup>152</sup>BP 242/1, Q 24301, 29 Jun. 1942.

<sup>153</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579.

<sup>154</sup>AWM 53, 8/7/43, 19 Dec. 1944.

The Security Service in Queensland showed concern over the possibility of Aborigines on Cape York aiding the Japanese in the event of an invasion or other military action against Australia.<sup>155</sup> On 24 March 1943 the Security Service in Townsville reported:

On these reserves the aboriginals... have been in touch with the Indent Japanese fishermen from Thursday Island for at least two generations... The Aboriginal on the Peninsula is not aggressive and he would consider the Japanese his temporary master and try to get the best terms he could for himself and his family.<sup>156</sup>

In April 1943 an Intelligence Report stated:

Most of these blacks and half-castes have been travelling for years the stock routes right into the coastal areas, and their natural bent for "country" has given them an invaluable knowledge of Queensland topography... These half-educated half-castes and aboriginals have been largely influenced by Communist and Anti-Capitalist propoganda for many years, and can almost invariably be swayed by the agitator. ... There is little doubt that the Japs would find many of them willing helpers.<sup>157</sup>

Because of the vulnerable position of Thursday Island, on 27 January 1942 it was decided to evacuate its entire civilian population immediately. On the following day 459 residents left the island taking what they could carry on the "Zealandia" and "Ormiston" for centres as far south as Brisbane. Armed Forces personnel occupied the hastily evacuated homes.<sup>158</sup> Of the 459 evacuees, 280 were "coloured" and 20 Chinese. The non-white population of the island was evacuated to Cherbourg Aboriginal Settlement near Maryborough.<sup>159</sup> The indigenous people of the Torres Strait were left to fend for themselves, but

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<sup>155</sup>A 373, 5903, 24 Mar. 1943.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., 16 Apr. 1943.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

<sup>159</sup>Saunders, K. and Finch, L., "Northern Australian's Fears of Invasion", *The Battle of the Coral Sea 1942*, Conference Proceedings, Sydney, Australian National Maritime Museum, 1993, p. 112.



during February and March 1942, T.I. women and children were evacuated and most were sent to Cherbourg.<sup>160</sup>

The Security Service in Queensland was concerned with four women in the Settlement whom it considered "pro-Japanese".<sup>161</sup> Jean Shibasaki was one of them. She was born in 1908 to Malay parents on Horn Island near Thursday Island and was married to Kyukichi Shibasaki, a pearl diver, who had been interned at the outbreak of war.<sup>162</sup> On 27 August 1942 the Maryborough police reported:

This woman stated that the white people treated the coloured people well but did not mix with them the same as the Japanese who treated them very well... she appears very much to be in sympathy with the Japanese and never misses an opportunity of telling the aboriginals how good they are to the coloured people...I am of the opinion that this woman is definitely sympathetic with the Japanese...I strongly recommend this woman's removal to a place of internment.<sup>163</sup>

On 4 December 1942 this recommendation was accepted by the Director General of Security. The Deputy Director of Security, Queensland, wrote:

As her influence over the natives in this Settlement could be such that these persons may be made Japanese sympathisers it is considered that her removal is essential.<sup>164</sup>

In early 1943 Jean was temporarily moved to Gaythorne Internment Camp with her six children aged from 2 to 15.<sup>165</sup> Hisako, a daughter, vividly remembered the camp:

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<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>BP 242/1, Q 24780, 12 Aug. 1942.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., 27 Aug. 1942.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., 27 Aug. 1942.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., 4 Dec. 1942.

<sup>165</sup>Jamel Shibasaki, Thursday Island, 1 Sept. 1987.

I will never forget...the stretch of wire fence surrounding the camp which seemed to go up endlessly into the sky. Only because I was very little at the time.<sup>166</sup>

Three other women arrested at about the same time were Anima Ahmat, Lear Barba of Malay origin and May Woodhead of Malay and Islander origin. According to Lear Barba, "there were some women of Malay/Islander origin who were living with a Japanese pearl diver on Thursday Island. Only three were married - Shibasaki, Takai and Fujii."<sup>167</sup> Before the war she and her older sister, Sophia, were shop attendants in a Japanese-owned refreshment shop on the island. Lear was living with Seiji-roo Machida who was interned at the outbreak of the war. She had three children from different Japanese fathers. Sophia was married to Iwazoo Takai, a pearl diver from Wakayama, and had three children by him. Takai went back to Japan and died there in 1939.<sup>168</sup> She was not interned. Lear said:

We felt sorry for them (the Japanese on the island). They were good to us. We found Japanese men likable...They (the authorities) just took the outspoken ones. They didn't intern my sister or others who were living with Japanese men...<sup>169</sup>

While she and her family were staying at Cherbourg Settlement, she complained to the authorities about the conditions and asked permission to move to Mackay. She continued:

Police came to the house in Mackay to arrest me. Me and the kids were taken to Gaythorne. My parents moved to Brisbane just to be near me. They came to visit us at the camp...I felt depressed seeing my parents through the bars. I said to myself, 'What did I do wrong?' My kids didn't like it.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup>The late Hisako Jenkins nee Shibasaki, Brisbane, 5 May 1986.

<sup>167</sup>Lear Lam Sami nee Barba, Mackay, 6 July 1992.

<sup>168</sup>Sophia Caprice, Mackay, 6 July 1992.

<sup>169</sup>Lear Lam Sami.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid.

In February 1943, before they could be transferred to another camp for permanent internment, their cases were heard by an Aliens' Tribunal in Brisbane.<sup>171</sup> Jean Shibasaki claimed that if she was released she would be supported by her father who was working as a cane-cutter near Bundaberg.<sup>172</sup> Despite doubts about his ability to support her, the Tribunal revoked her detention order in April 1943 on the proviso that she should reside in the immediate vicinity of Bundaberg, report monthly to the local police, and "not voice any opinion which may give offence to loyal citizens".<sup>173</sup> The three other women were also released around the same time.<sup>174</sup>

In all 1,141 Japanese were arrested in Australia and its territories and most were interned in permanent camps. 3,160 overseas Japanese were interned, making a total of 4,301.<sup>175</sup> Some were treated courteously by arresting officers, others were made to feel that they had committed crimes. Local internees were generally treated humanely, while overseas internees have grim memories of arrest in their various countries.

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<sup>171</sup>BP241/1, Q24780, 24 Feb. 1943.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., 27 Apr. 1943.

<sup>174</sup>Name withheld, 19 Nov. 1990.

<sup>175</sup>AWM 54, p. 93.

## CHAPTER 5

### Prisoner Exchanges and Early Releases

On 18 August 1942 the Japanese government first exchanged prisoners with the United Kingdom and Dominion governments.<sup>1</sup> Australian records show that on 11 October 1940 there were 2,215 British subjects in Japan, comprising 833 men, 921 women and 361 children.<sup>2</sup> They included 202 missionaries and nuns, 295 in business and finance, 85 school teachers, and 43 doctors and nurses. It is not indicated how many Australians were among them, but the same records show that on 16 September 1941 about 46 Australians were in the Japanese Empire, excluding members of the Australian Legation. Of these, 34 - ten men, fourteen women and ten children - were evacuated to Australia in October 1941.<sup>3</sup> They included six from Mukden, two from Harbin and two from Korea.<sup>4</sup>

Both sides agreed to exchange all members of embassies, legations and consulates. They also agreed to the repatriation of non-permanent residents and those permanently resident women and children who wished to be repatriated.<sup>5</sup> The Australian government, according to Bevege, "desired to exchange Japanese women and all men not regarded as security risks,

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<sup>1</sup>AWM 54, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup>A 436/1, 50/5/920, 11 Oct. 1940.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>A 439/1, 50/5/920, 17 Oct. 1941.

<sup>5</sup>AWM, p. 93.

because internment costs were high and only justified if there was a perceptible gain in security."<sup>6</sup> Both sides also agreed that "the exchange should be without limitation as to numbers and without enquiry into the possible value of those persons concerned to the war effort."<sup>7</sup>

The Japanese government sought to exchange 31 people living in Australia in addition to 21 consular officials and their families and employees. They included employees of such Japanese firms as the Yokohama Specie Bank, Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Kanematsu, Kurozumi from the Asahi newspaper, and Professor Seita.<sup>8</sup> The Japanese government also nominated 74 Japanese from New Caledonia and 715 from N.E.I.<sup>9</sup> Loveday officers thought that "those from N.E.I. were all connected with the production of rubber in Malaya and other islands".<sup>10</sup> However, many were employees of banks and trading companies, and proprietors of small businesses.<sup>11</sup> Taro Ishii, an internee who was returned to N.E.I. on this exchange, wrote that some were proprietors of local hotels and restaurants who were then used as interpreters by the Japanese Army, while others were encouraged to reopen their hotels and restaurants to cater for Japanese officers.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Bevege, M., Internment in Australia During World War II, Ph.D. thesis, La Trobe University, 1986, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup>AWM 54, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup>BP 242/1, Q24301, 12 June 1942.

<sup>9</sup>A 817, 54/301/337, Cablegrams from London to the Prime Minister's Department, 6 and 23 May 1942.

<sup>10</sup>Committee Appointed to Record the History of Internment in South Australia, *Internment in South Australia: Loveday Internment Group*, (hereafter referred to as *Internment in S.A, Barmera*, 1946, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>A 817, 54/301/337, 6 and 23 May 1942.

<sup>12</sup>Ishii, T., "Osutoraria Yokuryu Sekatsu", in *Jagatara Tomo no Kai*, ed., *Jagatara Kanwa*, Tokyo, 1980, pp. 188-189.

Whether they were exchanged for this purpose, or because their pre-war prominence as local citizens had drawn them to the attention of the Japanese authorities, is not known.

At Loveday on 27 July those nominated for exchange by Japan were gathered in the dining hall without knowing why they were called in. Shigeru Nakabayashi, an employee of Mitsubishi, was one of them. He recalled:

When we were inside the hall, we were told for the first time that we were to return to Japan...I was so happy. We almost said Banzai, but realised that there were more who could not go home so we only said "Ba" and that was it...Those who were outside were watching us through the windows.<sup>13</sup>

Some names on the lists were unidentifiable, sometimes because names had been wrongly romanized, and sometimes because Japanese names can be written in several ways, depending on which characters are used. Nakabayashi continued:

People who went on the prisoner exchange were prominent people or those who were employed by big Japanese firms. However, there was a lot of confusion when names were called out, and some who were common people or those who had gone native were included by mistake.<sup>14</sup>

One former internee described those who went on the prisoner exchange as "V.I.P.s".<sup>15</sup> A short list was sent to the Swiss Consul in Melbourne for approval. Some internees named from Japan declined to go, or were too ill to travel.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Tamiya Nakata, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

<sup>16</sup>AWM 54, p. 94.

At Tatura the names of people nominated by Japan were also announced on 27 July. Taishiro Mori, the son of the coffee plantation owner in the Celebes, found that he was to remain interned in Australia.<sup>17</sup> He wrote in his diary that he felt "disappointed and abandoned by Japan".<sup>18</sup> According to former internees at Tatura and Loveday, food was plentiful before the prisoner exchange, but fell off markedly in quantity and quality immediately afterwards.<sup>19</sup> Joe Murakami wrote: "we didn't have any real cause for complaints as it was wartime and rationing was in force throughout Australia."<sup>20</sup>

The prisoner exchange disrupted camp life in many ways. Many committee members were repatriated and new committees had to be formed. About half the occupants of C Compound at Tatura were repatriated. Mori wrote in his diary:

July 28 - It (the repatriation) affected many of the young men in the compound. Those who are leaving and those who remain, both sides have to have a strong mind to get through this.<sup>21</sup>

Lee, a departing Formosan internee at Loveday, left a poem for his friend Yuan:

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<sup>17</sup>Taishiro Mori, diary (hereafter referred to as Mori's Dairy), 27 July 1942.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 1 Aug. 1942.

<sup>19</sup>Joe Murakami, Taishiro Mori, Tony Imaizumi and others.

<sup>20</sup>Joe Murakami, Yokohama, letter, 16 July 1988.

<sup>21</sup>Mori, 28 July 1942, [J].

留別

捕南交換於南濠畔  
李呈芬先作

同借一枝棲  
來齊去不齊

依之籠外鳥  
更向籠中啼

從前一遠別  
寄語且加餐

但願歸來早  
營中雨露寒

Birds who had nests on the same branch  
 The day of arrival was the same but leaving separately  
 I will miss you and care what is going to happen to you  
 I say to you in the cage many times  
 We are going to be apart  
 Come home soon.<sup>22</sup>

The list of nominees included 27 interned in New Zealand, all of them employees of the Japanese trading company Banno Shookai. They did not go, and were still in New Zealand in August 1943.<sup>23</sup> To fill the 870 places available on the ship, a supplementary list based on humanitarian considerations was prepared. The Swiss Consul signed these lists.<sup>24</sup>

On 18 August 1942 the exchange ship "City of Canterbury" left Melbourne, carrying Australian guards and 871 people - 34 officials, 636 other males and 91 females, 106 children and 4 Siamese nationals.<sup>25</sup> Mrs

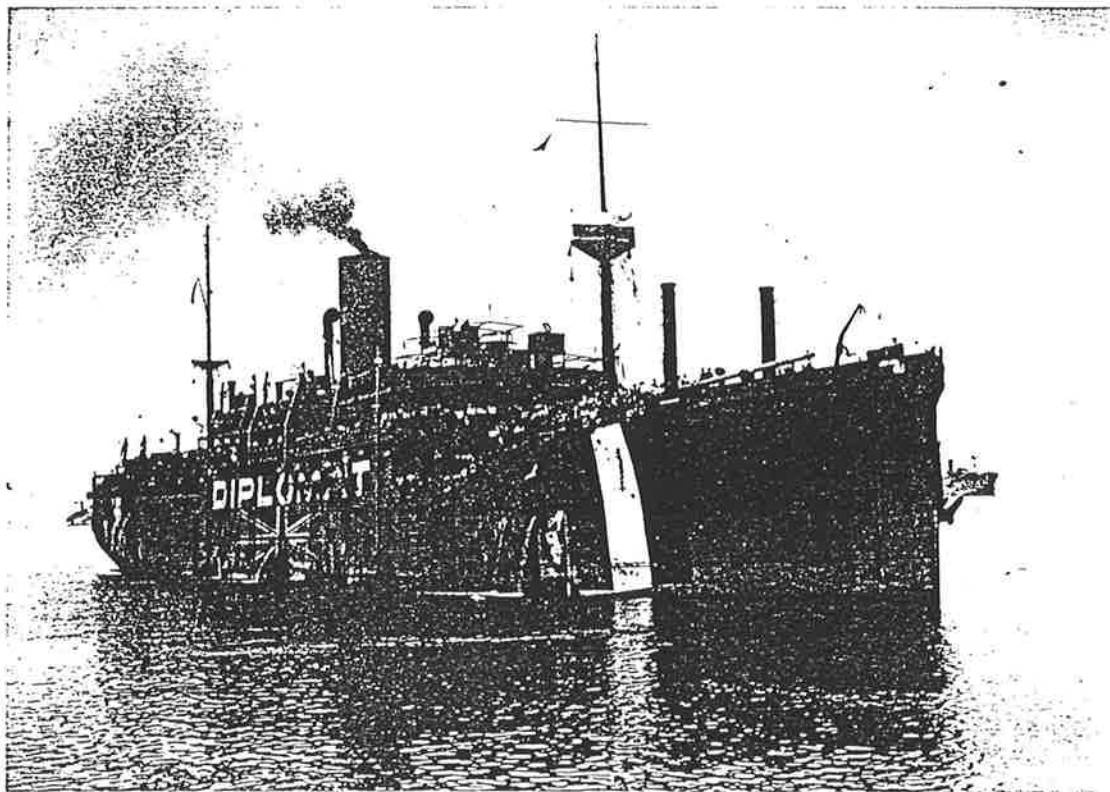
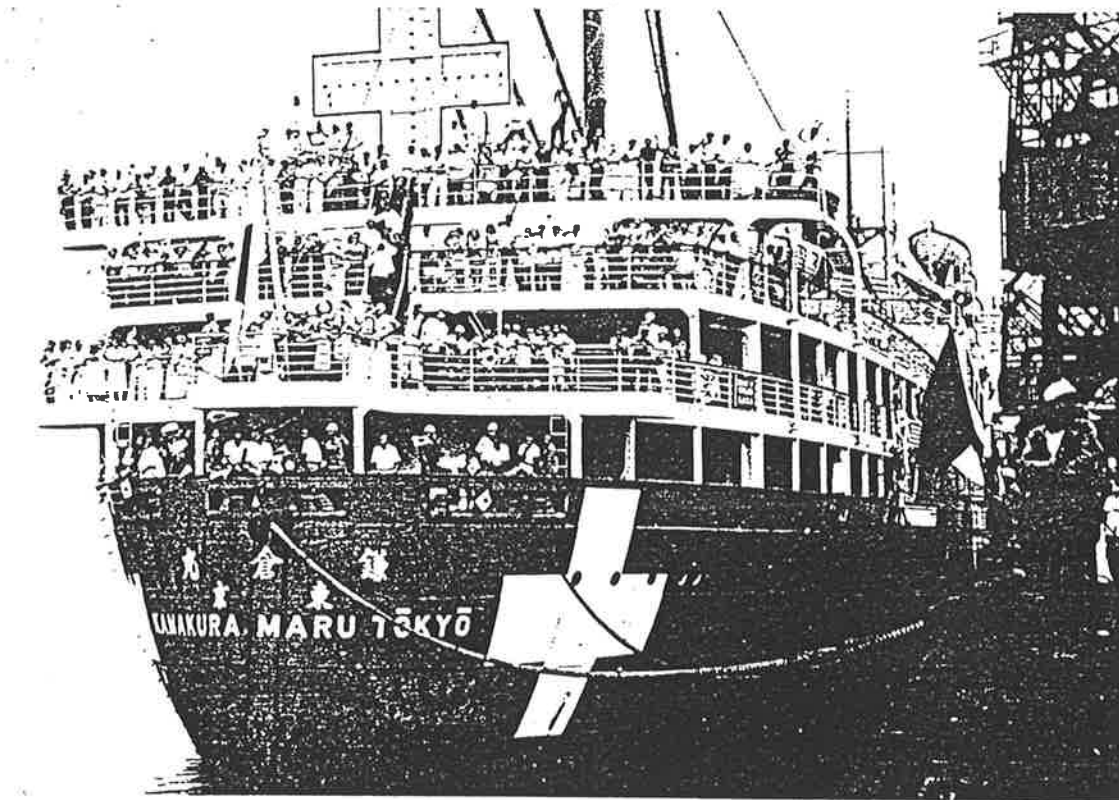
<sup>22</sup>Poem, 1942, original kept by Yuan's son, Yuan Guo Xi, Taipei. Translation by the author.

<sup>23</sup>A.7.0.0. 9/24/2, 2 Aug. 1943.

<sup>24</sup>AWM 54, p. 94.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-95.





Top: "City of Canterbury" -Prisoner Exchange vessel from Australia to Lourenco Marques

Bottom: "Kamakura Maru" - Prisoner Exchange vessel from Lourenco Marques to Japan

(Courtesy of Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo)

Ichikawa, the wife of the Commercial Secretary of the Japanese Consulate in Sydney, recalled the voyage:

It was a pleasant journey as we were given an individual cabin, but others were crammed into small spaces ... Occasionally young men who we knew came to see us and ate some food.<sup>26</sup>

The voyage took about a month to Lourenco Marques in East Africa. The ship arrived at the same time as the Japanese vessel "Kamakura Maru", carrying 150 persons, including 7 Australian diplomatic personnel, 23 non-officials, 71 British nationals, 9 Dutch nationals and 5 other Allied nationals.<sup>27</sup> Nakabayashi enjoyed his first glass of beer in six months when they landed:

When I got off the ship, I wasn't a prisoner any more. I still remember how good I felt then. I didn't have any money because it was all confiscated when I was arrested. On the ship I was with a man who worked for Mitsui. He had money with him. He bought me a beer. Then we drank a toast and said Banzai.<sup>28</sup>

The "Kamakura Maru" took on board the Japanese repatriates and sailed for Singapore. The Japanese Army ordered 289 people to disembark there, and later they were sent to such places as Sumatra, Borneo and the Celebes. The ship then disembarked a further 116 people at Java.<sup>29</sup> Nakabayashi was disembarked at Singapore. He and three fellow workers were sent back to Butong in the Celebes. He said: "I thought my country cared for me and was going to take me home. But it abandoned me there...I was angry and disappointed."<sup>30</sup> They worked on the production of asphalt for

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<sup>26</sup>Mrs Ichikawa, Fujisawa, Japan, 29 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>27</sup>AWM 54, p. 95.

<sup>28</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>29</sup>Taro Ishii, p. 186.

<sup>30</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

sealing runways at the airfield in Kendal. On its completion in June 1944, they were returned to Japan.<sup>31</sup>

Yuan's brother was among the Formosan internees on this exchange. He was also disembarked at Singapore, and was returned to Borneo. He later became involved in local guerrilla activities against Japan in Java and was killed by the Japanese Army.<sup>32</sup>

According to Taro Ishii, who was disembarked at Java, a Mr. Matsumoto had been the owner of a hotel called the "Matsumoto Ro" in Surabaya before internment. After Matsumoto was returned to Java, he was recruited as an interpreter in the Jakarta district. The Japanese Army needed interpreters and recruited many long-time residents in Indonesia who not only understood Indonesian and Dutch, but also had local knowledge. They included some from Australia, such as the father of Yooichi Soneda. He spoke both Dutch and Japanese.<sup>33</sup> Only 16 year-old Yooichi and his father had been interned, so the rest of the family were waiting in N.E.I. and reunited with their father on his return. According to the son, his father worked as an interpreter at the POW camp and helped Dutch prisoners during the war. After the war he and his family were protected

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>This was confirmed by the Yuan's relatives in Taipei, Dec. 1986. Some Koreans and many Chinese including Formosans carried out guerilla activities in Java. In December 1944 "Koraidokuritsuseinen To" [Young Men's Party for Korean Independence] was formed in Java. A Chinese organization called "Ran 'isu" in Java continued its activities and worked with Korean activists, although the Japanese Army attempted to suppress it. Utsumi, A. and Murai, Y., *Sekidoka no Chosenjin Hanran* [Koreans in Revolt Under the Equator], 1980, Tokyo, pp. 135-136.

<sup>33</sup>Yooichi Soneda, Kobe, 12 Jan. 1992.

by the Dutch Army.<sup>34</sup> Some former prostitutes, mostly over 60, were also recruited. They had not been interned because they had obtained Dutch citizenship through marriage.<sup>35</sup> Ishii remained in Indonesia until 1947, to work as an interpreter for war criminals during war crimes trials.<sup>36</sup>

According to Ishii, some of those who returned to Japan did not stay there long. After a few months they were called up, loaded on the "Kamakura Maru", and shipped to Indonesia.<sup>37</sup> Over 200 were on board, among them a former managing director of the Kanematsu trading company in Australia, appointed to head a project in Borneo. They were sunk by an American warship in the Sulu Sea and there was only one survivor.<sup>38</sup> Some of those who remained in Japan lost their lives in air raids.<sup>39</sup>

The first prisoner exchange was overwhelmingly in favour of Japan. Immediately after it, the United Kingdom proposed a second exchange in order to secure repatriation of British and Allied nationals from all areas occupied by Japan. On 17 June 1943 there were approximately 1,350 Australian civilians in Japanese occupied areas.<sup>40</sup> Australia requested that Australian civilians from Japan, Manchukuo, China, Thailand, French

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ishii, p. 189.

<sup>36</sup>Taro Ishii, interviewed by Haruhiko Sugimoto, Tokyo, 1983.

<sup>37</sup>Ishii, p. 189.

<sup>38</sup>Taniguchi, Mikisaburo, former president of Kanematsu Co. Ltd., Kazuki, K., *Watashi no Osutoraria*, Paionia Entapuraizu, Osaka, 1977, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>Ishii, p. 186.

<sup>40</sup>A 518/1, 16/2/1, 17 June 1943.

Indo-China, Malaya, N.E.I. and the Philippines be included, as well as about 120 Australian officials and 350 non-officials from New Guinea, Nauru and other Pacific Islands. They asked again for the inclusion of two officials, Bowden from Singapore and Ross from Timor, whom the Japanese had refused to include in the first exchange, "justifying their refusal on the grounds that the exchange of officials from Malaya and Timor was not contemplated in original negotiations".<sup>41</sup> Another reason was that many of those Australia requested had already been executed.

On 3 April 1943 the British Foreign Office circulated a memo summarising the protracted attempts it had made to realise this second exchange.<sup>42</sup> Despite repeated approaches through the Swiss government, they had been unable to obtain a commitment from the Japanese. Then on 3 February 1943 the Japanese Foreign Minister, Masayuki Tani, made a statement in a public broadcast which indicated willingness to proceed. Citing "inhuman acts" and "infringements of international law" on the part of allied countries, Tani claimed that the Japanese were "giving fair and square treatment to the nationals of enemy countries under Japanese control".<sup>43</sup> Encouraged by Tani's claim that negotiations were being carried out, the British government proceeded to consult with allied governments to plan a second exchange.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>AWM 54, p. 94.

<sup>42</sup>A 1608/1, 20/1/1, 3 Apr. 1943.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

Japanese internees heard about a second prisoner exchange only as rumour. Those who thought they should have been included in the first exchange were anxious about the news. Mori wrote:

21 August - I hear that there will be a second and a third ship arranged for another prisoner exchange in a few weeks.

13 September - It looks like we are going home next.

30 September - It seems that our departure will be sometime in the middle of October.<sup>45</sup>

The Japanese government nominated 678 internees to be included in the second exchange. The list included 36 who had originally been included in the list for the first exchange, but who had not been repatriated.<sup>46</sup> The rest included about 320 Japanese merchant seamen who had been reclassified as POWs. An examination of the names on the list shows that internees who were long-time residents or those who had established families in Australia were not included.<sup>47</sup> According to Mori's diary, in July 1943 the internees at Tatura were informed in writing by the Swiss consulate that there would probably be a second prisoner exchange in the near future. Mori wrote:

We are all delighted. Those who wished to go on the exchange registered ... All of us are in high spirits thinking that it won't be long to see Japan.<sup>48</sup>

The 27 Japanese in New Zealand who had been requested for the first exchange were included in the proposed second exchange. They were among Japanese held at Pahiatua in New Zealand who were to be transferred by plane to Australia. The first party of 31 people - three Thais and 28

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<sup>45</sup>Mori's Diary, 21 Aug., 13 and 30 Sept. 1942, [J].

<sup>46</sup>A 1608/1, 20/1/1, 23 July 1943.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Mori's Diary, 18 July and 7 Aug. 1943, [J].

Japanese, including seven women and ten children - left by Liberator on 2 August 1943. The aircraft crashed in flames immediately after take-off. Eleven were killed, and fourteen injured were admitted to Auckland Hospital. The survivors were returned to Pahiatua.<sup>49</sup> Because of the delay in negotiations for the exchange, the remaining 50 internees were not moved to Australia until transferred by ship in November 1943.<sup>50</sup>

Negotiations continued for a long time. The Japanese wanted 320 Japanese merchant seamen, a majority of whom had excellent knowledge of Australian waters. General MacArthur supported the strong objections to this request.<sup>51</sup> Japan also could not obtain shipping. The exchange did not eventuate.<sup>52</sup>

Some local internees were given early release in Australia. From November 1940 internees were given the opportunity to appeal to an Aliens Tribunal against internment.<sup>53</sup> First they had to write an application for release to the camp commandant, and if that was approved, the Tribunal fixed a time for a hearing. Many Japanese appealed against their internment, but there was debate over whether their cases should be heard by the Tribunal as, according to policy, all Japanese were supposed to be interned. The general policy was also not to release any Japanese internees in Australia, regardless of whether they were local or from

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<sup>49</sup>A.7.0.0, 9/24/2, 17 Aug. 1943.

<sup>50</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>53</sup>Hasluck, p. 594.

overseas.<sup>54</sup> In January 1942 the War Cabinet seriously considered not allowing any Japanese to appeal, but 'such open discrimination' might 'react to the disadvantage of British subjects in Japan' and be 'politically embarrassing after the war'.<sup>55</sup> At the end of January Cabinet decided to allow extreme cases to be heard. These included internees of use to the defence authorities, or where age, long residence in Australia and family considerations convinced Military Intelligence that the internee proposed for release represented 'no security risk'.<sup>56</sup>

Until the danger of Japanese invasion passed, the number of German and Italian internees did not significantly decrease, but thereafter they were steadily released. This was not so for Japanese.

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<sup>54</sup>AWM 54, p. 96.

<sup>55</sup>Bevege, p. 220.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.



TABLE 2

RELEASES TO 31 DECEMBER, 1944<sup>57</sup>

	Sept-Dec 1942	Jan-Aug 1943	Aug '43 Apr '44	Apr-Dec 1944	Total
<u>Italian</u>					
Aliens	29	1078	1552	148	2807
*N.B.S.	23	294	365	29	711
Aust. Born	1	10	16	-	27
<u>German</u>					
Aliens	3	47	141	154	350
*N.B.S.	39	10	47	36	132
Aust. Born	3	5	19	-	27
<u>Japanese</u>	4	10	20	25	59
Finns	59	-	-	-	59
Albanians	84	-	-	-	84
Others	18	89	75	112	294
Total	268	1543	2235	504	4550

\*N.B.S. - Naturalised British Subject

Early in 1942 Aliens Tribunals No. 1 (New South Wales) and No. 4 (Victoria) began hearing cases of Japanese who had appealed. The Tribunals examined their attitudes and whether they were associated with anything Japanese. Four were released. Two women, Veronica Oomori (nee Connolly) and Marie Kazumine, were natural-born British subjects from Western Australia. They were released in Victoria in September and November 1942 respectively under a Restriction Order which prevented them travelling outside Victoria.<sup>58</sup> The only grounds for their internment had been their Japanese descent. Kazumine's brother, also a natural-born Australian, remained interned throughout the war.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Aliens Control in Australia*, p. 54.

<sup>58</sup> PP 519/1, 241/3/122, 11 Jan. 1943.

<sup>59</sup> A437, 46/6/72, List of local Japanese internees withheld initial repatriation to Japan, 1946.

The other two were Hannah Suzuki from New South Wales and Sho Takasuka from Victoria. Both were born in Japan but came to Australia as young children. Hannah Suzuki's case was heard before the New South Wales Tribunal on 8 January 1942. She was born in 1920 in Japan to a Japanese father named Shibuya, and an Australian mother, Ada May Shibuya. In 1922 Mrs Shibuya returned to Australia alone accompanying her two children, two year-old Hannah and six month-old Joseph.<sup>60</sup> According to Joseph, "The White Australia Policy was very strictly enforced at that time, and Mother had to obtain special permission from the Prime Minister to re-enter Australia."<sup>61</sup> She remarried in Sydney a Japanese laundryman named Sakuhei Suzuki. According to the family, the stepfather was anti-British, while the rest of the family were Australian in outlook and sympathies. Mrs Suzuki was quoted as saying that "Suzuki had threatened when Joe enlisted that he would shoot the whole family."<sup>62</sup>

Hannah was educated in Australia. George Ware, Rector of St. Stephen's Church of England, Hurlstone Park, New South Wales, said that it was a shock to the parishioners when she was interned. He supported her by saying that she was a Sunday School teacher and that no unrest would be caused in the community by her release.<sup>63</sup> Several other witnesses gave evidence to the Tribunal that she was "loyal to Australia and anti-Japanese in her outlook".<sup>64</sup> She was released from the Liverpool Internment

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<sup>60</sup>Hannah Matschik nee Suzuki, Adelaide, 31 Oct. 1990.

<sup>61</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, letter written by Joseph Suzuki, 2 Aug. 1944.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, 12 Jan. 1942.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

Camp in May 1942.<sup>65</sup> On 30 May 1942 Hannah's mother wrote about Hannah's homecoming to her son, Joseph, interned at Hay:

Hannah arrived home and when the neighbours heard that Hannah was home they came and hugged and kissed her just as if it were their own child come home. Everybody claims her, so you can see what an exciting time we are having...Well Dear Joe cheer up and look for the silver lining.<sup>66</sup>

On 2 August 1942 Hannah wrote to Joseph:

I often get asked about China now, as everyone thinks I'm Chinese! I can remember howling my eyes out when I was a kid because some called me Chinese. In those days it was considered the worst kind of insult to call anyone that, but now people seem to think that I should be more interested in China than Australia...I have noticed that there is a vast difference in the outlook of Australian born Chinese, who are all for China rather than Australia and my own view that as good old Aussie is the only country I have ever known my heart and soul are here...<sup>67</sup>

Sho Takasuka's case was heard before Aliens Tribunal No.4 (Victoria). On 4 June 1942 the Minister for the Army confirmed the Tribunal's decision to release him.<sup>68</sup> He was the only Japanese man released during the first half of 1942. He was one of the sons of Ichiko Takasuka, who had not been interned. At the outbreak of war in Europe Sho wanted to enlist, but his nationality prevented it, so he had joined the Volunteer Defence Corps.<sup>69</sup> His Australian-born brother, Joe, volunteered for the A.I.F.. Joe's first two applications were, however, rejected under Australian Military Regulations No. 177 which applied the White Australia policy to the armed forces and excluded recruits who were not substan-

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<sup>65</sup>Hannah Matuschik nee Suzuki, Adelaide, 31 Oct. 1990.

<sup>66</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, Sydney, 30 May 1942.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 2 Aug. 1942.

<sup>68</sup>Bevege, p. 229.

<sup>69</sup>Sissons, An Immigrant Family, p. 21.

tially of European origin. At his third attempt he was finally accepted and enlisted in the R.A.A.F. <sup>70</sup>

There was a lot of support for Sho's release from his neighbours in Fosterville, Victoria. According to Bevege, possible factors contributing to his release were not only his brother's active service and his community acceptance, but also his tomato farm, where "20 pickers were employed at harvest time."<sup>71</sup> Food shortages may have been a factor. McKernan says that "during 1942 fruit and vegetables were always in short supply because of the American 'invasion', and prices, consequently, remained high. Many an Australian turned lawns, and even flower beds, into vegetable patches."<sup>72</sup> In fact, the Directorate of Manpower was experiencing "grave difficulty" in obtaining adequate labour to harvest the tomato crop.<sup>73</sup> There was the precedent of the release of Italian internees in Western Australia for the same purpose.<sup>74</sup> Bevege writes "the Victorian military authorities may have assessed Takasuka as more valuable back on the farm".<sup>75</sup> He was released on the condition that he not go beyond a radius of ten miles from his farm, and he returned to his tomato growing in Fosterville. In 1961 Takasuka acquired Australian citizenship, from 1964 to 1970 served on the Council of Huntly Shire, and in 1966 was Shire President.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>71</sup>Bevege, p. 230.

<sup>72</sup>McKernan, *All In*, p. 161.

<sup>73</sup>AWM 54, p. 232.

<sup>74</sup>Bevege, p. 230.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Sissons, *An Immigrant Family*, p. 22.

Joseph Suzuki, Hannah Suzuki's younger brother, also appealed. His case was heard on 27 May 1942 before Tribunal No.4. He came to Australia as a baby and had never returned to Japan, but he unwittingly retained Japanese citizenship. He enlisted in the A.I.F.. He wrote:

I was only seventeen. I knew that I was entitled to serve Australia, and consequently joined up on June 1940 placing my age at 22 and giving my birthplace as Geelong. The N.S.W. Police registered me as Joseph Suzuki born at Kobe, Japan on 28th February, 1922. It is apparent that they did not check up, as my actual name is Ichiro Shibuya, born at Kobe Japan on 28th February, 1922, who entered Australia on my mother's passport.<sup>77</sup>

In February 1941 he was discharged at the request of Military Intelligence on discovery of his nationality<sup>78</sup> and was interned on 8 December 1941.

The chairman of the Tribunal, Sharwood, was convinced that he was thoroughly Australian in his outlook and sympathies and that his release would not cause serious unrest in any Australian community.<sup>79</sup> He spoke only English and volunteered to serve in the Labour Corps. He was then interned at Woolenook Wood Camp. The O.C. Woolenook said "He is 100 per cent Australian, hates the Japs and will not associate with them."<sup>80</sup> Captain Gillard, who represented the Army, also agreed that he "possibly had the strongest case for release from internment that one could conceive".<sup>81</sup> On 30 May 1942 his mother wrote to Joseph:

I am glad to hear that you have had your appeal and hope and trust that it won't be long before we know the results. I guess that it was Father's suggestion about the whole family wanting to be

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<sup>77</sup>C 123, 2 Aug. 1944.

<sup>78</sup>C 123, 12 July 1945.

<sup>79</sup>C123, Criminal Investigation Files, 27 May 1942.

<sup>80</sup>D 1901, S 2242, no date.

<sup>81</sup>Bevege, p. 227.

interned...I would never want to be interned with him...I have retained my British nationality.<sup>82</sup>

Joe was still in internment in 1944. Enlistment worked against him. A detective in Sydney wrote to the Military Police Intelligence Section to oppose Sharwood's recommendation for release, stating:

Suzuki is a student surveyor and has been a member of the Australian Military Forces and it is submitted that no better contact could be free to assist his fellow countrymen [sic]. His military training and geographical knowledge would be of the utmost value.<sup>83</sup>

As one indicator of their attitudes, those appealing against internment were questioned at the hearings about their religion. Although Suzuki was a Christian,

The fact that Joseph Suzuki had accepted the Christian Faith was regarded as an indication that he was not following the Japanese customs and habits. It is pointed out that no reliance can be placed on this claim as in the year 1941 the Department of Education, Japan, announced that official recognition had been granted to the newly-established Japanese Christian Association which included 1,600 Churches; 388 religious societies etc. of the Protestant and Catholic faiths.<sup>84</sup>

Suzuki suffered from the prolonged internment, became mentally ill and was hospitalized in camp.<sup>85</sup> On 2 August 1944 he wrote to his aunt:

I must apologise for not writing for some time, but I have been in hospital for the past month or so. Now that I have recovered my health I feel that it is time to speak up and tell everyone what the present government has done to me...Even if I were an enemy alien I would still have a right to produce witnesses, books and documents and have a Tribunal hearing at a pre-arranged time and place. Instead of that I was merely questioned at a moment's notice, and refused a further hearing. That is what has happened in my case.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigations Files, Sydney, 30 May 1942.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 1 July 1942.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Hannah Matschik, Adelaide, 31 Oct. 1990.

<sup>86</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, Sydney, 2 Aug. 1944.

On 4 August 1944, two days after he wrote this letter, his release was finally approved.<sup>87</sup> He did not have anything like Sho Takasuka's tomato farm to contribute to Australia's war effort. He was also a young man from Sydney where the incursion of Japanese submarines was vividly remembered. After his release, the *Sunday Telegraph* interviewed Suzuki:

I am an Australian to the backbone, so the worst part of the internment was having to associate with the Japanese...Had there not been three or four other chaps in the same boat as myself (either half-Japanese or born in Australia of Japanese parents), I should have had a very bad time.<sup>88</sup>

Suzuki applied for naturalization and it was granted on 12 June 1945. He changed his name in the following month, giving up his Japanese surname.<sup>89</sup> He wrote in the application: "my present surname causes considerable embarrassment both to myself and my employers."<sup>90</sup>

Samuel Nakashiba was born in Cairns in 1924 to a Japanese father and a white Australian mother of German origin. He was interned with his parents and two Australian-born sisters in Darwin. As he was 16 years old, he was interned at a single men's camp at Loveday while his family was at Tatura.<sup>91</sup> In a letter of appeal in 1944 Samuel wrote:

It is my desire to join one of the services, where I would be able and willing to serve my country's cause to the best of my ability. You may have some doubts as to my sincerity, because I have been confined with the Japs during my internment... This is no idle whim, being an honest desire to fight for and preserve those attributes of democracy which I, as a British subject, have always been taught to uphold and respect ... I was educated and reared in Darwin, have always associated with Australians. I speak no other language than English ...

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>*Sunday Telegraph*, 25 Feb. 1945, in C 123, Criminal Investigation Files.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>D1901, N 3301, 1944.

He was released in May 1945.<sup>92</sup> After release he abandoned his Japanese surname. He joined the Australian Army and served during the Korean War.<sup>93</sup>

The case of John Iwamatsu Nakashiba, Samuel's father, was unusual. Military security service reports before the commencement of hostilities with Japan identified him as a potential enemy agent.<sup>94</sup> He was a business agent in Darwin for various Japanese companies, and had much to do with the pearling fleets and Japanese vessels in Australian waters. He was also looked upon as the leader of the local Japanese community and was in fact president and secretary of the local Nihonjin-kai.<sup>95</sup> After war was declared with Japan Nakashiba was held in custody by Naval Intelligence, and it later reported he was actively assisting its operations.<sup>96</sup> At the same time, Military Intelligence was insisting that he be taken into custody under the "catch-all" provisions for the internment of Japanese. Naval Intelligence recommended his release because of the services he performed for it, but he was interned. His Australian-born wife and daughters nominated to go into custody with him at Tatura. Nakashiba's son Samuel was interned separately at Loveday. The elder Nakashiba applied for release, but in February 1942 Aliens Tribunal No. 4 rejected his request, having judged him "untrustworthy and unreliable."<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>AP 308/1, 12, 29 May 1945.

<sup>93</sup>Jack Truan, Palmers Island, N.S.W., 22 May 1993.

<sup>94</sup>MP 729/6, 63/401/518, 6 Aug. 1941.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 21 Nov. 1941.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 5 Jan. 1942.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 18 Feb. 1942.



In March 1942, at the insistence of Naval Intelligence, who pointed out that Nakashiba had been a bona fide intelligence agent for it, the deputy chief of the General Staff petitioned the Department of the Army to approve Nakashiba's release.<sup>98</sup> On 20 March 1942 the Minister for the Army revoked his detention order.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, in July 1942 Nakashiba was still in internment and further petitioning authorities: "I pray to your honours to protect and guarding upon these helpless and powerless poor souls under the British Justice and Union Jack."<sup>100</sup> Security records show that Nakashiba, his wife and daughter were again interviewed in August 1942, repeating their request to be released.<sup>101</sup> Military Intelligence then approached Naval Intelligence asking if they could find employment for Nakashiba. Naval Intelligence replied that "it has not been possible to find suitable employment for ... Nakashiba" and that "until such time as (employment) can be effected he should not be released".<sup>102</sup> This reversed the previous position taken by Naval Intelligence. Nakashiba's wife and daughters were released in 1944.<sup>103</sup> Nakashiba remained in internment. After the war, the Director-General of Security recommended that he should be released in Australia on the grounds that "he is of no interest from a security point of view". He was released sometime after July 1946.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 11 Mar. 1942.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 20 Mar. 1942.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., 31 July 1942.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 28 Aug. 1942.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 8 Sept. 1942.

<sup>103</sup>AP 308/1, 12, 25 Jul. 1944 and 29 May 1945.

<sup>104</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 19 Aug. 1946.

The alleged Japanese sympathiser, Woodfield, made complaints about his detention and the camp arrangements. He claimed he was not given a proper detention order on his internment and said he should have been treated as an officer. He also resented being interned "under the same conditions as given to the Mediterranean races."<sup>105</sup> Other complaints concerned the quality of food, the internment of his daughter who was under sixteen, and that his Japanese wife was "of noble birth." His wife was a British subject by marriage.<sup>106</sup> In April 1942 he appealed against the detention of both he and his wife, but the Advisory Committee for Queensland recommended that they be kept in internment. Again in March 1943 he applied through the Consul-General of Switzerland for his wife to be repatriated, but the request was denied.<sup>107</sup>

At Tribunal No. 1 hearings Captain Gillard did not always agree with Mr. Sharwood's recommendations. One case concerned an old Italian-born Japanese woman, Kame Kagami, from East Prahran, Victoria, who had come to Australia in 1891. Her case was heard on 12 February 1942.<sup>108</sup> She and Mrs. Takasuka were the only two Japanese women who were long-time residents in Victoria who were subject to internment.<sup>109</sup> Despite Sharwood's recommendation for her release, Gillard maintained that the public wanted to see aliens controlled and that Kagami was obviously Japanese.<sup>110</sup> Since Kagami is not included on the nominal roll of Tatura internees, or the

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<sup>105</sup>BP 242/1, Q 30579, 27 Mar. 1942.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>AWM 54, 883/2/103, Oct. 1943.

<sup>108</sup>Bevege, p. 227.

<sup>109</sup>MP 729/6, 65/401/135, 28 Oct. 1941.

<sup>110</sup>Bevege, pp. 227-228.

list of those who died, or the repatriation list compiled after the war, she must have been released at some time before the war ended. Evelyn Suzuki remembered her:

She was a single woman and hardly spoke to anyone in the camp... She could not speak Japanese anyway. She was released very early. I think she may have been suspected as a Japanese sympathiser.<sup>111</sup>

Until July 1942 the Army was responsible for control of enemy aliens and internees, but then responsibility was passed to the Attorney-General, though the Army remained responsible for actual internment procedures.<sup>112</sup> The Attorney-General, Dr. H. V. Evatt, told Parliament on 10 September 1942 that:

the objective of Aliens Control is preventive, not punitive, and individual liberty is to be restricted only if the possibility of injury to the nation is undeniable and only to the extent necessary to prevent the injury.<sup>113</sup>

On 22 September 1942 Evatt appointed Brigadier W. Simpson Director-General of Security. Simpson established the Aliens Classification and Advisory Committee (ACAC), an independent body responsible to him and which was to work closely with him on all matters affecting aliens. Arthur Calwell was appointed chairman.<sup>114</sup> The ACAC's first task was to "re-examine the case-histories of those who had asked for release as well as the generality of all those initially interned on warrants issued as a precautionary measure by the Army authorities."<sup>115</sup> Noel Lamidey, who served as secretary of the ACAC, wrote in 1974:

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<sup>111</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

<sup>112</sup>AWM 54, p. 25.

<sup>113</sup>D 1919, SS 994, 1942.

<sup>114</sup>*Aliens Control in Australia*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

It was of course inevitable that, in those very early days of the war, hysteria near panic and denunciation played their part, for it is well known that the first casualty in war is truth. As time passed it became clear to many fair-minded people, and in particular to the government in power, to keep under review all forms of restrictions and to amend the regulations where obvious injustice had been perpetrated.<sup>116</sup>

The number of releases increased greatly from January 1943. Italy capitulated that September and most Italians were released by the end of 1944.<sup>117</sup>

According to alien registrations of 31 December 1942, 28 Japanese were among those at large and were registered as enemy aliens.

TABLE 3

ENEMY ALIENS REGISTERED IN AUSTRALIA<sup>118</sup>

Nationality	Q'ld	NSW	VIC	S.A.	W.A.	TAS	TOTAL
Albanian	292	28	500	18	248	-	1086
Austrian	38	1323	940	58	-	28	2387
Bulgarian	15	28	34	122	93	-	292
Finn	211	186	122	56	59	5	639
German	255	1951	1920	298	260	39	4693
Hungarian	5	370	198	22	8	5	608
Italian	1445	3322	4352	1073	2132	24	12348
Japanese	5	6	12	-	5	-	28
Rumanian	13	119	85	-	8	2	227
Thai	1	1	1	-	3	-	6
	2250	7334	8164	1647	2816	103	22,314

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>Bevege, p. 351.

<sup>118</sup>*Aliens Control in Australia*, p. 6.

Victorian and N.S.W. numbers include four internees who were released before December 1942, three in Victoria and one in N.S.W. The rest were not interned.

In March 1942 the War Cabinet decided to make enemy aliens who were not members of the Nazi or Fascist parties available for employment to the Allied Works Council established that February. Japanese were not included in this scheme. In March 1943 ACAC submitted an interim report to Evatt in which it discussed the importance of utilizing alien labour.<sup>119</sup> The Committee was aware that the United Kingdom had adopted an elastic policy by which almost all enemy aliens were working in industries. The report stated:

We believe that it is now true to say that since the internment of the greater proportion of these Aliens, conditions have materially altered. At the present juncture it is common knowledge that our resources are under constant review with the idea of utilising them to the best advantage. The system of compulsory labour service is now firmly established ...the need [is] to avoid permitting men to remain in almost complete idleness when it may be found on examination that no real security risk would be involved in their release for some form of useful national service. The maintenance of large internment camps not only fails to utilise possible available alien labour but also imposes a heavy strain on our Manpower resources...<sup>120</sup>

The Civil Alien Corps, established as a section of the Allied Works Council, employed more than 1,300 enemy aliens,<sup>121</sup> many of them former internees who had been cleared through the security procedures of the Aliens Tribunals. They were paid at the basic rate of the Australian Military Forces scale work including road construction, timber and

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<sup>119</sup> *Aliens Control in Australia*, Mar. 1943, p. 23.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

firewood-getting, charcoal-burning and navvying.<sup>122</sup> The work camps were in remote inland areas in places such as the Northern Territory and along the Commonwealth railway line on the Nullarbor Plain.<sup>123</sup> The scheme met with limited success.<sup>124</sup>

Authorities considered that even elderly Japanese males might engage in sabotage.<sup>125</sup> In July 1942 a police report from Sydney advised Military Intelligence:

It must be realised that Japanese nationals should be viewed in much different light of those of any other enemy countries, even 65 to 70 years of age and over, are likely to engage in sabotage as a contribution to the Japanese cause... It would be quite a simple matter for even an elderly person to resort to the flashing of an electric torch or even burn his home to guide enemy planes in the event of an air raid.<sup>126</sup>

The case of Etarō Yamaguchi, a gardener from N.S.W. who was 69 in 1942, presents an interesting comparison with the case of the released tomato grower from Bendigo, Sho Takasuka. Yamaguchi's former employer, Mr. George Koo, appealed for Yamaguchi's release soon after his arrest on 8 December 1941. On the following day the arresting officer described Yamaguchi:

He has been a resident of the Commonwealth of Australia for the past 47 years...For the past 16 years he has been employed with Chinese in the Goondiwindi, Queensland, and Boomi, New South Wales, districts as a gardener in market gardens. During the past 4 years he has been employed by George Lee Koo, an Australian-born Chinese, as a gardener... The alien has not come under adverse police notice

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<sup>122</sup>Husluck, p. 597.

<sup>123</sup>Bevege, p. 348.

<sup>124</sup>Hasluck, pp. 595-598.

<sup>125</sup>Internment Policy, 27 June 1940.

<sup>126</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation Files, Sydney, 1 July 1942.

during his residence in the Boomi District and appears to have been a good citizen.<sup>127</sup>

On 15 December 1941 Mr. Koo's solicitor wrote to Military Police Intelligence in Sydney:

Guchi (Yamaguchi) is the only reliable man available to help our client in his garden, and our client is prepared to go bond to a reasonable amount for the good behaviour of Guchi if it can be arranged.<sup>128</sup>

He got no reply. On 8 February 1943 he wrote again:

We will be obliged if you will communicate with the Security Service and ask them for an answer one way or another concerning the application we have made for the release of the abovenamed. Our client has a valuable crop and it is in danger of being lost owing to lack of man power...<sup>129</sup>

On 17 February 1943 the Deputy Director of Security for NSW replied, "Yamaguchi cannot be released from detention at the present time."<sup>130</sup> Yamaguchi was never again to work on Mr. Koo's garden. He was deported to Japan after the war.<sup>131</sup>

Yet after the danger of Japanese invasion had passed old age became a possible ground for release. Two of the the ten internees released between January and August 1943 were the elderly laundrymen from Geelong, Furuya and Hasegawa - aged 71 and 73 respectively. Furuya was released in February 1943.<sup>132</sup> Although the case of Hasegawa was heard by Tribunal

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<sup>127</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation files, 9 Dec. 1941.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., 15 Dec. 1941.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 17 Feb. 1943.

<sup>131</sup>A 437, 46/6/72.

<sup>132</sup>AP 308, 12, 1941-1943.

No.4 on 10 February 1942,<sup>133</sup> he was not released until May 1943.<sup>134</sup> Nagai, a 66 year-old, was released in September 1943.<sup>135</sup> Itoh, the youngest of the four at 61 in 1943, remained in internment until the end of the war.<sup>136</sup> According to Hasegawa's daughter-in-law, Itoh was fitter than the others who were seriously ill and senile. They were released on the condition that they not assist in the conduct of any laundry business which might bring them into contact with the public, and that they not associate or communicate directly or indirectly with enemy aliens or persons of enemy origin other than members of their family. They were under observation by the local police, who reported monthly on their behaviour.<sup>137</sup> Hasegawa's daughter-in-law said:

He could not go out or anything like that. But I suppose it didn't matter much as he was too ill to do anything anyway after he came out of the camp...One day "Gone with the Wind" was on in the local picture theatre. He said he wanted to see it. "No way", we said, but I booked tickets anyway. Everyday I thought he would die so I wanted him to do something he liked. I wasn't afraid. Nobody found out about it.<sup>138</sup>

Hasegawa was bedridden until he died in 1952.<sup>139</sup>

Omaye, a laundryman from Sydney, was released at about the same time as Hasegawa. He had been a resident of Australia for over 40 years and had

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<sup>133</sup>MP 429/3, CA 5, 1941-1942.

<sup>134</sup>AP 308/1, 12.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid.

<sup>136</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 1946.

<sup>137</sup>C 123, Criminal Investigation files, Release Order. Hasegawa's daughter-in-law confirmed that the same restrictions were placed upon him. Ida Hasegawa, Geelong, 16 Aug. 1987.

<sup>138</sup>Ida Hasegawa, Geelong, 16 Aug. 1987.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid.



an Australian-born wife.<sup>140</sup> They had six children, the oldest of whom was in the A.I.F.. Omaye was suffering from chronic rheumatism. He was released in June 1943 because "his condition would probably improve if released from internment".<sup>141</sup> He was 63 and died seven months later.<sup>142</sup>

At Loveday there were many elderly Japanese internees. In May 1944 the camp authorities interviewed some of these with a view to possible release, although the internees were not told this. Their reports show that they were either in the camp hospital or suffering from illness. Tamakichi Koike was interviewed in the camp hospital. He stated:

I am 74 years of age. I have been in Australia about 50 years. Since my arrival in this country I have never returned to Japan. I used to be a carpenter at Cairns in Queensland before I was interned. I owned my own house in Cairns, and lived there with a woman. I am not married to this woman, who is a half-caste, but I was keeping her. Her name is Minnie Gough...All my belongings would be valued at 400 pounds. Minnie is looking after my things for me.<sup>143</sup>

The camp authorities recommended that he be released as they thought "his woman companion might be agreeable to looking after him".<sup>144</sup> Simpson approved his release on compassionate grounds. He was released in August 1944.<sup>145</sup> Yosahatsu Yonezawa, an internee from Western Australia, was also interviewed in the camp hospital. He stated:

I am 80 years of age. I was a pearl diver. I have been paralysed for 18 years. I am not married. I have been in Australia for 67 years and I have never been back to Japan. I have no friends and no

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<sup>140</sup>A 373, 11419/214, 19 Nov. 1945.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.

<sup>143</sup>D 1901, K 3141, 10 May 1944.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

relatives in Australia. I have 800 pounds in the bank in Japan for my old age. My health is better since my internment.<sup>146</sup>

The authorities' recommendation was that "It would be better for him to remain in internment camp and receive treatment as he is an old internee who has nowhere to go".<sup>147</sup> He died in the camp hospital on 14 February 1946.<sup>148</sup>

Kenji Makishima, 73 years old, was also a very sick man:

I have been in Australia for 46 years... I was occupied with doing general duties before I came into internment. I had stock worth over 300 pounds, and my house and furniture would be worth 200 pounds. I lived with an Australian woman and kept her for 6 years...She had three children, but one died...I have bought a house and given this to her. That house is worth 40 pounds. The police are looking after my property. Mrs Weigh of the "Royal Hotel" in Boulia is my best friend. My house has been burned down.<sup>149</sup>

The authorities commented that he would not live long, and recommended he be released if his friend would look after him. He died, still in camp, on 10 August 1945.<sup>150</sup>

Hideichiroo Ide arrived in Australia in 1892 and became a naturalised British subject in 1902. He was arrested in December 1941 and was released in late 1944 at 78 years of age. At that time he had been a resident of Sydney for 52 years. He was married to a British woman and they had three sons, two of whom enlisted in the A.I.F..<sup>151</sup> The eldest

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<sup>146</sup>Ibid., Y 3134, 5 Oct. 1944.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., 10 May 1944.

<sup>148</sup>Cemetery Register, Barmera, 14 Feb. 1946.

<sup>149</sup>D 1901, M 3138, 10 May 1944.

<sup>150</sup>Cemetery Register, Barmera, 10 Aug. 1945.

<sup>151</sup>A 373, 11419/214, 19 Nov. 1945.

was too old to enlist. According to Katoo, Ide's children strongly identified themselves as Australians. Katoo said: "Their activities and achievements are perhaps a good indicator of their identity." The eldest son was a member of the design committee for the Sydney Harbour Bridge. The second son represented Australia as a member of the Wallabies rugby team. He enlisted in the A.I.F. in 1940, was sent to Singapore in the following year and was taken prisoner by the Japanese in February 1942. After working on the Burma railway, he drowned in September 1944 when a ship carrying Australian POWs to Japan was torpedoed by an American submarine.<sup>152</sup>

In October 1944 the Brisbane press reported a series of meetings at which the RSL was critical of what it saw as the release of enemy alien internees. The members of the RSL expressed concern that ex-internees would "get themselves entrenched in good jobs while Australia's own flesh and blood were still fighting."<sup>153</sup> At an RSL meeting on 9 October 1944, S. Prior was reported as complaining about a Japanese internee. He said that a Japanese silk dealer had been released and that he had been seen working in his garden. He also suggested that a public meeting should be held to "protest over the whole question."<sup>154</sup> The internee in question was Kashiwagi who was released on compassionate grounds on 21 December 1943, aged 75. Kashiwagi had lived in Australia for over 50 years, was married to an Australian woman and had an Australian daughter. The Tribunal was convinced that he was "loyal" to Australia and recommended his release on the grounds that he was suffering from advanced heart

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<sup>152</sup>Ian Ide, interviewed by Keiichi Kato, 24 Feb. 1991.

<sup>153</sup>Brisbane *Courier-Mail*, 10 Oct. 1944.

<sup>154</sup>*Ibid.*

disease and was a permanent invalid whose expectation of life was short.<sup>155</sup> Evatt defended the government:

The release was made in accordance with the Geneva Convention under which the Commonwealth in common with other signatories agreed to release aged and sick internees.<sup>156</sup>

Some children of Japanese internees were released to attend school. Although policy did not allow this,<sup>157</sup> the authorities were prepared to release them if a school accepted them and if the parents agreed. The eldest two boys of the Takagaki family from Mackay, Jack and Charley, aged fourteen and twelve, were granted release in October 1943 to attend the Kilmany Park Farm Home for Boys in Victoria.<sup>158</sup> On the advice of the camp authorities, they used Griggs, their mother's maiden name, at Kilmany. Jack talked about their experiences there:

Other boys soon found out that we were part Japanese. They bullied us ... I became aggressive and after a while they stopped... That was the only way. I became good at boxing. I even later won a Flyweight Championship in Melbourne.<sup>159</sup>

According to the eldest daughter of the Yamashita family from Thursday Island, the parents wanted a similar arrangement for their older children, but the camp authorities could not find any school which would accept them.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>155</sup>A 373, 11419/214, 2 Nov. 1944.

<sup>156</sup>Age, 25 Nov. 1944, in A 373, 11419/214.

<sup>157</sup>AWM 54, p. 51.

<sup>158</sup>AP 308/1, 12, 1941-43.

<sup>159</sup>Jack Takagaki, Makay, 6 July 1992.

<sup>160</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

According to Bevege, half of those Japanese who appealed decided to withdraw their applications as they were concerned at prevailing public reaction.<sup>161</sup> Michael Itoh, an Australian-born subject of Japanese origin, withdrew his appeal, although he was given strong support by the Minister for Lands and Agriculture in Western Australia. The Minister said that Itoh "had been educated at 'one of Perth's best colleges' and was 'an excellent citizen' and 'a good Australian'".<sup>162</sup> He decided to stay in the camp because he felt "public feeling would be against him" if he were outside.<sup>163</sup> After the war, Roland Browne, Acting Director-General of the Security Service, described him:

I am satisfied that under any policy other than one of complete internment of Japanese this man's internment would never have been contemplated and I feel he should be released forthwith without restrictions.<sup>164</sup>

In the case of 25-year-old Australian-born Douglas Umino, the son of a Japanese father and Australian mother, Simpson, the Director General of Security, was willing to release him if suitable employment could be found. In April 1945 Umino was offered a position as caretaker of a deserted mine at Forest Reefs near Orange, New South Wales. He decided to stay in internment as he thought the salary for a caretaker would be very little and he would be better off where the government supplied him with food, clothing and medical attention.<sup>165</sup> He was released in October 1945<sup>166</sup> and returned to his father's laundry business in Sydney.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>161</sup>Bevege, p. 225.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid.

<sup>164</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 19 Aug. 1946.

<sup>165</sup>A 373, 11181, Intelligence Report of 7 Apr. 1945.

<sup>166</sup>A 373, 11419/214, 19 Nov. 1945.

There were about eleven Australian-born internees at Woolenook Wood Camp. All except Joseph Suzuki, Samuel Nakashiba and Eddie Ahmat, remained in internment. Patrick Ahmat stayed, while his older brother, Eddie, was released on 17 April 1945,<sup>168</sup> and his mother and sister were released from Tatura on 21 October 1944.<sup>169</sup> Patrick said that his applications for a hearing were never approved and he gave up applying after a while.<sup>170</sup> Jimmy Chi from Broome had a similar story, but was more persistent:

I put my application for hearing many times while I was interned... but no hearing. I don't know why, but that Captain Brown (Camp Commandant at Woolenook) was not cooperative about this at all...<sup>171</sup>

Jack Tolsee preferred to be interned. He said:

Captain Brown said, "Have you got any Japanese blood in you at all?" I said, "No. I am a Sikh," then he said, "Well, do you want me to make representaion to the government?" I said, "No, no." ... From the time I was 6 years old until I was fifteen, I had to work in the field. I was like a slave, no pay...It was a very sad life. So when they took me (interned), I was so pleased. I was free in the camp.<sup>172</sup>

Altogether, 69 Japanese were released before postwar repatriation in February 1946.<sup>173</sup> Almost all belonged to Category O, which policy described as "ordinary and harmless", and included sixteen women and

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<sup>167</sup>Douglas Umino, Sydney, 3 Jan. 1993.

<sup>168</sup>AP 308/1, 18, 1944-1945.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid.

<sup>170</sup>Patrick Ahmat, Perth, 22 Aug. 1986.

<sup>171</sup>Jimmy Chi, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>172</sup>Jack Truan, Palmers Island, N.S.W., 22 May 1993.

<sup>173</sup>This figure was obtained by adding the further 10 releases which took place after Jan. 1945 until repatriation to the figure shown in the Release Table (p.132). These ten were recorded in AP 308/1, No. 18.

fourteen children.<sup>174</sup> Of the 39 men released, twenty were 65 years of age or older and were ill and infirm. Most had been in Australia for over 40 years and had Australian or British-born wives. Seven had sons in the A.I.F. and two were naturalised British subjects.<sup>175</sup> The rest included five Australian-born Japanese, one born in New Guinea, and Sho Takasuka. No records have been found concerning the others.

Saunders and Taylor argue that, "From mid 1942 when the initial alarm abated, plans were already underway to utilize the labour resources of all forms of enemy aliens and non-British residents."<sup>176</sup> This was not generally so for Japanese internees. The internment of many Italian farmers in Western Australia in 1940, for instance, threatened the state's potato crop.<sup>177</sup> Cresciani wrote: "The Commonwealth government soon realised that the policy of allowing innocent Italians to return to their occupations was not only an act of justice as well as of economic utility, but also a necessity which in many instances offered no other alternative."<sup>178</sup> Except possibly for Sho Takasuka, the tomato farmer, the Australian government did not see any economic advantage to releasing Japanese. The Japanese community was small, and not engaged in industries

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<sup>174</sup>There are no complete records of how many Japanese were released and who they were. AP 308/1, 12 and 18 recorded most movements and dispositions (releases and deaths) of Japanese internees which took place during the period 1 Jan. 1943 to 21 Nov. 1945, so other files and records were used to estimate these figures: PP 519/1, 241/3/122, 11 Jan. 1943; C 123 Criminal Investigation Files, 12 Jan. 1942.

<sup>175</sup>A373, 11419/214, 19 Nov. 1945.

<sup>176</sup>Saunders, K. and Taylor, H., "The Enemy Within? The Process of Internment of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1939-45", *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 1988, p. 25.

<sup>177</sup>Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1980, p. 185.

<sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*

where their absence caused a serious problem. Releases were limited and only occurred when authorities had exhausted all arguments for keeping the internees in confinement. There was very little readiness to consider each case on its merits. As Bevege writes, "It was the strength of Australian antipathy to the Japanese race as a whole that made it necessary in the interests of law and order, and of morale, to keep them interned for the whole of their time in Australia or for the duration of the war."<sup>179</sup>

Dr. Evatt had claimed that internment was as much for the "protection" of the enemy aliens as for the war effort. Some of the experiences of children who were released suggest there was animosity outside the camps. Jack Takagaki was released to an educational institution where he became involved in fights with other children.<sup>180</sup> Jamel Shibasaki, the eldest son of the Shibasaki family, was sixteen years old when he and the family were released in 1943. He also had fights with local children because of his Japanese descent.<sup>181</sup> However, other released internees claim they had no problems and were accepted by the local community.<sup>182</sup>

The failure of the majority of those interned as Japanese to obtain early release shows that the government's policy was to treat the Japanese as a special case. Noel Lamidey, secretary of the ACAC, confirmed this in 1987:

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<sup>179</sup>Bevege, p. 245.

<sup>180</sup>Jack Takagaki, Mackay, 6 July 1992.

<sup>181</sup>Jamel Shibasaki, Thursday Island, 1 Sept. 1987.

<sup>182</sup>Hannah Matuschik, Adelaide, 31 Oct. 1990; Anne Iwanaga, Brisbane, 10 Oct. 1992; Patrick Ahmat, Perth, 25 Aug. 1986.



Our government was firm about the Japanese. As far as I remember, we interned the lot and as a principle, we didn't intend to let anyone out. It was for their protection.<sup>183</sup>

Lamidey's report "Aliens' Control in Australia" categorises released Italian and German internees into "Alien, Naturalised British Subjects and Australian Born".<sup>184</sup> This suggests preparedness to consider these groups differently. However, despite the existence of naturalised and Australian-born British subjects among the Japanese, there was no sub-division. All were simply classed "Japanese".

Internment of Japanese was markedly higher than for other alien nationalities and in fact was almost total. The rate of release of other internees was also considerably higher than for Japanese. In the case of Italians, 74 per cent of those interned were released by December 1944 and 40 per cent of them were released before Italy capitulated in September 1943. 25 per cent of Germans were also released by December 1944. Only six per cent of Japanese were released before the cessation of hostilities with Japan.<sup>185</sup>

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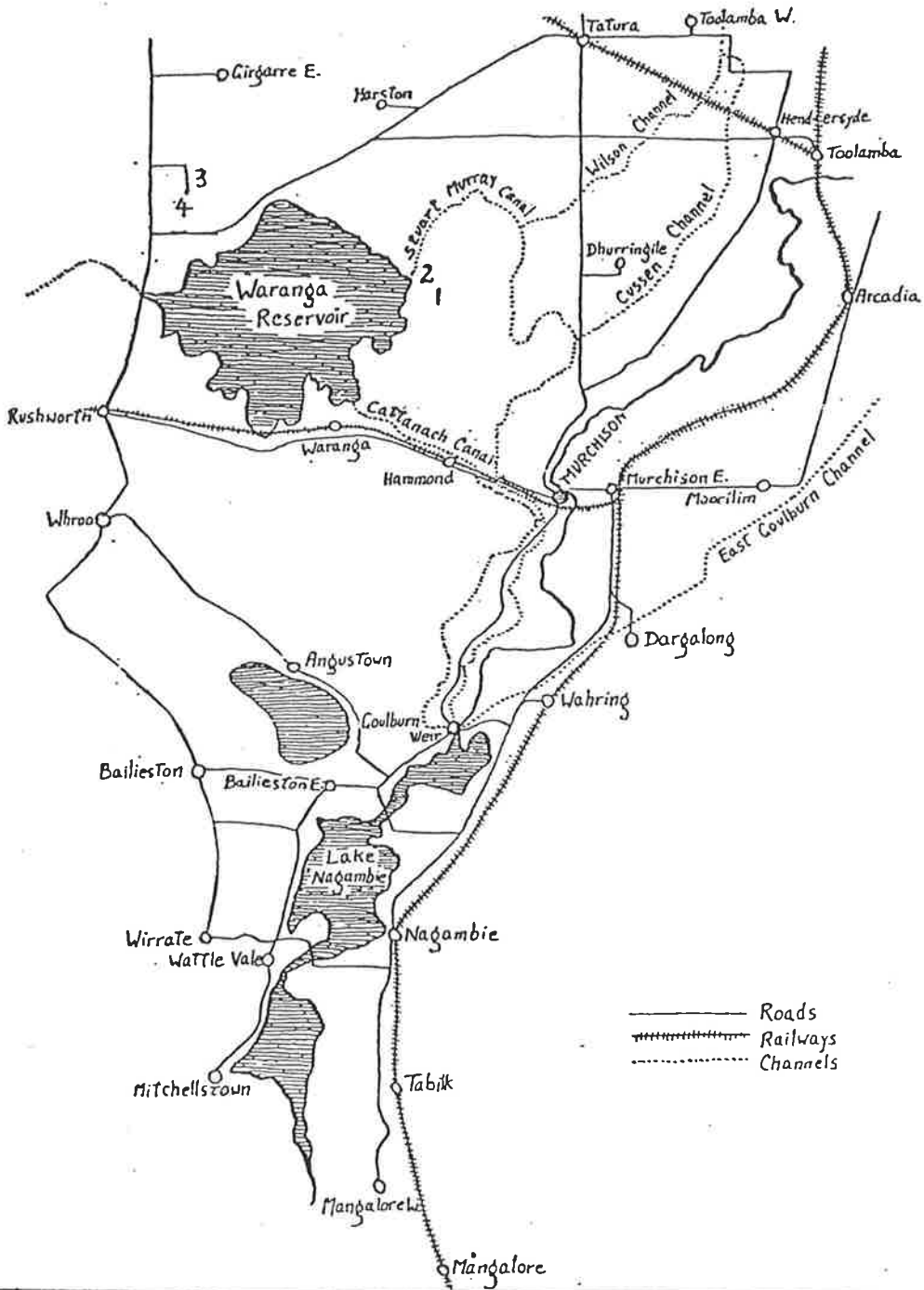
<sup>183</sup>Noel Lamidey, Sydney, 21 Aug. 1987.

<sup>184</sup>*Aliens Control in Australia*, p. 54.

<sup>185</sup>The total numbers of local Italian, German and Japanese internees were 4,754, 2013 and 1,141 respectively. For release numbers see Table 2, p. 132.

The Murchison District (1964)

The numbers indicate the positions of internment camps, Tatura Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4.



(From Tatura)

## CHAPTER 6

### Camp Organisation

A post-war report listed six requirements for siting internment camps:

- 1) The area should be as flat as possible but with sufficient fall to provide surface drainage.
- 2) Sandy soil should be avoided as it facilitates tunneling.
- 3) There should be sufficient area to space separate camps at least 500 yards apart.
- 4) The area should be well away from the seaboard but centrally situated and accessible by good roads.
- 5) Good water supply should be available.
- 6) Camps should not be erected in thickly populated areas.<sup>1</sup>

Tatura is 180 kilometres north of Melbourne in the Western Goulburn Valley. The countryside is not arid and much of the district had been subdivided after 1921 for development as irrigated orchards following the completion of the Waranga Reservoir.<sup>2</sup> The Victorian internment camps were concentrated in this area. Four internment camps, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, were between Tatura and Rushworth. No. 1 contained mainly German internees. No. 2, a smaller camp, contained mainly Australians with Nazi sympathies. Nos. 3 and 4 contained women and family groups - No. 3 Germans and Italians, and No. 4 Japanese. These family camps were located nearer to Rushworth and were often referred to as the Rushworth Internment Camps.

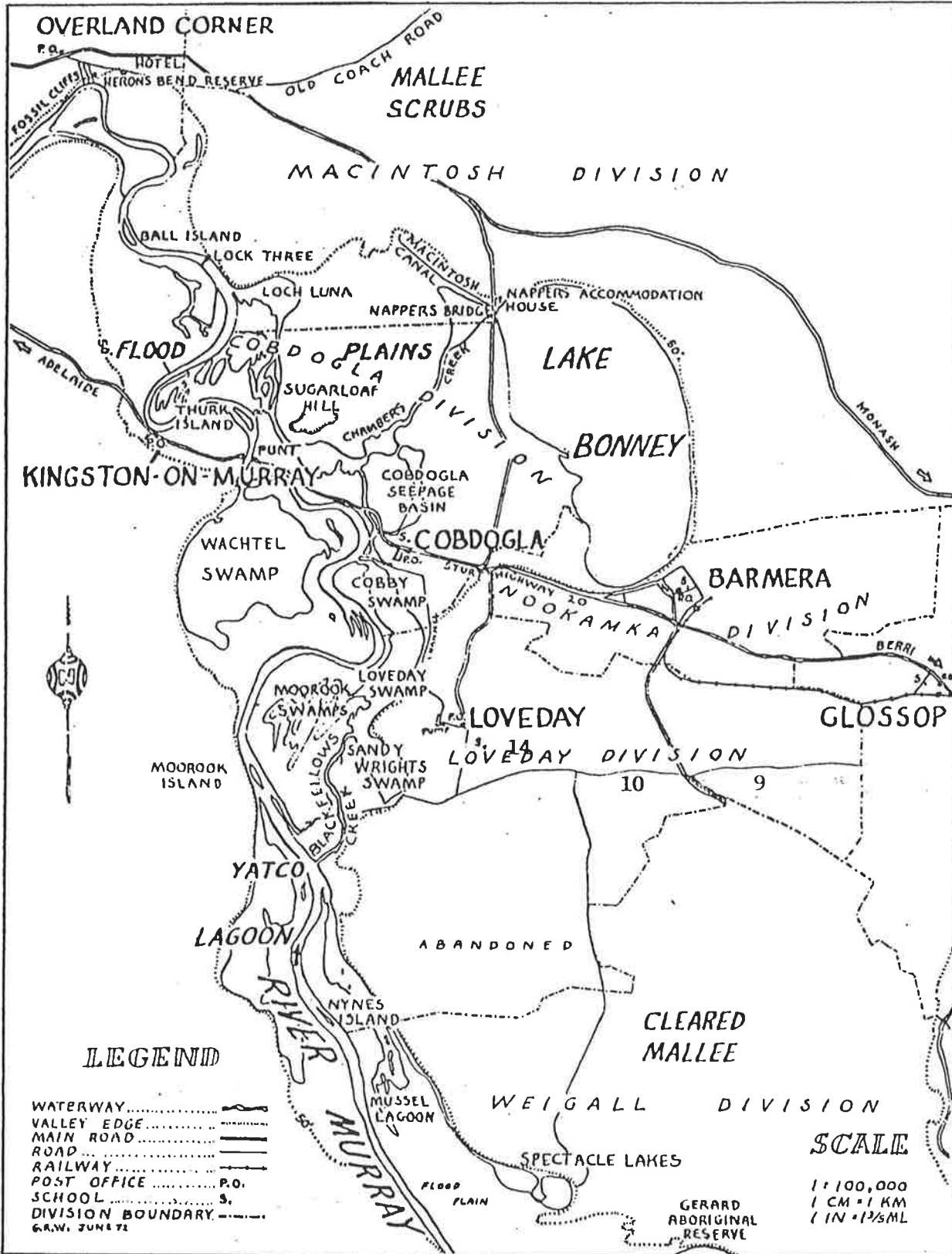
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<sup>1</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup>Winter, B., *Stalag Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1986, p. 19.

The Barmera District

The numbers indicate the positions of internment camps,  
Loveday Nos. 9, 10 & 14.



(From The Barmera Story, p.2)

The Hay internment camps were located in almost treeless, semi-arid grazing country 750 kilometres west of Sydney. They were immediately adjacent to Hay, which had a population of about 3,000.<sup>3</sup> The Murrumbidgee River ran nearby and was the major water source for the camps. There were three camps at Hay - Nos. 6, 7 and 8. Nos. 7 and 8 housed German and Italian refugee internees who were transferred from the United Kingdom. No. 6 held Japanese.

Loveday is in semi-arid country near Barmera in the centre of the Riverland district of South Australia, approximately 200 kilometres by road from Adelaide. Only part of the district was settled and the site had fair soil. A reticulated water supply had been installed in the expectation that the land would be used for soldier settlement.<sup>4</sup> Three camps were built there - Nos. 9, 10 and 14. Construction of Nos. 9 & 10 was commenced in August 1940.<sup>5</sup> No. 9 housed local Italian internees and No. 10 housed overseas German and Italian internees. No. 14 was constructed later to deal with increasing numbers. It was being built when Japan entered the war in December 1941. No. 14 held internees of all the Axis nationalities -Italians, Germans and Japanese.<sup>6</sup>

The arrival of camp personnel in the quiet townships of Tatura, Hay and Barmera had a major influence on the social and economic life of local residents. The first Commandant of the Tatura Camp Group was Lieutenant

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<sup>3</sup>Pearl, C., *The Dunera Scandal*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1983, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>Department of Environment and Planning, South Australia, *Loveday Internment Camp: Archaeological Report*, Adelaide, 1992, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Colonel W.T. Tackaberry (1939 - 1942).<sup>7</sup> Tackaberry had retired from the Army in 1936 and was 60 when he came out of retirement to take charge of internment camps in Victoria.<sup>8</sup> After him a series of officers held the position at Tatura, ending with Lieutenant Colonel J.W. Rhoden in 1945.<sup>9</sup> Over 700 officers and other ranks guarded the four camps, each of which could hold 1,000 prisoners.<sup>10</sup> Camp personnel also held fortnightly dances, concerts and sporting events, and provided a band. All this "entailed an organisation comparable to that of a thriving town."<sup>11</sup> Lieutenant Colonel C.S. Thane was Group Commandant at Hay (1940 - 1944).<sup>12</sup> About 800 officers and other ranks guarded 3,000 prisoners. In the words of Mick Beckwith, a local researcher, the three camps were "a great thing for Hay at the time."<sup>13</sup> The Loveday Internment Group became a temporary township and provided various services to the 1,374 officers and other ranks guarding 6,756 internees at the peak time in 1943.<sup>14</sup> Lieutenant Colonel E.T. Dean was Group Commandant (1940 - 1946). Loveday Hall, erected by internees, was the entertainment centre and venue for many functions, including fortnightly dances and performances by the camp orchestra.<sup>15</sup> Many of the women in the district attended the dance nights. Myra Tunbridge, now a resident of Adelaide, was 17 in 1942:

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<sup>7</sup>Bevege, p. 289.

<sup>8</sup>Bevege, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/43, nominal roll of officers on posted strength, 5 May 1945.

<sup>10</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 277.

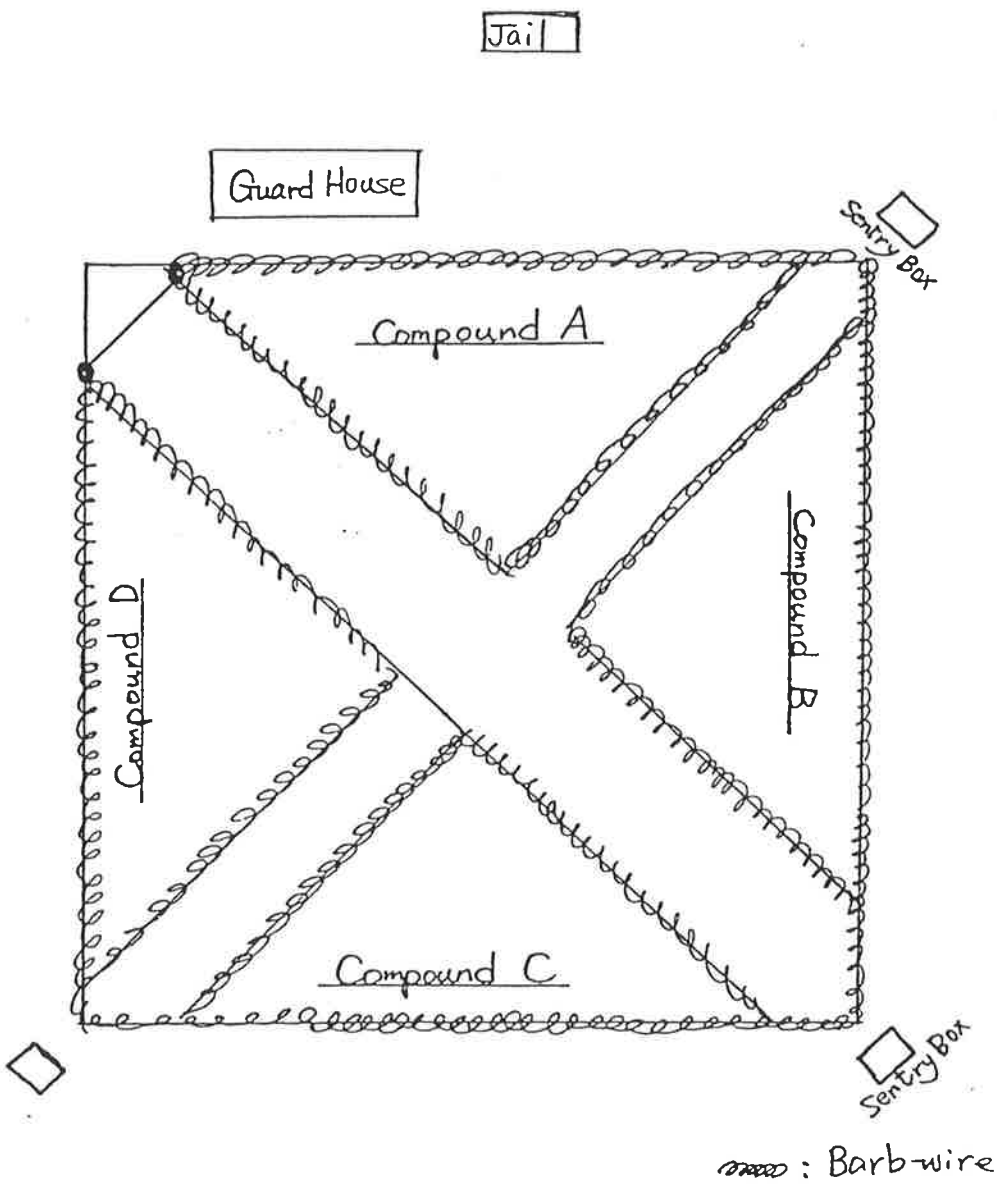
<sup>11</sup>Bossence, W.H., *Tatura, Melbourne, Hawthorne Press, 1969*, p. 271.

<sup>12</sup>Bevege, p. 289.

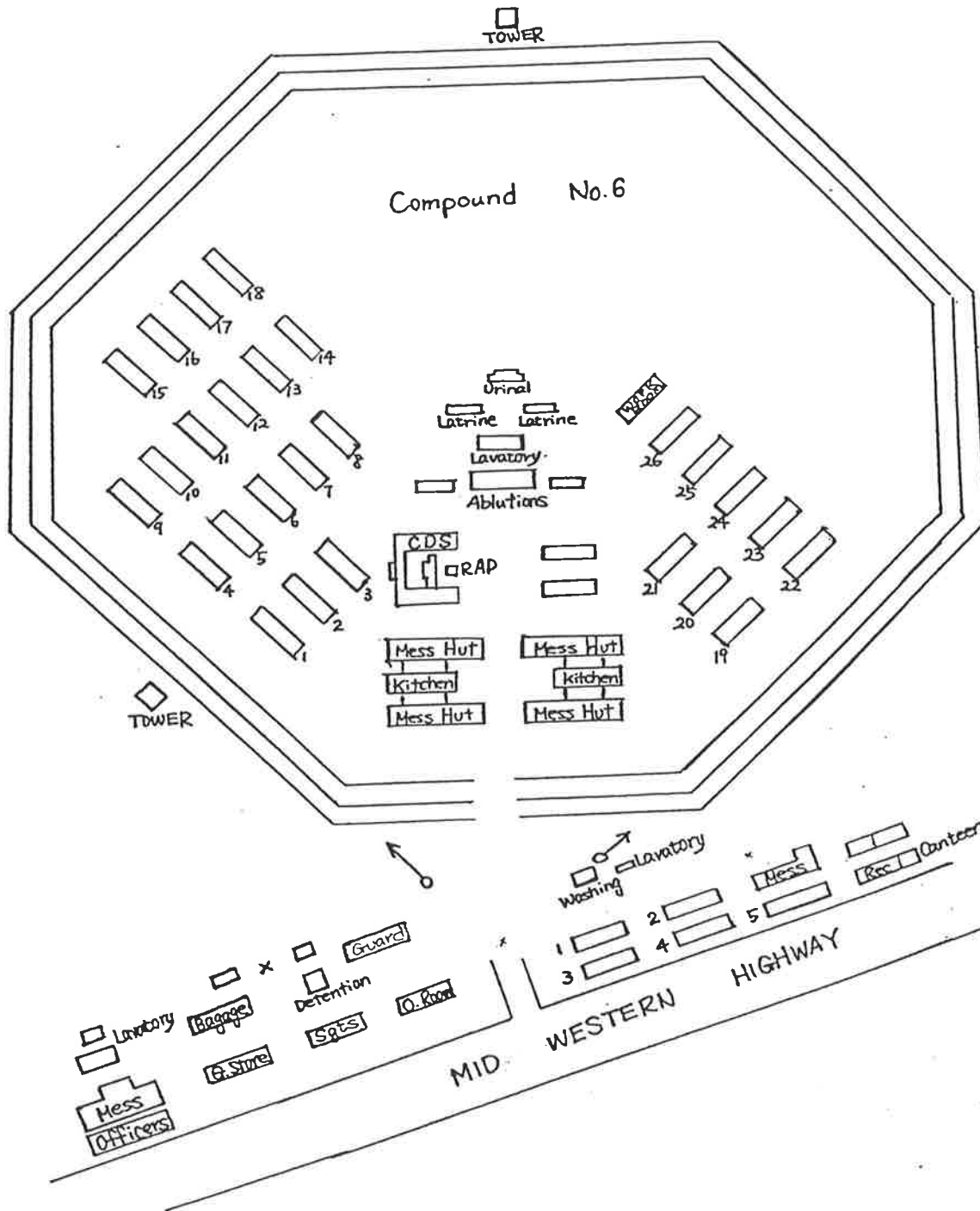
<sup>13</sup>Beckwith, M., draft research paper, Hay, 1985, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup>Woolmer, G., *The Barmera Story*, Barmera, 1973, p. 71.



A diagram of Tatura No. 4 Camp drawn by Jim Sullivan, a former guard officer.



# P.W. GROUP HAY

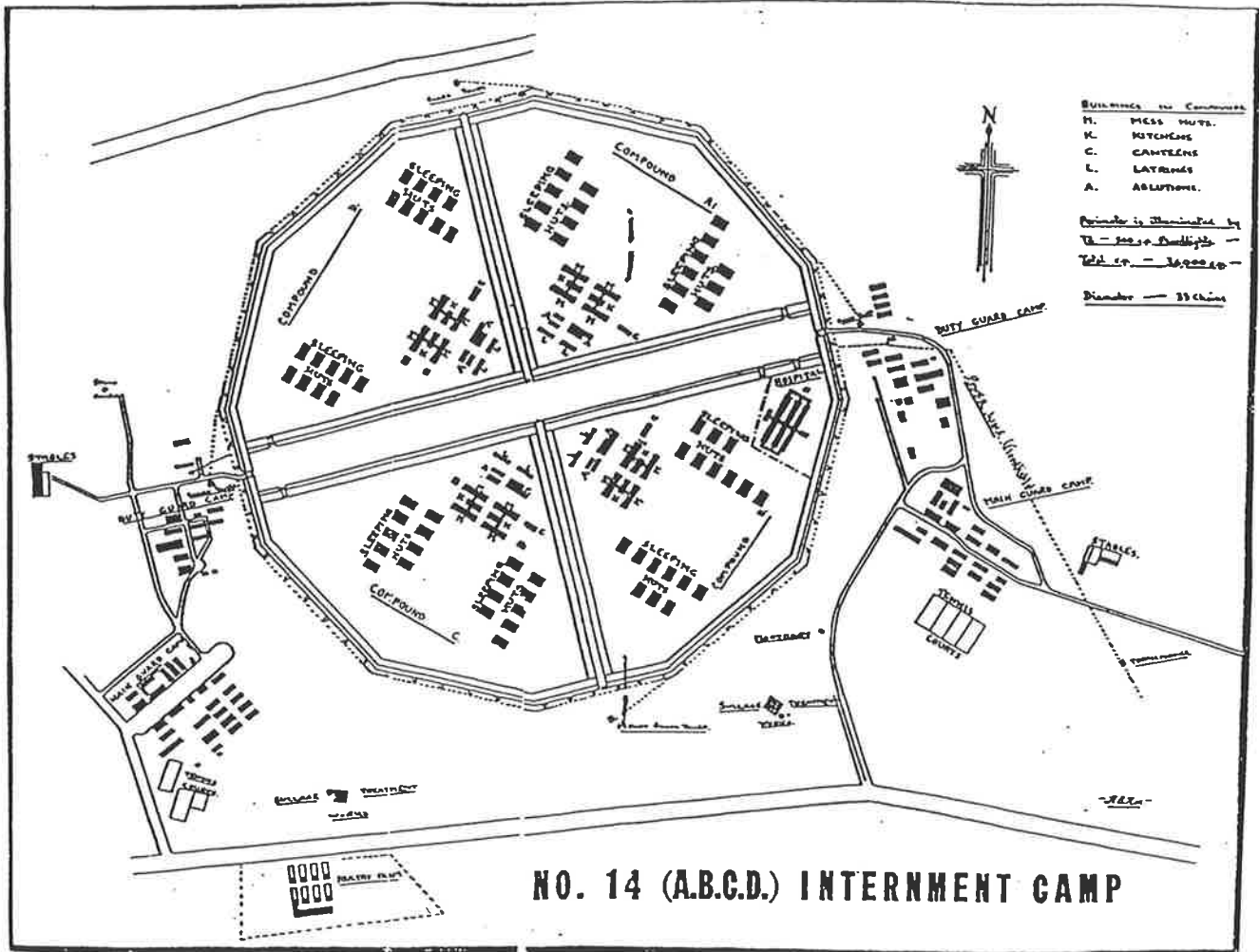
To Hay  
Approx. 2km



Not to scale

(Courtesy of Mick Beckwith, Hay)





(From Internment in South Australia, Appendix)

A bus used to wait for us in town (Barmera) after work on dance nights. Many of my friends went too. We looked forward to those nights. There wasn't much else in town. It was a real small town.<sup>16</sup>

The internment camps were built by Army engineers according to standard plans for housing soldiers.<sup>17</sup> They were basically Army camps and were designed to last only a few years. They consisted of galvanized iron and timber buildings surrounded by a triple barbed-wire perimeter of dodecagonal shape or other polygonal design. No. 4 Camp at Tatura was square in shape. The perimeters were guarded by four watch-towers equipped with machine guns and searchlights. No. 4 Camp at Tatura and No. 14 at Loveday were divided into four compounds designated A, B, C and D, while No. 6 at Hay was a single compound camp. Each compound contained an appropriate number of sleeping huts (usually 36 feet by 60 feet), mess halls, kitchens, laundry rooms, latrines and ablution blocks, and large recreation huts.<sup>18</sup> At Loveday each compound had eighteen sleeping huts, each housing 56 men,<sup>19</sup> while at Hay there were 26 huts, holding an average of 30 men each.<sup>20</sup> At Tatura each compound consisted of 10 large huts - twelve rooms to each and two large mess halls, one large kitchen, male and female wash houses, six baths and a recreation hall.<sup>21</sup> The sleeping quarters were partitioned as required to accommodate families, and

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<sup>16</sup>Myra Tunbridge, Adelaide, 23 Oct. 1984.

<sup>17</sup>Bert Whitmore, Barmera, 8 Sept. 1984.

<sup>18</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 213.

<sup>19</sup>*Internment in S.A*, No. 14 camp plan; *Diary*, 11 June 1942.

<sup>20</sup>Nominal Roll, held by Mick Beckwith, Hay.

<sup>21</sup>Tamiya Nakata, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

playing areas for the children and necessary school accommodation were provided.<sup>22</sup>

When internees arrived at a camp, a nominal roll was made and internees were photographed and had their fingerprints taken. Local internees were given internee identification numbers at the staging camp where they were first detained. The numbers were prefixed with letters indicating their nationality and the area where they had been arrested. QJ was a Japanese internee from Queensland, WJ from Western Australia, DJ from Darwin, NJ from New South Wales and VJ from Victoria. Overseas internees were coded IJ from N.E.I., CJ from New Caledonia, HJ from the New Hebrides, NZJ from New Zealand and P from the Pacific Islands. The identification numbers for females included an F after the area letter.<sup>23</sup> Overseas internees were normally given identification numbers before they disembarked in Australia.

Internees were medically examined on arrival at the camps and their medical records were kept with other personal documents. The authorities took special measures to prevent the introduction of infectious or contagious diseases into Australia.<sup>24</sup> Japanese internees from overseas and Northern Australia were dewormed and screened for parasites.<sup>25</sup> Another important task was to document the custody and control of internees' property. Internees and any baggage carried with them were

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<sup>22</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, pp. 211-213.

<sup>23</sup>BP 242/1, Q 39362, 23 Dec. 1941.

<sup>24</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 258.

<sup>25</sup>John Shepherd, Adelaide, 26 June 1985.

searched and all prohibited items, including money, valuables and weapons were taken, receipts issued and particulars recorded.<sup>26</sup>

Australian policy was to segregate nationalities and groups of internees where possible. However, it was considered most economic to build and run camps with a capacity of 1,000, so segregation was not always practical.<sup>27</sup> This allowed some serious internal friction to develop in the German and Italian camps due to differences in attitudes towards events in their homelands. There were anti-Nazis and anti-Fascists among the German and Italian internees. They had been interned despite their declared political sentiments and put in the same camps as the Nazi and Facist internees because it would have been difficult to create separate camps for them. There were several serious incidents, including murder.<sup>28</sup> Such serious problems were not reported among the Japanese. The Japanese were simply divided into three groups - single men at Loveday and Hay, and family groups and women at Tatura. Although Germans and Italians were sometimes put in the same camp, Japanese were never mixed with "Europeans", and only occasionally with other "Asiatics". At Tatura, a Solomon Island family was held with the Japanese<sup>29</sup>, and at Loveday some Indonesians were temporarily held with them.<sup>30</sup> Formosan internees who were interned as Japanese had their own compound at Tatura, but at Loveday were in the same compound as Japanese.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>BP 242/1, Q 39362, 23 Dec. 1941.

<sup>27</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, pp. 45-46.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Joe Murakami, Yokohama, 25 Jan. 1987.

<sup>30</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987.

<sup>31</sup>AP 308/1, 19 shows a complete list of internees of 14B and C Compounds.

As a general policy for all national groups, single male internees aged 16 and over were not accommodated with their families.<sup>32</sup> When boys reached that age, they were usually separated from their families and transferred to a men's camp. "This was a decision of the family internees themselves, taken with a view to protecting the adolescent girls."<sup>33</sup> However, among the Japanese at Tatura were a number of single men, mostly from overseas, well over sixteen. Mori from N.E.I. was 24 in 1942. He was interned with his father and his older brother at Tatura. By contrast, Samuel Nakashiba, a local internee aged seventeen at the time of his arrest, was interned at Loveday on his own, while his parents and two sisters were detained at Tatura. Patrick Ahmat, 26, and his brother, 32, were separated from their mother and sister when they were interned at Loveday. Patrick said "I was so worried about my mother and sister. I wanted to be with them but was told I couldn't be because of my age."<sup>34</sup> Jinkichi Tanaka and Kojiro Mise, both local internees aged 32 and 28 in 1941, were interned with their mothers at Tatura.<sup>35</sup> According to the late Ethel Punshon, a warden at Tatura, Tanaka had not seen his mother for thirteen years before internment.<sup>36</sup> It seems that both Tanaka and Mise were held at Tatura to provide company for their mothers, who were widows.

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<sup>32</sup>AWM 54, p.45. The age was later increased to 18. In March 1943 the Alien Classification and Advisory Committee recommended that the age for compulsory alien registration be increased to 18. See *Interim Report in Lamidey's Aliens Control in Australia*, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup>Bevege, p. 308.

<sup>34</sup>Patrick Ahmat, Perth, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>35</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, List of local Japanese withheld from initial repatriation, 1946.

<sup>36</sup>The late Ethel Punshon, Melbourne, 30 Nov. 1985.

Some transfers did take place. The reasons included separating incompatibles, allowing newly-married couples to live together in the family camp, or bringing members of families together. The Tatura Camp Diary recorded the case of a single 28 year-old Japanese internee who was transferred to Loveday at the request of his relatives for having sexual intercourse with another internee's wife.<sup>37</sup>

On 12 April 1943, a major reorganisation of internees took place as a result of a government decision to reclassify Japanese merchant seamen as POWs in accordance with a United Kingdom policy newly adopted by the Australian government.<sup>38</sup> Japanese previously engaged in the pearling industry around the Australian coast came into this category.<sup>39</sup> There were 225 at Hay, 151 at Loveday and 5 at Tatura. All were concentrated at Hay. All other single men went to Loveday, and women and family groups remained at Tatura.<sup>40</sup> On 7 July a further 143 men (3 from Tatura and 140 from Loveday) were identified as merchant seamen and reclassified as POWs,<sup>41</sup> and transferred to Hay.<sup>42</sup> After this rearrangement, Hay held only POWs, and Loveday only internees. The reclassified men were recoded as PWJM (prisoners of war Japanese merchant seamen) and were held under the National Security POW Regulations, except that they would receive no pay other than when employed.<sup>43</sup> They also lost the right of appeal

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<sup>37</sup>AWM 53, Tatura War Diary, 2 and 4 Jan. 1945.

<sup>38</sup>MP 742/1, 255/2/283, 5 June 1943.

<sup>39</sup>MP 742/1, 255/2/283, 12 Jan. 1943.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 21 Apr. 1943.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 7 July 1943.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 4 Jan. 1944.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 21 Apr. 1943.

against detention. After the reorganisation was completed, 524 Japanese were at Hay, 1,915 at Loveday and 873 at Tatura.<sup>44</sup>

The PWJMs were very unhappy at their reclassification. They protested by refusing to sign documents or allowing their fingerprints to be taken.

The reason they gave was:

By becoming POWs, they were to face great difficulty. Their families will be disgraced and subsequently their wives will divorce them. Furthermore, it will be difficult to remarry. Being a POW brings a lot of harm to an individual.<sup>45</sup>

The PWJMs were determined about this protest as they thought they would be deprived of some civil rights after returning to Japan. The Camp Commandant requested the Compound Leader, Takimoto, and Yasui, his sub-leader, to deal with the problem, but received no cooperation. They were removed from their positions.<sup>46</sup> In response to the protest the Commandant decided to take away privileges in accordance with guidelines laid down in Internment Camp Regulations. The canteen was closed and sports equipment and tools taken away. Lights were turned off at seven o'clock instead of ten. According to Chinenji Kaino, "the hardest punishment was that the camp banned the sale of cigarettes."<sup>47</sup> Despite the punishment, the protest continued for another two weeks until the men gave in to the extent of allowing their fingerprints to be taken.<sup>48</sup> However, according to Charlie Clift, a World War I veteran who was a guard at No. 6 at Hay,

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 21 Apr. and 7 July 1943.

<sup>45</sup>A.7.0.0., 9/11/1/0/2, 6 Oct. 1943.

<sup>46</sup>Ogawa, p. 259.

<sup>47</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 26 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

these Japanese did not allow such problems to upset their relations with their guards. Two former PWJMs remembered a Sgt. Hogarth:

He called us in his office twice a day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, and offered us a tin of tobacco and said "Roll as many as you can and take them with you." We were very grateful to him.<sup>49</sup>

Sgt. Harold White was at No. 6 during the last few months before the PWJMs were repatriated. He wrote in 1986: "During my stay there was no trouble of any kind... I played tennis and made friends with a young Japanese named Wabuka."<sup>50</sup>

The camp staff became tense and cautious once Japanese POWs were transferred to No. 7 and 8 Camps from Cowra following the mass breakout there on 5 August 1944.<sup>51</sup> Charlie Clift compared the PWJMs in No. 6 with the POWs:

No. 6 compound was no problem. The only disloyal ones were Italians, but never Japanese. Their committee was very thorough... but Japanese POWs were a problem. The men in No. 6 were not trained soldiers.<sup>52</sup>

Ken Imai, a Japanese POW in No. 8, commented on the PWJMs at an interview conducted by the Camp Commandant on 18 April 1945:

He (Imai) agreed that the living conditions in the Compound were good, far superior to those which most Japanese were used to in their own country in pre-war days. However, loyalty to the Emperor and their own country, knowing they had failed to carry out the Japanese "no prisoner" rule, together with the knowledge that they were social outcasts because they were POWs, gave them little hope. This was not the case among the civilians in the Compound. He was of the opinion that service personnel and civilians were purposely

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<sup>49</sup>Ogawa, p. 260.

<sup>50</sup>Harold White, Dee Why, N.S.W., letter, 24 June 1986.

<sup>51</sup>Carr-Greg, Charlotte, *Japanese Prisoners of War in Revolt*, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 36.

<sup>52</sup>Charlie Clift, Hay, 25 May 1986.



mixed by Allied authority to bolster up service personnel's morale and hope for life after the war.<sup>53</sup>

An intelligence officer who visited all the camps commented on the difference between Japanese civilian internees and POWs:

The internees were civilians largely with uneducated backgrounds, whereas the Japanese POWs could not take their internment very well and some suffered tremendously. But the internees accepted their internment rather well as long as life within the camp was satisfactory.<sup>54</sup>

Where married men were reclassified as PWJMs, this resulted in the separation of families at Tatura. In the case of the Matsumoto family, removal of the husband was traumatic. Matsumoto's Aboriginal wife had chosen to be interned with her husband to maintain family unity. She was unable to cope with the breakup and became mentally unbalanced. In September 1943 she was taken to a mental hospital and the children were sent to a Catholic Mission in Balaclava, South Australia.<sup>55</sup>

At the beginning of internment, the guards were cautious of Japanese internees. Government policy documents on the internment of Japanese stated that the Japanese had not been assimilated as Germans and Italians had, and were fanatical and loyal to their own country.<sup>56</sup> Of the camp staff at Loveday, Tatsuzo Imaizumi said "At first Australian guards were afraid of Japanese because they thought Japanese were all rough."<sup>57</sup> However, some Japanese internees and guards at Loveday eventually became friendly. Imaizumi worked on the poultry farm and became a close friend

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<sup>53</sup>MP 742/1, 255/10/173, 1 June 1945.

<sup>54</sup>Name withheld, 11 Oct. 1984.

<sup>55</sup>AP 308/1, 12.

<sup>56</sup>*Internment Policy*, 9 May 1941.

<sup>57</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 25 Apr. 1985.

TO MRS. KINNISH —

WISHING YOU A MERRY XMAS AND A PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR

1946.

FROM THE UNDERSIGNED JAPANESE OF 74 C CAMP

— LOVEDAY —

安原良平	吉田三吉	城野義雄	高橋善三	川上清香	赤那敬徳	田沼鶴吉	鈴木正一	金沢芳次郎	鍋島正一	道尾善吉	武田仙助	秋山理	名取健三
T. Yasuhara	S. Yoshida	S. Shimamoto	S. Takahashi	S. Kawakami	T. Akemitsu	T. Taniguchi	SUZUKI, S.	S. Kanagawa	S. Nishimura	S. Michioka	S. Takeda	O. Akiyama	T. Imajima

(Courtesy of Colleen Eddie, daughter of the late Mr. & Mrs. Kinnish)

of the late Mr. Kinnish, who was in charge of the poultry project. He wrote in 1985:

I learnt with much regret and grieve over the death of Mr. Kinnish, whom I respected very much and who was also my closest friend during my internment in South Australia. He was a very kind and sincere gentleman,<sup>58</sup> very sympathetic and understanding towards me and my fellowmen.

The guards at Loveday were friendly and relaxed. Nakabayashi found some at Loveday too relaxed over their duties. He recalled:

The Camp Commandant was a proper man, but some were too easy going ...Captain Brown often smelt of alcohol when he came to do the morning call...I couldn't believe it.<sup>59</sup>

Former guards at Loveday agreed that they were relaxed with the internees. They had many stories to tell. David Shaw, a guard, often accompanied Japanese internees to work outside the camp. He was given an empty rifle to guard the Japanese marching down the road.<sup>60</sup> Bob Margitich, a corporal at the No.14 Orderly Room, told a similar story:

One day I had to go into their compound with a rifle for some reason. On that day they were putting on an art show in the hobby hut. It was a real male show. There were two standing in front of the hut. I don't know if they were there guarding not to let stop people see the show because it was a dirty show. They called me over to have a look because they knew me by sight. My rifle was sticking up too high and upset the art show. They dropped the ceiling down with all the paper work. I wanted to look at the inside so I gave the two men at the front my rifle while I went in... It was done just with crayon and colouring pencils.<sup>61</sup>

The internees at Hay and Loveday, being exclusively male, were guarded by male AMF personnel. As the camp at Tatura held women, it was necessary to appoint female guards, who were known as wardens. Two senior wardens and 6 junior wardens were appointed to look after women and

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>60</sup>David Shaw, Berri, S.A., 8 Sept. 1984.

<sup>61</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 6 Sept. 1984.

children in the camp.<sup>62</sup> Among them was Frances Sproat who was the daughter of Major James Sproat, commandant in charge of German family internees in Camp 3 at Tatura. She was one of the longest-serving wardens and remained at Camp 4 until it was discontinued.<sup>63</sup> Women and children were searched by female wardens only.<sup>64</sup> According to Sproat, one of the wardens' tasks was to search daily for heaters, which were strictly banned for safety reasons. Hammond writes that "internees devised a way to keep their feet warm by filling kerosene tins with boiling water and covering them with blankets."<sup>65</sup> The wardens had close contact with female internees. If an internee had to go to hospital to have a baby, a warden would accompany her and the nurse caring for her. Yuri Murayama talked about Miss Bunting, a senior warden:

We had six children when we arrived at the camp and two more were born in the camp. Miss Bunting was a big woman, kind...always understanding. They looked after us well. I had little worry about having a baby there.<sup>66</sup>

Ethel Punshon, a junior warden, had studied Japanese before the war with Professor Inagaki, who was interned in the camp.<sup>67</sup> According to Punshon, Major Scurry, the No. 4 Camp Commandant, was concerned with the birth rate in No. 4 Camp and told Japanese compound leaders that there were to be no more babies. His warning had no effect.<sup>68</sup> It is unknown how many babies

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<sup>62</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 277.

<sup>63</sup>Hammond, p. 122.

<sup>64</sup>MP 70/1, 36/101/401, 7 March 1942

<sup>65</sup>Hammond, p. 122.

<sup>66</sup>Yuri Murayama, Tokyo, 30 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>67</sup>The late Ethel Punshon, Melbourne, 30 Nov. 1985.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

were born to Japanese at Tatura, but one record shows that 7 of 16 local Japanese families had had a birth in the camp by June 1943.<sup>69</sup>

Major Scurry is well-remembered by former internees of Tatura. Albert Ueno, the former Leader of B Compound, said, "Major Scurry was a fine man and was respected by internees."<sup>70</sup> James Sullivan, a former guard officer at Tatura, remembers one incident:

The troops were anxious to give him a farewell dinner, and they all wanted to be at the dinner, but the problem was to find guards, so I approached No. 3 Camp and asked if they could help out on that night. They agreed. I told Scurry this and he was very pleased. The next morning he called me to his office and told me to forget about the No. 3 camp assistance...He told me that he had spoken to the compound leaders and that they said they would look after things, ...The night of the dinner there was not one incident in the compounds. This I mention - as to what the people thought of Scurry - and he was very good to them as he was to all of us...Many internees cried when he left.<sup>71</sup>

Sullivan himself was remembered well by many former internees.

Eevlyn Suzuki, nee Yamashita, recalled:

He was a bit apprehensive towards us when he first came to the camp, but, soon became friendly...he was one of the most popular officers.<sup>72</sup>

Sullivan had been wounded in New Guinea and was posted to No. 4 camp after being discharged from Heidelberg Military Hospital as Class B.<sup>73</sup> Many former internees who were children at the time remembered this 22 year-old lieutenant as one of the most friendly officers. Sullivan wrote in 1985:

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<sup>69</sup>AP 308/1, 12, Nominal role of local internees, 1941-1943.

<sup>70</sup>The late Albert Ueno, 14 Jan. 1987.

<sup>71</sup>James Sullivan, letter, Melbourne, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>72</sup>Bevelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>73</sup>James Sullivan, Melbourne, 1 Dec. 1985.

I used to give the children lollies and teach them about Australia and our games. They in turn taught me Japanese, Malay and Chinese... Some of the supper (for local social events) I had prepared by the Japanese cooks in the compound, and when supper time was ready our drivers would pick it up out of the compound and take it straight to the tables in the supper hall. I often wondered, if the locals had known, what they would have done to me, sitting down to a supper prepared by Japanese.<sup>74</sup>

Sullivan occasionally did things with internees which could have resulted in his detention. He took some children out on a truck to buy them ice cream. One evening he took some Formosan internees out to clean and prepare the Shire Hall for a local ball. He described what happened that evening:

Coming back the boys were shiacking in the back of the truck when one fell out and took nearly all his skin off. The driver stopped the truck in a hurry, we gathered him up, rushed him back to camp, got Ann Chen, who was in charge of the Chinese compound hospital... bandaged him up and got him to bed... I said to Ann, "Do you know what happened to him". Ann said, "No, Sir." The next morning when the Camp Commandant inspected the hospital and said, "What happened to him?" Ann said, "Sir, he fell over playing football"... never breathing a word of what really did happen, as they were not supposed to be out of the camp area at night.<sup>75</sup>

Sai Kwie Kie, a former Formosan internee of Compound A, wrote to Sullivan in 1946 from Taiwan:

Many thanks for your kindness and assistance during our stay in Australia. Your valuable services rendered to us in the past will always be in our memory. It is beyond my pen to describe your help to us.<sup>76</sup>

One of the first things the internees were asked to do was to form a committee. The committee usually consisted of a compound leader and a deputy, a secretary, quartermaster, banker, librarian, canteen supervisor, works manager and one hut leader from each sleeping hut. The hut leader

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Sai Kwie Kie, letter, 1 June 1946, held by James Sullivan, Melbourne.

was selected by the members of each hut and appointed by the camp commandant. The hut leader was responsible to the compound leader for the maintenance of discipline and internal economy arrangements. A compound leader was selected in the same way as selecting a hut leader.<sup>77</sup> Evidence suggests that compound leaders in Japanese compounds were older, competent in English and socially prominent. Some had been presidents or committee members of Nihonjin-kai, including Haruyoshi Yamashita, a former president of the Nihonjin-kai on Thursday Island, Yasukichi Murakami, a former president in Darwin and Miki Tsutsumi, a former secretary in Broome, all of whom served as Compound Leaders at Tatura at some time. According to former internees of Loveday, before the prisoner exchange took place most positions as compound leaders and committee members were held by employees of big companies from N.E.I.<sup>78</sup>, including Kaizoo Sakimura, manager of the Surabaya branch of the Shoogin Bank.<sup>79</sup> Because these men had already been prominent members of the Japanese community and because some of the social hierarchy of civilian life carried over into the compounds, the leaders and committee members were able to exercise considerable authority and control over the lives of internees. Bob Margitich said:

I used to be a bit set back by the way some of the administration in the compound used to speak to them. It appeared to me that they were really cutting crook at them... but that was their idea of discipline...they preferred that type of living.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to competence in English, the camp authorities wanted to appoint compound leaders who did not have an attitude which would lead

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<sup>77</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 42.

<sup>78</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, Osaka, 23 Jan. 1987.

<sup>79</sup>Miyakatsu Koike, p. 3.

<sup>80</sup>Bob Margitich, 28 Oct. 1984.

to disturbances in the compound.<sup>81</sup> It was seldom necessary for camp commandants to remove compound leaders from office, and relations between camp staff and compound leaders were generally good. However, one Japanese compound leader at Loveday was dismissed by the camp commandant because of his incompetence and unwillingness to cooperate with the authorities. When he was removed, his committee members all resigned to "save face".<sup>82</sup> Committees met frequently to arrange compound affairs.<sup>83</sup> Their duties were to assist the camp commandant in the smooth running of compounds, and to look after various aspects of internee life.

The Australian government agreed with the United Kingdom with respect to the treatment of civilian internees. All internees were to be treated in accordance with the provisions of the Prisoners of War Convention signed at Geneva in 1929.<sup>84</sup> The internees lived a communal life - waking up at the same time, eating the same meals together and going to bed at the same time. It was basically an army life. They were given the same amount of food and the same number of blankets as AMF personnel. The food ration for internees was provided for in National Security (Internment Camps) Regulations No.18:

The food ration of adult male internees shall be equivalent in quantity and quality to that of the soldiers at the internment camp, and sufficient drinking water shall be supplied to them.<sup>85</sup>

Bob Margitich at Loveday confirmed:

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<sup>81</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 274.

<sup>82</sup>A373, 11181, 8 Apr. 1945.

<sup>83</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 10.

<sup>84</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 75.



They lived a life exactly the same as the troops. There was no difference at all. Army personnel above me, they were always very conscientious...If reductions were to be made, the troops had the same reduction as what internees would get.<sup>86</sup>

Shigeru Nakabayashi recalled:

Did we eat a lot!... We soon regained good health, but also got fat from doing nothing but eating regularly. We had eggs, bacon, meat - so much food! If you ate more, they gave you more. After a while, we began eating less, but didn't want to have our rations cut down. So we buried some of the unused food.<sup>87</sup>

Bert Whitmore began work at Loveday before the internees arrived and continued after they had all left. He was in charge of demolishing the camp. He said:

There was enough food. For example, when the camp was closed I was there. I saw a lot of dried food and other foodstuff left lying around the Japanese compounds.<sup>88</sup>

In consultation with the internees' committees, quantities of each food item were usually adjusted to suit the requirements of each nationality. The quantity of food for children was calculated on the basis of an approved national scale.<sup>89</sup> Taishiro Mori, a former internee at Tatura, said:

We were fed well. I had never seen so much milk before. Japanese don't drink milk like Australians do. Even the children couldn't finish their allocated amount. So we polished the floors of our huts with it. The floors became so shiny that things were reflected in them. Some women had a milk bath.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984.

<sup>87</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987.

<sup>88</sup>Bert Whitmore, Barmera, 8 Sept. 1984.

<sup>89</sup>AWM 54, pp.75-76.

<sup>90</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987, [J]. Japanese consider that milk baths make the skin fair.

Shinji Kondo, a former internee from Borneo who worked in the kitchen at Tatura, recalled that there were often surplus eggs which they used to bake cakes.<sup>91</sup>

The camp staff were flexible in meeting internees' requests for food. The Italians wanted more bread, flour and spaghetti, whereas the Japanese requested less meat but more rice. In the early days they got polished rice, but later brown rice. Chinenji Kaino, a former internee at Hay, said:

We wanted to eat white rice, so we tried to remove the husks but couldn't do it well. So we asked for white rice. But it seemed there was no white rice easily available.<sup>92</sup>

Alcohol was prohibited, but internees of all nationalities made illegal alcohol in the compounds. At Loveday Italians distilled spirits from grapes and currants sold in their canteen. Japanese copied this method.<sup>93</sup> At Christmas the internees were able to enjoy a glass of beer supplied by camp administrations in all three camps. On 26 December 1942 Taishiro Mori noted in his diary: "We drank beer yesterday. It was the first beer since we were interned last year. We enjoyed ourselves a lot. It was a rest day for us."<sup>94</sup>

All male internees were issued with AMF uniforms dyed burgundy - they were not permitted to wear khaki clothing for security reasons. They were allowed to wear their own clothes inside the compound, but outside

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<sup>91</sup>Shinji Kondo, Kawasaki, 25 Jan. 1987.

<sup>92</sup>Chinenji Kaino, 26 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>93</sup>Loveday Report, p. 41.

<sup>94</sup>Mori's Diary, 26 Dec. 1942, [J].

they had to wear the burgundy uniforms. The Australian government introduced clothing rationing for civilians in June 1942. Internees also became eligible for clothing ration coupons with which they could purchase extra garments, either at the camp canteen or from outside. At the family camp, clothing for women and children was made by the internees in the clothing factory, but various purchases were also made through commercial suppliers such as Myers in Melbourne.<sup>95</sup>

Despite these freedoms, it was made clear to internees that they were "prisoners". There were various restrictions and rules of conduct which were laid down in the Internment Camp Rules and Camp Orders under National Security Regulations No. 14, and which were translated into Japanese.<sup>96</sup> Apart from the expected rules about obeying orders and not escaping, these regulations also attempted to enforce respectful behaviour. Rules covering this aspect of camp life stated that internees should not:

- a) treat with disrespect any Official Visitor, any Officer or soldier ...
- b) swear, curse, or use any abusive, insolent, indecent, threatening or other improper language.
- c) commit any indecent act or make any indecent gesture.<sup>97</sup>

Rules controlling camp security stated that an internee should not:

- a) have in his quarters or possession any article in contravention of Internment Camp Orders or the Camp Rules.

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<sup>95</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 79.

<sup>96</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>97</sup>AP 613/10, 83A/1/2, National Security (Internment Camps) Regulations.

- b) use or offer personal violence to any officer or soldier, or any other person in the Camp.
- c) approach within three yards of the boundary fence.
- d) interfere in any way with the ...lighting system of the camp.<sup>98</sup>

The final catch-all rule was that internees must not "offend in any way against good order or discipline".<sup>99</sup>

The inspection report of the Loveday Internment Camps for 5 January 1943 reads: "the demeanour of internees varies between compounds. In the Japanese compounds it leaves nothing to be desired."<sup>100</sup> A Loveday camp official described the three different groups of internees as follows:

- The Germans: Arrogant, appreciated strict discipline and firm control.
- The Italians: Naturally temperamental, needed firm handling, but once shown who was in control had to be led like a schoolboy.
- The Japanese: Subservient, were model prisoners. Their fanatical desire to maintain 'face' made them easy to handle in their eagerness to obey all orders and instructions to the letter.<sup>101</sup>

Bob Margitich commented:

I thought they (the Japanese) were very sensible, which I think is very important if you are an internee... You couldn't be stupid like Italians or some of the Germans who were that stupid they used to do things that worked against them.<sup>102</sup>

Shigeru Nakabayashi occasionally observed the Italians through the fence:

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>AP 613/1, 5 Jan. 1943.

<sup>101</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 10.

<sup>102</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984.

They looked so easy-going. They were sent to the detention block very often...carrying a blanket over their shoulder and happily singing a song as they went...Compared to them we were very serious, I suppose. There weren't many who broke camp rules to begin with. I think most Japanese thought they should obey rules when captured. That was the education in Japan.<sup>103</sup>

However, there were instances where the Japanese offended camp rules. According to Koike, in the early days a group of internees in 14 B at Loveday protested to the internee committee about saying "Here, sir." to the officer at roll calls. The committee settled this case without bringing it to the authorities' attention.<sup>104</sup>

Internees charged with contravening any regulation were brought before the Camp Commandant. If they were found guilty, punishment could be imposed. This ranged from confinement in the camp detention block for a maximum of 28 days, to suspension of privileges. One Australian-born Japanese at Tatura answered an officer, "I don't care what you do, you can go as hard as you like", when he was accused of being lazy at his work. He was given one day detention.<sup>105</sup> At Loveday, a Japanese internee attacked and struck another Japanese on the back of the head with a piece of wood. He got 10 days' detention.<sup>106</sup> If internees had any complaints about their treatment or conditions they had the further option of complaining to official visitors, who were appointed to carry out duties as representatives of Protecting Powers or the International Red Cross,

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<sup>103</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>104</sup>Miyakatsu Koike, diary, 15 June 1942, p. 103.

<sup>105</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/43, 8 Aug. 1945.

<sup>106</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 31 Aug. 1944.

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and they were able to visit camps and inspect conditions periodically.<sup>107</sup>

Internees were not allowed to possess anything which could be used as a weapon, cameras, radios, inflammable articles or unauthorised newspapers and periodicals.<sup>108</sup> Internees' sleeping quarters were regularly searched by officers.<sup>109</sup> The general censorship policy limited access to news which might cause unnecessary disturbances among internees, but it seems that almost all the war news printed in local newspapers was available to them.<sup>110</sup> The news was translated into Japanese and put on a notice board. Radio broadcasts were not censored, but could only be listened to at certain hours of the day.<sup>111</sup> According to Imaizumi, internees could listen to musical programs and the news, but not news commentaries.<sup>112</sup>

Mail was censored in the same way as army mail. Censorship of the inward and outward mail was carried out by camp interpreter officers. People writing in Japanese had to use a certain style of Japanese character. Internees were not allowed to write about camp matters. The following portion of a letter written by Eng Sin Kwee, a Formosan internee in 14C, to his friend in 14B was taken notice of by the authorities:

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<sup>107</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 16 and AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 32.

<sup>108</sup>AP 613/10, 83A/1/2, Internment Camp Regulations, Order 7.

<sup>109</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 44.

<sup>110</sup>AP 613/1, 90/1/155, 5 June 1942, and A 989, 43/925/97

<sup>111</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 10 Dec. 1985.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*

After the other day, we could not play even our favourite games of tennis and baseball. The pocketbooks which uncle sent...were confiscated by the examining soldier ...They were sent so I would study painstakingly the Japanese language and it is a pity that we are not free and can do nothing about it. Soon I think I will apply to the military authorities for permission to receive these books...<sup>113</sup>

Each internee was allowed to write two letters a week within Australia and they could not be sent out on the same day. They had to get special permission for air mail.<sup>114</sup>

The camp paymaster placed all money taken from internees in an account in their names. They were allowed to withdraw up to five pounds a week.<sup>115</sup> At Loveday, instead of Australian currency, printed paper coupons were used until July 1943, when metal tokens were introduced.<sup>116</sup> Coupons were also used at Hay and Tatura.<sup>117</sup> Internees could buy personal requirements at the canteen, which they staffed themselves. They could also purchase special requirements from outside when they were not available at the canteen. The camp commandant had to approve these purchases and internees received profits from canteen sales.<sup>118</sup> They generally handled the profits well. However, in August 1944 the Woolenook compound leader reported one incident where a canteen clerk misappropriated compound funds.<sup>119</sup> He was removed from Woolenook Camp.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>D 1901, K 3313, 20 Aug. 1944.

<sup>114</sup>AP 613/10, 83A/1/2, Internment Camp Regulations.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 13.

<sup>117</sup>Charley Clift, Hay, 25 May 1986 and Francis Sproat, Melbourne, 15 Aug. 1987.

<sup>118</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, pp. 11 & 15.

<sup>119</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 29 Aug. 1944.



Under Article 14 of the Geneva Convention, medical treatment of POWs and internees were to be provided free by the detaining power, except for specialist treatment which required special surgical appliances.<sup>121</sup> As internees in general had a larger age range, they were more of a medical liability than POWs. Sick parades were held daily and the camp medical officer (CMO) kept a diary of all internees reporting sick. Because of the risk of transmission of diseases, not only within the camps but also to the civilian population, camp authorities were strict about sanitary conditions and held medical inspections at least once a month.<sup>122</sup> According to John Shepherd, a former senior medical officer at Loveday, the Japanese there had a high incidence of T.B., malaria and syphilis.<sup>123</sup> Internee doctors, if present, were asked to assist the CMO.<sup>124</sup> At Loveday there were a few Japanese internees who had been in the medical profession before internment.<sup>125</sup> At Tatura a Formosan internee from N.E.I. served as an internee doctor.<sup>126</sup>

In the early years of the war there was a lack of camp hospitals, and local civilian or military hospitals were used to treat prisoners. However, there were difficulties with respect to segregation and security. With the completion of camp hospitals in permanent camps, the difficulties were removed. In these hospitals prisoners were segregated in accordance with

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<sup>120</sup>Ibid, 31 Aug. 1944.

<sup>121</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 261.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>123</sup>John Shepherd, Adelaide, 16 Sept. 1985.

<sup>124</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, pp. 258-259.

<sup>125</sup>John Shepherd, 26 June 1985.

<sup>126</sup>Mori Taishiro, 17 Jan. 1987.

general policy to prevent contact between different groups of prisoners. Europeans and "Asiatics" were not placed in the same wards.<sup>127</sup> At Hay the camp hospital was erected adjoining the local District Hospital,<sup>128</sup> while at Loveday the camp hospital was inside the perimeter of 14B Compound and received patients from all compounds.<sup>129</sup> Loveday had 40 beds allotted for T.B. patients. In December 1943 Japanese occupied 30 of these, so European T.B. patients were transferred to the Waranga Military Hospital at Tatura.<sup>130</sup> This hospital was established in November 1941 and accepted patients from POW and internment camps around Murchison, Tatura, Myrtleford and Rushworth.<sup>131</sup>

According to an army report, members of the Australian Army Nursing Service did not attend Japanese POWs. "The attitude of Japanese patients towards nursing sisters was both insolent and disrespectful and members of the AAMS greatly disliked the duty of attending them."<sup>132</sup> This was not the case with Japanese internees. Former Army nursing staff who looked after Japanese recalled no major problems. Taishiro Mori was taken to the Waranga Hospital when he broke his leg. He said in 1987: "I still remember the nurse who looked after me. I fell in love with her, but couldn't do anything about it. I wonder what became of her."<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>127</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 260.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid.

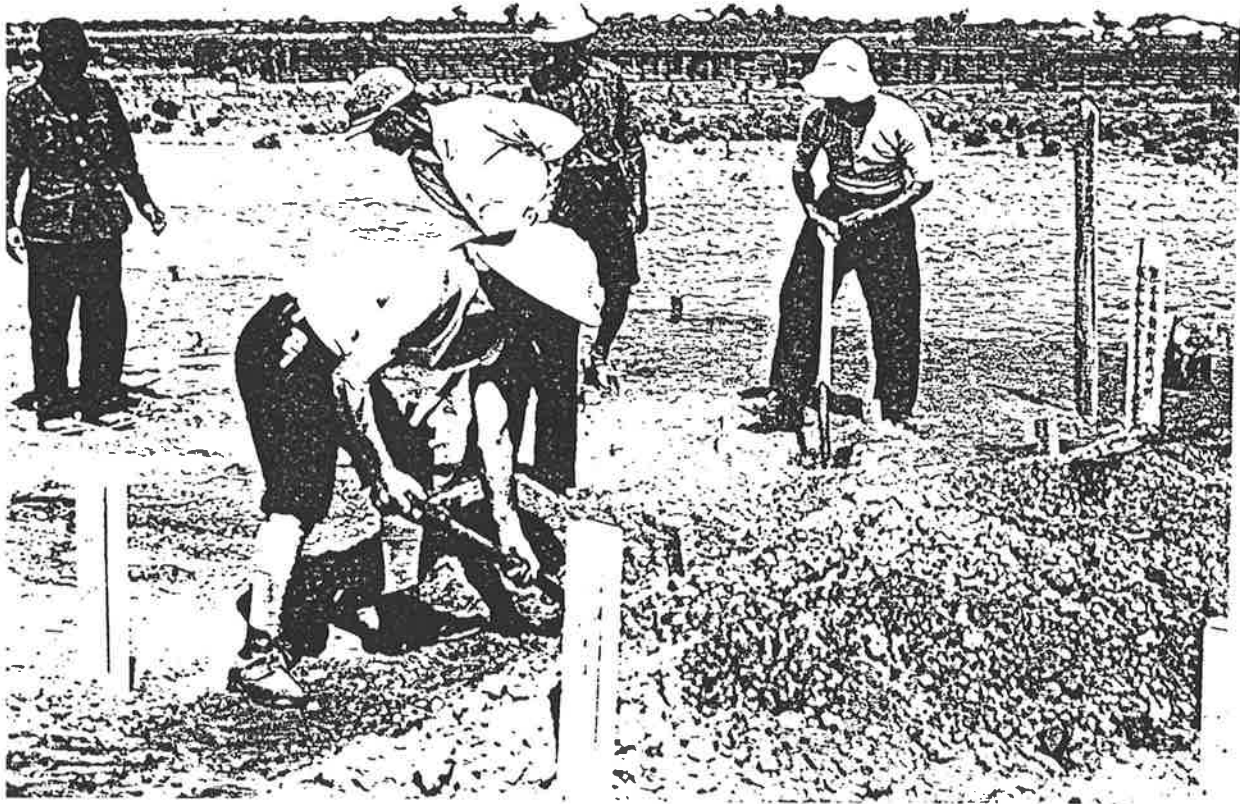
<sup>129</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 13.

<sup>130</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 260.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>133</sup>Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].



Top: Japanese internees digging a grave for a fellow internee at Loveday, March 1944. (AWM 64810)

Bottom: Japanese internees at a funeral. (AWM 64811)

108 Japanese died in Loveday, mostly from illness and old age.<sup>134</sup> They were buried in the Barmera cemetery, but in 1964 their remains were moved to Cowra Japanese War Cemetery along with the remains of Japanese internees and POWs from other areas. 46 Japanese were included in Tatura cemetery burials during the war.<sup>135</sup> They were also moved to Cowra in 1964. The numbers of deaths which occurred at Hay is not known, but Chinenji Kaino, a former PWJM, said deaths did occur there. According to the list of burials at Cowra Japanese War Cemetery, 215 were identified as Japanese civilians who died in internment camps or during the Darwin bombing.<sup>136</sup> Some ex-internees claim that all Japanese residents of Darwin were interned before the bombing<sup>137</sup>, so the inclusion of Japanese who supposedly died during the Darwin raids is open to question. It is most likely that at least some, if not all of the remaining number includes remains transferred from Hay.

According to the Geneva Convention, internees were not obliged to work, but could volunteer. The general policy for the use of POW and internee labour read:

The manpower position of the Commonwealth requires that the maximum use be made of all available POW and Internee labour. The product of such labour can be a valuable contribution to our national war effort and can also help to offset the loss of manpower occasioned by garrison personnel having to be allotted duty at POW and Internee Camps.<sup>138</sup>

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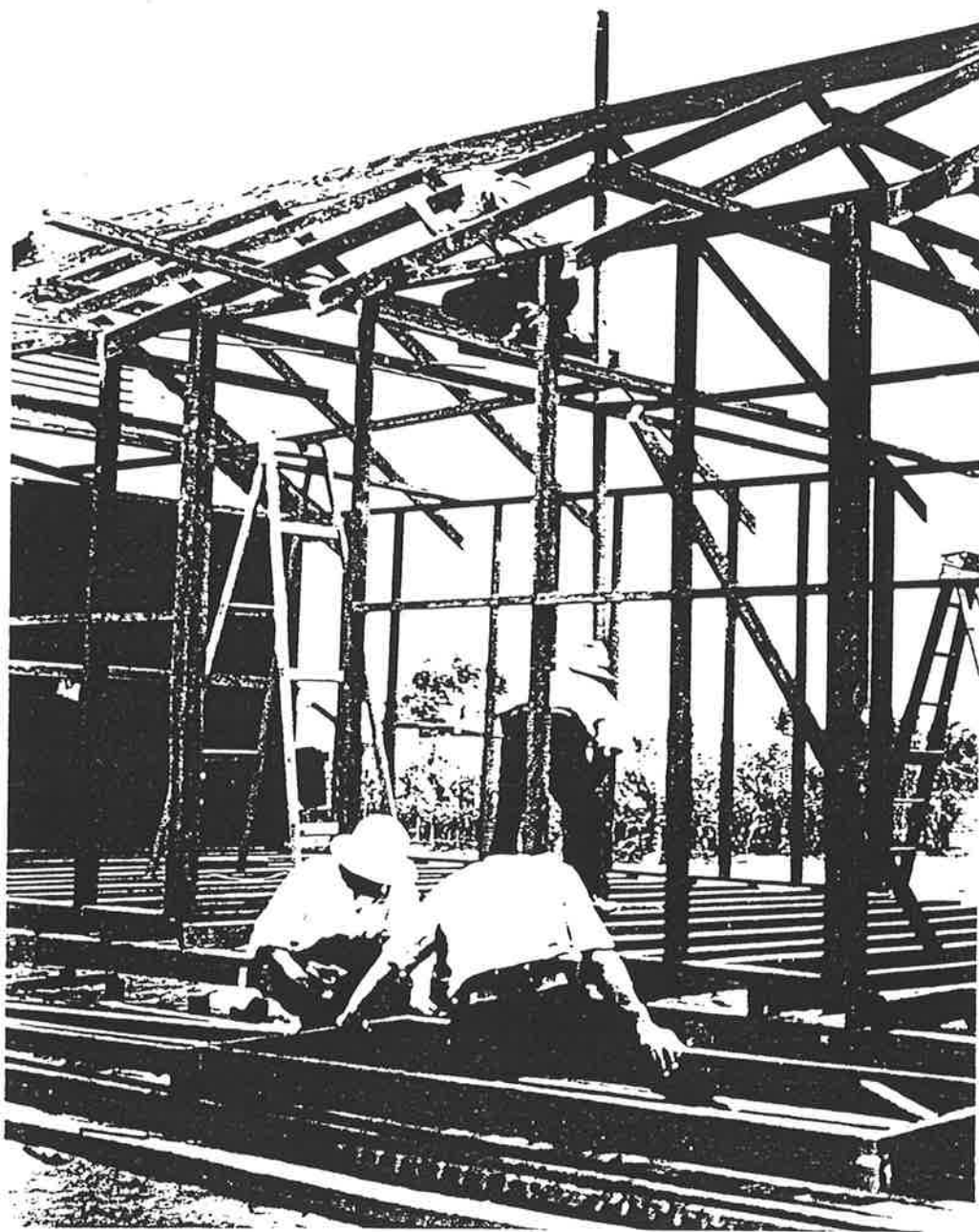
<sup>134</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 26.

<sup>135</sup>Judith Foster, Tatura Cemetery Trust, 25 Sept. 1990.

<sup>136</sup>Register of burials, Cowra Japanese War Cemetery.

<sup>137</sup>Joe Murakami, 25 Jan. 1987 and the late Masuko Murakami, 29 Aug. 1986.

<sup>138</sup>AP 613/1, 130/1/7, 2 Nov. 1942.



Japanese internees building Loveday Hall (AWM 64825)

Paid employment projects included market gardening, camp construction and improvement, cooking, tailoring and mending, boot repair, firewood cutting, and keeping pigs and fowls.<sup>139</sup> Loveday and Hay, where many internees were available for such labour, had large and varied programmes of agricultural production. This applied to a lesser degree at Tatura, where there were fewer men. All were paid at the rate of one shilling a day.<sup>140</sup>

Lt.-Col. Dean, commandant of Loveday Internment Group, a pastoralist before the war, had a strong interest in utilising internee labour, and set about clearing scrub and bringing the area into production under irrigation.<sup>141</sup> The first projects at Loveday were market gardening and animal husbandry. These gradually developed into a large operation producing pigs, poultry and two "secret projects" - pyrethrum for insecticides and opium poppies for morphine which were needed for both army and civilian use. The first poppy harvest provided more than half the morphine requirements of the AMF for 1944. Bert Whitmore recalled:

They (the Japanese) were harvesting pyrethrum, but it irritated their eyes. So they complained and went on a strike. I went out by myself and could last only half an hour. In the end they finished the job.<sup>142</sup>

The *Adelaide Advertiser* reported:

The story of the Loveday Internment Camps is much more than a record of Army life inside a barbed wire enclosure...It is, indeed, a story of vision and enterprise which gave Australia a war contribution seldom equalled, and which provides an object lesson to those who foresee some of the vast potentialities of the River Murray...Altogether, there are about 40 projects in which internees

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<sup>139</sup>A 2673, Vol. 7, p.770, 9 May 1941.

<sup>140</sup>A 2673, Vol. 7, Cabinet Minutes, No. 1055, May 1941.

<sup>141</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 26.

<sup>142</sup>Bert Whitmore, Barmera, 8 Sept. 1984.



Japanese internees wood cutting at Woolenook Wood Camp on the banks of the Murray River, March 1943. (AWM 64854)

are engaged at Loveday, and each has made a substantial contribution to the group's success...<sup>143</sup>

The paper reported that the 440 acres of land in use at Loveday produced goods worth 400,000 pounds. This was claimed to be more than the combined output of all the other camps in Australia.<sup>144</sup>

There were work camps outside the main camps. At Loveday three subsidiary camps, called wood camps, were built to supply firewood for camp use and for engines pumping water from the River Murray for irrigation settlements in the district.<sup>145</sup> These pumping stations used 2,000 tons of firewood a year.<sup>146</sup> Because of a severe shortage of civilian labour, internees were paid to be woodcutters. Three wood camps, at Katarapko (until September 1942), Moorook West (until January 1944), and Woolenook (until May 1945), supplied fuel for the pumps.<sup>147</sup> In May 1942 108 Italian POWs were brought to the camps from Murchison POW Camp, Victoria and in February 1943 Japanese internees replaced them.<sup>148</sup> As the Japanese internees were subject to tropical diseases, they were not permitted near the River Murray until they had been certified free of disease by a medical officer.<sup>149</sup> They were also examined for other infectious diseases, including T.B. and venereal disease,<sup>150</sup> to ensure

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<sup>143</sup> *Internment in S.A.*, p. 26.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Internment in S.A.*, p. 6.

<sup>146</sup> *Murray Pioneer*, Renmark, S.A., 14 July 1989.

<sup>147</sup> *Internment in S.A.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>150</sup> John Shepherd, Adelaide, 26 June 1985.



that they were physically capable of hard labour. Evidence suggests that those chosen to work in the wood camps were proud of the fact. The following case was mentioned in an Intelligence Report of 13 July 1943:

Lam Hien Sai, a Formosan, who was returned to 14B from the Moorook Wood camp because of his weak chest, was so ashamed to return to the camp after volunteering for woodcutting. He expected to live in a detention cell for the rest of his internment.<sup>151</sup>

In mid-1943 Cabinet decided that priority for paid employment would be given to poor internees.<sup>152</sup> Internees from New Caledonia were especially poor and were in the majority at the wood camps. In February 1944, 285 internees were at Woolenook, including 216 from New Caledonia, 39 from N.E.I. and 17 locals.<sup>153</sup> Internees who were not able to work or who were particularly needy were able to receive items paid for by Japanese Red Cross funds.<sup>154</sup>

Not all Japanese were willing to be employed. Some Japanese took the view that any work was indirectly giving assistance to the enemy and refused to take part. According to Chikanari, a former committee member of 14B, this was particularly the case for overseas internees.<sup>155</sup> In the early months of internment in 14B at Loveday there was a general reluctance about volunteering for paid employment. However, some made a request to the 14B internee committee to take part because they needed the money, and the committee decided to go along with the scheme.<sup>156</sup> In

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<sup>151</sup>A 989, 43/925/1/97, Intelligence Report to 13 July 1943.

<sup>152</sup>A 2673, Item Vol. 7, 9 May 1941.

<sup>153</sup>A.7.0.0., 9/11/1/10/2, 21 Feb. 1944.

<sup>154</sup>AWM 54, p. 60.

<sup>155</sup>Etsuro Chikanari, Kobe, 12 Jan. 1992.

<sup>156</sup>Miyakatsu Koike, p. 65.

February 1944 it was reported that 36 per cent of the internees in 14B and 31 per cent in 14C were participating in work projects.<sup>157</sup> Jimmy Chi, who was at 14 B before going to Woolenook, said:

There were some who never worked. They said that they would not do anything for the enemy. We (Australian-born) never worried about anything like that.<sup>158</sup>

Former internees of 14B recalled:

Although we participated in work projects, some of us still couldn't forget that they were working for the enemy. They did things like planting rubber seedling upside down so that they wouldn't grow.<sup>159</sup>

If internees were injured while working they were paid at the same rate until they recovered.<sup>160</sup> On 8 December 1944 the Loveday war diary recorded:

8 injuries in 7 days mostly very minor and suspect internees trading on Ex-Gratia payment system... On enquiry showing neglect no payment would be made.<sup>161</sup>

A post-war report on Japanese POW and internee labour stated:

Japanese internees were to some extent better suited for employment outside camps but in the interests of security their employment on other than camp maintenance and duties was not approved except in special cases... In the Loveday area, South Australia, Japanese internees were employed ... on the large scale farming projects ... and they performed their tasks satisfactorily. Mounted and unmounted guards were used to maintain security but the internees showed little inclination to escape.<sup>162</sup>

Various projects were also undertaken at Hay.

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<sup>157</sup>A.7.0.0., 9/11/1/10/2, 18 Feb. 1944.

<sup>158</sup>Jimmy Chi, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>159</sup>Etsuro Chikanari, Kobe, 12 Jan. 1992.

<sup>160</sup>A472, W3737, 1942 amendment of the National Security Act 1939-1940.

<sup>161</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 8 Dec. 1944.

<sup>162</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 234.

The camp was regarded as a showpiece and became self-sufficient in poultry, pigs, eggs, milk, vegetables; even producing cotton and other crops...the prisoners and internees actually provided public services -drainage and sewerage - in the town.<sup>163</sup>

However, in August 1943 the participation rate of the PWJMs was only 16 per cent. The authorities reported that this low rate was due to protests against reclassification.<sup>164</sup> According to an Intelligence Report of 7 April 1945, PWJMs at Hay were engaged in brick-making formerly carried out by Italians, and they did "very satisfactory work."<sup>165</sup> On the other hand, on 12 November 1945 the leader of the woodcutting party was removed because production fell below quota.<sup>166</sup>

Before the prisoner exchange in August 1942 many company employees at Tatura did not participate in employment projects. Shinpei Murayama, who had been a tailor in Noumea, said:

Employees of big firms like Mitsubishi and Mitsui looked so scared about anything which could indicate cooperation with Australia. The news reporter from the Asahi, for example, spoke very good English but never offered help to officers.<sup>167</sup>

According to an inspection report of 6 March 1944, 35 per cent of the internee population at Tatura were engaged on various work projects.<sup>168</sup> The camp authorities considered this participation rate "highly satisfactory", considering that the male adult population accounted for only 28 per cent. Work projects included firewood cutting, market gardening, road

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<sup>163</sup>Mick Beckwith, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup>A.7.0.0., 9/11/1/10/2, 1 July 1944.

<sup>165</sup>A 373, 11181, 7 Apr. 1945.

<sup>166</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 12 Nov. 1945.

<sup>167</sup>Shinpei Murayama, Tokyo, 30 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>168</sup>A.7.0.0., 9/11/1/10/2, 6 Mar. 1944.



Japanese internees employed at the clothing factory at Tatura.  
(Courtesy of Francis Sproat, Melbourne)

making, building camp facilities, tailoring and dressmaking.<sup>169</sup> Tamiya Nakata, 16 years old in 1942, recalled:

Men of the camp capable of working went to work as carpenters, boot makers and gardeners, paid at one shilling a day for five and half days per week, six hours a day. I joined the carpenters. The first thing we built was a school in the camp, then a large storage shed.<sup>170</sup>

Women were employed in a clothing factory set up inside the compound. Shinpei Murayama was in charge of the clothing factory where he taught about 180 women. As female internees and children were not supplied with Army uniforms, they made their own garments from second-hand clothes sent from welfare organizations such as the Salvation Army.<sup>171</sup>

The authorities thought that such "employment projects help to prevent mental and physical deterioration of POWs and Internees".<sup>172</sup> Former internees agree. Jitsuzo Oku, a former PWJM, worked at Woolenook before he was transferred to Hay. He recalled:

Life in the camp was not bad. We worked during the day cutting firewood. Because we were working, our minds were occupied. The work kept us going...<sup>173</sup>

Chinenji Kaino, also a former PWJM, was at Woolenook:

We were put into small groups for cutting trees. We felt a bit competitive with each other. That group cut down five and that one seven, etc. I think that competition was good for our minds.<sup>174</sup>

Tatsuzo Imaizumi was employed at the poultry farm at Loveday:

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<sup>169</sup>Ibid.

<sup>170</sup>Tamiya Nakata, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

<sup>171</sup>The late Ethel Punshon, Melbourne, 30 Nov. 1985.

<sup>172</sup>AP 613/1, 130/1/7, 2 Nov. 1942.

<sup>173</sup>Jitsuzo Oku, Wakayama, Japan, 17 Jan. 1984, [J].

<sup>174</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 26 Jan. 1987, [J].

To deviate our attention from the monotonous life in the camp...Most of the internees seemed to be happy with the assignment they were being entrusted with...These works helped us greatly in preserving our physical condition as well as maintain the stability of our mental and moral state...<sup>175</sup>

Some Italian and German internees attempted escape. At Loveday a few internees escaped from working parties outside the compounds and one internee escaped through the fence. None remained at large for more than three days. German internees in Camp 10 planned a mass escape through a tunnel, but it was discovered before completion. No Japanese internees attempted to escape.<sup>176</sup> Frank Main, a former guard at the Woolenook Wood Camp, accompanied Japanese internees engaged in wood cutting. He recalled:

One day when we came back from the day's work, we found one internee missing from the work group we accompanied. We got really worried. I thought he had escaped. But soon we saw him at the gate calling out, "Let me in. Let me in". The chap was almost in tears. Later I was told that he went to relieve himself and when he came back we were all gone.<sup>177</sup>

A similar story was told by a Hay resident about a PWJM:

Our family kept cattle then. The Japanese often came to collect manure for their vegie gardens. Two guards were with them. The working party leaving our place left one Jap who went to relieve himself. The guards didn't count the Japanese or anything. The one who was left on our farm looked really panicky and shot off to catch up with them.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 9. Apr. 1985.

<sup>176</sup>At Loveday, five Germans and four Italians, including two POWs, attempted to escape. They were all traced within three days by the late Jimmy James, the well-known tracker, who lived in the River Murray District. *Internment in S.A.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>177</sup>Frank Main, Adelaide, 1 Jan. 1987.

<sup>178</sup>A local resident quoted in "Japanese Immigrants who contributed for the Japan-Australia Friendly Relations" in *Iminkenkyu* [The journal of Immigration/Emigration Studies], Japan International Cooperation Agency, No. 19, Mar. 1982, p. 25.

Bob Margitich believed "there was no need for them (the Japanese) to escape". He commented:

The Japanese were prepared to accept for many reasons. I don't know what their life style was before they were interned, but they had security and don't forget they had plenty of medical care. Spectacles were given by the Red Cross. Their life style in there would have been in most cases much better than the life they had before.<sup>179</sup>

The apparent acceptance by the Japanese was partly because 70 per cent of the internees were from other countries and often viewed the Australian authorities merely as caring for them on behalf of the ruling power in the country where they had been arrested. In particular, those from N.E.I. and New Caledonia expressed resentment about their humiliating treatment at the hands of the Dutch and French authorities. They expressed strong feelings of gratitude to the Australian government for looking after them. In 1985 Imaizumi wrote:

Those years could be considered as a tough life of endurance in such an environment and also we had to withstand the rather rough and inconsistency of the climatical condition prevailing...we as a matter of fact were quite happy and satisfied for being given the protection by the Australian government and being supplied with all the necessities to sustain life in such condition. (sic).<sup>180</sup>

Another possible cause was, as Nakabayashi claimed, their cultural and educational background. They thought they "should obey rules when captured."<sup>181</sup>

All former Australian guards interviewed felt that there had been no problems in the Japanese compounds. They had the impression that the Japanese were a cohesive group with little friction. One guard from Hay

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<sup>179</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984.

<sup>180</sup>Tatuzo Imaizumi, 25 Apr. 1985.

<sup>181</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

said: "I would say conditions were good. Although hostility may have existed, it never showed. Perhaps there was silent contempt for each other."<sup>182</sup> This impression was probably gained because relations between Japanese and camp authorities were largely conducted through the camp committees who tried strongly to control any outward signs of discontent.

Internees lived in a world limited by camp routine and daily chores which contrasted strict official discipline with some degree of self-determination. Prisoners had a choice of engaging in paid employment or making the most of the boredom of prison life. There was some internal friction, but camp life was, on the whole, peaceful and gave authorities the impression that the Japanese were usually a harmonious group. What friction did occur was mainly between such groups as the more traditional and nationalistic Japanese, and the Formosans or those Australian-born internees whose main identity was as Australians.

Most former internees interviewed expressed little bitterness about their treatment by the camp authorities and conditions in the camps. This is confirmed in various International Red Cross reports. While some did show resentment at having been prisoners when they had not committed any crimes, particularly among Australian-born internees, the most common attitude was one of resignation and patience.

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<sup>182</sup>Harold White, letter, Dee Why, New South Wales, 24 June 1986.



## CHAPTER 7

### Camp Life

By late March 1942 all Japanese internees, except those from New Zealand and those local Japanese interned later, had arrived at the camps. A common first impression was of the barbed-wire fences. At Loveday, Tatsuzo Iamizumi recalled:

The camp at the time of our arrival consisted merely of a double row of barbed-wire fences all around. The Loveday site of that time looked like a desert land with nothing but sand all around as far as the eye could see.<sup>1</sup>

Overseas internees, particularly those who had had a bad voyage from New Caledonia or N.E.I., found arriving at the camp a relief. Imaizumi wrote: "Although desert storms were frequent occurrences we were happy to find at last a resting place."<sup>2</sup>

The internees had to make many adjustments to the new climate, diet and neighbours. Most of the Japanese were from tropical to sub-tropical areas and they found the climate very different. At Loveday Shigeru Nakabayashi experienced a sand storm for the first time. He said:

The area had almost no trees. There was only saltbush. Almost every day there was a sand storm...the red soil was a terrible thing. It got in everywhere.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 19 May 1985.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 22 Dec. 1986, [J].

Even in summer the temperatures were low at night. Peggy Shiosaki remembered: "It was so cold. I was all rugged up in blankets and things but still felt cold. We weren't allowed to use any heating."<sup>4</sup>

Camp life followed an artificially imposed rhythm. Internees did not have to worry about making a living, as shelter, food and other basic needs were provided for. Masuko Murakami from Darwin recalled:

I had three sons. Two were born in the camp. The oldest was three years old when we were interned. I was busy looking after my babies... a full-time mother. That's all I can remember now. There wasn't much else to do or worry about. We didn't have a pram or cot or anything like that, but nappies were supplied and there was plenty of milk.<sup>5</sup>

Children found camp life interesting. Joe Murakami was 14 in 1942:

The camp life served to broaden the hitherto narrow horizons of the children brought about by the lack of cultural amenities and opportunities in such places as Broome, Darwin, Thursday Island, etc. I think we children rather enjoyed this new interesting communal life.<sup>6</sup>

Peggy Shiosaki agreed:

I had never been out of Broome, so at first it felt a bit strange to see so many people who I had never met before. We lived together with people of all sorts of nationalities who had different ways of doing things. I remember the Indonesian Japanese did washing differently. They washed clothes on the table. But we had to adjust to each other.<sup>7</sup>

Former internee children have many stories. Alf Shiosaki, 12 at the time of internment, sneaked out through the barbed-wire fence with two other friends and went to a local ice cream shop:

Jack and Doochi and myself... We had a few shillings... went in the shop...The man at the counter was suspicious about us and said, "Where are you boys from?" Jack was smart, you know. He said, "We've just

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<sup>4</sup>Peggy Carlie, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>5</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, Darwin, 29 Aug. 1986.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Peggy Carlie, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.

arrived from Geraldton. We work at a tomato farm." At that moment Doochi put his head in the door. He had a typical Japanese face. At first we didn't want to take him. But the man sold us ice cream... We went back to the camp and the next day we had to face the Camp Commandant. He said, "You know those men in the sentry box. They are good shooters."<sup>8</sup>

Some suffered and failed to adjust to the new life in the camp. At Loveday two attempted suicides were recorded up to 27 November 1942.<sup>9</sup> The first was in February 1942 when it was claimed an N.E.I. internee in 14B attempted to bite off his tongue. He left the camp on the prisoner exchange in August 1942. The second was a Formosan internee in 14C in June. Tatsuzo Imaizumi remembered him:

Various problems of different characteristic nature could be expected in such misplaced surroundings...A person who suffered from some kind of frustration and who attempted to commit suicide by taking creosote, but was fortunately saved through the quick action taken by the Medical Service.<sup>10</sup>

In the same month there was a successful suicide. A New Caledonian internee swallowed glass. He was admitted to the camp hospital, but died there. Whether more suicides were attempted after November is unknown.

Many former internees said that they were given a lot of freedom inside the perimeter. They celebrated almost all Japanese holidays, including New Year's Day, the Emperor's Birthday, and National Foundation Day. On 8 December 1942 Japanese in all camps had a ceremony on the first anniversary of Japan's entry into the war. The Loveday war diary recorded that Japanese in 14B Compound refused to go to work because they wanted to celebrate Pearl Harbour Day.<sup>11</sup> At Tatura Mori noted:

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<sup>8</sup> Alf Shiosaki, Perth, 21 Aug. 1986.

<sup>9</sup> AP 589, SS 1067, 27 Nov. 1942.

<sup>10</sup> Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 16 Dec. 1985.

<sup>11</sup> AWM 52, 8/7/42, 7 Dec. 1944.

At 7 a.m. we all gathered and paid respects to the dead soldiers and wished good luck and success to the Imperial Army. We had a special concert at 6 p.m.<sup>12</sup>

For the children Japanese ceremonies were just occasions for eating special food. Peggy Shiosaki recalled:

The party was fun. They cooked a special meal and made various sweets. The Emperor's Birthday ...didn't mean much to me. I did what others did, ...bowed to the sun. They (the Japanese) really did it seriously.<sup>13</sup>

According to Jessie Banno, a New Zealander who became a Japanese national through marriage, "old men in the camp were patriotic. Events of a patriotic nature were held by the Japanese for the Japanese. Those who were of other origin usually stayed away."<sup>14</sup> The late Ethel Punshon remembered one incident where an Australian-born internee, the daughter of a mixed marriage, refused to bow in the direction of the Emperor in Japan. The compound leader pushed her head down but she slapped his face.<sup>15</sup> Zenichiro Satonaka, a former internee at Loveday, described a similar incident. He said:

I was only 19 years old and didn't understand what the bowing to the sun meant. I probably didn't bow properly or something. One man came up to me, and said, "Soredemo Nihonjinka?" [Are you really Japanese?]<sup>16</sup>

As the camps were bare and desolate, many people made basic comforts. There was no shortage of craft skills among the Japanese internees. There were professional carpenters, builders, blacksmiths, gardeners, tailors and cooks. The Japanese worked at improving their environment from the beginning of their internment. Gardening was very popular in all camps,

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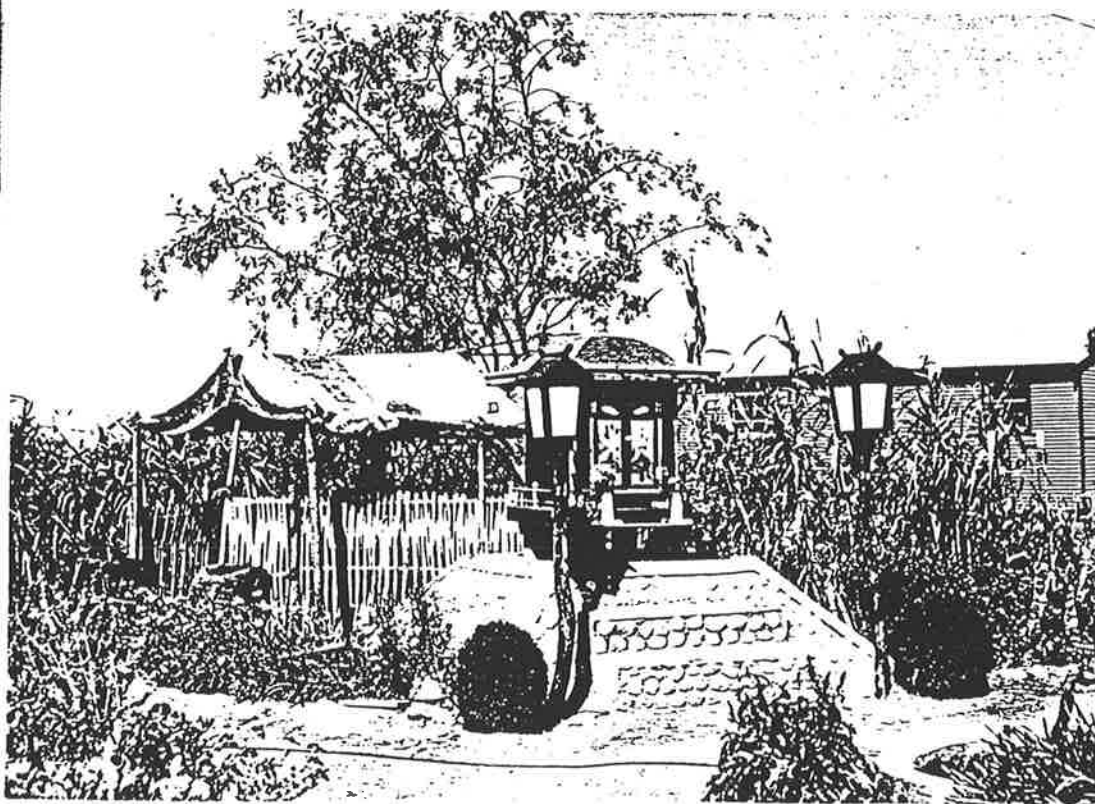
<sup>12</sup>Mori's Diary, 8 Dec. 1942, [J].

<sup>13</sup>Peggy Carlie, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>14</sup>Jessie Banno, Tokyo, 10 Sept. 1988.

<sup>15</sup>The late Ethel Punshon, Melbourne, 30 Nov. 1985.

<sup>16</sup>Zenichiro Satonaka, Kawasaki, 2 Feb. 1987, [J].



Japanese Garden in Compound C at Loveday  
(Courtesy of David Shaw, Berri, South Australia)

Japanese, Italian and German. However, according to former guards, the Japanese in 14C at Loveday created particularly elaborate gardens.<sup>17</sup> Taro Ishii wrote:

Our camp life was in the middle of flat dry land. We used to look for green weed and plant it in front of our tent. We were so desperate for greenery. Major MacRae, commandant of our compound, pitied us and gave us cosmos seeds.<sup>18</sup>

According to Ishii, Bunjiroo Sengoku, a professional gardener in N.E.I., took the lead in planning the gardens. The Japanese planted shrubs, cacti, flowering plants and ground covers, and landscaped mounds and ponds. They collected tons of limestone rocks to edge the gardens and used scrap timber to build shrines and a tea house. Bob Margitich praised these gardens highly:

If you went across to the Italian or German compounds at No.14, there was only bare earth...They suffered their internment. There were probably two reasons for doing that (gardens and shrines). One is that they wanted to worship and the other is that it gave them something to do.<sup>19</sup>

A strong memory former guards have of older Japanese internees at Loveday is that they were always busy skilfully making things. According to Nakabayashi, who was at 14C, many of the older men were good at making things from waste materials.<sup>20</sup> Among the most practical articles they made from scrap wood were geta [wooden footwear]. Hand-made geta were also worn at Tatura and Hay.<sup>21</sup> At Loveday mallee root was a favourite material for

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<sup>17</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984.

<sup>18</sup>Ishii, p. 186, [J].

<sup>19</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984. According to the German compound leader, the Germans lost interest in gardens and other projects which they had been creating in No. 10 Camp when they were transferred to No. 14D. The transfer was considered to be a severe collective punishment. AP 613/ 1, 90/1/238, letter written by Graf von Mensdorff, 4 Jan. 1944.

<sup>20</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987.

<sup>21</sup>Shinji Kondo, Kawasaki, 25 Jan. 1987 and Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 26 Jan. 1987.



Hand-made geta at Loveday

(Courtesy of Mr. David Shaw)

carving various objects. Internees also planted cane in their compounds and used it to make baskets and fences for their gardens.<sup>22</sup>

The PWJMs at Hay were generally younger than the Japanese at Loveday. Most had been pearl divers. There was a vegetable garden in their compound. Harold White wrote: "They cared for their garden, played baseball and had various hobbies, some made trick boxes of which I was given one, also they gave me vegetables from time to time."<sup>23</sup> However, they did not improve their compound by making elaborate gardens as the Japanese at Loveday did.<sup>24</sup>

At Tatura too the Japanese were interested in gardening. Some older people were good at making various articles from waste materials, including geta.<sup>25</sup> Jim Sullivan recalled:

Old army boot tops were used to make uppers for clogs - some weren't happy about this, thought they were assisting the enemy. But in actual fact they were used in camp kitchens, the wooden soles kept their feet warm while working on concrete floors.<sup>26</sup>

Camp authorities organised picture nights for the internees. According to Nakabayashi, at Loveday Charlie Chaplin's pictures were often shown.<sup>27</sup> At Tatura a Mr. Walker brought his projector to all the camps, including the POW camps, about once every three months to show films.<sup>28</sup> Peggy Shiosaki recalled:

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<sup>22</sup>Bert Whitmore, Barmera, 8 Sept. 1984.

<sup>23</sup>Harold White, 24 June 1986.

<sup>24</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 26 Jan. 1987.

<sup>25</sup>The late Mari Kai, Yokohama, 11 Jan. 1987.

<sup>26</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>27</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 8 Jan. 1987.

<sup>28</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 25 Oct. 1991.



I remember Mr. Walker very well. He came from Melbourne and showed us a picture. It was something I looked forward to very much. Everyone knew Mr. Walker very well.<sup>29</sup>

Jim Sullivan also showed films to the Japanese internees:

An old Japanese projector was in the camp store room. It came from Broome. One of the internees told me about it so I asked Scurry if I could get it out and use it in the compound. Permission granted. There were also some Japanese films with it which I used, but they played up a lot with breaks, however there were happy nights out under the stars in D Compound, and I was always provided with a nice supper by the young girls.<sup>30</sup>

In all camps internees were allowed to play sport. Sporting equipment was available and the Japanese played various games. Baseball and sumo wrestling were popular at the men's camps. Baseball leagues were organised, with each team usually formed according to its members' place of origin. Shigeru Nakabayashi at Loveday said:

Life in the camp was boring so we got a lot of pleasure out of playing baseball. I was working in the kitchen. We, the kitchen staff, formed a team called "All Kitchen". There were other teams such as "All Borneo" and "All Molucca". Tennis balls were available, but we couldn't get baseballs so made our own. We wound layers and layers of bacon-bag string on tennis balls. It worked well.<sup>31</sup>

Sumo matches were frequently held at both Loveday and Hay. The wrestlers wore embroidered aprons showing the name they competed under. They usually used the name of their birthplace in Japan. At Hay many PWJMs were from Wakayama and one wrestler was named "Kumano Nada" [Sea of Kumano],<sup>32</sup> the sea beside Wakayama. Other internees, particularly the Australian-born, played games like tennis and cricket. At Woolenook the

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<sup>29</sup>Peggy Carlie, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>30</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>31</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>32</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 26 Jan. 1987.



Internee Ishigane illustrated scenes of camp life at Loveday.

Top: Dust storm      Bottom: gambling

(Courtesy of Etsuro Chikanari)

Australian-born often had games with the guards. Jimmy Chi from Broome recalled:

A paddle boat used to pass near our camp. In the early days the tourists on the boat were cautious, but after a while they became friendly, often visited us and played a game of cricket with us. I suppose they were relaxed after they knew that we spoke Australian.<sup>33</sup>

Mah-jong and hanafuda [flower cards] were favourite pastimes at Loveday and Hay. Both games were played in small groups. Chinenji Kaino at Hay said:

Our group had a mah-jong set from Broome. Nothing to do. We played it a lot. We bet money and cigarettes.<sup>34</sup> While we played, we sometimes talked and speculated about the war.

According to Shigeru Nakabayashi, internees made their own mah-jong sets from scrap timber, and their own hanafuda cards. In the tents in the early days they stayed up late playing mah-jong by the light of home-made lamps. Nakabayashi described the lamps:

We couldn't use the oil lamps as the supply of oil was limited and soon used up if we used it to stay up after "Lights Out". So we made our own little lamps. We had tons of fat from cooking, put some of it in one tin and put another tin with a little hole over it, and put through a bit of cloth to burn... our tent became black inside. We were not supposed to use things like that.<sup>35</sup>

At Tatura popular sports were tennis, baseball and softball. They played tennis on a clay court which they constructed themselves. Competitions were often held with other compound teams.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Jimmy Chi, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>34</sup>Chinenji Kaino, 26 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>35</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, 8 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>36</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, Japan, 17 Jan. 1987; Joe Murakami, Yokohama, 25 Jan. 1987 and other former Tatura internees.

Engeikai [concerts/variety shows] were held in all camps. Internees' committees organised performances periodically, usually to celebrate Japanese national holidays and special occasions.<sup>37</sup> Theatre groups were formed. At Loveday, a group called Shinsei Gekidan [Newly Born Theatre Group]<sup>38</sup> in Compound B produced many kabuki plays.<sup>39</sup> They made elaborate costumes using whatever material they could obtain.<sup>40</sup> As no women perform in kabuki, female parts are taken by male actors called Onnagata. Zenichiro Satonaka, a former internee from N.E.I., was one of the youngest internees in 14B and an Onnagata actor. He recalled:

I enjoyed acting. Because I had fair skin, I was asked to do Onnagata. Old men liked me. They brought milk and fruit to my hut. Some gave me pocket money too.<sup>41</sup>

At Hay the PWJMs often invited the Camp Commandant and the guards to their shows. Hoshikawa, the Compound Leader of No. 6, sent the following invitation to the Camp Commandant:

Our Concert is to be held on Friday and Saturday afternoon of this week at No. 13 Mess. I am sure there will have a some humorous play. Hoping you will be able to attend the Concert which will begin at six o'clock sharp. I have annexed the programme of the Concert herewith.<sup>42</sup>

The Friday evening program included Japanese Bon dancing and four dramas, including a comedy entitled "Examination of Marriage", and a Kabuki play

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<sup>37</sup>Torakatsu Takamura and Zenichiro Satonaka, Yokohama, 1 Feb. 1987; Chinenji Kaino, 27 Jan. 1987; Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>38</sup>A film of the Loveday Internment Camps made by George Bolton, 3 Nov. 1945, held by George Bolton Jnr., Adelaide.

<sup>39</sup>Torakatsu Takamura and Zenichiro Satonaka, Yokohama, 1 Feb. 1987.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., [J].

<sup>42</sup>Invitation, 16 Aug. 1944, in the possession of Mick Beckwith, Hay.



Members of the Ueno Circus. Third from the left is the leader,  
Albert Ueno, who became leader of Compound B at Tatura.

(Courtesy of Mr. & Mrs. Murayama, Tokyo)

entitled "Kunisada Chuji". As the plays were in Japanese, a synopsis of each drama was given in the program. It read:

There are two boys and these two boys are against one another to marry the girl who is the daughter of the boys' aged school master. Who will win her hand?<sup>43</sup>

Chinenji Kaino played female roles. He recalled:

First I was very embarrassed, but got used to it. We were all men, so somebody had to do it, I suppose. We made traditional female wigs and costumes using paper and cloth.<sup>44</sup>

Harold White was among the guests on one occasion:

...it was so slow and drawn out it went for about 4 hours, we did not want to disappoint the actors or be ill-mannered so stayed for about 3 hours then left. Of course, we did not understand a word of the language, so I think we did pretty well. I sometimes wonder if anybody escaped while we were watching the "show".<sup>45</sup>

Concerts were also a major entertainment in all compounds at Tatura.<sup>46</sup>

Each compound planned its own and invited the others. Occasionally the Japanese and the Formosans held a joint concert. A program usually included dances and songs by children and adults. The Australian-born thought some of the dances and songs were "unbearably boring". Peggy Shiosaki recalled:

Concerts were a lot of fun. I liked the Chinese dancing the best. It was very colourful. The Japanese did sword dances and a lot of singing. The women's singing was pretty good. They had rhythm. But the men's singing was awful, particularly the one who did it with a glass of water. He had no rhythm and sounded as if he had a stomach problem. We walked out. That annoyed the Japanese.<sup>47</sup>

The children also enjoyed watching the Ueno Circus practise. The Ueno Circus had travelled with Wirth's Circus before the war broke out. In Jim

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Chinenji Kaino, 26 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>45</sup>Harold White, letter, Dee Why, 24 Jun. 1986.

<sup>46</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>47</sup>Peggy Carlie, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.



Japanese internees and their children  
on a picnic at Waranga Reservoir

(Courtesy of Francis Sproat)

Sullivan's words, " They were an outstanding group of world class."<sup>48</sup>

Sullivan wrote:

Doris Wirth, the great circus owner, called to see them with an elephant and for the children to see, also the one who used to go up and down the ladder on his head, no hand assistance.<sup>49</sup>

He was Kaichi Namba, who had performed with other troupes around the world before the outbreak of the war in Europe. He was the centre ring feature with this skill and was performing in Australia when Japan entered the war.<sup>50</sup>

Two or three times a year, picnics to the Waranga Reservoir, about a mile away, were another highlight of camp life at Tatura. According to Jim Sullivan, "This picnic was organised only when the weather was good and an officer was available."<sup>51</sup> Sullivan accompanied the Japanese on most of these picnics. He remembered: "They brought home bags of mussels and yabbies." Peggy recalled:

We lived inside the barbed-wire, so it felt so good to be out... We were taken out only one compound at a time. One guard and one warden came with us. It was a lot of fun. We picked mushrooms.<sup>52</sup>

According to Harumi Yamashita, the second eldest daughter of the Yamashita family who worked in the camp office, Germans and Italians were taken out more frequently than the Japanese and the camp administration was reluctant to let the Japanese internees out too much even after the war ended.<sup>53</sup> Don Vallance, a former guard, confirmed this: "Even though it was in 1947 the

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<sup>48</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, letter, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>*The Circus Report*, USA, 8 Oct. 1979.

<sup>51</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, letter, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>52</sup>Peggy Carlie, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>53</sup>Harumi Ahloy nee Yamashita, Thursday Island, 12 Jul. 1992.





Top: Marriage of an N.E.I. internee and a local internee at Tatura.

Bottom: Japanese internees at a funeral at Tatura.

(Courtesy of Patrick Ahmat, Perth)

guards used to be spread out each night around the fence to keep them (the Japanese) all in."<sup>54</sup>

With the camp commandant's approval, other adult internees could study, borrow books and textbooks, and take university and correspondence courses, but these privileges were denied Japanese internees.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, former Japanese internees state that the Japanese were allowed to conduct some educational activities by themselves in their compounds.<sup>56</sup> The authorities thought it desirable to encourage internees to engage in such activities to exercise their minds.<sup>57</sup> At Loveday, Japanese and Malay language classes were conducted by internees. These kinds of classes were not offered at Hay, where the majority of PWJMs spoke only Japanese.<sup>58</sup>

361 Japanese children were at Tatura.<sup>59</sup> The education of children was an important part of the administration of each compound, so a kindergarten and camp schools were established. Classes were taught by suitably qualified persons selected from among the internees, supervised by a military officer. Teachers were paid at the same rate as all other work.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Don Vallance, Brisbane.

<sup>55</sup>AP 413/1, 90/1/205, 7 Feb. 1944

<sup>56</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, Osaka, 29 Jan. 1987; Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987; Jessie Banno, Tokyo, 10 Sept. 1988.

<sup>57</sup>AWM 54, p. 49.

<sup>58</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, Japan, 26 Jan. 1987.

<sup>59</sup>A.7.0.0, 9/11/1/10/2, 6 Mar. 1944.

<sup>60</sup>AWM 54, pp. 50-51.

The policy permitted state school correspondence courses for children, including Japanese children, up to 18 years of age.<sup>61</sup> An English school was set up in B Compound and was an official government correspondence school. Evelyn Yamashita, 15 in 1942, attended the English school for a short time. She said:

There were one or two women in the compound who were qualified to teach primary school, but no one could teach high school level. So I couldn't get any help with my studies.<sup>62</sup>

At the beginning each Japanese compound had its own Japanese school, but, possibly due to the reduction of the number of children occasioned by the prisoner exchange in August 1942, the Japanese school in C Compound accepted children from D Compound.<sup>63</sup> The Formosans had their own schools, Chinese, Japanese and English, in their compound.<sup>64</sup> Alice Pao said:

My mother said to me, "You have to learn Japanese as Japan might win the war and also you must learn English because it is an international language." So I was sent to both Japanese and English schools.<sup>65</sup>

The Japanese school in C Compound was run jointly by C and D Compounds where most of the adults were Japanese nationals with more patriotic and militaristic views. They stressed the virtue of emperor worship. Policy recognised that "instructors would have to be drawn from the ranks of the internees and that such instructors would tend to postulate nationalistic doctrines and patriotism. From time to time the scheme was criticised on

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<sup>61</sup>AP613/1, 90/1/125, 22 Sept. 1943.

<sup>62</sup>Evelyn Suzuki nee Yamashita, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>63</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>64</sup>Ching Quan She, Gaosheng, Taiwan, 5 Dec. 1986.

<sup>65</sup>Alice Pao, Rushworth, 5 Jan. 1993.



Japanese School in Compound C at Tatura  
(Courtesy of Shinji Kondo, Kawasaki, Japan)

that account, but such a defect was unavoidable and was best controlled by local camp authorities using their common sense."<sup>66</sup>

The children in the camp spoke various languages, including English, French, Dutch, Indonesian and Japanese, and some were bilingual. Sullivan recalled:

The language problem was funny, particularly out of school, some would speak to you in French with a little bit of Japanese or Indonesian or some other language all mixed up. But they seemed to manage.<sup>67</sup>

The main task of the Japanese school in C Compound was to teach Japanese language and culture. The father of Taishiro Mori became the headmaster of the school and he himself was one of the teachers. He said:

85% of the pupils were of mixed origin, and had various language backgrounds. It was extremely hard to think of a good way to teach Japanese. I had to teach them from the Japanese alphabets. I thought of teaching Japanese sounds through songs, so I decided to learn how to play the organ. I learnt the organ from Mrs Chen after I finished teaching. I was never good, but good enough to play a simple tune.<sup>68</sup>

The Japanese teachers forbade popular Japanese songs: only military and children's songs were sung.<sup>69</sup> Saburo Kanegae from Broome, who was 11 in 1946, learnt a military song called "Umi Yukaba" [Going over the sea] at the school:

At sea be my body  
water-soaked,  
On land be it with grass  
overgrown,  
Let me die by the side  
of my Sovereign!  
Never will I look back.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>AWM 54, p.49.

<sup>67</sup>Jim Sullivan, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>68</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>Original in Japanese by Yakamochi Otomo, verse 4094, published in English, *The Manyoshu*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1965, p.151.



Japanese language textbook written by internee teachers, Vol. 12.  
(Courtesy of the late Mari Kai, Yokohama, Japan)

Mari Kai, from New Caledonia, was a student at the school. She talked about her teacher, Mori:

He was a very strict teacher. I only knew a few words of Japanese when I first went to the camp school. I used to speak French with my friends from New Caledonia...He hit me on the head when I spoke French at school.<sup>71</sup>

Sullivan wrote about Mr. Mori: "Mori sure was strict. We had nothing on him and some of the others."<sup>72</sup>

The curriculum was decided on by the teachers and committees and reflected the ideology of nationalism and militarism prescribed for elementary schools in Japan.<sup>73</sup> The textbooks were written by the teachers and included reading passages. By 1945 Mari was able to read advanced Japanese from Volume 12. The first lesson consisted of poems by the Emperor Meiji, such as:

Looking at pages from the past,  
how is my land now?

I wish my mind was as vast and clear  
as the blue sky.

The mountain emerges in the clouds  
but you can reach the summit if you try.

I am made greater by the striving  
of each and all of my people.

Keep the good and reject the bad,  
we will build a nation second to none.<sup>74</sup>

The third lesson was on Charles Darwin:

Charles Darwin was born in England about 100 years ago.  
He had had a strong interest in plants and animals from

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<sup>71</sup>Mari Kai, Yokohama, 11 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>72</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, letter, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>73</sup>Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>74</sup>Translation by the author.

an early age ...his father sent him to university hoping that he would become a doctor...but he started research in natural history...He studied animals and plants for many years and developed a theory that all living creatures evolve over a long period. This is his famous theory of evolution which shook the academic world to its foundations.<sup>75</sup>

Mori, who was instrumental in producing the textbooks, still treasures those he wrote in camp. He said:

I taught shushin [moral education] to the children through various readings and talks. I taught them that one nation is a big family. This was helpful for them to understand the relationship between the state and the individual.<sup>76</sup>

His words follow those of a statement by the Japanese Ministry of Education in *The Fundamentals of Our National Polity*, issued in 1939:

Our country is a great family nation, and the Imperial Household is the Main Family of the subjects, and the Emperor has been the center of national life from the past to the present. Thus the Emperor and his subjects are united into One.<sup>77</sup>

Inevitably there were differences of opinion between parents regarding the education of their children. Not all parents sent their children to the Japanese school: only 68 out of 141 children (C and D Compound combined) were there in April 1944,<sup>78</sup> but not all 141 were of school age. Alf and Peggie Shiosaki in D Compound were not interested in learning Japanese. According to Peggie, their Aboriginal mother never forced them to go to the school.<sup>79</sup> Saburo Kanegae's father, in B Compound, was very patriotic and strict about

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<sup>75</sup>Translation by the author.

<sup>76</sup>Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>77</sup>Monbusho [Ministry of Education], Kokutai no Hongi [The Fundamentals of Our National Polity], Tokyo, 1939, p. 13 quoted in Tsurumi, K., *Social Changes and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II*, Princeton University Press, 1970, p. 107.

<sup>78</sup>Mori's Diary, 1 Apr. 1944.

<sup>79</sup>Peggie Carlie nee Shiosaki, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.



his children speaking Japanese, so Saburo learnt Japanese in the Japanese school.<sup>80</sup> The Kai family from New Caledonia were originally in B Compound, but later moved to C. Their daughter Mari went to the Japanese school.<sup>81</sup> Takeichi Minami, from New Zealand, was a teacher and later became headmaster after Mori's father. He said:

B Compound children didn't come to the Japanese school. Many of the people in B Compound were Australian ...They were a little different from us and thought they were superior or something. People who had Japanese nationality were all loyal to the Emperor.<sup>82</sup>

Yoko Tsushima, born in New Caledonia to Japanese parents, also went to the Japanese school. She said:

I didn't know a word of Japanese, but my parents sent me to the Japanese school...One day I asked Mum to send me to the English school, but she got very upset and said to me, "Don't you ever say that to your father. You have to learn Japanese... Japan is going to win this war..."<sup>83</sup>

Former internees suggest that there was friction between B and C/D Compounds.<sup>84</sup> Yuri Murayama of B Compound observed:

There was not much communication between B and C/D, apart from occasional sports and concerts. We didn't have much to do with them. Many of us didn't go through a Japanese militaristic education. Eventually we taught Japanese in our compound. It wasn't a proper school, just a small tutorial group.<sup>85</sup>

Evelyn Suzuki remembered one incident which occurred in B Compound. She wrote :

Young people in C Compound were invited to a dance in B Compound one night. A jealous boyfriend from C Compound came and caused a

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<sup>80</sup>The late Saburo Kanegae, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>81</sup>The late Mari Kai, Yokohama, 11 Jan. 1987.

<sup>82</sup>Takeichi Minami, Wakayama, Japan, 27 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>83</sup>Yoko Tsushima, Kawasaki, 15 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>84</sup>Yuri Murayama, Tokyo, 30 Jan. 1987; Takeichi Minami, Wakayama, 27 Jan. 1987 and Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>85</sup>Yuri Murayama, Tokyo, 30 Jan. 1987, [J].

disturbance claiming we were disloyal to Japan. He raved on about how the youth of C Compound were being led astray by our decadent ways of the West while Japanese soldiers were laying down their lives for the Emperor. There were no more dances held after that.<sup>86</sup>

The leaders of C and D Compounds seem to have agreed on most matters and combined for many activities. Young men in C/D Compounds formed a Seinendan [Young Men's Association]. The young men were, in Mori's words, "future soldiers of the Emperor's Army".<sup>87</sup> On 16 May 1942 Mori, a member of the Seinendan, noted in his diary:

Today's training was cancelled because of rain. We (Seinendan) tend to fall into the lazy and irresponsible life of prisoners. We must not let it happen, but must work hard at converting our minds to pure Japanese spirits... Thinking that our comrades are fighting for the country day and night, I bow deeply to them.<sup>88</sup>

Training was usually before breakfast, and included sprinting and long-distance running inside the compound. Trainees were also drilled by Tomoeda, the leader of C Compound and a former warrant officer, who had been arrested in Borneo where he had an engineering contracting business.<sup>89</sup> Former internees of C Compound remembered him as a very strict but capable leader. Sullivan remembered him:

Tomoeda was strict on the evening roll call when the hand-over took place he would have them all lined up like soldiers. He always saluted.<sup>90</sup>

An intelligence officer described Tomoeda as "one of the best parade-ground officers".<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

<sup>87</sup>Mori's Diary, 16 May 1942, [J].

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>MP 1103, Series 1, Box 6.

<sup>90</sup>Jim Sullivan, 25 Oct. 1991.

<sup>91</sup>Name withheld, 11 Oct. 1984.



Committee members of B Compound at Tatura

Far Left: Albert Ueno

Centre: Haruyoshi Yamashita

(Courtesy of Evelyn Suzuki)

Three people served as leaders of D Compound. The first was Miki Tsutsumi from Broome. Later a difference in views between Tsutsumi and other members of the committee in D led to his moving to B Compound.<sup>92</sup> Yasukichi Murakami from Darwin, Joe Murakami's father, held the position until he died of illness in 1944, and Mr. Ishikane from N.E.I. served as the third leader until the end of internment. Joe Murakami wrote:

Among the adults, camp life must have been very trying because there were numerous differences of opinion and constant friction. I don't know what went on among the adults. My father, together with some others, requested ... to be allowed to transfer from B to D Compound. This request was granted and we moved to D Compound. Subsequently, my father became Section Leader.<sup>93</sup>

The atmosphere of B Compound was, in the words of Yuri Murayama, "more democratic". The compound leader was Albert Ueno, leader of the Ueno Acrobatic Troupe. He was a Japanese national, but had spoken English since he was 5 when his father, the founder of the troupe, took him on a world tour.<sup>94</sup> His running of the compound was, according to Jim Sullivan, "more Westernised" than other leaders. Jessie Banno was in D Compound, but knew him very well. She said that "he was a very open man and prepared to discuss various matters with the AMF".<sup>95</sup> When Ueno finished his term as leader, he was replaced by Haruyoshi Yamashita, the owner of the soysauce factory from Thursday Island.

B Compound accepted internees labelled "trouble makers".<sup>96</sup> The Torimaru family had a lot of friction with the Japanese. The father was

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<sup>92</sup>Masu Tsutsumi, Nagasaki, 17 Jan. 1987.

<sup>93</sup>Joe Murakami, Yokohama, 16 July 1988.

<sup>94</sup>The late Albert Ueno, Yokohama, 14 Jan. 1987.

<sup>95</sup>Jessie Banno, Tokyo, 15 Jan. 1987.

<sup>96</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 1 Dec. 1985.

Japanese and the mother of Spanish-English extraction. They had six children, all Australian-born, one of them in camp. The mother and the two older daughters, Oriel and Glory, had the most trouble. Their outspoken and open behaviour offended many Japanese in the camp. Because of this, the family was transferred to one compound after another. Finally they settled in B Compound. Oriel, the eldest daughter, said:

My younger brothers mixed well with the Japanese, but we older ones couldn't. I hated Japanese. The best were the Formosans in A Compound. They were not arrogant and they were friendly.<sup>97</sup>

Oriel had little in common with the Japanese. She described an incident which upset many Japanese:

We were bathing together with other women. A Japanese man came in, so I threw a bucket of water at him...It was a Japanese custom to have a male attendant even in the women's section. Other women didn't mind it. My father was really embarrassed at that one.<sup>98</sup>

At Loveday some friction developed between Japanese internees of different backgrounds. The evidence suggests that there was ill-feeling at Woolenook Wood Camp between some Australian-born Japanese and Japanese nationals who were mostly from New Caledonia. Guthrie Hutchinson, a chaplain at Woolenook, remembered "The Gang":

When we (AMF personnel) had a quiz night, they joined us. They knew everything and spoke good English. They were different from other Japanese... They had trouble with other Japanese so they were put into a special tent. They refused to sign allegiance to the Emperor.<sup>99</sup>

The Gang comprised seven Australian-born, Jimmy Chi, Jimmy Hamabata, Jack Tolsee, Patrick Ahmat, Eddie Ahmat, Sam Nakashiba and Joseph Suzuki, and one Indonesian-born, Ted Takamura. Jimmy Chi, Jack Tolsee and Patrick Ahmat confirmed that friction existed with the Japanese nationals, "because

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<sup>97</sup>Oriel Vallence nee Torimaru, Brisbane, 25 Aug. 1987.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>Guthrie Hutchinson, Adelaide, 3 Oct. 1984.

we were different to them."<sup>100</sup> Joe Suzuki and Sam Nakashiba had experienced the clash with the Japanese at Hay before coming to Woolenook.

Sam wrote:

The Japanese at Hay resented our attitude towards their customs and beliefs and as we maintained our nationality, and our loyalty to this country, they became antagonistic towards us.<sup>101</sup>

According to the authorities' record, an indication of the level of tension between "The Gang" and the Japanese nationals at Woolenook was the discovery of home-made weapons in "The Gang's" tent.<sup>102</sup> On 29 June 1944 the Japanese at Woolenook went on strike because they did not want to work with "The Gang" and on 3 July they were still on strike.<sup>103</sup> But Patrick Ahmat reflected that the ill-feeling was not so serious as camp authorities thought.

He recalled:

We couldn't show any emotion. We tried not to intimidate the Japanese. We tried to stay away from them. The Japanese from New Caledonia didn't speak English. We were segregated from the rest and our tent was put in the AMF area. We mixed with the guards.<sup>104</sup>

Jack Tolsee confirmed this:

We were segregated because all of us weren't really Japanese. The camp staff treated us differently. We didn't have to wear the uniform and had a lot of freedom.<sup>105</sup>

On 26 May 1945 Woolenook Wood Camp was closed and 243 internees were transferred to 14 A and D at Loveday, while "The Gang" remained at Woolenook

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<sup>100</sup>Patrick Ahmat, 25 Aug. 1986 and Jack Truan (Tolsee), 22 May 1993.

<sup>101</sup>D 1901, N 3301.

<sup>102</sup>Guthrie Hutchinson, 3 Oct. 1984.

<sup>103</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 3 July 1944.

<sup>104</sup>Patrick Ahmat, Perth, 22 Aug. 1986.

<sup>105</sup>Jack Truan, Palmers Island, N.S.W., 22 May 1993.

on garrison fatigues so that the site could be cleared.<sup>106</sup> 14A and D had been empty since the final transfer of Germans to Tatura on 31 January 1945.<sup>107</sup> From this date, the only internees at Loveday were Japanese.

At Loveday friction also developed between the Formosans, including those of mixed Japanese-Chinese descent, and the Japanese. The 14CD camp commandant reported to the Group Commandant on the situation in 14C:

There has always been ill-feeling existing between the Half-breeds and the Japanese, the latter treating the former in a very disdainful manner. The majority of petty fights in the Compound have been between these two sections.<sup>108</sup>

The memo referred to:

Two brothers, half bred Jap-Chinese, who, on their complaint being investigated, were found to have been ill-treated, forced to carry out fatigues inside the compound, and prevented from engaging in paid employment. These two internees were transferred to another State.<sup>109</sup>

A report of an interview with a Formosan internee, Ang Poo Hok, in 14 B, described the Formosan-Japanese relationship:

The internee claims that he is always bullied by the Japanese and encounters a great deal of "pinpricking". His expressed hatred of the Japanese is such that he would gladly join Gen. Chiang Kai Shek's Army or the Australian Army. Ang Poo Hok quoted several illustrations of ill treatment to show that the Japanese always took priority over the Formosans and considered themselves superior, frequently using the remark contemptuously, "You are a Formosan." Ang Poo Hok carried in his "home made" puttees a knife of dangerous proportions with which he says he is prepared to defend himself if the occasion arises.<sup>110</sup>

According to Ang Poo Hok, the Formosans were divided into two groups, those educated in Japan and pro-Japanese, and those anti-Japanese. Some of the

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<sup>106</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 26 May 1945.

<sup>107</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 8.

<sup>108</sup>AP 613/1, 162/1/64, 1 Apr. 1945.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup>D 1901, A 3243, 9 Aug. 1943.

latter formed a Formosan Society. Ang Poo Hok was one of the leaders. Zenichiro Satonaka and Torakatsu Takamura, born in Surabaya and Tegal respectively, confirmed the Japanese attitude towards the Formosans in 14B.

They said:

The expression, "Taiwanjin no kuseni"(You are only Formosan, so how dare...) was often heard in the camp...We didn't speak Japanese, so we weren't quite accepted either.<sup>111</sup>

Tatsuzo Imaizumi described the Formosan-Japanese relationship in 14C: "Taiwanese didn't mix with the others very much. They didn't take part in entertainment or sports very much either."<sup>112</sup> In spite of the evidence of internal friction in the Japanese compounds, the compounds appeared calm to camp personnel. When asked about internal problems, Bob Margitich replied:

I was not very aware of such a problem...Let's say there was friction which became a fight in 14C. We would go in there with a piece of paper and a pen. I was only a clerk. By the time we got there, they were all poker-faced. There was nothing wrong anywhere. I got the idea that it was the Japanese way of saving face, "we are good internees, we don't fight, we don't do anything."If you went into the German or Italian sides, there would be one group on this side and one on the other swearing at each other in their own language. But if you went into 14C, everything was dead quiet. There was no way that I could read their faces. It was a bit scary...<sup>113</sup>

At Tatura also Formosans developed factions within their own compound, one pro- and the other anti-Japanese. Sher Cheng Chuan's family from N.E.I. was anti-Japanese:

My family left Taiwan and went to N.E.I. because we didn't like the life under Japanese control. I think Taiwanese are generally free-minded, independent people. They just left the country like migrating birds southward to a warmer place without complaining or making a protest against the government...Even in the same family there were pro-Japanese and anti-Japanese.<sup>114</sup> As far as I remember, the friction (in the camp) wasn't so evident.

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<sup>111</sup>Zenichiro Satonaka and Torakatsu Takamura, Kawasaki, 2 Feb. 1987, [J].

<sup>112</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, Osaka, 29 Jan. 1987.

<sup>113</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984.

<sup>114</sup>Sher Cheng Chuan, Gaosheng, Taiwan, 5 Dec. 1986, [C].



According to a former intelligence officer, "there was trouble with the Formosans in all camps." At Tatura he used information from Professor Haraguchi, an internee from N.E.I., to help him deal with the troubles caused by the Formosans. Professor Haraguchi had interests in and extensive knowledge of Taiwan.<sup>115</sup> Haraguchi was first interned at Loveday, but was transferred to Tatura on 9 September 1942.<sup>116</sup> He was 60 in 1942 and, according to policy, should have remained at Loveday. The Intelligence Officer would not disclose why he was transferred. However, not long afterwards he interviewed Haraguchi several times. Their talks were mostly on economic affairs and what would happen in Japan if the war was lost:

When I first interviewed him I did it in Japanese, but soon found that his English was even better than mine...I knew that what information he gave me freely, would be truthful and not trying to pull the wool over my eyes...He would keep certain information back when he felt it was going to be against the Japanese people or army...the rest of it he would give me...What I got was reasonably satisfactory. He was of the opinion that Japan would lose the war, even in 1942.<sup>117</sup>

Haraguchi was known as "anti-war" at Loveday.<sup>118</sup> Most former internees at Tatura remembered him, saying that he was a tall, slender, intelligent-looking man, but was different. Mori said:

He wasn't liked by the Japanese. He wasn't with his family or anything, but was at Tatura. I thought it a bit strange. I was suspicious of him, but wasn't sure why. He always tried to avoid us.<sup>119</sup>

Even though former internees said they did not know exactly what he was doing, they recalled children throwing stones at his hut and calling him a

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<sup>115</sup>MP 1103, Box 6.

<sup>116</sup>MP 1103, Series 1, Box 6.

<sup>117</sup>Name withheld, 9 Feb. 1990.

<sup>118</sup>Etsuroo Chikanari and Sakae Masuda, Koobe, 12 Jan. 1992.

<sup>119</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].

"spy".<sup>120</sup> On 15 June 1943 Mori noted that "Mr. Haraguchi is going to Melbourne to see a Dutch officer. However, the content of the meeting is unknown."<sup>121</sup> Haraguchi was in Melbourne from 19 to 21 June.<sup>122</sup> According to James Sullivan, he was there to do some broadcasting through Radio Australia. Major Scurry told Sullivan that "his broadcasts were aimed at telling the Japanese of their treatment in Australia in order to reduce the pressure the Japanese were applying to Australian prisoners of war in the Malaysian area."<sup>123</sup> On 3 January 1945, Haraguchi wrote to Dr. Tromp of the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service in Brisbane outlining his views of the progress of the war in the Pacific:

Please inform Col. Spoor and ask him shortly to delegate someone to meet me in Melbourne or elsewhere to discuss with me in the light of recent developments of the war in the South-west Pacific certain strategical problems in connection with the Netherlands Indies...  
(The) 25 Pounds which Col. Spoor gave me in the beginning of August last is now entirely exhausted.<sup>124</sup>

The same Japanese-speaking intelligence officer also interviewed Professor Inagaki of Melbourne University for information on a few occasions, but did not find him useful as an intelligence source.<sup>125</sup>

In the months before the Japanese surrender, Japanese internees at Loveday, particularly the younger ones, began to show signs of unrest. The 14 C Compound Leader, Anyei Morio, wrote to a friend in Kobe, Japan. A censored portion of the letter read:

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<sup>120</sup>The late Mari Kai, Yokohama, 11 Jan. 1987.

<sup>121</sup>Mori's Diary, 15 June 1943.

<sup>122</sup>MP 1103, Series 1, Box 6.

<sup>123</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 13 Feb. 1990.

<sup>124</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/2, 3 Jan. 1945.

<sup>125</sup>Name withheld, letter, 9 Feb. 1990.

The times are becoming more and more eventful. It is terrible about Okinawa. From now on, it will be a battle of the people's will-power. I suppose they will be able to land on the mainland. Ah, my heart is filled with fever! I pray for the victory of the Imperial Army and for the souls of the soldiers killed in battle.<sup>126</sup>

The news of the United States' landing on Okinawa deeply agitated internees who had been born there. They were mainly from the N.E.I. and New Caledonia, and many were in their 20s and 30s.<sup>127</sup>

On 29 March 1945 a half Japanese-Chinese internee from 14 C gave information to the 14CD Camp Commandant about a contemplated break-out by the young internees from Okinawa in Huts 1 and 6. A report noted:

an internee of 14C Compound has deviated from the procedure of going through the Compound Leader, who rules with an iron hand and insists that every detail, no matter how small, go through him to the Camp Commandant.<sup>128</sup>

Camp authorities immediately took security precautions. The Loveday war diary recorded:

Special Security precautions were instituted throughout the area in consequence of a report that younger Japanese in 14C contemplated a suicidal breakout, in consequence of the American Forces invading and bombarding islands near Japan.<sup>129</sup>

All non-combatant personnel were armed and given lessons in the handling of automatic weapons, and the compound guard was strengthened.<sup>130</sup> There had been two POW breakouts, one at Featherstone, New Zealand, in March 1943, the other at Cowra in August 1944. AMF guards at all internment camps were

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<sup>126</sup>AP 613/1, 162/1/64, 13 Apr. 1845.

<sup>127</sup>AP 613/1, 162/1/64, no date.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., 1 Apr. 1945.

<sup>129</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 29 Mar. 1945.

<sup>130</sup>AP 613/1, 162/1/64, 1 Apr. 1945.

informed of these incidents.<sup>131</sup> The camp authorities feared a similar occurrence at Loveday. The Group Commandant at Loveday noted:

It is known that the younger Japanese internees have the characteristic fanatical ideas of dying for their Emperor when adverse events take place in regard to their 'National Honour' (so-called). This H.Q. has also been informed by a senior officer that Japanese POWs held in other areas intend to commit 'honorable Hara-Kiri' if and when Japan is defeated. To do this they will try to attack their guards by attempting to break out of their compounds.<sup>132</sup>

The camp staff also observed unrest among the younger internees in 14B.

The war diary of 21 May 1945 recorded:

An internee in 14B stated that when America captures Okinawa the Japs who came from there will either commit suicide by hanging, or if there are enough of them, they may try to make a break. Extra precautions being taken.<sup>133</sup>

This informant was also Chinese.<sup>134</sup> The camp authorities organised special exercises in the possible event of an attempted mass escape.<sup>135</sup> The *Adelaide*

*News* reported on 25 April 1945:

"Guards on Alert at Jap Camp"

Guards at a S.A. internment camp are making special plans to forestall any possible mass suicide uprising by Jap prisoners. Suicidal uprisings have been staged by Japanese prisoners of war in other parts of Australia and in New Zealand and authorities have found cause to suspect the attitude of prisoners at a South Australian camp. In towns near this camp it is known that special precautions have been taken to counter any attempt to break out of the compounds. Residents in the neighbourhood have remarked on the increased use of a river district rifle range by troops from the camp. Rifle and machine gun firing practices have been conducted.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>AP 613/1, 90/1/46, 15 Mar. 1943.

<sup>132</sup>AP 613/1, 162/1/64, 1 Apr. 1945.

<sup>133</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 21 May 1945.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid. Exercises were conducted on 20 Apr., 1 and 23 May, 1945.

<sup>136</sup>*Adelaide News*, 25 Apr. 1945.

On 7 June 1945 the Group Commandant decided to hold a sports meeting between B and C Compounds to occupy the minds of the younger internees.

He reported on 12 June:

The Japanese internees...have for the first time been permitted to hold a combined sports meeting. This privilege was granted in order that the reaction particularly of the younger internees might be assessed. In doing so it was considered that the concession would contribute towards greater contentment in the Compounds, and give the younger Japanese who constitute a small number only, something to practice for, think of and talk about...<sup>137</sup>

On 24 June the first baseball match was held in 14D Compound between 14B and 14C. Approximately 1,000 Japanese supporters attended, and 14C team won.<sup>138</sup> Although the unrest among the young internees did not worsen, security measures were maintained. Another match was held in the following month which were well-received and attended.<sup>139</sup> No breakout was ever attempted.

On 6 August 1945 an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. Three days later Nagasaki was also bombed. The Japanese internees read of the devastation caused by the bombings in local newspapers, but could not guess at the nature of the weapon.<sup>140</sup> On 15 August, the Japanese internees were told of the Japanese surrender. The administration of all three camps handled the day with extreme caution. The camp commandants first called in each compound leader to announce the news, then asked them to tell their fellow internees. Loveday's war diary recorded that compound leaders were told:

[that] the war had ended and that Japan had surrendered, that the government and the Australian Army would continue to treat

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<sup>137</sup>AP 613/1, 162/1/64, 12 June 1945.

<sup>138</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 24 June 1945.

<sup>139</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/42, 8 July 1945.

<sup>140</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, 29 Aug. 1986; Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1987; Tatsuzo Imaizumi, 23 Jan. 1987.

them as usual, that they were expected to co-operate with the Camp Commandants and that they were to be held responsible that no untoward incidents took place in the Compounds, that there was to be no friction between the internees ... and that they were to go back to the Compounds and inform the men of these facts...<sup>141</sup>

"It had never been so quiet before," recalled Bob Margitich.<sup>142</sup> On 16 August the Emperor's surrender speech was broadcast at Loveday and Tatura.

We have ordered our Government to communicate to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union that our Empire accepts the provisions of their Joint Declaration...the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest. Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it not only would result in the ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization...

The hardship and sufferings to which our nation is to be subjected hereafter will be certainly great. We are keenly aware of the innermost feelings of all of you, our subjects. However, it is according to the dictates of time and fate that we have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable...<sup>143</sup>

Many former internees recalled that the speech was not very clear due to static and the Emperor's high-pitched voice, and because the Emperor's language was almost incomprehensible to ordinary Japanese.<sup>144</sup> A German news correspondent who witnessed public reaction to the Emperor's surrender speech in Tokyo said:

And then came this voice which had never been known by the people, very strange, very slow and, something more extraordinary, speaking a language that these people did not understand. Because since over

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<sup>141</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 15 Aug. 1945.

<sup>142</sup>Bob Margitich, Adelaide, 28 Oct. 1984.

<sup>143</sup>Kosaka, Masataka, *A History of Postwar Japan*, Tokyo, 1982, p. 11.

<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*, Osaka, 23 Jan. 1987.

a thousand years or more the Emperor had a language of his own. Some guessed what it was, that it was not an appeal to fight.<sup>145</sup>

Sumie Seo Mishima, a resident in Japan at the time, wrote:

Many of us had not been sure whether the Emperor had a human voice. He was divine, superman, merciful and mighty, so we had been told. But gentle and plaintive was the voice that came on the air ... The audience was perfectly quiet.<sup>146</sup>

Tatsuzo Imaizumi observed the reaction in his compound at Loveday:

After hearing the Japanese Emperor's proclamation over the radio of Japan's surrender to the Allied governments many of them were dumbfounded, a few of them were crying openly without shame in utter disbelief of what they had heard, some were muttering away to themselves, but to say the truth the majority of the internees including myself were overjoyed to be informed that the war had ended at last and peace had returned to this world.<sup>147</sup>

According to intelligence reports from Loveday, older internees did not believe that Japan had lost the war. One was quoted as saying that:

Japan had won the war. It was not possible for the nation to be beaten after she had conquered so often and after she had, by the admission of even the Australian press (which was normally 90% lies), occupied nearly all of the Pacific. He knew the truth, he said because he knew Japanese.<sup>148</sup>

Camp authorities had observed a similar reaction among Italian internees at Loveday when Italy capitulated in September 1943. Although the majority accepted it and were relieved, the Fascist element thought it was a false report.<sup>149</sup> Many of the old Japanese at Loveday tended to disbelieve the news

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<sup>145</sup>Robert Guillan, a news correspondent for the Havas News Agency in Tokyo, 1938-1946, who appeared in *Hirohito*, a BBC documentary, 15 Jan. 1989.

<sup>146</sup>Seo Mishima, Sumie, *The Broader Way: A Woman's Life in the New Japan*, Connecticut, 1971, pp. 56-57.

<sup>147</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 25 Sept. 1985.

<sup>148</sup>AP 719/3, S112667, 29 Jan. 1946.

<sup>149</sup>AP 613/5, 90/1/237, 10 Sept. 1943.

because they had heard incorrect reports during previous wars.<sup>150</sup> Those who accepted the news felt intimidated. Imaizumi recalled:

There were really patriotic people in the compound who got very aggressive towards people like myself...They said they would inform the Kempei (Secret Military Police) in Japan that we were disloyal.<sup>151</sup>

The compound leader of 14C was threatened physically by an internee from the patriotic sector in the compound and asked the administration for protection.<sup>152</sup> Members of both internees' committees at Loveday believed the news and were concerned. They tried various means to avoid "incidents between internees" in the compounds as they were told the news by the camp commandant. It was decided not to say that Japan had lost the war, but instead that the war was suspended.<sup>153</sup>

On the day following VP Day, the camp authorities at Hay took precautions against trouble from Japanese POWs in Camps 7 and 8. They doubled the sentries on weapon posts, but no incident was reported.<sup>154</sup> The PWJMs in Camp 6 reacted to the surrender with silence. Chinenji Kaino said:

The news didn't really register. Instead we thought Japan had won the war and so we celebrated the occasion...In a local newspaper, there was a cartoon of MacArthur squeezing a glass bottle with the Emperor inside. We thought it was really bad propaganda.<sup>155</sup>

Another PWJM wrote to a friend at Loveday:

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<sup>150</sup>Koike, Miyakatsu, p.152.

<sup>151</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, Osaka, 23 Jan. 1987.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Koike, p.152.

<sup>154</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 16 Aug. 1945.

<sup>155</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 27 Jan. 1987, [J].



There are a lot of rumours which are as false as the news in the papers. However, we should not be pessimistic and should have faith in the spirit of the Japanese.<sup>156</sup>

Many were not able to show their feelings. Kaino added:

I think many of us actually did believe deep in our hearts, that Japan had lost the war. But we were all afraid of the reactions of others, particularly the militaristic ones...we couldn't say anything unpatriotic.<sup>157</sup>

At Tatura the patriotic groups in Compound C and D did not believe the news.

Taishiro Mori thought it was fabricated:

We didn't believe it. Even when we saw photos of the one-legged shrine gate in Nagasaki and the dome in Hiroshima where atomic bombs had been dropped. We thought it was all propaganda. They were pretty realistic, we thought then.<sup>158</sup>

In Compound A and B, the end of the war was a happy event. Albert Ueno said:

"It was a relief. The war was finally over and most of us were happy. There were some who couldn't accept the news."<sup>159</sup> According to Masuko Murakami,

Professor Inagaki tried to convince those in Compound B that the news was false.<sup>160</sup> Masuko Murakami said:

We heard about the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and all that, but still we didn't believe it...it was not that we didn't believe it, but that we didn't want to.<sup>161</sup>

Some Australian-born Japanese expressed joy at the news. Oriel Torimaru recalled:

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<sup>156</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 1-8 Dec. 1945.

<sup>157</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 27 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>158</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>159</sup>The late Albert Ueno, Yokohama, 14 Jan. 1987.

<sup>160</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, Darwin, 29 Aug. 1986.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid.

We were so glad that the war finally ended. We shouted by saying, "They lost the war. Hooray!" The Japanese didn't like it, I am sure. Father was, of course, very annoyed with us.<sup>162</sup>

Harry Liang, a Formosan internee at Tatura, was also happy with the news. On 15 August 1946 he wrote to Sullivan:

I write to you particularly today - the first anniversary day of the surrender of the cruel Japs, and the dramatic crash of Fascism in this world. Indeed it is a day to remember. Thinking back a year ago today, before breakfast I listened to the news ... in a happiest mood. The surrender of the Japs indeed was my happiest moment.<sup>163</sup>

According to the camp authorities, internees in 14B at Loveday had mixed reactions. Those who were more educated generally accepted Japan's defeat and were pleased that their internment would be over. The older, less-educated internees believed that Japan had won the war and looked forward to their return to Japan. The Australian-born were sure of the outcome of the war, while the younger group of internees from N.E.I. appeared to be "incapable of worrying about anything".<sup>164</sup> It was noted that Oyama Hashi, the laundryman from Sydney, "deplored the stupidity of Japanese leaders dragging the country into a war against the most powerful nations in the world, and dwelt at some length on the unfortunate position of victims such as himself."<sup>165</sup>

According to an intelligence report of 5 February 1946, most internees at Loveday did not believe accounts of atrocities committed by the Japanese, but

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<sup>162</sup>Oriel Vallance, Brisbane, 29 Aug. 1987.

<sup>163</sup>Harry Liang, letter, Taipei, 15 Aug. 1946.

<sup>164</sup>AP 719/3, SA12667, Loveday Intelligence Report No. 156, 5 Feb. 1946

<sup>165</sup>AP 719/3, SA 12667, 29 Jan. 1946.

those who had more education appeared to be puzzled by the reports.<sup>166</sup>

Nagano, secretary of 14B internees committee, was quoted as saying:

in all nations there were bad individuals and that he could not understand the reports as Japanese in culture and honour were above committing such things.<sup>167</sup>

This could be explained by the isolation within the camps and the lack of war news or means to assess what little news they did receive. Jo Murakami said:

During the period we were in camp we were not conscious of any first-hand animosity except as conveyed by the local newspapers which were handed to us after being censored by the military. We were a little colony on our own, with the barbed wire barricades serving as a buffer against the reality that existed on the outside.<sup>168</sup>

One PWJM at Hay wrote:

for the last four years we do not know what has happened to the outside world ... However, we expect to be released soon and we will be able to see our rapidly progressing Japan again ...<sup>169</sup>

Senshooa [lit. a faction which believed in a Japanese victory] was not unique to Japanese internees in Australia. It also occurred in Japanese communities or internment camps in other parts of the world.<sup>170</sup> According to Imano and Fujisaki, Senshooa were generally early settlers who were unaware of what was happening in the world and were over-confident of Japan's military power. They were proud of the Yamato [traditional Japanese] spirit as exemplified by Japan's victories in previous wars. This surfaced as a reaction to the news of Japanese defeat.<sup>171</sup> Okada, a local internee from

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<sup>166</sup> AP 719/3, SA 12667, 5 Feb. 1946.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Jo Murakami, 16 July 1988.

<sup>169</sup> AWM 52, 8/7/20, 3 Nov. 1945.

<sup>170</sup> See Imano and Fujisaki, *Iminshi*, Vol. 1, pp. 166-182 and pp. 258-263; and Vol. 3, p. 303. Senshooa was common among Japanese communities in South America and Hawaiian Japanese interned in the USA.

<sup>171</sup> Imano and Fujisaki, Vol. 1, p. 166 and Vol. 3, p. 303.

Queensland, was quoted by an intelligence report of 5 February 1946 as saying:

...overseas internees were impossible to live with. Their faith in their country was implicit and they believed nothing of the news in the press. He had involved himself in trouble with them through trying to point out that "black was not white".<sup>172</sup>

Tension between the Formosans and the Japanese worsened following changes in the attitude of some Formosans after Japan's surrender. On 9 November 1945 the 14B camp commandant at Loveday reported:

There has always been tension in the compounds between Japanese and Formosans, Japanese always treating the Formosans as being of very low caste and not fit to mix socially with pure Japanese. Formosans have never been allowed to take an active part in either the social life or the administration of the compound. This tension has become more strained in recent days, since the Formosans, in a letter to the Chinese Consul, requested recognition as Chinese subjects.<sup>173</sup>

One cause of the worsening friction was relief money. The Japanese taunted Formosans with the fact that while Japan was at war, some Formosans accepted Japanese government money, but after the defeat of Japan they declared themselves not loyal to Japan.<sup>174</sup> Resentment was particularly strong among the circle of patriotic Japanese in 14B where the majority of Formosans were held. Of the 143 Formosans at Loveday, only 25 were held in 14C. 75 Formosans had been receiving an allowance from the Japanese government.<sup>175</sup> The end of Japan's 50-year control of Formosa came with Japan's formal surrender on 2 September 1945.<sup>176</sup> Formosans regained their Chinese citizenship once Formosa was returned to China. The consul for the

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<sup>172</sup>AP 719/3, SA 12667, 5 Feb. 1946.

<sup>173</sup>AP 613/1, 90/1/146, 9 Nov. 1945.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>Inoue, K., *Nihon no Rekishi*, Iwanami, Tokyo, 1986, Vol. 3., p. 210.

Republic of China in Melbourne, L.M. Wang, having had correspondence with the Formosans at Loveday, became aware of this situation and told Army Headquarters:

Formosans wish to be separated from Japanese internees and repatriated to Formosa. Formosans who pledge their loyalty to China feel that the separation is advisable to prevent clashes among the internees.<sup>177</sup>

The compound leader of 14B wrote to the camp commandant:

As we might suppose you already know, most of the Formosans in our compound have brought forward to you recently their wish to be shifted to the other camp...I can not understand why they are so rash as to start an action in this way. Anyhow, as a result of their egotistic, treacherous and ungrateful attitude, I fear that there may occur a conflict...between those category of people and other Japanese in the camp...I will try my best to avoid every trouble ... the best step to take is to separate these Formosans, in order to assure the peace in our camp.<sup>178</sup>

The group commandant, however, decided not to take any special action. He reported to Adelaide Headquarters saying "this attitude of threat of violence is an old game which was tried by the Germans many times in No. 10 Compound, but the minorities were never molested."<sup>179</sup>

At Tatura, however, Formosans with Japanese sympathies were moved to B, C and D Compounds, while A was left to Formosans who claimed loyalty to China.<sup>180</sup> In January 1946 the Formosan compound leader at Tatura, Tan Tiaw Lin, expressed his concern on behalf of other Formosans who wished to return to Formosa. He wrote to the Chinese Consul:

We had sent you two letters... which we thought they had reached you long ago ... there were one hundred and six members Formosans who would receive the Japanese relief fund had been transferred to another as being regarded to be loyal

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<sup>177</sup>MP 742/1, 255/12/174, 26 Oct. 1945.

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., 27 Nov. 1945.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid.

<sup>180</sup>AWM 53, 8/7/43, 16 Dec. 1945.

to Japan. The rest of us one hundred and fifty eight members are purely loyal to our country ... we are in great illusion whether we are to be sent back together with the repatriated Japanese or to be repatriated separately to Formosa.<sup>181</sup>

For some the end of the war marked the end of separation from their families. They looked forward to returning to their homes in Japan or elsewhere. Paradoxically, the end to the established routines of camp life meant for others a return to insecurity. Japan had lost the war and as "Japanese" they were unsure about what would happen to them.

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<sup>181</sup>Ibid., 12 Jan. 1946.

## CHAPTER 8

### Post-war Release and Repatriation

On 3 October 1945 Army Headquarters in Melbourne received a signal from the Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP) regarding the repatriation of Japanese held in Australia.<sup>1</sup> Being responsible for the supervision of shipping, SCAP asked for advice on the estimated number of Japanese to be repatriated. This raised the question as to whether all Japanese civilian internees would be repatriated. On 15 November 1945 there were 3,268 Japanese civilian internees still in the camps. Of these, about 958 were either former residents of Australia or former merchant seamen. The remainder were held on behalf of other Allied governments - 1,240 from N.E.I, 988 from New Caledonia, 50 from New Zealand, 31 from the New Hebrides and 1 from the Solomon Islands.<sup>2</sup>

On 28 November 1945 the Australian government stated its policy for release and repatriation of civilian internees. All Japanese nationals, resident or not, local or not, were to be repatriated, excepting when referred through the Attorney-General.<sup>3</sup> Among the locals were approximately 100 Australian-born of Japanese parentage. The rest were Japanese nationals. Late in 1945

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<sup>1</sup>MP 742/1, 255/18/432. Repatriation of Formosan and Koreans (hereafter referred to as 'Yoizuki File'), Mar. 1946.

<sup>2</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 15 Nov. 1945.

<sup>3</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 28 Nov. 1945.

the Departments of the Army, External Affairs and Immigration agreed to withhold the following categories from repatriation:

- (a) Australian-born Japanese
- (b) Japanese married to Australian or British-born wives or husbands
- (c) Any medically certified as unfit to travel.<sup>4</sup>

It was not, however, automatic for the authorities to allow anyone who came into these categories to remain in Australia. Special investigation boards under Justice Hutchins and Justice Simpson were appointed to examine overseas and local internees respectively. 143 locals, eleven overseas Japanese and thirteen PWJMs in these categories were withheld for further investigation.<sup>5</sup> Three married couples who had Australian-born children were not included in this group. Mr. and Mrs Iwanaga, for example, had an Australian-born adopted daughter who was interned for a short period. Mr. and Mrs Tonda had an Australian-born daughter who married an Australian-born Japanese in the camp. Mr. and Mrs Fukushima's daughter was not interned and was in a boarding school in Townsville during the war. These three couples had been in Australia for 42, 45 and 25 years respectively at the outbreak of the war.<sup>6</sup> All were deported, leaving their daughters in Australia.<sup>7</sup> The reasons for this decision are not known. Tonda had been president of the Nihonjin-kai in Brisbane. According to Claude Tanaka, who married his daughter, he was one of the most active members of the Japanese community in Brisbane and had close contact with Professor Seita of the University of Queensland before the war.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>AWM 54, 780/1/6, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 4 Jan. 1947.

<sup>7</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 4 Jan. 1947.

<sup>8</sup>Claude Tanaka, Sydney, 7 May 1992.



Internees were not told of their future movements until a few weeks before repatriation. On 11 January 1946 the 14C Compound Leader at Loveday wrote to the Minister for External Affairs:

Time and tide wait for no man and it is already five long months since the war has been concluded, but no great news had been announced as regards to our releases from behind this secluded hemisphere.<sup>9</sup>

The Australian-born and those married to Australian women were deeply anxious of the possibility of deportation to Japan.<sup>10</sup> They wrote letters to the Minister of External Affairs appealing against deportation to Japan. Tatsuhei Tanaka, a Loveday internee from Sydney, was one of them:

I took the liberty of appealing to you for my release in this country in an earliest occasion. I have got interned for through Japanese nationality but I am innocent and very sociable Japanese. I am reside in this country over forty-five years and had married to a Ireland woman, and have two children. My occupation was laundry business until I got interned (wife carry on business present time) those long period. I have been very obedient servant for government of Australia. If you investigate about my character that you will find out everything perfect order. Therefore I want remain in Australia and look after my family and also sacrifice for Australia.<sup>11</sup>

He was one of the local internees not deported.<sup>12</sup>

Yoshio Murakami, husband of Masuko Murakami, was a Japanese national and had been a pearl diver in Australia for 30 years. He was a PWJM at Hay and applied to stay in Australia. He wrote to his wife at Tatura that "there is still no reply for my application to stay. I certainly will not return to

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<sup>9</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 11 Jan. 1946.

<sup>10</sup>AP 719/3, SA 12667, 5 Feb. 1946.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 10 Dec. 1945.

<sup>12</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 19 Aug. 1946.

Japan."<sup>13</sup> He and his family were not deported as his wife was Australian-born.

Intelligence reports from Loveday in January and February 1946 indicate that there was less display of feeling about repatriation in 14C than 14B. An intelligence report of 5 February 1946 stated that a number of internees believed that "the world will be an unfriendly place for all Japanese wherever they go" and that they "would be content to stay interned indefinitely."<sup>14</sup> Many elderly internees who were long-time residents of Australia expressed the hope to remain and wrote letters of appeal to the Minister for the External Affairs.<sup>15</sup>

Yasutaro Hama, 66 years old in 1946, had been living in Broome for 45 years before he was interned. He had been an honorary secretary of the Japanese Society and the owner of a Broome boarding house.<sup>16</sup> He wrote:

For the adjustment of all the unfixed cases of the Japanese at Broome, and also for the adjustment of my own property at Broome I desire to apply to be returned to my old place once again. I had owned two houses worth 600 pounds and minor movable properties worth 200 pounds which had been left in the case of Mr. Chapple H. of Broome, W.A.<sup>17</sup>

He was deported.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 9-16 Feb. 1946.

<sup>14</sup>AP 719/3, SA 12667, 5 Feb. 1946.

<sup>15</sup>Over 60 such letters have been found in file A 1066, 45/1/11/5. These were written by internees or compiled by the 14C Compound Leader. It is likely that similar letters were written by some internees in 14B.

<sup>16</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 31 Jan. 1946.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 4 Jan. 1947.

Chotaro Sugie, 85 years old in 1946, had been a fisherman at Port Hedland, Western Australia. In his letter of appeal to the Minister for the External Affairs, transcribed by the Compound Leader, he said:

I have nobody in Japan and have no intention to go back to Japan. My second homeland, Australia, is the only place as for me to live in future.<sup>19</sup>

He was deported.<sup>20</sup>

Some internees received support for their release from their friends and families in Australia. Tokugi Iwase, a cook from Perth, had been living in Perth for over 43 years before he was interned. He wrote:

I have been working for Mr. T. F. Deplodges, King Park Rd. of Western Australia until I have got interned and he trusted me in every way. I am innocent and democratic a Japanese and I have no intention to go back to Japan. All my interests are in Australia.<sup>21</sup>

His employer wrote in support of his release in Australia:

I am writing to ask if Tokugi Iwase at present interned in No.14 C Camp...can be released. He was in my employ for about 14 years before the war and I found him a loyal honest worker. When he gets his release I will give him back his old job (cook). He has asked me to apply for his release for this purpose.<sup>22</sup>

He was deported.<sup>23</sup> Eva Moore of Mosman in Sydney, who had a long term, possibly de facto, relationship with Bunji Mori, appealed for Mori's release in Australia. On 11 February 1946 she wrote:

...he has been a resident of Sydney for 30 years and has always been a good citizen, and a good home loving man. We have been in business in Sydney for the past 25 years. He is now about 65 years of age and needs home comforts. I am a good honest citizen and a good trades

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 29 Jan. 1946.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 25 Jan. 1946.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 10 Feb. 1946.

<sup>23</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 4 Jan. 1947.

woman and spend my whole life working and caring for my home. Trusting you will be able to grant my request.<sup>24</sup>

He was deported.<sup>25</sup>

Elderly PWJMs at Hay also wanted to remain in Australia. Chinenji Kaino recalled:

They were quiet about what they thought or wanted, but preferred to remain in Australia. If they hadn't been repatriated to Japan, they would have been happy to be buried in the Australian soil when they died.<sup>26</sup>

Some PWJMs from Thursday Island anticipated problems and wrote to former employers there about the possibility of re-employment after their release.

One PWJM wrote to the Bowden Pearling Co. Ltd on Thursday Island:

We are expecting to be released soon, and we're looking forward to return to civilian life. Some of the internees are applying to stay in this country and they would like to be re-engaged in their previous employment if possible... Will you be good enough to let me know by return post if possible, where I could contact my previous employer and also what the old companies intend doing as regards re-starting the old business again.<sup>27</sup>

Another PWJM replied to his former employer:

Many thanks for the offer of the old job. I shall be pleased to accept it, and hope to be allowed to remain in this country, and return to our old home on Thursday Island... so many people here would like to return to Thursday Island. In fact, I think that the majority of our divers would like to start at all the places again...<sup>28</sup>

Their hope was not realised. All PWJMs were deported, except those who were Australian-born or had Australian-born wives.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 11 Feb. 1946.

<sup>25</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 4 Jan. 1947.

<sup>26</sup>Chinenji Kaino, Wakayama, 26 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>27</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 2-9 Feb. 1946.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 23 Aug. 1946.

Some overseas internees appealed against repatriation to Japan as they were anxious to return to their families. At Loveday in January 1946, 30 men from New Caledonia applied to the Minister for External Affairs to be returned there.<sup>30</sup> They had been living in New Caledonia for 30 to 40 years, and all but six had families in New Caledonia.<sup>31</sup> However, New Caledonia had requested that the Japanese in question be deported to Japan.<sup>32</sup> Gonkichi Banno and his wife, Jessie, from New Zealand applied to remain in Australia. Jessie Banno was born in Tonga and possessed a British passport. The Department of External Affairs did not want them to stay in Australia<sup>33</sup> and the New Zealand government requested that they be sent to Japan.<sup>34</sup>

Although the N.E.I. government had requested that all the Japanese from there be returned to Japan,<sup>35</sup> it allowed Toshi Chen to be excluded from repatriation. She was arrested in N.E.I. with her Chinese husband, Dr. Jen Liang Chen, and both were interned at Tatura. Her husband was released in 1944, but she remained interned. The Chinese Legation supported her release in Australia so that she could go to China.<sup>36</sup> On 11 March 1946 she was granted temporary residence in Australia under exemption.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 31 Jan. 1946.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 15 and 20 Nov. 1945.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 14 Feb. 1946.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 22 Feb. 1946.

<sup>35</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 16 Nov. 1945.

<sup>36</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 15 Feb. 1946.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 11 Mar. 1946.

The first Japanese were repatriated in February 1946. The first ship to arrive at Port Melbourne was the "Koei Maru" to carry 2,562 people - 2,162 internees from Loveday and Tatura, including 165 women and 203 children, and 400 POWs from the Murchison POW camp near Tatura. They were entrained from their camps and brought down to Melbourne.<sup>38</sup>

At Loveday the internees were allowed to keep eating utensils and one of the four blankets which they had been using in the camp, in addition to any personal belongings they had when they arrived at the camp. They were put on trucks and brought down to Barmera Railway Station on 20 February 1946. On the day the internees left the camp Miyakatsu Koike noted in his diary :

Although life was restricted, I felt emotional realising that life (in the camp) had been peaceful. I had various experiences, both sad and hard. I farewelled the land which I would probably never see again.<sup>39</sup>

Bert Whitmore remembered the day the Japanese left the camp and has since wondered what became of Sumi, an internee he had befriended.

Sumi was a boat builder in Darwin. As far as his ability was concerned, he could read plans and specifications ... Sumi was the one I went to speak to. I knew him very well. He was a wonderful man. He cried when he left. He didn't want to go.<sup>40</sup>

As their train approached Melbourne, they saw local residents gathering along the railway to watch them. Some people were making fists at them. Koike noted: "They probably lost their sons by the Japanese. Some Australians hate Japan. I was reassured that I had been a prisoner."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>A 373, 11419/214, 26 Feb. 1946.

<sup>39</sup>Koike, p. 154, [J].

<sup>40</sup>Bert Whitmore, Barmera, 14 Apr. 1987.

<sup>41</sup>Koike, p. 156, [J].

On 21 February they reached Melbourne to board the "Koei Maru". In Koike's words, "we were shocked to see the shabby-looking ship."<sup>42</sup> A former intelligence officer at Port Melbourne on that day recalled:

I was rather shocked...when I got down to the wharf at the "Koei Maru" waiting for the trains to come in and we had to put them along the wharf. Along the wharf about every 20 yards there were machine guns as though they were going to mow them all down. And I think it did scare some of the Japanese people going aboard for sure.<sup>43</sup>

The shipping reporter from the *Melbourne Age* was invited aboard ship by both the Japanese interpreter and the captain to see the conditions on board.

The reporter wrote:

The holds where more than 2,500 men, women and children will live for 19 days, looked like resurrected Black Holes of Calcutta, while on top, sweating in the sun, stood a throng of Japanese men and women ... How the total of nearly 3,000 on the ship will fare in the tropics was left to the imagination...<sup>44</sup>

No official inspection of the vessel was made as the conditions of travel were not a concern of the military.<sup>45</sup>

The presence of Japanese POWs on the same wharf as civilians created a tense atmosphere. Koike noted:

The POWs (Japanese) were all looking in low spirits. I imagine that they felt reluctant about going back to Japan knowing that they should not have been prisoners. Some of them once attempted a suicidal breakout at Cowra. I could almost feel the pain they had.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Koike, p. 156 [J].

<sup>43</sup>Name withheld, 14 Apr. 1987.

<sup>44</sup>*Melbourne Age*, 22 Feb. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>45</sup>A 373, 11419/214, 26 Feb. 1946.

<sup>46</sup>Koike, p. 157, [J].

The embarkation went without incident.<sup>47</sup> The "Koei Maru" sailed for Japan at 3:30 p.m. on 21 February.<sup>48</sup> That evening the captain of the ship gathered ex-group leaders of internees to explain how severely Japan had been bombed and show them clippings from Japanese newspapers. They then reported what they had learnt to the others. Koike wrote: "Those who had not believed about the Japanese surrender suddenly went silent."<sup>49</sup> According to Andy Takamura, "one ex-internee committed suicide on the ship after he found out that the surrender had been true."<sup>50</sup> On 28 February Koike noted:

For the first time since we came on board on the ship, I had a chance to speak to a young officer about what he had experienced in the mountains in New Guinea. Food supply was cut and he had to survive on grass, gekkos, and insects. When he was found by an Australian, he was unable to walk. He was flown to a hospital in Australia. I thought the war should never happen again. I could now understand why Japan had lost the war.<sup>51</sup>

The second repatriation ship was the "Daikai Maru", which was to carry 2,691 POWs from camps in New South Wales, including approximately 500 PWJMs from Hay.<sup>52</sup> The Hay camp authorities were cautious about the reactions of POWs and PWJMs to repatriation. On 24 February 1946 the Group Commandant spoke to all POWs and PWJMs at Hay:

When the time comes for you to return to Japan, there may be some prisoners of war who will be uneasy in their minds as to the reception you will receive in Japan. We wish to point out that radical changes have taken place in the Japanese government of post-war Japan, and these changes are reflected in the general attitude of the Japanese people. The most important change from your point of view is that the Army and Navy no longer have any control. The government is well aware of this healthy change and realises that in their hearts your

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<sup>47</sup>Name withheld, 14 Apr. 1987.

<sup>48</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup>Koike, p. 158.

<sup>50</sup>Andy Takamura, Kobe, 12 Jan. 1992, [J].

<sup>51</sup>Koike, p. 160, [J].

<sup>52</sup>A373, 11419/214, 26 Feb. 1946.



families and relatives are anxiously awaiting your safe return...according to information just received from Tokyo, the Japanese prisoners of war who were repatriated from New Zealand were welcomed in Japan without any incidents or demonstrations of any kind, and have already returned peacefully to their homes with great jubilation for all.<sup>53</sup>

On 1 March 1946 the Japanese POWs and PWJMs marched out in "clean and pressed burgundy suits" without incident. According to Charlie Clift, a guard who accompanied them to Sydney, everything went smoothly. The "Daikai Maru" left Sydney on 2 March 1946.<sup>54</sup> Chinenji Kaino said:

We got on the ship and there it became clear in our mind that Japan had lost the war. We all wept. I heard many horrible stories from POWs on the same ship. My mind sank with sadness for them. We didn't know anything about what was happening outside the camp.<sup>55</sup>

Both the "Koei Maru" and "Daikai Maru" were manned by Japanese crews, and headed for Uruga, Japan. During both voyages, the crews treated the repatriates badly. According to former internees on board, senior crew members attempted to embezzle the ship stores. Mari Kai was on the "Koei Maru":

It was terrible...they didn't give us the food that had been taken aboard at Melbourne. We saw the food going onto the ship. We were always fed well in the camp so I was shocked ...We were hungry, but someone, I think it was a soldier, complained to the crew. About half way to Japan the treatment improved.<sup>56</sup>

On the "Daikai Maru" ill-treatment led to the killing of crew members.

Kaino was on this ship and described the incident:

All we were given was one Kampan (dry bread) and a bowl of water a day. We had been eating well in the camp. I just couldn't believe it ... My legs were shaking from hunger ... It lasted for

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<sup>53</sup>AWM 52, 8/7/20, 25 Feb. - 2 Mar. 1946.

<sup>54</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p.2.

<sup>55</sup>Chinenji Kaino, 27 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>56</sup>The late Mari Kai, Kawasaki, 25 Jan. 1987, [J].

about 10 days. And one day I heard some soldiers knifed some crew members ...After this, we were fed well.<sup>57</sup>

Masatora Okamura, a former PWJM living in Broome in 1986, had more detailed information:

The crew was going to embezzle the ship's stores and sell them on the black-market. But some of the lower ranks had been dissatisfied with their treatment by their superiors. They gave the information to one of the Cowra POWs, who then planned with other soldiers to mutiny. They weren't afraid ...they had made a big escape from the camp once before, you know. I don't know exactly how many were killed then.<sup>58</sup>

Both voyages took about three weeks. The "Koei Maru" arrived safely at Uraga on 13 March.<sup>59</sup> Imaizumi described the day:

After having spent about three weeks on the rough sea - an experience I could never forget for its miserable conditions on board. When we finally reached Japan were greeted by snowfalls and coldness. The vessel anchored outside the harbour for a couple of days more for quarantine checks.<sup>60</sup>

Mori remained uncertain about the Japanese surrender until the ship reached Japan. He described seeing Japan for the first time in 15 years:

It was snowing that day...not many houses or buildings in the area ... all bombed. I was shocked. Then I thought it (the defeat) had been really true...<sup>61</sup>

For those born or raised in other countries, this was their first sight of Japan. Many elderly people saw a Japan they had long forgotten. After the repatriates disembarked, they were sprayed with DDT. They were then taken to Uraga where they were housed in Navy barracks:

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<sup>57</sup>Chinenji Kaino, 27 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>58</sup>Masatora Okamaru, Broome, 26 Aug. 1986, [J].

<sup>59</sup>*Sydney Sun*, 14 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>60</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 25 Sept. 1985.

<sup>61</sup>Taishiro Mori, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].

It was like an internment camp all over again but this one was much worse than Tatura ... It was cold and miserable ... There was very little food.<sup>62</sup>

The Japanese government gave each repatriate a train ticket home. Taishiro Mori was one whose family was awaiting his homecoming. He left Uruga and headed for his home town, Ariaka Kyushu. He described his journey home:

It was shocking to see the condition of Japan... particularly when we came to Hiroshima. All that was left at the station was a bent water tap ... One old man got off the train. He was gazing at the devastation vacantly and in the next moment he burst into tears ... For the first time I learnt the photos I saw at Tatura were all true. I was one of the lucky ones. My home town hadn't been bombed.<sup>63</sup>

Mori's sister was at home when he arrived. She recalled the moment when he entered the house:

I didn't recognise him straight away. He was wearing the red uniform from the Australian camp. He stared at me and said, "It's me" ... and I said, "Oh, it's you."<sup>64</sup>

Koike had been away from home for 11 years. His wife came to see him at Uruga. She told him that he lost his father, three uncles, his wife's parents and his son while he was interned in Australia.<sup>65</sup> Many PWJMs had their homes in Wakayama.<sup>66</sup> Chinenji Kaino was one:

Japan was in a terrible condition. We were crammed in the train. Some of us were in the red camp uniform... good quality clothes... other Japanese were staring at us. There were some of us in dress suits with a necktie and a hat. We really stood out like movie stars...<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>The late Mari Kai, 25 Jan. 1987.

<sup>63</sup>Taishiro Mori, 17 Jan. 1989.

<sup>64</sup>Mr. Mori's sister, Saga, 17 Jan. 1987, [J].

<sup>65</sup>Koike, p. 163-164.

<sup>66</sup>See p.26, Chapter 2.

<sup>67</sup>Chinenji Kaino, 27 Jan. 1987, [J].

Many had nowhere to go to. They went to a repatriates' centre at Kanazawabunko until they found a livelihood.<sup>68</sup>

On 13 January SCAP had requested information concerning the numbers and locations of Formosan and Korean POWs and civilians awaiting repatriation from the AMF areas.<sup>69</sup> Army Headquarters replied that there were 948 repatriates on the mainland, comprising 162 Korean POWs, 411 Formosan POWs and 375 Formosan civilians.<sup>70</sup> SCAP decided not to include them on the two ships already en route to Australia to collect repatriates, but to arrange a separate vessel.<sup>71</sup>

After the "Koei Maru" and "Daikai Maru" left , 1,005 Formosan and Korean internees and POWs remained in Australia. 439 were civilian internees - 437 Formosans and 2 Koreans, including 99 women and 112 children.<sup>72</sup> On 6 March all 1,005 were brought to Pyrmont Wharf, Sydney, to embark on the "Yoizuki", a demilitarised destroyer manned by a Japanese crew.<sup>73</sup> On the previous day members of the press had been allowed on board. They indicated that if women and children were to be embarked under such conditions, their newspaper stories would be highly critical.<sup>74</sup> Accommodation on the "Yoizuki" was described in the Melbourne *Argus*:

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<sup>68</sup>Mari Kai, 11 Jan. 1987.

<sup>69</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p. 7.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Yoizuki File, Major Coffin's report, 6 Mar. 1946.

Accommodation for the women and children comprised an iron deckhouse and a between-decks compartment aft. The deckhouse has only a few ventilators and portholes ...The compartment between decks was formerly used as storage space. There is no forced draught, and no other means of ventilation except for portholes, which have to be closed when at sea.<sup>75</sup>

Jim Sullivan was officer in charge of the train to Sydney and accompanied the Formosans to the wharf. He recalled that all were happy on the way, but as soon as they saw the ship they became very unhappy.<sup>76</sup> Captain Araki of the "Yoizuki" claimed that he had "given the women and children the best accommodation on the destroyer." He admitted "the accommodation was poor by Australian standards, but not by Japanese."<sup>77</sup> An embarkation officer inspected the accommodation for women and children on the ship and found conditions so "cramped and vile" that he reported them to his superior.<sup>78</sup> The destroyer was built to carry 315 crew, and was now to carry 1,005 passengers, plus crew, plus excess civilian baggage which took some space allocated for passengers. This concerned army officers who referred the problem to Army Headquarters in Melbourne.<sup>79</sup> 566 Formosan and Korean POWs were already aboard, but embarkation of the civilian Formosans was delayed. The atmosphere on the wharf became tense. The Formosans, not knowing that they were to be sent to Formosa, believed they were destined for Japan. They showed signs of distress and fear at being aboard a Japanese ship.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Melbourne *Argus*, 7 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>76</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 17 Feb. 1990.

<sup>77</sup>*Daily Mirror*, 6 Mar. 1946, MP 742/1, 255/18/432.

<sup>78</sup>Yoizuki File, Major Coffin's report.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

At noon a decision was received from Headquarters that the women and children must board the ship, on the grounds that "the provisioning of the ship was the responsibility of the Japanese government and the responsibility of the Australian Army would cease at the gangway."<sup>81</sup> When the Formosans were told, some of them protested vigorously. Many became hysterical. Weeping in fear, they were forced onto the "Yoizuki". After the embarkation was complete, Liu Wei Ping, the Chinese Vice-Consul, went aboard to speak to the Formosan internees. He was quoted in the *Sydney Sun* as telling the Formosans:

Formosa had gone back to China and they now were Chinese. They were not going back to Japan. They complained that the ship was too crowded, and I told them they were Chinese. China had suffered a lot during the war and they too would have to suffer.<sup>82</sup>

After being told this, the internees showed signs of relief. The "Yoizuki" sailed at 2.30 pm.<sup>83</sup> On 29 May 1946 Harry Liang from Tatura wrote to Captain Wright, No. 4 Camp Commandant in 1945:

After our struggle which failed at Sydney dock, we went on board and were comforted to see our vice-consul Mr Liu Wei Ping who spoke to us. The condition in the ship was very unpleasant...The heat in the compartment almost drove everyone mad...we were sleeping in the position just like those "sardines in the tin"...I was very much pitiful to those women and children who fainted...<sup>84</sup>

He continued:

I wish to express our hearty thanks ...for the gallant protest to your government against putting us on board that ship "Yoizuki" indeed the kindheartedness of the Australian people had been represented by you and all the officers' deeds for us.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>*Sydney Sun*, 6 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>83</sup>Yoizuki File, Major Coffin's report.

<sup>84</sup>Harry Liang, letter, 29 May 1946, A 373, 1/505/48.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

The outcry did not stop with the departure of the "Yoizuki". The scenes of crying Formosan women and children at the wharf attracted the attention of the public and the press. A strong and widespread press campaign alleged that the ship was like the "Black Hole of Calcutta" and should not have left Australia with the women and children aboard. The "Yoizuki" was branded a "Hell Ship".<sup>86</sup>

The government's decision to force the Formosan internees aboard not only annoyed the press, but also had political repercussions. Various individuals and organisations sent telegrams to the prime minister urging that the destroyer be recalled by radio or ordered to put in at the nearest port. They condemned the government action as inhumane and identified it with "a re-creation of the concentration camp conditions for the extirpation of which Australians fought and died."<sup>87</sup> Among the organisations which protested were the Methodist Conference, the Australian Chinese Association, the Waterside Workers Federation and the Australian Seamen's Union.<sup>88</sup> The secretary of the Seamen's Union stated:

It was criminal that Chinese nationals should be compelled to sail on a Japanese-manned ship. There was a complete lack of even the most primitive hygienic facilities.<sup>89</sup>

Mr. Treatt, deputy leader of the opposition, said:

What was wrong for Australian women and children was surely wrong, too for Formosans. There would have been a great public outcry if it had been proposed to transport Australian women and children under the conditions described.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p. 7.

<sup>87</sup>Melbourne *Herald*, 7 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

Protests were also made by opposition members in the House of Representatives. Mr. Menzies, the opposition leader, and Mr. Fadden, the Country Party leader, made a joint statement in Canberra that "It was the sovereign duty of the Australian government to refuse their embarkation and despatch under such conditions".<sup>91</sup> Mr. Treatt, deputy leader of the opposition, said that "The incident was akin to those atrocities which we had condemned so severely in the Japanese".<sup>92</sup>

There were other reactions. Brigadier A.S. Blackburn V.C. of South Australia, a former prisoner of war in Japan, stated:

The Japanese [Formosan] passengers on the ship would be travelling under conditions which would be like heaven compared with the way they habitually moved Allied prisoners during the war. They are not one scrap worse off than other Japanese women or children I saw moved at sea while I was a prisoner...but they did not appear to mind in the least.<sup>93</sup>

Following public protests and the press campaign, the prime minister sent a signal to MacArthur informing him of the strong reaction to the conditions on the "Yoizuki",<sup>94</sup> and the government announced on 7 March that the "Yoizuki" would call at "an island port" for inspection.<sup>95</sup> It was reported that the government also sent a radio message to the captain of the "Yoizuki" warning against any inhumanity during the journey.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>*Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>93</sup>*Melbourne Herald*, 8 Mar. 1946, Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., Mar. 1946.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>*Melbourne Sun*, 8 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.



There is evidence that the "Yoizuki" was scheduled to call at Rabaul on its way to Formosa, possibly to meet an Australian request to pick up extra Formosan and Korean POWs transferred from Port Moresby.<sup>97</sup> On 8 March the Australian government received a signal from MacArthur requesting that action be taken to disembark women, children and male heads of families at Rabaul for re-embarkation on a Japanese hospital ship, the "Hikawa Maru".<sup>98</sup>

On 11 March the "Yoizuki" arrived at Rabaul and disembarked 319 women, children and male heads of families, and 32 sick people.<sup>99</sup> A commonwealth investigation team, led by Justice Simpson, was sent, but found no evidence of undue sickness and no deaths.<sup>100</sup> In fact, some were reluctant to leave the ship, which they saw as fast transport likely to reach their destination sooner than alternatives.<sup>101</sup>

After unloading 351 people, the "Yoizuki" embarked 142 Korean POWs (possibly from Port Moresby), and sailed on the same day carrying 802 passengers.<sup>102</sup> On the following day, 351 women and children were re-embarked on the "Hikawa Maru", carrying 63 Japanese nurses and 28 Japanese doctors. The ship also took on 2,000 Formosans and Korean POWs at Kokopo near Rabaul, and departed on 14 March.<sup>103</sup> Harry Liang wrote :

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

<sup>98</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p. 8.

<sup>99</sup>Sydney Sun, 14 Mar. 1946, in Yoizuki File.

<sup>100</sup>Melbourne Argus, 13 Mar. 1946, Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>Sydney Sun, 13 Mar. 1946, Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Yoizuki File, Background Information, p. 8.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

Nevertheless, our hard time was short-lived, we arrived at Rabaul after six days of "hell voyage" then we were put ashore ... Then the next day, we went on board another Jap ship named "Hikawa Maru". We were relieved... there were 60 Jap nurses serving us. So we travelled along safely and happily till we at last arrived at our destination.<sup>104</sup>

The "Hikawa Maru" arrived at Keelong on 22 March.<sup>105</sup> The repatriates were shocked to see the devastation of the area from bombing during the war. In Chu Tie Twan's words it was "the most bitter moment of our life".<sup>106</sup> Chu, a former internee at Tatura, wrote of their arrival:

No transport vehicles for conveying us as well as our baggage, thus we were forced to go on foot about a mile ... to a wrecked and dark building, where we were just about to sit on the wreckage, and stayed awake a whole night through ... Babies were crying, women and girls were weeping and praying, men were grumbling and swearing... Everybody felt distressed and hopeless... Later we were fed with macaroni mixed with salted water... Some bought cakes in exchange with soaps or personal effects.<sup>107</sup>

On the next day the repatriates were given train tickets to go home. Chu Tie Twan continued:

many of us got no home or families as our ancestors left the island too long and most all the places were badly damaged after war, and no trace to seek relatives. We, the desolated ones after consulting and pleading with the city chief consequently decided to go to Taipei to seek further assistance.<sup>108</sup>

Guan Guo Shi, the son of a former internee, said, "My father came back with baggage full of tinned food. Food was scarce at that time so we exchanged it for noodles."<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup>Harry Liang, letter, 29 May 1946, A 373, 1/505/48.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Chu Tie Twan, letter, 8 Aug. 1946, A 373, 1/505/48.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>Guan Guo Shi, Taipei, 5 Dec. 1986, [C].

After the repatriation of the Formosans and Koreans, 162 Japanese withheld from initial repatriation were still in camps awaiting further investigation.<sup>110</sup> The 162 internees were all gathered in No. 4 at Tatura.

TABLE 4

	Males	Females	Children	Total
(a) Australian-born	22	6	16	44
Born in camp since Feb. 1946			2	2
(b) Families where husband is Japanese and wife Australian-born	47	11	26	84
(c) Families where wife is Japanese and husband Australian-born	1	1	6	8
(d) Japanese withheld on medical grounds	6	-	-	6
(e) Others (such as Australian-born who were not interned)	9	5	-	14
	<hr/>			
Sub-total	85	25	50	158
(f) Interned from New Caledonia	2	1	1	4
	<hr/>			
Total				162 <sup>111</sup>

The six men in Category (d) were aged from 61 to 82 and all had been in Australia from 44 to 49 years. The 14 in Category (e) were all over 50 ranging up to 78 and all had been in Australia from 44 to 57 years.<sup>112</sup> Among the 47 men in Category (b) were those who were married to white wives who were not interned. Mrs Mary Togami, an Irish woman who was married to a laundryman named Seizo Togami from Mosman, appealed for her husband to be released in Australia. She received support from members of the Neutral Bay Branch of

<sup>110</sup>A373, 1/505/48, 19 Aug. 1946.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 7 June 1946.

the A.L.P. Togami was about 65 years of age and had been in Australia approximately 50 years. Mrs Togami was quoted as saying:

...her husband would be unable to live in Japan owing to his age, the state of his health, his limited knowledge of the Japanese language, and the fact that he has no near relatives and no friends there...to deport her husband, after he has spent nearly the whole of his life as a peaceful citizen of Australia would... amount to a grave injustice and inflict hardship upon him as well as upon his health.<sup>113</sup>

On 11 March 1946 the secretary of the A.L.P. Branch wrote to the Prime Minister, Chifley, in support of Mrs Togami's appeal:

...members of this branch of the A.L.P. feel that no useful national purpose is likely to be served by deporting this man, or keeping him interned, and that the case is a proper one to refer to you for whatever action you may deem advisable.<sup>114</sup>

On 15 July 1946 Roland Browne, Acting Director-General of the Security Service, went to Tatura and reviewed 94 cases.<sup>115</sup> Among them was Togami's case. He was allowed to remain in Australia.<sup>116</sup>

Among the cases Browne reviewed were four from New Caledonia. They were Kazuko Mouren and her daughter aged 6, both French nationals, and 2 Japanese men, Nakano and Kuroiwa.<sup>117</sup> Kazuko Marie Mouren nee Kitazawa was born to French-Japanese parents in Japan in 1918, and in 1938 went to Noumea with her French mother. In 1940 Kazuko married a Frenchman named Jacques Mouren who Browne described as "pro-Vichy and pro-Japanese".<sup>118</sup> Mouren went to Saigon when the Free French elements gained control of New Caledo-

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<sup>113</sup>A 1066, 45/1/11/5, 11 Mar. 1946.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid.

<sup>116</sup>A 437, 46/6/72, 4 Jan. 1947.

<sup>117</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 1945-1946.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., 19 Aug. 1946.

nia and eventually, in Kazuko's words, deserted his wife and child. At the outbreak of the Pacific war Kazuko's mother, her brother and her sister were interned in Noumea, but she was not. However, she agreed to accompany her family to Australia and was held at Tatura. The rest of her family were repatriated to Japan on the "Koei Maru", but she was not, as the Apostolic Delegate supported her plea to stay.<sup>119</sup> She did not want to return to Japan or Noumea, but desired to remain in Australia to bring up her daughter as a European. In February 1946 the Apostolic Delegate wrote to Dr. Evatt: "she should not be included amongst the repatriates to Japan and that Mr. C. Cahill, a solicitor of Sydney, was willing to provide a home for her."<sup>120</sup> Mrs Mouren was not an eligible immigrant under the White Australia policy as she was a "half-cast Japanese by blood" and technically was required to leave Australia within three months after her release.<sup>121</sup> However, Justice Hutchins recommended her release in Australia under exemption.<sup>122</sup>

On 3 September 1946 Simpson recommended to Browne that Nakano and Kuroiwa be deported to New Caledonia or to Japan.<sup>123</sup> Nakano, 53 years old, was deported to Japan in January 1947.<sup>124</sup> According to the camp medical officer, Kuroiwa was suffering from a serious heart condition and was unfit to travel.<sup>125</sup> He died in the camp.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>A 373 11505/48, 18 Sept. 1946.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., 3 Sept. 1946.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 22 Aug. 1947.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., 22 Aug. 1947.

<sup>126</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 28 June 1993.

Local internees cleared by the Security Service could decide whether they wanted to go to Japan or remain in Australia. The Murakami family from Darwin had lost their father during internment. The mother was a naturalised British subject and her sons and daughters were Australian-born. The family first decided to return to Japan, but a daughter who had been in Japan since before the war wrote telling them "not to come to Japan on any account as Japan was in an absolutely disastrous state".<sup>127</sup> They decided to remain in Australia. Joe Murakami wrote in 1988:

the decision as to whether one should go to Japan or remain in Australia had a ring of finality which is difficult to appreciate today. ...There was the so-called tribunal, chaired by a senior judge, which I think discouraged Australian-people from going to Japan. I don't know the reason for this but it may have been based on genuine humanism.<sup>128</sup>

Harry Suzuki, an Australian-born laundryman from Sydney, confirmed this. The Tribunal advised him to stay in Australia.<sup>129</sup>

Under a decision made on 28 November 1945, only where there were security reasons or complications were cases for repatriation to be referred to the Commissioner, Justice Simpson.<sup>130</sup> Browne reported 16 such cases covering 21 persons, 3 of whom were PWJMs.<sup>131</sup> James Yagura, a PWJM from Thursday Island, was referred to Simpson more than once as he changed his mind twice about whether he wanted to stay in Australia or go to Japan. Yagura was born in Brisbane to a Japanese father and European mother. He was taken to Japan as an infant where he was brought up, and returned to

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<sup>127</sup> Joe Murakami, letter, 16 July 1988.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Harry Suzuki, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.

<sup>130</sup> A 373, 1/505/48, 7 June 1946.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

Thursday Island when he was 22. In his last letter of appeal to the Camp Commandant, he wrote:

I...received my release on the 28th inst. Almost immediately I made some inquiries through my friends about condition of Thursday Island at present. The result of inquiries was not attractive, as there are no houses nor any sort of work...I now realised that I am in a hopeless quandary at present and furthermore I cannot see any prospect in the future for me. Only hope I have now is to return home in Japan...<sup>132</sup>

Of the 21 people referred to Simpson, he recommended that 19 (13 men including Yagura, 3 women and 3 children) be deported to Japan.<sup>133</sup> Most had requested this. The reasons for recommending deportation of those who did not were not given.<sup>134</sup> The deportees were transferred from Tatura to Liverpool Internment Camp to await embarkation. They left on the "Kanimbla" from Sydney on 4 January 1947.<sup>135</sup>

In August 1946 release orders were issued for all local internees on the mainland except those unfit to travel,<sup>136</sup> but most were not actually released for some months. Release of internees from New Guinea was also delayed. There were ten men - six internees and four PWJMs. All were married to local women and had lived in the Territory for an average of 32 years.<sup>137</sup> Browne interviewed them and found that there were no security objections. On 23 August 1946, he wrote to J.R. Halligan, secretary of the Department of External

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<sup>132</sup>A437, 46/6/72, 23 Dec. 1946

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., no date.

<sup>134</sup>A373, 11505/48, 2 Sept. 1946.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., 13 Jan. 1947.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 18 Sept. 1946.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 2 Oct. 1946.

Territories, and asked the Department to agree to the return of these internees to New Guinea.<sup>138</sup>

it is thought there may be some local objection from the point of view of your Department's administration and the possible effect on the native population, should these Japanese return to New Guinea.

The secretary replied to Browne saying that the Administrator, J.K. Murray, did not recommend the return of the Japanese in question to the Territory.<sup>139</sup> However, the government wanted to clear all the internment camps and believed that internees "should be released and returned to their pre-war place of residence as soon as possible".<sup>140</sup> On 6 February 1947 Army Headquarters asked permission for the Japanese in question to be released from Tatura to proceed to the Territory.<sup>141</sup> Murray objected strongly. On 20 February he wrote to Halligan in Canberra:

When viewed from Territory attitudes, the decision of the Commonwealth to speed up the return of these men is disturbing. There has been no change in attitudes or conditions...

He continued:

Should these men be returned, I fear they will virtually become wards of the government...It is extremely doubtful whether they are employable. Speaking personally I really believe that the best and wisest course is to prevent these people returning at all, even going to the extent of expropriating such property as they possess as a credit against reparations as was done in the case of Germans in the 1914-1918 war...<sup>142</sup>

However, Murray had to accept the government's position. He asked that one internee be landed at Port Moresby and the others at Rabaul.<sup>143</sup> The Deputy

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid., 23 Aug. 1946.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid., 25 Oct. 1946.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 7 Feb. 1947.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., 20 Feb. 1947.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., 15 Apr. 1947.



Administrator, Judge F.B. Phillips, was critical of the decision to return the Japanese. He suggested to Murray:

It seems to me that there is much to be said for the holding of these internees in custody, (but in custody at a place at which they would be segregated from the convicted Japanese War Criminals), and for the continuance of such custody for some time - (perhaps even until the signing of a Peace Treaty with Japan), this would afford an opportunity of observing the reaction of the local inhabitants (European, Asiatics and Native) to the return of these internees and an opportunity of collecting data upon which Your Honour could found recommendations as to whether all or any of them should be deported.<sup>144</sup>

Murray submitted this to Canberra.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless the ten Japanese were allowed to leave Sydney on the "Malaita" for Rabaul on 28 January 1948.<sup>146</sup> They were the last to leave the Tatura Internment Camp.<sup>147</sup> After being detained at Port Moresby and Rabaul, these Japanese, except for one who died in Rabaul in 1948, were eventually deported to Japan.<sup>148</sup> The families in question were never able to reunite.<sup>149</sup> Michael Asanuma, the eldest son of Ichimatsu Asanuma, said:

I visited my father in the internment camp at Rabaul. It was hard on my mother...bringing up us children all by herself. My father was not allowed to come back to New Guinea. He wrote to us from Japan telling us that he was in poverty. We sent him a few things - hand towels, soap and things. Eventually he remarried in Japan and died there. I have a few stepbrothers and sisters there.<sup>150</sup>

The Australian government dealt differently with the deportation of European internees. Most were allowed to stay in Australia. At the end of 1945

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<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 25 Mar. 1948.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., 29 Jan. 1948.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid, 19 Nov. 1946.

<sup>148</sup>Michael Asanuma, Brisbane, 23 Apr. 1992; A518,FY16/2/1

<sup>149</sup>Ibid.

<sup>150</sup>Michael Asanuma, telephone, Brisbane, 23 Apr. 1992.

there were 47 Italian nationals and 564 German nationals still in camp who had been residents of Australia or its territories at the time of internment.<sup>151</sup> They were examined by Mr. Justice Simpson, who made recommendations for or against deportation.<sup>152</sup> Simpson recommended that two Italians be deported - a woman married to an overseas internee, and a convicted criminal.<sup>153</sup> 330 local Germans were to be deported, including 41 family members who had not been interned.<sup>154</sup> A large number of overseas European internees were also allowed to stay in Australia. Several hundred internees from Britain remained in Australia. The majority of internees from places such as the Straits Settlements, the Middle East, Palestine and New Caledonia were released and stayed in Australia.<sup>155</sup> Arthur Calwell, chairman of the ACAC, was convinced that most of the internees would be "excellent citizens".<sup>156</sup>

In July 1945, one month before the end of the war, the government inaugurated a post-war immigration policy and established the first Department of Immigration.<sup>157</sup> pulation. We need it for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of our economy.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>151</sup>Bevege, p. 355.

<sup>152</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 14 Jun. 1946.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid.

<sup>155</sup>AWM 54, pp. 88-90.

<sup>156</sup>Bevege, p. 363.

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<sup>158</sup>Hawkins, p. 32.

According to Bevege, the absorption of European ex-internees into Australia as post-war migrants passed almost unnoticed. This was partly because the deliberations of the ACAC were not public. Also, the "dramatic impact of one million new settlers in the post-war period." meant that these ex-internees passed unnoticed.<sup>159</sup> Like most other politicians of the period, Calwell was committed to the ~~the~~ White Australia policy.<sup>160</sup>

It is not clear whether any of the overseas Japanese internees who were deported had requested to settle in Australia. However, technically they were required to leave Australia within three months of release because they were not eligible as immigrants under the White Australia policy.<sup>161</sup> Unless they had an Australian-born person in the family, or unless they were given special consideration such as Kazuko Mouren from New Caledonia received, legally speaking it was not possible to allow them to settle in Australia. The same thing can be said of the 304 locally-interned Japanese nationals who were deported to Japan, although some had applied for permission to settle in the country. Most were already old and, had they been eligible, would have been rated very poorly as potential migrants. This was despite the fact that most had been long-term residents.

The attitude of the Australian government towards deportation or repatriation of Japanese internees was consistent with policies carried out before and during the war. Those not born in Australia were treated correctly according to the Geneva Convention. But, apart from these considerations, there was little possibility that they would be afforded special treatment. The

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<sup>159</sup>Bevege, p. 363.

<sup>160</sup>Yarwood, p. 282.

<sup>161</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, 19 Aug. 1946.

return of 14,000 Australian POWs in September and October 1945<sup>162</sup> had confirmed stories of Japanese atrocities. In the resulting atmosphere of anti-Japanese emotion, life was difficult for many ex-Japanese internees who stayed.

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<sup>162</sup>Nelson, H., *P.O.W. Prisoners of War: Australians Under Nippon*, ABC, Sydney, 1985, p. 207.

## CHAPTER 9

### After Internment

After the internees left, there was the question of what to do with the land and facilities set up for the camps. According to the *Adelaide Advertiser*, Colonel Dean, who remained commandant at Loveday throughout, did not want the camps and their facilities to be scrapped. He suggested that they would make an excellent centre for the rehabilitation and training of returned men who intended to take up land in the proposed river settlements.<sup>1</sup> However, most of Loveday's facilities did not survive. An inspection committee found that production could not be economically continued, and that there was not much local support for retention.<sup>2</sup> The only camp operation to survive was the poultry farm bought by Fred Kinnish, who was in charge of the farm at the camp. In 1985 his daughter, Colleen, wrote:

We lived in the small rooms on the main building where the chickens used to be kept. Later they (my parents) built a house made out of two of the old camp buildings. We lived there many years and kept the poultry farm going.<sup>3</sup>

Kinnish sold the farm a few years before he died in 1965.<sup>4</sup> The Loveday Hall erected by the Japanese was the only building saved through local efforts. It remains on site as the Loveday Hall and is used by the Barmera

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<sup>1</sup>*Internment in S.A.*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Colleen Eddie, letter, Adelaide, 28 Jan. 1985.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

Badminton Club.<sup>5</sup> The Disposal Commission had all other facilities dismantled and sold in the middle months of 1947. Most of the buildings were scattered through the region. The Barmera packing shed bought one,<sup>6</sup> the Berri distillery bought several and made them into workers cottages,<sup>7</sup> the Berri teachers' hostel was made from others.<sup>8</sup> The sites of the camps have since been largely cleared and are being farmed. In 1987 the site of Camp No. 14 was being used for grazing and some concrete walls, building foundations and many of the stone borders from the Japanese gardens could still be seen. The cane which the Japanese planted for basket and fence-making had spread widely throughout the area.

The site of the Woolenook Wood Camp has not been cleared as it is in a national park. As internees slept in tents, there is no evidence of their occupation except for the crumbling concrete floor of the ablutions block and the tree stumps left by the woodcutters. A few have regrown, but the extensive felling caused a lot of damage to the environment. There is virtually no new growth due to the increased salt content of the soil as a result of the raising of the water table.

The Hay camps were closed in April 1946, and they too did not survive. The only buildings kept were in the Hay Showgrounds in 1987. There was little local support for further conservation. Mick Beckwith wrote:

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<sup>5</sup>Woolmer, pp. 70-71.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

The terrible shame of it all is that many thousands of dollars worth of buildings and concrete foundations were never put to more permanent use ... How handy these would be even today for youth activity, emergency housing, storage of materials, etc. However, I suppose when the war ended everyone was glad to rid the place of anything that reminded them of this dreadful conflict.

No. 4 Camp at Tatura was closed after the Japanese not repatriated to Japan were transferred to No. 3 Camp on 26 September 1946. The facilities were not removed straight away. The family camps, Nos. 3 and 4, were later used as a holding camp for postwar migrants.<sup>10</sup> The buildings were later demolished and sold to local farmers for sheds and building materials.<sup>11</sup> They are scattered around the region. The site of No. 4 was not completely cleared, and rolls of barb-wire fencing, toilet pans and children's shoes scattered around the site evoke vivid images of camp life.

Many of the Japanese made handicrafts while they were interned. When they departed, they either left them in their huts or gave them to guards. Local people in Loveday, Barmera, Hay and Tatura still keep such objects. Bob Margitich has a few, including secateurs. Bert Whitmore keeps a highly-prized wooden carving of a girl. The Kinnish family have a silver ring made from a coin, a wooden box and wooden vases made from mallee roots. Colleen, who was eight at the end of the war, used to wear wooden sandals which had been left in the camp.

The local historical societies of all three towns, Hay, Loveday and Tatura, have recognised the wartime internment of aliens as part of their

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<sup>9</sup>Beckwith, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Hammond, J., *Walls of Wire*, Tatura, 1990, p. 116.

<sup>11</sup>James Sullivan, Melbourne, 1 Dec. 1985.

local histories. The Hay Goal, built in 1878, was used as a detention block for Italian and Japanese POWs during the war. It is now a historical museum run by the Hay Historical Society. Among the exhibits are a number of artifacts made by Japanese in the camp. The Tatura Historical Museum run by the Historical Society has established a special display about all the internment and POW camps in the region. The Society has collected wartime artifacts, memoirs and photos from all the nationalities concerned. In 1985 the South Australian Government identified the Loveday Internment Group as a potential heritage site, and part of the complex was placed on the Registry of State Heritage Items in 1989.<sup>12</sup> According to the historical archaeological report compiled by the State Heritage Branch, Department of Environment and Planning, this move was made "in recognition of its significance in representing the role South Australia played in the wartime internment of aliens."<sup>13</sup> There has been a local interest in the camps. In January 1993 a steering committee was formed to establish a Loveday Internment Camp Museum in the existing museum at Cobdogla, six kilometers from the Loveday camp sites.<sup>14</sup>

Some former guards married local women after the war and settled in the towns. Charlie Clift was one, and he was still living in Hay in 1986. One former guard married a former Japanese internee at Tatura. Bert Whitmore resumed his life as a prominent businessman in Barmera near Loveday and later served as a city councillor and was still living there in 1992.

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<sup>12</sup>Department of Environment and Planning, *Loveday Internment Camp Archaeological Report*, Report, 1992, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Rosemary Gower, Chairperson of Loveday Internment Camp Museum Steering Committee, Cobdogla, letter, 28 Jan. 1993.



Both Japanese and Formosan repatriates found it difficult to re-establish their lives. Return to normality in their war-torn countries was a slow, hard process. Japan had been devastated by the war and its industries had been largely destroyed. In 1945 rice production was only at 60% of pre-war levels, and unemployment and poverty were widespread.<sup>15</sup> Large numbers of repatriates exacerbated the labour surplus and food shortage. By 1950 over six million repatriates had returned to Japan.<sup>16</sup> Some of those from Australia tried to re-establish themselves in their home towns, while others went to live with relatives. According to Ganter, some of the former PWJMs should have had a prosperous future in war-torn Japan with their Australian savings which they brought back with them, but "rampant inflation in Japan rendered their fortunes worthless."<sup>17</sup> One former pearl-sheller was quoted by Ganter as saying that "he had hoped to build a house with his savings, but on his return to Japan in 1946, all he could buy with it was two tatami (straw) mats."<sup>18</sup> Etsuro Chikanari, a former Loveday internee, went back to his home in Osaka, but found it had been bombed. He built a small shack on the land where his home used to be and began a take-away tempura shop. He was still living there in 1992 as the owner of one of the most successful restaurants in the area.<sup>19</sup>

Some found it impossible to make a living and decided to return to the repatriates' centre in Kanazawabunko, where they could meet other repatriates from Australia. A number of them lived there for a long time.

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<sup>15</sup>Inoue, pp. 216-217.

<sup>16</sup>Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 632.

<sup>17</sup>Ganter, p. 278.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Etsuroo Chikanari, Koobe, 12 Jan. 1992.

The centre was near U.S. bases which provided employment for Japanese. Former internees with sufficient English soon found employment with the occupation forces as typists, interpreters and translators, while others found work as cleaners and cooks. The Kai family, who went to live with their relatives in Saitama, returned to the centre after eight months. They were very happy to see their friends from the internment camp. Mari said:

They [relatives] were struggling to survive...We couldn't stay there long... My Japanese was not good enough, although I studied it in the camp. I could understand more or less what they were saying, but couldn't say what I wanted to say. I spoke French to my father and he translated into Japanese.<sup>20</sup>

Shinji Kondo, the oldest brother of the Kondo family from Borneo, also went back to the centre to find work. Although both Mari and Shinji had limited English, a friend from Tatura already working with the occupation forces got them work. Shinji began as a cook and continued to work after the occupation forces left Japan. In later years he worked as an accountant at the US base at Tachikawa, and retired in 1988.<sup>21</sup> Mari worked as a typist with the occupation forces, then worked for a trading company as an English typist until she retired in 1989.<sup>22</sup> Albert Ueno, the leader of B Compound at Tatura, did not return to his original occupation as an acrobat and instead worked as an interpreter for the occupation forces in Ikebukuro, Tokyo, and then as an English-speaking tour guide for the Japan Travel Bureau in Tokyo.<sup>23</sup> Kakichi Namba, on the other hand, continued to be a performer after the war. In 1946, while

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<sup>20</sup>The late Mari Kai, Kawasaki, 10 Sept. 1988.

<sup>21</sup>Shinji Kondo, Kawasaki, 25 Jan. 1987.

<sup>22</sup>The late Mari Kai, Yokohama, 11 Jan. 1987.

<sup>23</sup>The late Albert Ueno, Yokohama, 16 Jan. 1987.

still at the repatriates' centre in Kanazawabunko, he married an Indonesian-born Japanese, Haruko Hiraki, whom he had met in the camp at Tatura.

On 25 August 1947 Haruko wrote to Francis Sproat, a former warden:

Received your most welcome letter a few weeks ago and I was very happy to hear from you...I am married now. All my brothers and sisters and Mother went back to Java last week and am left alone, but soon I hope I can go myself...We two are in good health and getting along fine. Here only thing is we two can't read Japanese so we have hard time, but we manage to get along...<sup>24</sup>

Kakichi soon joined the Ringling-Barnum Circus in the USA and was away from his wife and family for most of his later years.<sup>25</sup> She did not return to Indonesia and was still living in Japan in 1992.

Some former internees from Loveday also found work at U.S. bases. Indonesian-born internees from 14B worked for the occupation forces in Yokohama. With their skills in English, Takamura and Satonaka were able to find work with the US base in Yokohama. Yooichi Soneda, who was of Japanese-Chinese origin, was the only one in his family returned to Japan. The rest were all living in Jakarta. This included his father who was interned but who had been returned home to N.E.I. on the prisoner exchange. Yooichi first went to live with his uncle in Yamagata, a northern part of Japan. He said:

I helped farming, mainly rice growing. The life was hard for me there. I learnt to speak Japanese gradually, but felt terrible for 2 years. The climate was cold and their food was not something I was used to. Yamamoto-san [a former leader of B Compound at Loveday] introduced me to a factory job in Kobe. I did the work for 2 years.<sup>26</sup>

Takamura and Satonaka, his fellow internees from 14B, visited Soneda and told him about the jobs in Yokohama - "easier and better money". Soneda

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<sup>24</sup>Haruko Namba, letter, 25 Aug. 1947, held by Francis Sprout, Melbourne.

<sup>25</sup>Haruko Namba, Yokohama, 26 Dec. 1991.

<sup>26</sup>Yoichi Soneda, Kobe, 12 Jan. 1992, [J].

returned to Kanazawabunko and soon found employment as a cook in a servicemen's night club.<sup>27</sup>

Tatsuzo Imaizumi from 14C worked as an interpreter and typist for U.S. Army Headquarters in Osaka. On 15 January 1947, he sent a New Year's greeting to Kinnish:

This is my first letter to you since my repatriation...I am now working at the U.S. 65th Engineering Company in Sakai City...May the future give me more opportunity to write you in detail about things here...My best wishes for the year 1947 to you all.<sup>28</sup>

In a Christmas greeting to Kinnish later that year, he wrote:

I am of opinion that Australia is an uncomparable nice country to live in. Japan is a beautiful country indeed, especially what concern its scenery and ancient temples. Since the Occupation Army came to Japan, this country has an overall change. It has adopted the Western ideas...I hope that Japan will be as Westernized as any country of Europe in the next coming years.<sup>29</sup>

Many of the older repatriates were able to prove their Japanese citizenship by reference to family registers and began life as Japanese nationals. However, some found that they were not registered, which meant they had lost their Japanese citizenship. Paradoxically, these were people interned for being Japanese. In 1993 many Japanese who had been born overseas still retain their overseas citizenship, either Dutch or French, while those who had been British subjects in Australia were able to take Australian citizenship. In Japan they still register themselves as "aliens", carry alien registration cards and renew their visas to stay in Japan every three years. The Kai family are among these aliens. Izumi Kai had married a New Caledonian woman who died before the war. He could have

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 15 Jan. 1947, held by Colleen Eddie, Adelaide.

<sup>29</sup>Tatsuzo Imaizumi, letter, 20 Dec. 1947, held by Colleen Eddie.

chosen either to register his family anew, or to register as a foreigner. He chose the latter. Mari and her brother, eighteen and twenty, already had French citizenship, so they agreed with his decision. According to Mari, she was better off as a French citizen in Japan. Immediately after the war there were advantages to being a citizen of a western nation - free bus rides, special train carriages for foreigners, access to Western food, and other items.<sup>30</sup>

In Taiwan, those who stayed in Taipei but had no family there were helped by the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Authority until they obtained employment.<sup>31</sup> It seems that those with English language skills found employment more easily than others. Harry Liang worked in the financial bureau of the Taipei municipal government as an English-Chinese interpreter and later became an English teacher in a mission school. His brothers worked for the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Authority, the municipal government and an American oil company. His sister worked in a hospital.<sup>32</sup> But those who could not speak Chinese had difficulty living there. In September 1946 a former internee wrote to James Sullivan:

I wrote to the Dutch Consul in Hongkong and asked his permission to return to Java, but till now I have not heard anything...Most of the ex-internees are working...Because I can't speak the Chinese language and it is very difficult to get a job for me here. The sooner I return to Java the better...<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>The late Mari Kai, Kawasaki, 10 Sept. 1988, [J].

<sup>31</sup>Chu Tie Twan, letter, 8 Aug. 1946.

<sup>32</sup>Harry Liang, letter to Sullivan, Taipei, 8 Dec. 1946.

<sup>33</sup>Letter, writer's name illegible, Taiwan, 17 Sept. 1946.

According to the Yuan family in Taipei, many former internees returned to Indonesia. They did not feel at home in Taiwan. In 1946 Chu Tie Twan wrote:

Now we are arranging and expecting to return to Java as soon as shipping are available. I, as well as others who can't be happy as the custom is disgusting and we are regarded as a different race...it is a fact that its better to stay in Australia until we could return to Java.<sup>34</sup>

Sai Kwie Kie wrote to Sullivan:

I am working in Kon-Chi Hospital but my pay is hardly sufficient to make both ends meet...I frequently having in my mind the thinking that we may be repatriated back to Java at the earliest opportunities for Java is my birth place. Now arrangement has been made here concerning our repatriation and our names have been sent in already in the waiting list.<sup>35</sup>

The repatriations broke up many families. Some were never able to locate each other. One family in the Solomon Islands is still searching for information about their grandfather. In 1986 Albert Palmer, a grandson of Seigoroo Fujita of the Solomon Islands, wrote to me seeking information:

(My grandfather) was removed from the Solomons in December 1941 and transported immediately to Australia. That was the last that was heard of him until Miss Palmer (his sister) received information from you pertaining to him.<sup>36</sup>

Seigoroo Fujita was classified as a PWJM and interned at Hay as he was a fisherman. In March 1946 he was repatriated to Japan and it is unknown what happened to him afterwards.

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<sup>34</sup>Chu Tie Twan, letter to Miss Collins, Taiwan, 8 Aug. 1946.

<sup>35</sup>Sai Kwie Kie, letter, Taiwan, 1 June 1946.

<sup>36</sup>Albert Rocky Palmer, letter, Wellington, New Zealand, 3 Nov. 1986.

George Yokoyama was eight when his father, Tomiji Yokoyama, was arrested in New Caledonia and sent to Australia. George never heard from him again.<sup>37</sup> Tomiji Yokoyama was interned at Loveday and sent to Japan on the "Koei Maru" after the war.<sup>38</sup>

Most former overseas internees interviewed in Japan and Taiwan expressed appreciation of the fair treatment they received during internment in Australia. Those from N.E.I. tended to express this feeling strongly. Masaichi Nabeshima from the Celebes said, "Whenever I hear the name Australia on the radio or television, I get emotional." He feels bitter about the bad treatment by the Dutch before arriving in Australia. While speaking of the experiences he had at the hands of the Dutch Army in the Celebes, he began shaking with anger.<sup>39</sup> Shigeru Nakabayashi declared, "I had many bad experiences in my life, but nothing was worse than the time we were on that 'hell ship'."<sup>40</sup> Guan Guo Shi, son of Guan Hei who was interned at Loveday, said that his father often spoke of life in the camp and that he had always been treated humanely.<sup>41</sup>

Former internees of Japanese descent who were released in Australia after the war gradually returned to the Australian community. Most were able to return to their homes, but some chose new places to start, or had to move because of the animosity prevalent in post-war Australia. In 1988 Joe Murakami said:

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<sup>37</sup>Sydney *Morning Herald*, 25 Apr. 1990.

<sup>38</sup>AP 308/1, 19, Movements and dispositions of internees [1945-1946].

<sup>39</sup>Masaichi Nabeshima, Kobe, 16 Jan. 1987.

<sup>40</sup>Shigeru Nakabayashi, Tokyo, 8 Jan. 1987.

<sup>41</sup>Guan Guo Shi, Taipei, 5 Dec. 1986.

The real psychological impact came after our release from camp directly into an environment charged with vehement anti-Japanism. I was never the direct victim of this anti-Japan mood, every magazine and newspaper was full of the reports of returning servicemen relating their experiences with the despised "inhumanly cruel, fanatical Japs". Then came the occupation of Japan and the melancholy stories of a defeated, devastated nation, disarmed and vanquished forever and so on ad infinitum. This went on for years and years.<sup>42</sup>

Jimmy Chi from Broome was among a party of ten people who left Tatura on 3 October 1946 to be released in Western Australia.<sup>43</sup> There had been four Japanese air raids on Broome in March and August 1942.<sup>44</sup> Chi was 43 when he returned to Broome. He recalled, "On Broome jetty white people yelled at me. They said, 'Why did you come back? No house to live in!'" He found his house and restaurant had been burnt down, his taxi commandeered for the army and his restaurant equipment sold.<sup>45</sup> A post-war public meeting in Broome was reported in a local newspaper:

the government could do nothing to prevent these persons, who were British subjects, from travelling or residing wherever they pleased. This point, however was not received with enthusiasm by many of those present and many stormy interjections were forthcoming... It was suggested that... the people of Broome need not patronise the businesses they conducted. A boycott was suggested.<sup>46</sup>

Chi was determined to succeed again in Broome despite the fact that he was strongly rejected by the local white population for some years after the war. He said:

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<sup>42</sup>Joe Murakami, 16 July 1988.

<sup>43</sup>PP 519/1, 241/3/122, 27 Sept. 1946

<sup>44</sup>Prime, M.W., *WA's Pearl Harbour: The Japanese Raid on Broome*, the Royal Australian Air Force Association, Perth, W.A., 1985, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup>Jimmy Chi, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>46</sup>Newspaper cutting kept by Jimmy Chi, dated Jan. 7, and almost certainly 1947.



After the war I couldn't go out on the street. They had meetings at the RSL hall and the Shire Council. They used to say, "Send the bastard to Japan".<sup>47</sup>

He was unemployed for three years and forced to fish and collect cockles to feed his family. He was refused a union ticket, so went to Perth to lodge an official complaint. After a local MP intervened, he got a ticket and worked at the Broome jetty until he retired.<sup>48</sup> He was 87 in 1990 and still living in Broome. He is probably the only ex-Japanese internee who has publicly spoken about his experiences in the newspapers, in a TV documentary, and on the radio. After internment, the Japanese community in Broome, which had numbered approximately 300 in December 1941, was reduced to nine people comprising Jimmy Chi and the Kanagae and Matsumoto families.

The Shiosaki family were to return to Broome and left Tatura on 28 November 1946.<sup>49</sup> Alf Shiosaki, sixteen in 1946, recalled the day they left camp:

In one way we were happy, but in another way a bit sad...the camp was our home...More or less we were happy. My mum was very pleased to come out. She was looking forward to going back north.<sup>50</sup>

In Perth they found that everything they owned in Broome had been destroyed, but still they wanted to go back. After a few weeks they got on a ship bound for Broome. Alf said:

When the ship entered Sharks Bay, the sea became very rough and Mum got very seasick. She couldn't stand it. About that time the ship lost one of the propellers and had to return to Fremantle. When we arrived back at Fremantle, Mum made her mind up, packed everything up and told us to get off the ship. The captain said, "Where are

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<sup>47</sup>Interview with Jimmy Chi, quoted in the *Western Mail*, May 31-June 1, 1986.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>PP 519/1, 241/3/122, 21 Nov. 1946.

<sup>50</sup>Alf Shiosaki, Perth, 21 Aug. 1987.

you going, Mrs Shiosaki?" She said, "I can't stand it. I'm not going back on."

They decided to stay in Perth. There were friends waiting on the Broome jetty to welcome the family back, but they never arrived.<sup>51</sup> The family was cared for by a welfare organisation until Mr. Shiosaki found a job as a labourer with the railways. Alf said, "Dad didn't know anything but laundry work. He had to work hard." Alf married a woman of Aboriginal origin in Perth and is a grandfather many times over. He said, "I feel more Japanese than Australian. I don't have many bad memories about the camp." Peggy, Alf's older sister, was eighteen when she came out of the camp. She said that she felt 100 per cent Australian and resented internment. In 1986 Peggy said:

We lost everything. That's the worst part, but we couldn't do anything about it. We couldn't fight against them (the Australian government). I guess some could, but we couldn't. They just gave you war damage, but that wasn't as much as you were supposed to get for what you did have. My parents weren't bitter they just took it. They said, "If we've got to go, we've got to go. That's all there is."<sup>52</sup>

Those from Darwin were advised by the camp administration at Tatura not to go home because the town was very hostile to Japanese. During the war Darwin suffered 64 air raids which caused 243 deaths.<sup>53</sup> One internee tried to go back, but could not even get off the plane because of the hostile reception.<sup>54</sup> Having learnt this, Masuko Murakami and her husband remained in the camp until they could decide their future. They were

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<sup>51</sup>Peggie Carlie nee Shiosaki, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>52</sup>Peggy Carlie, Derby, 26 Aug. 1986.

<sup>53</sup>McKernan, *All In: Australia During the Second World War*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>54</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, Darwin, 29 Aug. 1986.

released on 10 August 1947, and headed for Cossack, Western Australia.<sup>55</sup>

"Stones were flung into their home, shots fired at them on the beach and their children were beaten up at school. Long after, they found acceptance once more in Darwin."<sup>56</sup> Masuko said in 1987:

We moved three times until we could finally go back to Darwin in 1956. The town was alright then, and we were not so conspicuous as things had changed there a lot with more people from various places...We lost two houses in our life time, one because of the war and the other because of cyclone Tracy.<sup>57</sup>

Masuko was 42 with two young children when she finally resettled where she had been born. She and her husband also lost the possessions which had been in their house before internment. They were stolen by troops stationed in Darwin, not necessarily because of their Japanese descent, as other Darwin houses evacuated during the war were also looted.<sup>58</sup> Masuko's mother and brothers were also released at the same time and stayed in Perth until they were able to return to Darwin in 1957.<sup>59</sup> The two Murakami families were the only Japanese families who returned directly to Darwin. Joe Murakami was eighteen and his younger brothers sixteen and thirteen in 1946. Joe wrote:

Being subjected to such mental trauma in the formative years of our lives, in constant fear of being about our ancestry, having no others around like us for mutual consolation, have left us socially incapacitated and unfulfilled to this day.<sup>60</sup>

In 1962 Joe decided to go to Japan to study Japanese and work as a translator. He was living and working there in 1993. Two of his sisters,

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<sup>55</sup>PP 519/1, 241/3/122, 8 Aug. 1947.

<sup>56</sup>In Powell, A., *The Shadow's Edge: Australia's Northern War*, p. 41.

<sup>57</sup>The late Masuko Murakami, 29 Aug. 1986.

<sup>58</sup>McKinlay, p. 80.

<sup>59</sup>"Murakami Yasukichi" in *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*, vol. I, to 1945, pp. 219.

<sup>60</sup>Joe Murakami, Yokohama, letter, 16 July 1988.

one of whom was in Japan during the war, married and stayed in Japan. Masuko lived in Darwin until her death in 1988. The other family members, three younger brothers, stayed in Darwin.<sup>61</sup>

Former residents of Thursday Island returned to neglected and damaged homes. According to Captain John Foley, a local historian, armed forces personnel had occupied vacated homes on the island after residents left.<sup>62</sup> Despite the heavy concentrations of troops on the island, the island itself was never attacked during the war. However, nearby Horn Island was bombed several times during 1942.<sup>63</sup> In the opinion of Foley, Thursday Island was not bombed because "Japanese nationals were still thought to be living there."<sup>64</sup>

The release of the Yamashita, Nakata and Tanaka families of Thursday Island was delayed. They were first advised not to return to the island because of anti-Japanese feelings.<sup>65</sup> On 6 December 1946 the Deputy Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Service reported to the Director:

I have to advise that the premises occupied by these internees before the war are no longer in existence (evidently having been demolished by the occupying forces) and that there is no accommodation for them on the island. Consequently if they were returned, there would be no accommodation or means of livelihood.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Foley, p. 66.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>65</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, 8 July 1992.

<sup>66</sup>BP 242/1, Q 23993, 6 Dec. 1946.

The eldest son of the Nakata family, Tamiya, left the camp in January 1947 as he was able to find accommodation in Brisbane with his friend, Martin Wellington, who had also been interned. He stayed there for about six months doing some casual work which included making wooden-soled shoes in a small backyard factory and building work for the housing commission. He was then told by his father that the rest of the family was to be released in August 1947. Tamiya went back to Thursday Island to find some accommodation for them.<sup>67</sup> He did not experience much of the animosity on the island which the authorities had warned him about. He recalled:

I arrived on T.I. on 3 June. I was amazed at the desolation, there used to be six hotels...I stayed with the Dewis family who I knew before the war. They welcomed me and when I asked if there was any accommodation available, they told me that it was very scarce.<sup>68</sup>

Tamiya found work not long after he returned to Thursday Island. He was nineteen in 1947. His first job was with Bowden Pearling Pty. Ltd., diving for shell. From 1952 until 1971 he was employed on a variety of jobs, including boatbuilding and lugger repairs. As he was Japanese-born, he became naturalised after the ban on Asian naturalisation was lifted in 1961. In 1971 he was appointed to the Customs Department as the Thursday Island Launch Master.<sup>69</sup> He was retired and still living on the island in 1992.

The other two families were also released in August 1947.<sup>70</sup> Evelyn, the eldest daughter of the Yamashita family, wrote:

Thursday Island was not open to civilians over the war years and immediately after, so Sgt. Flowers found a house for us in a coun-

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<sup>67</sup>Tamiya Nakata, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>A 373, 11505/48, 22 Aug. 1947.

try town not far from Tatura. However, Dad decided that he wanted to return to T.I. at all costs. He contacted his Chinese friend who was only too pleased to assist.<sup>71</sup>

They lost their soy sauce factory. Evelyn said: "There was nothing left. As far as we know, the Army dismantled it during the war. Other houses too." Her father worked in a general store owned by his Chinese friend and after 6 months he bought the business. Evelyn said:

Most Japanese were readily accepted back into the community by most people on Thursday Island, but there were a few New Chum people who had not lived in Thursday Island before the war. They didn't like us.<sup>72</sup>

Harumi, Evelyn's younger sister, was sixteen in 1946. In 1992 she said:

People who knew us from before the war were always good to us after we came back. Old Islanders sort of protected us. They told their sons, "Don't touch them (Japanese girls)".<sup>73</sup>

Evelyn was nineteen and went to do a secretarial course in Sydney when she left the camp. She shortened her name to Evelyn Yama. She said, "Everyone thought I was Chinese. I never tried to correct them."<sup>74</sup> There were several job offers for Evelyn when she returned to Thursday Island from Sydney. She chose the position of assistant to the secretary of the Catholic Diocese of Carpentaria. A local newspaper of 13 September 1947 wrote:

Is Thursday Island, one of the Commonwealth's principal naval defence bases, again to become a centre of Japanese espionage as it was before the war? Commonwealth authorities have approved the return there of Japanese released from an internment camp in Victoria...Numbers of individual Japanese have also<sup>75</sup> been allowed to return to the scene of their pre-war activities.

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<sup>71</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Cairns, 14 Aug. 1992.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., Sydney, 5 Nov. 1990.

<sup>73</sup>Harumi Ahloy, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

<sup>74</sup>Evelyn Suzuki nee Yamashita, Sydney, 5 Nov. 1990.

<sup>75</sup>BP 242/1, Q 23993, 13 Sept. 1947.

The pre-war Japanese community on Thursday Island was almost destroyed due to the internment and eventual deportation of most of those engaged in the pearling industry. After the war a community which had numbered approximately 580 in December 1941 was reduced to approximately 30, comprising five of the eight original families. They included the families of two PWJMs, Kyuukichi Shibasaki and Tomitaro Fujii, both of whom had Islander wives. Kyuukichi's family were interned, but were later released before the end of the war. Tomitaro's family were never interned.<sup>76</sup>

George Kawano, born and bred in Innisfail, Queensland, was twelve years old when he returned to Innisfail with his Japanese father and Aboriginal mother. George experienced no antagonism from other children at school. "As far as I remember the local people accepted us back".<sup>77</sup> His father worked on a sugar cane farm before the war, but never returned to his original work as he was too old. He died not long after the war. George never spoke anything but English. He was working in a sugar refinery in Innisfail in 1992. He said: "I was too young to understand what was going on then. Most of the things I remember are good memories. I had lots of friends to play with in the camp."<sup>78</sup>

The Takagaki family were accepted back by the local people. They were able to start farming their own sugar cane in Mackay as the farm had been looked after by a family friend during the war. They had four children. The two older boys were released to Kilmany Park Boys Home, while the youngest brother and sister were released to Kildonan Homes in

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<sup>76</sup>Daughter of Tomitaro Fujii, Thursday Island, 2 Sept. 1987.

<sup>77</sup>George Kawano, Innisfail, 10 July 1992.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

Victoria during the war. Their father remained interned at Tatura until the end of the war. In 1946 the children returned home first. Jack, aged seventeen, had to look after his younger brothers and sisters until their father was released from the camp. In 1992 he said:

Neighbours were good to us. We didn't lose anything. Nothing was stolen from the house. What we lost was those years we were removed from home. Dad had no money. I learnt many useful farming and domestic skills while I was at Kilmany. I learnt photo developing skills and sold many copies to other boys...I made rings and sold them to American soldiers. I saved 40 pounds while I<sup>79</sup> was at Kilmany. We were able to live on it until Dad came back.

He took over the farm and married the daughter of a neighbour. He was living on the farm in Mackay in 1992.

The Torimaru family from Brisbane had no place to go when they were released from the camp. They headed for Melbourne and had to live in a tent on the beach there until they found accommodation. The oldest daughter, Oriel, was eighteen when released. She recalled the time:

My father had to say he was Chinese and changed his Japanese name to something more like Chinese. We were poor and had nothing... My mother was very sick in the camp, had a nervous break down. Very soon after we were released from the camp she died of a brain tumour. She<sup>80</sup> suffered a lot in the camp. We couldn't adapt to Japanese ways.

Harry Suzuki, a laundry man from Sydney, was 29 when he left the camp. He first went to Melbourne where he found work:

No one around me knew I was Japanese. One day I was walking with my friend from work. I said to him, "Do you know I am Japanese?" He said, "Oh, yeah?" and didn't seem to be worried about it.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Jack Takagaki, Mackay, 6 July 1992.

<sup>80</sup>Oriel Vallance, Brisbane, 24 Aug. 1987.

<sup>81</sup>The late Harry Suzuki, Sydney, 22 Aug. 1987.





Reunion of former internees with Jim Sullivan,  
a former guard officer at Tatura. Tokyo, Jan. 1988.

He was later able to return to laundry work in Sydney. He married Evelyn Yamashita from Thursday Island whom he met in the camp at Tatura, and lived in Sydney until he died in 1991.<sup>82</sup>

48 years after the war most of the older generation of internees have died and the remaining younger internees are in their late 60s and 70s. Some former internees in Japan keep touch with others, some do not. Any association tends to be because of common occupations from pre-war days or because they lived in the same place before the war.

In April 1980 former internees of Tatura internment Camp had their first reunion in Japan. This was with a 98 year-old former warden, Miss Punshon, who was invited to Japan by the Kobe Japan-Australia Society and ex-internees of the Tatura internment camp.<sup>83</sup> In January 1987 a war-time guard officer, James Sullivan, also visited former internees in Japan and had a reunion there.<sup>84</sup> Sullivan's first reunion with an ex-internee was in 1985 when William Kondo, one of the younger sons of the Kondo family from N.E.I., visited Australia to find Jim Sullivan and to see the camp site.<sup>85</sup> Sullivan took him there and later described the visit:

He said many times "I cannot believe this is true". Neither could I...it was a very emotional occasion for both Kondo and myself. We walked over the old site, there were many relics still there, the concrete floors for the kitchens, the showers, the toilets... the barbed wire was lying in the grass rusting ... He was quite taken with it all as he was only a child of twelve years... It was an

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<sup>82</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 5 Nov. 1990.

<sup>83</sup>*Kangaria* [Kobe Japan-Australia Society Newsletter], No. 18, 25 Dec. 1980, pp. 1-3.

<sup>84</sup>Yuriko Nagata, organiser of the reunion.

<sup>85</sup>Jim Sullivan, Melbourne, 1 Dec. 1985.

emotional and strange day, very hard to believe that such a thing could happen after forty years.<sup>86</sup>

In 1988 Kondo's older brother, Shinji, also visited the camp site with Sullivan who later wrote:

it was a very emotional occasion for him, he wandered over the area mostly on his own, but pointing out to me various things like where he used to cut wood, etc, and where his brother painted the picture of the camp.<sup>87</sup>

Shinji talked about the visit:

I felt as if I were in a dream or something. I had never thought I would go back to the camp...There wasn't much left on the site, but when I saw the detention block all the memories suddenly came back to me. My heart ached.<sup>88</sup>

In January 1993 Sullivan had another reunion with approximately 70 Tatura internees from Japan, Taiwan and Australia at the camp site near Tatura. Don Vallance, once a guard at Tatura, and Frances Sprout, an ex-warden, also attended. 92 year-old Shimpei Murayama, a tailor from New Caledonia who was in charge of the clothing factory in the camp, also came. He said: "Now I feel I could put the experience behind me."<sup>89</sup> Masaichi Nabeshima, an internee from N.E.I., said: "It was like a bad dream. We were at war and nothing we could do."<sup>90</sup> Most attending had been children or teenagers during the war. The atmosphere was friendly and the participants reminisced about their internment. The conversation tended to concentrate on good memories of camp life. However, some have no interest in a reunion as it would remind them of painful experiences. For Shiro Yamashita of Thursday Island, a return to the camp site was out of the

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<sup>86</sup>Jim Sullivan, letter, 11 Sept. 1985.

<sup>87</sup>Jim Sullivan, letter, Melbourne, 26 April 1988.

<sup>88</sup>Shinji Kondo, Kawasaki, 26 Oct. 1990.

<sup>89</sup>Shimpei Murayama, 5 Jan. 1993, [J].

<sup>90</sup>Masaichi Nabeshima, Tatura, 5 Jan. 1993, [J].

question. He was quoted by his sister as saying: "They put us in the camp against my will. How can you go? I'm not going."<sup>91</sup>

There have not been any reunions at either of the men's camps. As most former PWJMs were from Wakayama prefecture, they have kept in close contact with each other. The Mokuyootoo-Kai [Thursday Island Club], for example, was formed in Japan by former divers from Thursday Island. Some have visited T.I. and in 1979 the club erected a monument in honour of the Japanese divers who died there.<sup>92</sup> According to Ganter, "One family whose brother had died at Thursday Island contributed two million yen to the monument."<sup>93</sup> The Gooshuu-Kai [Australian Club] formed after the war comprises mainly former businessmen, consular officials, and their associates who were in Australia before the war and some who had been interned.<sup>94</sup> A few former Loveday internees from N.E.I. have indicated interest in organising a reunion on the camp site at Loveday.

The most resentful former internees seem to be among those "Japanese" who were Australian-born and remained in Australia after the war. Internment was something some would rather not remember. Ruby Lum, a Nisei of Japanese parentage, refused to talk about anything related to her wartime experiences. She said, "No one wants to have an old wound touched. I was born and educated in Australia. I am an Australian." Her Chinese husband was also interned. After the war they worked hard and

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<sup>91</sup>Harumi Ahloy nee Yamashita, Tatura, 5 Jan. 1993.

<sup>92</sup>Ganter, R., "Images of Japanese Pearl-Shellers in Queensland: An Oral History Chapter in Australia-Japan Relations", *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, vol. XIV, no. 7, May 1991, p. 268.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>94</sup>Naka Akiyama, letter, Zushi, 9 Mar. 1986.

became owners of Chinese restaurants in Toowoomba.<sup>95</sup> Hannah Suzuki, who was released in 1942 in Sydney, begged me not to contact her brother Joseph as it would upset him too much. She said:

It was a sad and futile war...and I pray that Australia will never again go to war. Joe was always a loyal Australian. The proof is that he got a medal from the Queen.<sup>96</sup>

Internment deprived the Australian-born children of some basic education. As schooling for Japanese children in the camp was left to the internees' committee, children who did not adapt to the Japanese school were left out. Oriel Torimaru felt strongly about this issue:

My father wanted me to become a doctor, or at least get higher education. I couldn't adapt to the Japanese way of doing things. I missed out all the education. There was no schooling, nothing for people like me. There was correspondence school up to primary school, but nothing after that.<sup>97</sup>

In 1992 Evelyn Yamashita wrote:

I can only speak for myself, but, in hindsight, although I deeply regretted the gap in my formal education, it seemed to me that it was in our best interests to be interned because of the deepseated and intense hatred directed against the Japanese. I think this would have applied in most cases to families who had one or more members who could not speak English like a native.<sup>98</sup>

In 1987 Oriel said:

If they were doing it for our protection, why didn't they give us notice that they were taking us? And why didn't they allow us to take everything with us or to make some kind of arrangement about our property? The home was not ours, but the property was. They didn't give a damn about our protection.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>Ruby Lum, Toowoomba, 13 Dec. 1989.

<sup>96</sup>Hannah Matushik, nee Suzuki, Adelaide, 31 Oct. 1990.

<sup>97</sup>Oriel Vallance, Brisbane, 24 Aug. 1987.

<sup>98</sup>Evelyn Suzuki, letter, 8 July 1992.

<sup>99</sup>Oriel Vallance, Brisbane, 24 Aug. 1987.

For some internees their removal from society limited their ability to fit in after the war. In 1988 Joe Murakami wrote:

In the most vital years of our lives we never had the social opportunities nor engaged in the social activities so necessary for the development of normal social competence. We didn't dare ask any girl for a date because we would have surely been rebuffed. We didn't even get to know any girls... My brothers are still mentally bogged down in the war era, unmarried, discontented, unfulfilled, and financially and geographically restricted, now too old to change the course of their destinies.<sup>100</sup>

In the anti-Japanese climate prevalent in Australia after the war, most of those who remained in Australia kept silent about their wartime experiences and their racial origins. Joe Murakami wrote in 1989:

we tend to withdraw instinctively when such a subject is brought up. This withdrawal is a sort of conditioned reflex attributable to our experience in the early post-war era.<sup>101</sup>

Some hid their Japanese origins, even to the extent of taking western surnames. According to a fourth-generation descendant of Rikinosuke Sakuragawa, the acrobat who was Australia's earliest Japanese settler, the family tried to hide the fact that they were of Japanese descent.<sup>102</sup> His father, uncles and great-uncles all served in either the military or merchant marine during the war. One Australian-born person of Japanese parentage thought: "Most Australian-born, especially of mixed parentage were ashamed of their Japanese ancestry."<sup>103</sup> Oriol Torimaru of Japanese-Spanish descent said: "I was quiet about my half-Japanese ancestry for some time after the war, but I am proud of it now. I know of others who

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<sup>100</sup> Joe Murakami, letter, Yokohama, 16 July 1988.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 5 Jan. 1989.

<sup>102</sup> Jeff Dicinoski, Brisbane, 4 June 1992.

<sup>103</sup> Evelyn Suzuki, 7 May 1992.

try to hide it."<sup>104</sup> Iwao Takai, the son of a T.I. Japanese diver called Yoshio Takai and a woman of Islander-Malay origin, said in 1992:

I didn't feel comfortable for a long time to openly admit or talk about my Japanese origin, but only recently I began to feel positive about it and want to know about my past...my father left us when I was still a baby and never returned. I was told that he died in Japan.<sup>105</sup>

After the war a complete ban was placed on the entry of Japanese into Australia. In 1947 Arthur Calwell said:

Let me repeat for the last time that while I remain Minister for Immigration no Japanese will be permitted to enter this country. They cannot come as the wives of Australian servicemen for permanent or temporary residence, nor as businessmen to buy from or sell to us; they cannot come as pearl-ers nor as labourers to pearl-ers. I have no intention of granting interviews to anybody in matters concerning the entry of Japanese into Australia or into Australian waters. The memories of Japanese atrocities to Australian servicemen are too recent and too bitter to be as easily forgotten as some people would like.<sup>106</sup>

In December 1949 the Labor Government was defeated at the Federal election. On 8 September 1951 the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed. Although the White Australia Policy remained after the war, some concessions were made as time went on. In August 1951 the Australian government decided to allow some former Japanese residents to return to Australia on compassionate grounds.<sup>107</sup> Tokitaro and Saka Iwanaga, 74 and 75, were the first in this category. They returned from Japan in 1953 to rejoin their adopted daughter, Anne, in Brisbane. They had worked in Japan with the Occupation Forces as a cook and a housemaid. They claimed "we are too old to go overseas, but can't make a living in Japan. We will probably

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<sup>104</sup>Oriel Vallance nee Torimaru, 24 Aug. 1987.

<sup>105</sup>Isao Takai, Thursday Island, 12 July 1992.

<sup>106</sup>Palfreyman, A.C., *The Administration of the White Australia Policy*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, p. 44.

<sup>107</sup>A 1838, T 184, 3103/10/8, PT1, 27 Aug. 1951.

not see Japan again."<sup>108</sup> Their daughter regularly sent food parcels to them from Australia and worked hard to arrange their return.<sup>109</sup> They arrived in Melbourne and received a warm welcome from a group of former internees, including Evelyn Yamashita.<sup>110</sup> In Australia the old couple befriended and welcomed Japanese war brides and were fondly called Ojisan and Obasan [Uncle and Aunt]. Ted Collins, now a resident in Melbourne, wrote in 1986:

Mr. Iwanaga became like a father to me...They were among the first Japanese settlers allowed back into the country. During internment, their house in Cairns was burnt down, as well, they lost their business, all this, they were never compensated. This dear old couple have since died, but are always fondly remembered.<sup>111</sup>

Mrs. Iwanaga died in 1958 and Mr. Iwanaga in 1962. According to their daughter, they owned a house which was in her name as law prohibited non-white residents owning property or land.<sup>112</sup>

Between 1946 and 1952 the pearling industry made representations to the government to permit the return of repatriated Japanese.<sup>113</sup> The members of the Northern Australia Development Committee were concerned with the rehabilitation of the pearling towns. The industry at Darwin had completely disappeared with the deaths of pre-war community leaders, including Jiro Muramatsu and Yasukichi Murakami who died in the internment camp, and A.C. Gregory, Murakami's long-standing friend. The Pearlery Associations in Broome and Thursday Island had failed to keep the industry

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<sup>108</sup> Japanese newspaper clipping kept by Ann Iwanaga, no date.

<sup>109</sup> Ann Iwanaga, Brisbane, 25 Aug. 1987.

<sup>110</sup> Evelyn Suzuki, Sydney, 7 May 1992.

<sup>111</sup> E. A. Collins, letter, Melbourne, 2 May 1986.

<sup>112</sup> Anne Iwanaga, Brisbane, 10 Oct. 1992.

<sup>113</sup> A 437, 46/6/72, 25 Oct. 1946.



organised.<sup>114</sup> The industry expressed confidence that the Japanese would improve the take of pearls by up to 75 per cent and that the general running of business would improve under the guidance of experienced Japanese pearlers.<sup>115</sup> The Torres Strait Islanders allied with the Australian Legion of Ex-Servicemen and Women to resist the re-introduction of Japanese.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, in October 1952 Cabinet decided to permit the entry of Japanese pearling labourers under conditions similar to those prior to the outbreak of war. 35 Japanese were admitted to work in the pearling industry at Broome.<sup>117</sup> The party was headed by Toshio Fukuda, a former resident of Broome who had been president of the Nihonjin-kai there before the war and who had left Australia before the war. Among the 35 were former PWJMs, including Katsuzoo Antaku and Masataro Okumura, who later married local Aboriginal women in Broome and were still living there in 1986.<sup>118</sup>

In 1958, 106 Okinawans were permitted to work on Thursday Island.<sup>119</sup> Okinawa was then an American mandated territory. This could, according to Ganter, "satisfy Australian master pearlers without offending anti-Japanese sentiments" and it "could be argued that the recruits were not actually Japanese people."<sup>120</sup> However, the experiment with Okinawan divers failed and they were repatriated before the expiry of their

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<sup>114</sup>Bain, p. 342.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 344.

<sup>116</sup>Ganter, p. 279.

<sup>117</sup>Commonwealth Parliamentary Debate, 14 Oct. 1952.

<sup>118</sup>Katsuzoo Antaku and Masataro Okumura, Broome, 25 Aug. 1986.

<sup>119</sup>Palfreyman, p. 45.

<sup>120</sup>Ganter, pp. 280-281.

contracts. Ganter wrote: "With the mass withdrawal of the Japanese workforce during World War II the industry gradually collapsed under strains which had long been present: a volatile world market, resource exhaustion, and finally competition from alternative materials."<sup>121</sup>

A new Japanese community gradually grew again in Australia. The first of a new generation of Japanese settlers allowed into Australia were war brides who arrived in 1952.<sup>122</sup> As further concessions were made, the numbers of Japanese gradually increased. These concessions included temporary residence of non-Europeans admitted for business purposes, naturalisation of non-Europeans, and the admission of non-Europeans and persons of mixed descent who had unusual potential to benefit Australia. By 1954 966 Japanese born in Japan were living in Australia.<sup>123</sup> In 1958 the dictation test of the Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 was abolished.<sup>124</sup> On 9 March 1966 the Minister for Immigration, Hubert Opperman, announced that permanent settlement of non-Europeans would be made easier.<sup>125</sup> By 1971, when 4,929 Japanese resided in Australia<sup>126</sup>, the number of Japanese had surpassed the population of 1901. The 1986 census showed that 11,160 people born in Japan resided in Australia. 98.8 per cent of them were post-war arrivals and most had come to Australia after

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 282.

<sup>122</sup>Atsumi, R., "A Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile of the Japanese Residents in Australia", Coughlan, J.E., ed., *The Diverse Asians: A Profile of Six Asian Communities in Australia*, Griffith University, 1992, p. 17.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>124</sup>Human Rights Commission, *Report No. 13 Human Rights and the Migration Act 1958*, Apr. 1985, Part 2.2, Section 18, p. 5.

<sup>125</sup>Hawkins, p. 33.

<sup>126</sup>Atsumi, p. 13.

the major change in immigration policy in 1966.<sup>127</sup> The occupational profile was different to the pre-war Japanese, most of whom had been labourers. More than half of the Japanese men in Australia were professionals and a majority worked for Japan-related companies.<sup>128</sup> 30 per cent of Japanese women were in professional or semi-professional categories, and 52 per cent were in clerical, service and sales work.<sup>129</sup>

Today the Japanese presence is strongly felt in Australia. Japanese communities are well-established and concentrated in major urban centres such as Sydney and Melbourne.<sup>130</sup> Most state capitals have a Nihonjin-kai and, although they are open to any Japanese resident in Australia, the membership mainly consists of short-term residents such as business representatives and their families. Presidencies of the Nihonji-kai tend to be given to employees of major Japanese companies. Most Nihonjin-kai run Japanese schools, which generally cater for children of families who are short-term residents. There are now several Japanese language community newspapers. In 1986 45 per cent of Japanese born in Japan and who had been resident in Australia for more than five years had taken Australian citizenship.<sup>131</sup> The Japanese community in Australia today has few links with the pre-war community.

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<sup>127</sup>Atsumi, p. 18.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 13. 45 per cent of the Japanese in Australia reside in Sydney, 20 per cent in Melbourne, 5 per cent in Perth, another 5 per cent in Brisbane, and the rest elsewhere including Adelaide and Canberra.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

## Chapter 10

### Internment in America and Canada

There are some parallels to the Australian experience among Japanese interned in the United States and Canada. In all three countries precedents were set during World War I when Germans were interned as enemy aliens.<sup>1</sup> Also, on the outbreak of World War II, suspected German and Italian subversives were interned in the USA and Canada.<sup>2</sup> Unlike Australia, there were large concentrations of Japanese in the USA and Canada, particularly on the west coast. On the entry of Japan into the war, these Japanese were relocated to inland areas. Following relocation, the US and Canadian governments interned them in special camps. Yet in many ways the experience of Japanese internees in each country differed. The policies and procedures of each government were shaped by different social, historical and political forces.

The Japanese community in the USA was many times larger than in Australia. In 1941 there were about 127,000 persons of Japanese origin on the mainland of the United States. Approximately 90 per cent of them resided in four western states - California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona, most in California. Some 47,000 had been born in Japan (Issei) and 98 per cent of them

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<sup>1</sup>Luebke, F.C., *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I*, Northern Illinois University Press, p. 256; Thompson, J.H., *Ethnic Minorities during Two World Wars*, The Canadian Historical Association, 1991, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Girdner, A. & Loftis, A., *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans During World War II*, London, The MacMillan Company, 1969, pp. 13-14; McLaughlin, K. M., *The Germans in Canada*, Ottawa Canadian Historical Society, 1985, p. 16, and Ramirez, B., *The Italians in Canada*, Ottawa, Canadian Historical Society, 1989, p. 19.

had come to America prior to the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924. With few exceptions, they were not entitled to US citizenship.<sup>3</sup> The remaining 80,000 were born in America, the children (Nisei) or grandchildren (Sansei) of immigrant Japanese. As they were born on American soil they held American citizenship.<sup>4</sup>

Initially well-accepted in the USA, the efficiency and willingness of Japanese migrant labour came to be resented by others and there was increasing opposition from organised labour.<sup>5</sup> Many Japanese began to purchase their own farms and small businesses, thereby competing with the same people who had earlier praised them as ideal employees.<sup>6</sup> The resultant hostility triggered anti-Japanese legislation to restrict their successes. Most significant was the Californian Alien Land Law of 1913, which prevented aliens who could not apply for citizenship owning land.<sup>7</sup> This included all Asian aliens, but was particularly aimed at the Japanese even though they only owned about 12,000 acres of the 27 million acres of farm land in California.<sup>8</sup> Although the number of Japanese immigrants to the US was small, less than three per cent of total immigration to the US in 1907, their concentration in particular areas of the west coast gave a false impression of numbers. Although numbers in Hawaii were much greater, there was less concern about

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<sup>3</sup>Thomas, D.S. & Nishimoto, R.S., *The Spoilage: Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement during World War II*, University of California Press, 1946, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Hraba, J., *American Ethnicity*, Illinois, F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1979, p. 317.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 316-318.

<sup>7</sup>Sowel, T., *Ethnic America*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1981, pp. 161-163.

<sup>8</sup>Bahr, H., Chadwick, B., and Stauss, J., *American Ethnicity*, D.C. Heath and Company, 1979, p. 86.

their arrival. Nevertheless, this did not prevent pay discrimination against the Japanese there.<sup>9</sup>

As families grew, the Japanese were able to purchase land in the names of their Nisei children. By 1930 half of all Japanese Americans were native-born. Many of those not able to purchase land were very successful as tenant farmers. In 1920 a new Alien Land Law was passed in California to prevent these devices from being used. In 1923 the Supreme Court upheld this law and similar laws were passed in Arizona, Arkansas, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming.<sup>10</sup> Despite continuing attempts to restrict their success, by 1940 a majority of Japanese males in California were farmers.<sup>11</sup>

As well as their notable successes as farmers, Japanese very quickly established themselves as entrepreneurs in a number of fields. For example, by 1919 half the hotels and one quarter of the grocery stores in Seattle were owned by Japanese.<sup>12</sup> They also were successful at gardening, produce distribution and running laundries and lunch counters.<sup>13</sup> By 1941 the Japanese American community had existed for half a century and had a well-established social structure. By this time the Nisei had entered the mainstream of the community.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Sowel, p. 165.

<sup>10</sup>Bahr, Chadwick & Stauss, p. 86.

<sup>11</sup>Sowel, p. 166.

<sup>12</sup>Hraba, p. 322.

<sup>13</sup>Sowell, p. 167.

<sup>14</sup>Sowell, p. 171.

On the outbreak of war with Japan on 7 December 1941, the US government declared enemy aliens of Japanese origin subject to internment and restriction. Initial arrests were based on previously compiled lists of those suspected of subversive activities. Within a few hours of the Pearl Harbor attack, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to round up all suspects.<sup>15</sup> By 16 February, 2,192 Japanese aliens had been arrested on the mainland.<sup>16</sup> They were first detained in local gaols and detention centres for migrants, and later transferred to internment camps in various states such as Wisconsin, Tennessee, Louisiana, Montana, Texas and New Mexico.<sup>17</sup> In Hawaii, 164 arrests were made on the outbreak of the war. Later, about 1,000 were interned in the detention centre on Sand Island in Honolulu Bay. About 700 of these were later transferred to internment camps on the mainland.<sup>18</sup>

Various other precautionary measures were taken. Travel was restricted, possession of certain items such as short-wave radios was prohibited, and plans were made for possible exclusion from military zones. The Treasury Department froze assets and credits, and some businesses operated by enemy aliens were closed.<sup>19</sup> Although these measures were supposed to be imposed only on Japanese classified as enemy aliens, neither official nor unofficial

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<sup>15</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>17</sup>Konno, T. and Fujisaki, Y., *Iminshi*, Vol III, Tokyo, Shinsensha, 1986, p. 297. Two prisoner exchanges took place between the USA and Japan. Approximately 1,000, including consular officials, left on the first exchange in June 1942 and further 1,500 internees left in September 1943. Konno and Fujisaki, p. 265.

<sup>18</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 296.

<sup>19</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 5.

classification differentiated aliens from citizens. Extensive economic and social boycotts developed against the entire Japanese community.<sup>20</sup>

There was a lot of debate within the government about what to do with the "Japanese". Some proposed removing all of them from the west coast, while others wanted to remove only the disloyal, interning them if necessary. There was considerable public support for evacuation of all Japanese from the west coast.<sup>21</sup> During January and February 1942, the Attorney General announced the establishment of zones where enemy aliens were prohibited. These included airports, harbours and other strategic installations along the west coast. Travel for aliens was further restricted within coastal areas.<sup>22</sup> On 19 February 1942 President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066.<sup>23</sup> It stated:

the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate...to prescribe military areas... from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any persons to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restriction the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion.<sup>24</sup>

On 20 February the Secretary of War delegated General De Witt to carry out the order. He did so immediately and announced that all enemy aliens of Japanese, German and Italian descent would be excluded from restricted areas. In fact, only Japanese, including those who held American citizenship, were compelled to leave.<sup>25</sup> The initial evacuation, in Thomas and Nishimoto's

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>21</sup>Hosokawa, B., *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, New York, William Morrow and Company, 1969, pp. 259-260.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.



words, "had not been intended to limit the free movement of evacuees in any way."<sup>26</sup> However, public reaction to the arrival of Japanese Americans in areas outside the military zones was such that on 27 March De Witt announced the end of voluntary evacuation and the establishment of detention centres designed to last for the duration of the war.<sup>27</sup> By 8 August 1942, 109,650 Japanese had been evacuated from restricted areas.<sup>28</sup> Some were able to leave homes and property in the care of trusted friends. However, because of limited time and the lack of provision for securing assets, many were forced to sell businesses, homes and property at great loss.<sup>29</sup>

Ironically no such mass evacuation was imposed upon the 158,000 Japanese Americans who made up 37 per cent of Hawaii's population.<sup>30</sup> They too had suffered from the Pearl Harbor attack. The 327 civilian casualties included 30 Japanese.<sup>31</sup> The US government first intended to intern all the Japanese in Hawaii. However, military officers there did not consider mass evacuation appropriate as they realised the forces could not function properly without the Japanese who made up a large part of the naval and military labour force. Japanese in Hawaii remained at liberty and at work during the war.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>29</sup>Utsumi, A., Koshida, A., Tanaka, H. and Tobita, Y., ed., *Sengo Hoshoo* [Post-war Compensation], Nashinokisha, Tokyo, 1992, p. 184.

<sup>30</sup>Zich, A., "Home at Last: Japanese Americans", *National Geographic*, April 1986, p. 528.

<sup>31</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 295.

<sup>32</sup>Adachi, p. 205.

In the US the authorities referred to the relocated Japanese as "evacuees" and the camps which held them as "relocation centres" or "relocation projects".<sup>33</sup> However, these centres were internment camps, fenced with barbed wire and guarded by watch towers and armed soldiers.<sup>34</sup> The evacuees were first moved to assembly centres and then to relocation centres. Ten centres were established in desolate areas - Manzanar and Tule Lake in California, Poston and Gila River in Arizona, Rohwer and Jerome in Arkansas, Minidoka in Idaho, Heart Mountain in Wyoming, Granada in Colorado, and Topaz in Utah - with capacities ranging from 8,000 to 20,000.<sup>35</sup> The internees were housed in barracks, with cooking and plumbing facilities in separate buildings.<sup>36</sup>

The War Relocation Authority (WRA) was responsible for the establishment and administration of the centres. According to a WRA policy statement, plans were made to assure evacuees "an equitable substitute for the life, work, and homes given up, and to facilitate participation in the productive life of America both during and after the war".<sup>37</sup> Centres were to be made self-supporting and governed by evacuees themselves. 30,000 primary school children and 7,000 high school students were among the evacuees.<sup>38</sup> They were given schooling by evacuee teachers. Content and methods of instruc-

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<sup>33</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 26.

<sup>34</sup>Miki, R. and Kobayashi, C., *Justice in Our Time: The Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement*, Winnipeg, The National Association of Japanese Canadians, 1991, p. 51.

<sup>35</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 27.

<sup>36</sup>Myer, D.S., *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II*, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 1971, pp. 31-32.

<sup>37</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 33.

<sup>38</sup>Myer, p. 48.

tions had to be in line with recognised standards and were developed in close consultation with state educational authorities.<sup>39</sup> The language of instruction had to be English and Japanese language schools were not permitted to operate in any camp.<sup>40</sup> Over 4,000 students were allowed to leave the centres to study at some 534 institutions of higher learning.<sup>41</sup> These students were among the first evacuees the WRA gave special permission to leave the centres under a resettlement programme.<sup>42</sup>

While evacuees were still arriving at the centres, the WRA was faced with the fact that "American citizens were being detained in the relocation centres without due process of law and that this situation could not be defended".<sup>43</sup> It also admitted the relocation centres created by the government were undesirable, describing them as a "fundamental negation of American democracy and incapable of ever becoming anything else".<sup>44</sup> Consequently, the WRA embarked on a programme to resettle all willing evacuees outside the west coast exclusion area, with a view towards the "eventual liquidation of the relocation projects."<sup>45</sup> In May 1942 the WRA also made it possible for evacuees to do seasonal work on sugar beet farms when labour shortages became acute

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 37.

<sup>41</sup>Adachi, p. 266.

<sup>42</sup>Murakawa, Y., "Nikkei Amerikajin of Saiteijuu ni kansuru Kenkyu" [Study about resettlement of Japanese American], *Kokusaikankei Kenkyujo Ho*, Tsudajuku University, Vol. 13, 1983, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup>Spicer, E. H., Hansen A.T., Luamala, K., & Opler, M.K., *Impounded People: Japanese -Americans in the Relocation Centers*, The University of Arizona Press, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 53.

in the agricultural areas of the west.<sup>46</sup> According to Myer, by October almost 10,000 evacuees had been recruited for work on western farms.<sup>47</sup> After October 1942 the WRA officially allowed some Nisei educated in the US to leave the centres to take jobs in ordinary American communities.<sup>48</sup>

The processes of clearing Japanese for such exceptions involved extensive bureaucracy and FBI checks. To decide who would be allowed access to areas outside centres, the WRA needed to establish criteria for determining loyalty or disloyalty. By this time there was increasing pressure from evacuees themselves for the authorities to allow enlistment of Japanese Americans in the armed services. Questionnaires were devised to determine the loyalty of those who wished to serve. Nisei were exempted from the draft and on 17 June 1942 the War Department declared them unacceptable for service in the armed forces "except as may be authorized in special cases". On 14 September a special classification was provided indicating that Japanese Americans were not acceptable in the army. Many of the approximately 6,000 already serving were dismissed.<sup>49</sup> However, from early 1942 the Army Intelligence Service had begun recruiting Nisei for training in the Japanese language with the intention of assigning them to military units in the Pacific area to serve as scouts and interpreters.<sup>50</sup> During September and October 1942 recruiting officers went to all WRA centres to enlist volunteers from among the male citizens who already had a good working knowledge of the

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<sup>46</sup>Kikuchi, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup>Myer, p. 160.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

Japanese language. By the end of 1942 army intelligence authorities had recruited 167 American citizens for language training.<sup>51</sup>

As pressure from among evacuees and their supporters increased, it was decided that it would be advisable to allow Nisei to volunteer for combat service. On 28 January 1943 the Secretary of War announced plans to recruit volunteers from both the mainland and Hawaii.<sup>52</sup> Two battallions, the 100th and the 442nd, were formed and later sent to Italy where they served at the front.<sup>53</sup> Many of these Nisei were killed or wounded.<sup>54</sup> By the end of the war more than 21,000 Nisei were taken into the US armed forces, although they were barred from enlisting in the Navy and Marines. 6,000 served as Army military intelligence specialists in the Pacific.<sup>55</sup> The 100th Battalion received a Presidential Citation for "outstanding performance of duty in action ... in Italy".<sup>56</sup> This recognition possibly influenced the government to relax treatment of Japanese Americans towards the end of the war. After the war in an address to the 442 Regimental Combat Team President Truman said:

You fought for the free nations of the world along with the rest of us...You fought not only the enemy, but you fought prejudice and you have won. Keep up that fight, and we will continue to win - to make this great republic stand for just what the Constitution says it stands for: the welfare of all people all of the time.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. xxvii.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>54</sup>Itoh, R., *We went to War: The Story of the Japanese Canadians who Served during the First and Second World Wars*, Ontario, Canada's Wings, 1984, p. 161.

<sup>55</sup>Zich, p. 532.

<sup>56</sup>Myer, p. 148.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 149.

Versions of the questionnaires used for military service were eventually applied to determine the loyalty of those not eligible for military service. In early February 1943 the government required all evacuees over seventeen to fill out the questionnaires - one for male citizens of Japanese origin and another for female citizens and Issei males and females.<sup>58</sup> The questionnaires closely examined such factors as foreign travel, relatives in Japan and membership of clubs. Most importantly, male citizens were required to swear unqualified allegiance to the US and to forswear any allegiance to the Japanese emperor. Those determined as having continuing ties with the Japanese Empire were classified as "disloyal"<sup>59</sup>. 28 per cent of American citizen males and eighteen per cent of females refused to swear or forswear as required.<sup>60</sup> According to Thomas and Nishimoto, refusal to affirm loyalty did not necessarily mean that internees were disloyal. Often they were motivated by other factors, such as fear of being once more "relocated" to areas outside camps which might be hostile to Japanese.<sup>61</sup> By early October 1943 15,000 classified as "disloyal", including families, were segregated from the "loyal" and concentrated at the Tule Lake Centre for the duration of the war.<sup>62</sup> When Nisei were allowed to renounce their US citizenship in July 1944, approximately 5,700 took the opportunity. 95 per cent of these were from Tule Lake.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Thomas and Nishimoto, p. 57.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Myer, p. xxviii.

<sup>63</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 264.

The progress of the war and the public relations value of the service record of Japanese Americans eventually allowed authorities to consider revocation of the exclusion orders. The Director of the WRA, Dillon Myer, wrote to the Secretary of War on 8 June 1943: "it is difficult to see why a wholesale evacuation for all persons of Japanese descent was ever necessary. If the dangerous and potentially dangerous individuals may be so readily determined as your letter implies, it should have been possible to evacuate only the dangerous from the Pacific Coast area."<sup>64</sup> After appeals from the WRA, in December 1944 the Department of the Army decided that Japanese Americans could return to their homes on the Pacific Coast from 2 January 1945.<sup>65</sup> At that time approximately 75,000 evacuees were left in the centres.<sup>66</sup> The WRA announced that all the relocation centres except Tule Lake were to be closed by the end of 1945. On 30 April 1945 the WRA estimated that by June the centres would be left with 44,000 relocatable evacuees. By 4 September the 1945 relocation order and restrictions were removed. On 1 December the relocation centres were closed and on 20 March 1946 Tule Lake was closed.<sup>67</sup>

In some areas there was still considerable local opposition to the return of evacuees, including some violent attacks on property and personal threats. Despite these and other problems, such as housing and transport, by the time the relocation centres were closed, 109,300 people had returned to life outside the camps.<sup>68</sup> According to Myer, the WRA carried out its responsibilities

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<sup>64</sup>Myer, p. 168.

<sup>65</sup>Sunahara, p. 118.

<sup>66</sup>Kikuchi, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, pp. 307-309.

<sup>68</sup>Myer, p. 224.

under Executive Order 9102 assuming that "all evacuees of Japanese ancestry, except for those who request repatriation and those who may be deported for illegal activities, will continue to live in the United States after the close of the war".<sup>69</sup> Immediately after the war approximately 8,000 Japanese were sent back to Japan from the USA, including those who had renounced their US citizenship and those who wished to be repatriated.<sup>70</sup>

At the end of 1945 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the relocation of Japanese who were American citizens. In 1948 approximately 20,000 of the 120,000 Japanese Americans who had been relocated were given compensation for property loss. It took the next 40 years for Japanese Americans to obtain further compensation from the US government. In 1952 the JACL helped win a repeal of California's alien land laws,<sup>71</sup> and the US ended its policy of total exclusion of Asians from immigration and naturalization. Some 40,000 Japanese were admitted to the United States in the eight years after 1952 and many of them became citizens.<sup>72</sup> Thousands of long-term resident Issei also became naturalised.<sup>73</sup> Daniels wrote:

The year 1952 thus marks the end of an era for the Japanese Americans. Just ten years after the evacuation the last legal discrimination against Americans of Japanese ancestry disappeared. This victory, whatever its price, was surely the last and most significant decoration won by the men of the 442nd.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>70</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 264.

<sup>71</sup>Zich, p. 533.

<sup>72</sup>Daniels, R., *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 170.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.



During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, Japanese Americans began to speak about their experiences. They were led by the Sansei generation who identified the wartime treatment of their parents and grandparents as a central issue of racial discrimination. Sansei activists formed various groups seeking redress. These groups combined in 1980 to form the National Coalition for Redress and Reparation (NCRR).<sup>75</sup> Prior to this, the JACL, a more established and conservative Nisei organisation, had also made a commitment to obtaining redress. By July 1978 they had determined to push for reparation payments of \$25,000 per person.<sup>76</sup>

In 1980 Sansei attorneys began investigating possible constitutional transgressions during the wartime experiences of Japanese Americans. With the aid of more than 100 volunteer lawyers, they forced the reopening of three cases on which the Supreme Court had ruled in 1943 and 1944.<sup>77</sup> One of these was the Korematsu case where a conviction for resisting internment had been upheld. In a 1980 hearing, the US district court in San Francisco overturned the conviction. The ruling declared that "our institutions must protect all citizens from the petty fears and prejudices that are so easily aroused."<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Okabe, K., *Nikkei Amerikajin: Kyoseishuyo kara Sengohosho e* [ Japanese Americans: From Internment to Post-war Compensation], Tokyo, Iwanami Bokin, No. 234, 1991, p. 35.

<sup>76</sup>Utsumi, Koshida, Tanaka & Tobita, pp. 184-185.

<sup>77</sup>Zich, p. 538.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 538.

In response, in 1980 the US government decided to establish a commission to investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding Executive Order 9066.<sup>79</sup> In February 1983 the commission concluded that:

Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity, that "grave injustice" had been done to those evacuated, and that the broad historical causes behind the order were "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership."<sup>80</sup>

The commission recommended \$20,000 compensation for each victim. In August 1988 the Civil Liberties Bill was enacted as law. It stated that the US congress was to make a public apology for the infringement of basic civil and constitutional rights of Japanese Americans. It also stated that compensation of \$20,000 was to be given to victims who were alive on 10 August 1988, the day when the law was instituted.<sup>81</sup> If a recipient died after that date, his or her family was to receive the compensation.

According to Okabe, approximately half the Japanese Americans who had been interned during the war had died by 10 August 1988. Virtually all who had been relocated and interned, including citizens and enemy aliens who had been permanent residents, were entitled to this compensation. Those deported to Japan after the war and who had renounced their US citizenship were also included. Only those who had returned to Japan on prisoner exchanges were excluded.<sup>82</sup> However, approximately 80 white wives of Japanese who had been in relocation camps were not entitled to receive any compensation as they

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Utsumi, Koshida, Tanaka & Tobita, p. 185.

<sup>82</sup>Okabe, p. 51.

were not of Japanese origin. Significantly, victims were not required to place claims because the law required the government to locate them.<sup>83</sup>

The process was to be completed in November 1992. On 9 October 1990 the first payments were made.<sup>84</sup> All those compensated received a letter dated October 1990 and signed by President Bush. It reads:

A monetary sum and words alone cannot restore lost years or erase painful memories; neither can they fully convey our Nation's resolve to rectify injustice and to uphold the rights of individuals. We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can take a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustices were done to Japanese Americans during World War II.

In enacting a law calling for restitution and offering a sincere apology, your fellow Americans have, in a very real sense, renewed their traditional commitment to the ideals of freedom, equality and justice. You and your family have our best wishes for the future.<sup>85</sup>

In 1941 there were 23,149 people of Japanese origin in Canada, 95 per cent of whom lived on the west coast in British Columbia. 60 per cent of all Japanese Canadians were Nisei and Sansei Canadian citizens by birth. About 38 per cent of the remaining Issei were naturalized.<sup>86</sup> As in the USA, the Japanese community was well-established with a wide range of voluntary associations to serve the various needs of the immigrant community. These included the Issei-controlled Canadian Japanese Association (CJA) and the Japanese Canadian Citizens League (JCCL) established by the Nisei.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Okabe, pp. 49-52.

<sup>84</sup>Japanese Citizens League, press release, San Francisco, 9 Oct. 1990.

<sup>85</sup>Utsumi, Koshida, Tanaka and Tobita, Appendix, p. 44.

<sup>86</sup>Sunahara, pp. 7-8. Also see Konno and Fujisaki, p. 378.

<sup>87</sup>Adachi, p. 157-159.

As the 1930s closed, suspicions about Japanese foreign policy and actions in Manchuria and China caused a hardening in public and political attitudes to the Japanese Canadians.<sup>88</sup> When Canada entered the European war many Nisei offered to enlist, but none were allowed to do so.<sup>89</sup> By this time the Canadian government thought the risk of war with Japan was serious enough to consider registration of all Canadian Japanese. This process was commenced in March 1941 and was completed three months before Pearl Harbor.<sup>90</sup> All Japanese Canadians over the age of sixteen, both aliens and citizens, had to be registered. German and Italian counterparts were not obliged to register.<sup>91</sup>

On the day of the Pearl Harbor attack, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) immediately arrested 38 Japanese suspected as subversives. They included judo instructors, veterans of the Imperial Japanese Army and minor officials of local Japanese associations.<sup>92</sup> All were interned in the POW camp at Kananaskis near Banff, where they were housed with German POWs.<sup>93</sup>

At the outbreak of war the government confiscated some 1,200 fishing boats owned or operated by naturalized citizens or Nisei. Except for the Nisei newspaper, *The New Canadian*, Japanese newspapers and schools were closed.<sup>94</sup> The government required Japanese nationals to register as enemy

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<sup>88</sup>Adachi, p. 187.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., pp. 191-192.

<sup>92</sup>Sunahara, p. 28.

<sup>93</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 372.

<sup>94</sup>Adachi, p. 200.

aliens and to sign an agreement to be of good behaviour. They were also required to obtain permission for travel. But on 16 December new regulations required everyone of Japanese origin, Canadian citizens or not, to register.<sup>95</sup>

The Canadian and US governments had agreed to follow parallel policies with respect to their Japanese minorities. According to Sunahara, "The agreement did not require them to consult each other when deciding policy, but only to keep each other informed of policy changes in order to bring about 'a practical coincidence of policy.'"<sup>96</sup> As in the US, within the Canadian government itself the Japanese problem caused some disagreement. In British Columbia anti-Japanese sentiment was strong. Public reaction to the supposed activities of Japanese fifth columnists was high. British Columbian politicians wanted to take drastic action, while some senior Canadian police and military officers were more favourably disposed towards the Japanese.<sup>97</sup> The differences between the two groups surfaced at a conference held in Ottawa on 8 - 9 January 1942. It was chaired by Ian Mackenzie, an MP from British Columbia and "the main engineer of Japanese Canadian policy"<sup>98</sup>. Delegates from British Columbia urged the internment of all Japanese nationals. Ian Mackenzie was instrumental in forming this proposal.<sup>99</sup> It was opposed by representatives of the Armed Forces and the RCMP as they were convinced

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<sup>95</sup>Adachi, p. 200.

<sup>96</sup>Sunahara, p. 36.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

that the measures already undertaken were more than adequate.<sup>100</sup> Using his influence in the federal cabinet, MacKenzie stressed the danger of anti-Japanese riots among the white population and the desirability of, in his words, "transfer without being necessarily interned".<sup>101</sup> This euphemism for relocation masked the strong opinions being expressed by the British Columbian delegation.

In January 1942 the federal cabinet decided to carry out partial evacuation. It announced that all male Japanese nationals between 18 and 45 were to be removed from the coast.<sup>102</sup> A "protected area" was declared which encompassed all land up to 100 miles from the coast. Any enemy aliens could be excluded from this area.<sup>103</sup> It was also decided to utilize some men on national projects. They were sent to road camps near the British Columbia/Alberta border.<sup>104</sup> On 24 February 1942 the government passed order-in-council P.C. 1486 which classified all Japanese Canadians as enemy aliens and announced their compulsory removal from the Pacific Coast.<sup>105</sup>

On 4 March the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) was established to oversee this evacuation.<sup>106</sup> It was empowered:

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<sup>100</sup>Kitagawa, M., ed. by Roy Miki, *This is My Own: Letters to Wes & Other Writings on Japanese Canadians, 1941-1948*, Vancouver, Talonbooks, 1985, pp. 56-57.

<sup>101</sup>Sunahara, p. 35.

<sup>102</sup>Adachi, p. 208.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>104</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 364.

<sup>105</sup>Adachi, p. 215.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

to require by order any person of the Japanese race, in any protected area in British Columbia, to remain at his place of residence or to leave his place of residence and to proceed to any place within or without the protected area at such time and in such manner as the Commission may prescribe in any such order, or to order the detention of any such person, and any such order may be enforced by any persons nominated by the Commission to do so.<sup>107</sup>

On 11 September 1942 this authority was applied to all Japanese living in other areas in Canada, except those married to white Canadians.<sup>108</sup> By November 1942, 20,881 Japanese Canadians, 90.9 per cent of the Japanese Canadian population, had been uprooted from their homes and evacuated.<sup>109</sup> Those who opposed evacuation were taken into custody and interned in POW camps at Petawawa and Angler in Ontario. 768 Japanese were interned in these camps during the war.<sup>110</sup>

There were various relocation schemes, which seemed to imply an element of choice. However, according to Kitagawa, "the removal policy was governed by expediency alone".<sup>111</sup> The great majority of evacuees were sent to isolated detention camps in the interior of British Columbia. The authorities referred to the camps as "interior housing centres", "relocation centres", or "interior settlements". Six camps were located in ghost towns: Greenwood, Kaslo, New Denver, Slocan City, Tashme and Sandon in British Columbia.<sup>112</sup> 75 per cent of the Japanese population had been residents of the Vancouver area and they were relocated directly from their homes. Evacuees from other areas in British Columbia were first brought to the Hastings Park Exhibition Grounds in

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<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>109</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 367.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 371.

<sup>111</sup>Kitagawa, p. 12.

<sup>112</sup>Adachi, p. 251.

Vancouver, which was used as a clearing centre. The male evacuees were sent from there to road or lumber camps. 2,000 were immediately sent to work on road construction projects.<sup>113</sup> Families, however, remained in converted livestock buildings at Hastings Park while waiting for the camps to be prepared.<sup>114</sup>

Unlike in the US, the detention camps were not fenced with barbed-wire and there were no watchtowers. Each camp was guarded by a detachment of the RCMP which controlled inward and outward traffic. No one was supposed to leave or enter without permits. Abandoned houses were repaired by evacuees for their own use.<sup>115</sup> James claims that, compared to the American counterparts, evacuees in Canada were placed under "more severe conditions".<sup>116</sup> Many families were separated as male members were sent to work on the roads. Because of a shortage of labour on the sugar beet farms of the prairies, Japanese families were offered the chance to work there. To avoid separation, about 4,000 chose to travel east and work at harvesting the crop. They went to Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario where they were received with varying degrees of tolerance.<sup>117</sup> Housing conditions, designed for itinerant single workers, were often primitive.<sup>118</sup> Although sanitation and

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<sup>113</sup>Ward, P., *The Japanese in Canada*, Canadian Historical Association, Ottawa, 1982, p. 14.

<sup>114</sup>Kitagawa, p. 13.

<sup>115</sup>Adachi, p. 257.

<sup>116</sup>James, T., *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese Americans 1942-1945*, Harvard University Press, 1987, p. 167.

<sup>117</sup>Adachi, pp. 280-284.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 281.



water supplies were frequently inadequate and the work was physically very demanding, in most areas the families stayed until the end of the war.<sup>119</sup>

As in the US, the BCSC formulated plans designed to provide evacuees with "a substitute for the life, work, and homes they had given up".<sup>120</sup> It was planned to create "self-supporting agricultural communities" and thus lessen the burden on government funds. However, this did not eventuate.<sup>121</sup> The BCSC provided medical care, fuel, housing and education for children up to Grade 8, but unlike the American evacuees the Canadians paid for food, clothes and improvements in basic housing from their savings.<sup>122</sup> There were about 5,500 Nisei elementary and secondary school children.<sup>123</sup> High school students were left to fend for themselves through correspondence courses at their own expense.<sup>124</sup> Nisei students hoping to study at university in Canada found it difficult to enrol as few universities would accept them. Records show that the University of Toronto, Queen's and McGill University all delayed enrolment of Nisei students. By 1945 fewer than 100 evacuees were enrolled in universities or business colleges.<sup>125</sup>

Some families, approximately 1,400 people, who had the financial resources were able to relocate themselves in family units on a "self-supporting" basis. The BCSC did not offer this choice publicly. It was an option open to some

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<sup>119</sup>Adachi, p. 283.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>122</sup>Miki and Kobayashi, p. 51.

<sup>123</sup>Adachi, p. 263.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., p. 264.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 255-266.

because they were wealthy or had personal influence with the BCSC.<sup>126</sup> According to Sunahara, they "avoided most of the restriction imposed on the rest and lived under minimal supervision."<sup>127</sup> 1,300 others managed to secure special permits to leave the "protected area" for guaranteed employment or to go where relatives or friends would be responsible for them.<sup>128</sup> Kitagawa argued:

The inconsistency of the government's actions, and the apparent privileges accorded a few, led many Japanese Canadians to believe that the government's policies were based, not upon the protection of Canada, but simply upon political expediency.<sup>129</sup>

According to Adachi, evacuation in Canada was carried out almost without serious incident, largely due to the cooperation of the Japanese.<sup>130</sup> By the time the relocation programme was complete, the Canadian government had already made plans to control and deal with relocated Japanese Canadians. They set out the following five policies - "Full employment, Self-Support, Maintenance of Family, Dispersion, Community Acceptance".<sup>131</sup> By the end of 1942 the BCSC decided to close road camps and reunite families.<sup>132</sup> As the relocation programme ended, in February 1943 the BCSC was closed and Japanese Canadians were placed under the administration of the Japanese Affairs Branch of the Department of Labour.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>126</sup>Kitagawa, p. 13.

<sup>127</sup>Sunahara, p. 78.

<sup>128</sup>Kitagawa, p. 14.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>130</sup>Adachi, p. 225.

<sup>131</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, pp. 370-371.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 373.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., pp. 370-371.

Under this new administration the Minister of Labour was given extensive powers. Order-in-council P.C. 946 empowered the minister "to require, by order, any person of the Japanese race in any place in Canada to proceed to any other place in Canada at such times and in such manner as he may prescribe" and "to determine from time to time the localities in which persons of the Japanese race may reside."<sup>134</sup> The introduction of a National Selective Service (NSS) plan meant unmarried Nisei and naturalized Issei could be required to work in eastern Canada to help ease the labour shortage.<sup>135</sup> Japanese Canadians strongly resisted the NSS plan. They held meetings in the camps and sent petitions to government officials questioning the right of the government to deny the Japanese Canadians their rights as Canadians on the one hand, while demanding that they work for the greater good of the Canadian war effort on the other.<sup>136</sup>

In January 1943 the federal government agreed to the dispossession of Japanese Canadians.<sup>137</sup> Order-in-council P.C. 469 gave the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property the power to sell all property and belongings of Japanese Canadians without the consent of the owners.<sup>138</sup> By December 1942 most of the fishing boats confiscated at the outbreak of war had been sold.<sup>139</sup> MacKenzie was determined to see farming land owned by Japanese made available to soldier-settlers. To that end, he proposed the dispersion of Japanese throughout Canada, and the prevention of their return to the west

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<sup>134</sup>Adachi, p. 261.

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., pp. 261-262.

<sup>137</sup>Sunahara, p. 105.

<sup>138</sup>Kitagawa, p. 62.

<sup>139</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, p. 375.

coast.<sup>140</sup> In Sunahara's words, "Pacific Coast politicians saw the sale of Japanese property as a means of discouraging the return of the uprooted Japanese after the war."<sup>141</sup> By 1947 Japanese land and property to the estimated value of \$11.5 million had been disposed of.<sup>142</sup>

As the property sales progressed, those who received payment began to move to Montreal, Winnipeg and southern Ontario. They realised that there would be nothing to go back to on the West Coast.<sup>143</sup> Many who did not have capital also moved east seeking employment. By late 1944 the camps were largely inhabited only by those who saw no point in moving east. These included the elderly, young families, those too unwell to travel and those Japanese Canadians who showed support for Japan.<sup>144</sup>

Before Pearl Harbor 30 Nisei, mostly from east of the Rockies, had enlisted in the Canadian Armed Forces.<sup>145</sup> However, it was general policy during World War II that persons of Japanese origin would not be accepted for voluntary enlistment. Exceptions were made for special categories, such as interpreters. In January 1941 the government debated whether or not Canadian citizens of Japanese origin could claim the right to be given military training and to serve in the armed forces.<sup>146</sup> In the same month the Cabinet War Committee reported, "Many Japanese Canadians have in fact expressed

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<sup>140</sup>Sunahara, p. 101.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>145</sup>Itoh, p. 156.

<sup>146</sup>Itoh, p. 116.

their desire to serve, and some have definitely stated that they are even prepared to fight against other Japanese in the unhappy event of war against Japan."<sup>147</sup> However, in the face of such opposition as was found in British Columbia, the federal government decided not to proceed.<sup>148</sup> This policy remained unchanged until February 1945.<sup>149</sup> While American Nisei were able to prove their their patriotism and loyalty by their military service, Canadian Nisei were, in Adachi's words, "denied the opportunity for combat and hence had no impressive evidence of loyalty which they could use to convince a confused and sceptical public."<sup>150</sup>

Canada was the only country in the British Commonwealth with a large Japanese population. As the need for interpreters in the Pacific region grew, other Commonwealth countries approached the Canadian government requesting assistance.<sup>151</sup> In March 1944 the first request came from Australian Military Intelligence, which required Japanese linguists.<sup>152</sup> Later in 1944 the British also requested the assistance of Canadian interpreters. These requests lead the Canadian government to consider seriously the recruitment of Nisei. On 10 July 1944 the Minister of National Defence reported:

on purely military grounds it would be advantageous to enlist Canadian-born Japanese, more particularly those who can not only

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<sup>147</sup>Ibid.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., pp. 116-117.

<sup>149</sup>Adachi, p. 295.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>152</sup>Itho, p. 164.

speaking but also write Japanese...lending them for service in India and Australia.<sup>153</sup>

Thereafter, 119 Canadian Nisei were enlisted as linguists. 61 of them finished training and served in South-East Asia, Australia, Japan, Washington and within Canada.<sup>154</sup>

There was controversy regarding the post-war treatment of Japanese. Strong pressure came from British Columbia for the mass deportation of Japanese Canadians, but others argued that discrimination based on race would be a denial of basic rights and favoured the deportation of Japanese aliens only.<sup>155</sup> Those who urged a moderate policy were in the majority.<sup>156</sup> The Canadian authorities were anxious to develop postwar policies on Japanese Canadians that were consistent with those in the USA.<sup>157</sup> In August 1944 Prime Minister King announced a "reconstruction" policy of permanent post-war dispersal of the Japanese throughout the country. He also announced that the government was to examine the background, loyalties and attitudes of all Japanese Canadians. Those found to be disloyal were to be deported to Japan.<sup>158</sup>

Wartime controls and restrictions remained in effect until March 1949,<sup>159</sup> probably because the government wanted to deport or "repatriate" as many

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<sup>153</sup>Itho, p. 169.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>155</sup>Sunahara, p. 116.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>158</sup>Adachi, p. 276.

<sup>159</sup>Kitagawa, p. 54.

Japanese Canadians as possible. Surveys were conducted asking all Japanese Canadians over sixteen to signify their attitude to "repatriation" to Japan. By August 1945, 10,347 opted for repatriation to Japan - 6,844 adults and 3,503 children. 2,933 of the 6,844 were Japanese nationals, 1,461 were naturalized Canadians and 2,460 were Canadian-born.<sup>160</sup> Subsequently many of those who had opted for repatriation realised that resettling in Canada would be a better option than life in a defeated Japan. By April 1946, 4,527 of the 6,844 adult repatriates had requested cancellation of their applications.<sup>161</sup>

Those intent on the immediate deportation of Japanese Canadians were forced to wait at the end of the war because conditions in Japan were such that the occupying forces' administration requested the delay of any repatriations.<sup>162</sup> A protracted legal battle developed over the right of the government to deport not only Japanese aliens, but also naturalised Canadians and Nisei.<sup>163</sup> During the summer of 1946 five ships carrying 3,965 Japanese returned to Japan.<sup>164</sup> By December 1946 the legal battle was decided in favour of deportation, but public opposition had increased to the stage where the government had lost interest in enforcing it.<sup>165</sup> It compromised by dropping the deportation order and placing restrictions on Japanese Canadians for another two years to force resettlement.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>160</sup>A 437/1, 46/6/55, 27 Oct. 1945.

<sup>161</sup>Sunahara, p. 124.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

From 1947 the National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association (NJCCA) pursued claims for compensation to Japanese whose property had been sold at artificially low prices. After a protracted legal battle, in April 1950 the Canadian government paid \$1,222,829 as property settlements.<sup>167</sup> Legal discrimination against Asians in Canada had been eliminated by 1962, but it was not until October 1967 that the Canadian government abolished discrimination on the basis of colour in immigration law.<sup>168</sup> Between the end of the war and 1966, 2,665 Japanese emigrated from Japan to Canada.<sup>169</sup> Japanese immigration after 1967 remained modest.<sup>170</sup>

In the 1970s there were more moves for compensation. Increased awareness of civil rights among Sansei, influenced by their American counterparts, was an important factor. In 1980 the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) was established to replace the NJCCA which was not active on this issue. On 21 November 1984 the NAJC released "*Democracy Betrayed: The Case for Redress*", which documented the injustices suffered by Japanese Canadians during and after the war.<sup>171</sup> The NAJC requested the Canadian Government to admit it had a responsibility to compensate Japanese Canadians and to enter into negotiations. It also proposed "changes to the War Measures Act, under which everything that happened to Japanese-Canadians was perfectly legal".<sup>172</sup> As pressure mounted in the US for redress, the Japanese Canadians were able to press their own case further. Because the Canadian

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<sup>167</sup>Sunahara, p. 159.

<sup>168</sup>Adachi, p. 351.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>171</sup>Kitagawa, p. 62.

<sup>172</sup>The Vancouver Sun, 20 May 1987.



government had almost totally excluded Japanese Canadians from serving in the armed forces there was no equivalent to the influential Japanese American veterans lobby. This further hindered the Japanese Canadian case and was another reason for depending on US initiatives.<sup>173</sup> The signing of the Civil Liberties Act by President Reagan was used to pressure the Canadian government to settle the case for Japanese Canadians. According to Omatsu:

because we lacked clout, redress in Canada followed a completely different tack than in the United States. ...we remain a community without representation in the Canadian power elite. ...Out of necessity ours was a grassroots movement that piggy-backed on the success of our American cousins.<sup>174</sup>

On 22 September 1988 Prime Minister Mulroney apologised to the Japanese Canadian community for the injustices they suffered during and after World War II,<sup>175</sup> and signed the Redress Agreement.<sup>176</sup> Mulroney said:

Nearly half a century ago, in the crisis of wartime, the Government of Canada wrongfully incarcerated, seized the property, and disenfranchised thousands of citizens of Japanese ancestry. ...No amount of money can right the wrong, undo the harm, and heal the wounds. But it is symbolic of our determination to address this issue, not only in the moral sense, but also in a tangible way.<sup>177</sup>

The Redress Settlement included individual compensation of \$21,000 to surviving Japanese Canadians directly affected by the injustices, a community fund to assist in rebuilding the community that was destroyed, and the establishment of a Canadian Racial Relations Foundation to combat racism.<sup>178</sup> While in the US the payment of compensation was legislated for,

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<sup>173</sup>Omatsu, M., *Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience*, Toronto, Between The Lines, 1992, p. 150.

<sup>174</sup>Omatsu, p. 146.

<sup>175</sup>Miki and Kobayashi, p. 9.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>177</sup>Omatsu, p. 25.

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

the Canadian government arrived at an agreement with the NAJC as the representative of all Japanese Canadians.<sup>179</sup>

On 17 May 1990 a cheque for \$21,000 was sent to each person to be compensated with a copy of the Certificate of Acknowledgement from Prime Minister Mulroney. It included the following:

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

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

- 1) acknowledge that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during and after World War II was unjust and violated principles of human rights as they are understood today;
- 2) pledge to ensure, to the full extent that its powers allow, that such events will not happen again and;
- 3) recognize, with great respect, the fortitude and determination of Japanese Canadians who, despite great stress and hardship, retain their commitment and loyalty to Canada and contribute so richly to the development of the Canadian nation.<sup>180</sup>

The effects of wartime dispersal on the distribution of the Japanese population in North America were only temporary.<sup>181</sup> By 1960 prewar patterns of settlement started to reassert themselves. In 1970 approximately four-fifths of the 600,000 Japanese Americans lived in Hawaii, California, Oregon and Washington.<sup>182</sup> The Canadian policy of resettlement east of the Rocky Mountains affected the post-war distribution of Japanese Canadians more significantly. In 1971 approximately 42 per cent of 37,260 Japanese Canadians resided in Ontario, where only one per cent had lived in 1941. The percentage

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<sup>179</sup>Utsumi, Koshida, Tanaka and Tobita, p. 186.

<sup>180</sup>Miki and Kobayashi, p. 7.

<sup>181</sup>Girdner and Loftis, p. 456.

<sup>182</sup>Bahr, Chadwick and Stauss, p. 89.

in British Columbia dropped from 95.5 per cent in 1941 to 36 per cent in 1971.<sup>183</sup> Vancouver was the pre-war centre of the Japanese Canadian community, but Toronto replaced it after the war. Toronto became the main centre of Japanese Canadian influence and activity.

Today both American and Canadian Japanese have secured their positions in society as a prosperous minority with higher than average levels of education and income.<sup>184</sup> Most are urban dwellers. Although on the surface they appear to have recovered, many have found it hard to rationalise their experiences during the war. Adachi, in describing the Canadian experience, could be speaking for all North American Japanese:

It is impossible to assess the psychological effects of the evacuation on the Nisei. ...an indelible scar which is generally carefully concealed from the public eye, puzzling researchers and Sansei who find Nisei reluctant to talk of the past.<sup>185</sup>

Lorrie A. M. Okuma, a 33 year-old Yonsei (fourth generation) writer in California, wrote about her Sansei parents in 1984:

After they were released from the camp, they had no chance in American society...they had to accept lowly jobs...My father was a university student when the war broke out...He worked in a factory and my mother did house cleaning...They are now financially secure, but the scars they received from internment still hurt. They were deprived of their educational opportunities and because of that they value education for their children.<sup>186</sup>

As with some of their Australian counterparts, some Japanese Americans reject their Japanese ancestry. A Sansei congressman, Robert Matsui, interned as a one year-old, said, "I remember about age fourteen sitting on

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<sup>183</sup>Ward, p. 7.

<sup>184</sup>Bahr, Chadwick and Stauss, p. 90; Ward, p. 17.

<sup>185</sup>Adachi, p. 361.

<sup>186</sup>In "Nikkeibeijin: 'Watashitachi wa kaku ikitekita'" [American Japanese: 'We have survived this way.'], Bungei Shinju, No. 6, 1984, p. 201.

the back porch with a friend. He said, 'Gee I wish I weren't Japanese.' I said, 'Yeah, me too.'<sup>187</sup>

Before the war the Japanese communities in the USA and Canada were distinctly different to mainstream society with well-preserved cultural traditions and language. After the war Japanese in both countries generally tried to blend into mainstream society and to prove they were not very different from other citizens. Adachi claims that the Sansei generation is disgusted with the Nisei "for having forsaken their cultural and racial heritage in order to be accepted as Canadians; that is for disappearing into the fabric of the wider society."<sup>188</sup> Daniels goes further by suggesting that the American Nisei have become very conservative and show "an alignment with dominant middle-class institutions and an opposition to what is felt are disruptive elements within American society."<sup>189</sup> This position was perhaps epitomised by Senator Hayakawa, a Vancouver-born member of the US senate, who said:

Racially I stand in the middle. I'm not white, I'm not black. Perhaps being an Oriental... may provide me amelioratory channels that whites and blacks don't have.<sup>190</sup>

In 1993 Mitsue Yamada, relocated as a child in the USA and active in the campaign for compensation, said that the success of Japanese Americans in their campaign for redress also had negative effects. It caused a revival of old hatreds relating to atrocities committed by the Japanese military against

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<sup>187</sup>Zich, p. 537.

<sup>188</sup>Adachi, p. 362.

<sup>189</sup>Daniels, p. 171.

<sup>190</sup>Adachi, p. 361.

Americans during World War II.<sup>191</sup> Because of the current trade difficulties between the USA and Japan, there are fears that a new wave of anti-Japanese sentiment may escalate to something approaching the intensity it reached during World War II. Japanese American Citizens' League offices have recently been vandalised in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and posters depicting a caricatured yellow menace have started to reappear.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>191</sup>Mitsue Yamada, 30 June, 1993.

<sup>192</sup>Omatsu, p. 180

## CHAPTER 11

### Conclusion

Precedents for internment in Australia partly explain the relative rapidity and thoroughness of internment of the Japanese in 1941-42. This was also partly due to long-held Australian fears about Japan. The descent of the Japanese upon Australia was confirmation of a deep-rooted Australian nightmare about the Yellow Peril. There was a generally held conception that Japanese were fanatical and inscrutable and that their "Japaneseness" must override any possible loyalty to Australia. In addition, despite the attack on Pearl Harbor, World War II threatened Australia's security far more directly than that of the USA and Canada. Australia's northern coastal towns were attacked during the early months of 1942. Pre-war activities of the Nihonjin-kai in Australia seemed to indicate strong attachments to Japan and patriotic sentiments. The authorities were concerned about the potential for sabotage or aid being given to the Japanese military in the northern regions of Australia and its waters, the very areas where the highest concentration of Japanese was to be found. The government clearly felt wholesale internment could be justified on the grounds of security.

The policies applied to Japanese in Australia were simple and expedient. Those perceived as Japanese were interned with few exceptions. Where there was doubt about a person's origins or allegiance, authorities tended to opt for internment. The Japanese community in Australia was easily identifiable and much smaller than its North American counterparts. The Australian authorities

were theoretically able to classify Italian and German enemy aliens according to level of security risk based on such criteria as membership of Fascist organisations. There was only one category for Japanese based on presumed or proven existence of "Japaneseness". On 23 August 1946, the Acting Director-General of the Security Service wrote to Justice Simpson:

You will remember that in the Japanese cases there was nothing known against the bulk of them and that they were interned merely because they were Japanese, following upon an order issued by the Army in December 1941 that all Japanese were to be interned.<sup>1</sup>

There were precedents for this classification according to race or ethnic origin. According to Fischer, during World War I:

The Defence Department classified the internees simply by their ethnic background; it did not allow a category that would have recognised a German-Australian identity. the overwhelming majority of the internees was thus simply regarded as "German".<sup>2</sup>

In addition to security considerations, the "collar the lot" policy was justified by the War Cabinet when it was adopted on 9 May 1941 on the grounds that "Japanese nationals are not absorbed in this country as are many Germans and Italians."<sup>3</sup> The government was concerned to avoid public backlash against a small, easily identifiable "enemy" minority. The Japanese in Australia were not included in government efforts to promote assimilation. The Immigration Restriction Act prohibited Japanese immigrants from naturalisation. Unlike the US and Canada, Australia did not generally allow Japanese immigrants to bring existing families with them or to bring a Japanese wife to Australia after settlement. The large majority of indentured Japanese labourers in pearling and sugar cane farming remained single. Those Japanese who did produce second or third generation Australian descendants were

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<sup>1</sup>A 373, 11505/48, 23 Aug. 1946.

<sup>2</sup>Fischer, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>*Internment Policy*, 9 July 1941.

usually those who married white or black Australian women, but the number of second and third generation Australian descendants was small and they had no influence. Under the Nationality Law (1920 -1930) Australian-born Japanese were regarded as "Japanese" and therefore enemy subjects under the National Security (Alien Control) Regulations.

However, in July 1946 Browne reviewed and reported on 94 cases involving 152 persons withheld from post-war deportation. They were mostly Australian-born or very long-term residents. The only case he classified as "justified internment" was that of Haruyoshi Yamashita of Thursday Island.

Browne wrote:

Yamashita was regarded by the Military Authorities in 1st Military District as suspect and I think that there is little doubt that he has never changed his Japanese nationalistic views, although he states that he dislikes the militaristic policy of the Japanese Government. He was definitely suspect and his internment was justified.<sup>4</sup>

Browne recommended his release in Australia on the basis that "the family should not be deprived of its head."<sup>5</sup> His concluding statements for almost all other cases questioned whether they should ever have been interned. In some cases, Browne clearly disapproved of actions taken. For example, he said of the Shiosaki Family from Broome:

Shizuo Shiosaki is an Australian Japanese born at Broome...His wife is a half-caste aboriginal...It is difficult to see why this poor woman...who appears to be almost entirely aboriginal in outlook, was ever interned with her large family. She is quite unable to understand anything of a political nature...the children show a mingling of Jap and aboriginal blood...They are of no interest whatsoever from a security point of view and surely can never have been and it is pathetic that these children have had to be brought up in an enemy internment camp for over 4 years...

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<sup>4</sup>A 373, 1/505/48, Case No.29, 19 Aug. 1946.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Case No.20.



There was other official recognition that some internments were not justified. Arthur Calwell, Chairman of the ACAC during the war and Australia's first Minister for Immigration in 1945, wrote in 1947:

When passions are let loose by war it happened all too often that foreigners, whether or not of enemy origin, and even locally born persons bearing foreign names, became the object of denunciation and persecution...anyone familiar with the story must recognise that from the fall of France in June 1940 onwards a good deal of avoidable human misery was caused by some of the actions taken in connection with the control of aliens. In the nature of things, this may have been inevitable, for war as the democracies wage it is largely an affair of improvisation, and in urgent situations which demand prompt and effective action there is little time to weigh the niceties of human rights.

Unlike the USA and Canada, where internees were distinguished from evacuees, everyone of Japanese ancestry interned in Australia was put in internment camps. In Australia internees were treated as prisoners in accordance with the Geneva Convention and men were required to wear the same uniform as POWs. Japanese internees were compliant and complained little. They were regarded by camp authorities as model prisoners. After the immediate danger to Australia in the Pacific theatre of war passed, the authorities did relax policies and allow a few internees to be released, but the overall policy remained firm until the end of the war.

The Australian government legislated so that every action taken against people it classified as enemy aliens was lawful. This included those who were Australian-born. Overseas Japanese internees were not covered by Australian legislation and the Australian government was not concerned with the legality of their internment. As was the case with Canada, the Australian Constitution did not contain any guarantees against deprivation of liberty or property

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<sup>1</sup> *Aliens Control in Australia*, p. 1.

without due process of law.<sup>8</sup> La Nauze claims that it was thought unnecessary to include these because it was felt a "respectable society" did not need such safeguards. There was an innocent certainty that men of British descent would always act fairly.<sup>9</sup>

When interviewed, many Japanese ex-internees expressed gratitude for the treatment they received. Bevege agrees: "All internees stressed their high regard for the men who guarded them, and their general satisfaction with their food and treatment."<sup>10</sup> In addition, the authorities were scrupulously correct in their actions towards internees. The efficiency of the process in Australia is in marked contrast with the hesitant and inconsistent programmes played out in North America. This can lead to the impression that internees had no cause for complaint or the government was justified in all of its actions. However, despite the unarguable correctness of the treatment of internees, at an individual level it could be argued that justice was not always served.

As a result of repatriation and immigration policy during the immediate post-war period, the Japanese community which had existed in Australia was almost eliminated. Its fate in Australia is paralleled by the experiences of other communities in the Nan'yo region. According to Konno and Fujisaki, Japanese communities throughout the Pacific region were victims of Japan's

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<sup>8</sup>La Nauze, J. A., *The Making of the Australian Constitution*, Melbourne University Press, 1972, p. 231.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Bevege, p. 377.

own militaristic aggression. Japanese settlements in the Nan'yo region were uprooted and eliminated.<sup>11</sup>

The American and Canadian Japanese have been successful in obtaining compensation and admissions of liability from their respective governments. However, there is continuing concern among some North American Japanese that the gains made after the war may not be as permanent as they would desire and that governments could once again legislate to restrict the rights of minorities. In 1989 Sunahara commented on new Canadian legislation which was intended to prevent abuses of the past:

The new Emergencies Act is a great improvement over the War Measures Act, but perhaps its greatest flaw is that it is only an Act of Parliament. It can be abolished at any time and replaced with something worse.<sup>12</sup>

It is also important to ask if actions based on assumptions about ethnicity and race, such as wholesale internment, could happen again in Australia. The Australian equivalent of the War Measures Act, the National Security Act 1939-1946, was rescinded in 1950.<sup>13</sup> Since 1948 discriminatory legislation in Australia has been steadily dismantled and human rights have increasingly been based on citizenship and not on ethnic origins. In 1948 the Australian Citizenship Act was passed. It contained the first statement of the concept of an "Australian Citizen" and established a system for determining and granting citizenship.<sup>14</sup> Although it was an improvement on earlier legislation, it still discriminated in favour of British subjects and against some

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<sup>11</sup>Konno and Fujisaki, Vol II, p. 258.

<sup>12</sup>Miki and Kobayashi, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup>Statute Law Revision Act 1950, Section 5, Schedule 3.

<sup>14</sup>Australian Citizenship Act 1948, Part III, p. 5.

other migrants on the basis of nationality.<sup>15</sup> In 1975 the Racial Discrimination Act made discrimination based on "race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin" unlawful.<sup>16</sup> The Australian Citizenship Amendment Act of 1984 finally removed references to "British Subject" and "Alien" and provided safeguards for the citizenship of children whose parents lose their citizenship.<sup>17</sup>

In the years following World War II Australia also became a signatory to various international conventions on human rights. For the first time, international law started to affect the rights of Australian citizens. For example, in 1969 Australia became a signatory to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICEAFRD).<sup>18</sup> In 1981 The Human Rights Commission (HRC) was established. It had a brief to examine Australian legislation and the actions of governments to determine if there were practices contrary to human rights or in contravention of the intent of international agreements.<sup>19</sup> In its 1982 report on the Australian Citizenship Act of 1948, it noted:

While citizenship is regarded in international law as one area which falls completely within the discretion of a State, that very fact leads to the possibility of capricious action by the State towards those who are its citizens or who wish to have that status and emphasises the need for adequate protection of the law itself.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Human Rights Commission, The Australian Citizenship Act 1948, Aug. 1982, Section II, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Appendix 2, sections 9 & 10. p. 21.

<sup>17</sup>Australian Citizenship Amendment Act 1984, Clauses 3, 5 & 16, Sub-section 1.

<sup>18</sup>Human Rights Commission, The Australian Citizenship Act 1948, Aug. 1982, Appendix 3, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>20</sup>Human Rights Commission, The Australian Citizenship Act 1948, Section 1, p. 3.

It also found that the "concept and use of the term 'alien' has potential for giving rise to acts that are unlawful under section 9 of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975."<sup>21</sup> In addition the Commission stated that the Citizenship Act of 1948 was inconsistent with the ICEAFRD, which includes the right to nationality regardless of race, colour, ethnicity or ethnic origin.<sup>22</sup> In 1985 the HRC examined the 1958 Migration Act.<sup>23</sup> It found that it was designed to facilitate enforcement of any current immigration policy.

An examination of the Parliamentary debates on the Migration Bill in 1958 points clearly to the fact that the Bill was seen as an instrument of control to be used for the continuation of policies and administrative practices adopted, and then further developed, by the authors and administrators of the Immigration Restriction Act 1901.

In reality, policy can override protective legislation and new legislation can always be passed. In the event of new international tensions or conflicts the Australian Government of the day may once again decide to restrict the liberty of certain groups because they have the potential to aid enemies of common ancestry. As Calwell said, there may be little time to "weigh the niceties of human rights."

In contrast to the Japanese, the Italian community in Australia has remained strong. Although large scale internment was imposed on them in Queensland and Western Australia in early 1942, Cresciani claims they "came out of the war years virtually unscratched, both in social and political terms...They were able to become again an integral part of the society in which they lived."<sup>24</sup> A number of factors could account for the difference in

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Section II.9, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., Appendix 2, p. 21.

<sup>23</sup>Human Rights Commission, Human Rights and the Migration Act 1958, Apr. 1985, Section 2, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup>Cresciani, p. 190.

outcome for these two ethnic groups. Size of community, non-internment of families, acceptance of ex-internees and POW's as post-war settlers, and large-scale post-war immigration of Italians all contributed to a strong Italian sense of community. Nevertheless, Bosworth claims that internment left its scars on many.

the internments of the war years were quickly forgotten by all but the victims and their families. (They) lacked spirit and seemed reluctant to take an active part in public affairs, and retreated into the private world of work and family.<sup>25</sup>

On 8 August 1991 the government of Western Australia held a reconciliation dinner in Perth for Italian World War II internees. The then Premier of Western Australia, Carmen Lawrence said:

As Premier of this State, I am here on behalf of the Government and the people of Western Australia, to acknowledge the emotional trauma and economic hardships suffered by the internees and their families...The decisions and policies made during those years were made in an atmosphere of confusion, suspicion and uncertainty. It is far easier to criticise past mistakes than to work to ensure that those mistakes will not be repeated in the future...<sup>26</sup>

This admission would have been very unlikely if the Italian community today were not so large, influential and respected.

Most Japanese in Australia today are post-war settlers and very few Japanese Australians who were interned remain. Those who do remain are widely dispersed. Unlike their North American counterparts, aggrieved Australian Japanese have no organisation to represent them. Nevertheless, some do feel they deserve compensation for what happened to them during the war. Oriel Torimaru asked her local MP to investigate the possibility of making

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<sup>25</sup>Bosworth, p. 103.

<sup>26</sup>Carmen Lawrence, "Reconciliation Dinner for Italian World War II Internees in W.A.", delivered on 8 Aug. 1991, pp. 2-3.

a claim, but she was told there was no case to be answered.<sup>27</sup> Most former internees try to forget about their experiences and are reluctant to talk about that period of their lives. Jack Tolsee quoted his son: "Why don't you take action for compensation and make a precedent?" Jack's response was: "What could be achieved by that?"<sup>28</sup> It is very unlikely that compensation will ever be paid.

The experience of war with Japan has inevitably coloured Australian perceptions of Japanese. In the post-war years this made it difficult for Japanese Australians to be positive about their ancestry. As in North America, the recent economic inroads of Japanese business interests into Australia have inflamed ill-feelings towards the Japanese. Sadly, the remaining ex-internees, now past middle-age, are once again suffering the effects of negative stereotyping. Sadako Yamashita, a former internee from Thursday Island who lives in Cairns said: "There is ill-feeling against Japanese in town. I don't like to be in the street in Cairns. Australians in town sometimes say something nasty to me on the street because I look Japanese."<sup>29</sup>

The internment of Japanese in Australia was an insignificant part of the country's involvement in World War II. It is simplistic to point out in hindsight that most internments were not justified. At the time there was probably little alternative. The Japanese in a White Australia besieged by Japan were guaranteed to fail any bureaucratic test of loyalty. Nevertheless, at an individual level lives were irrevocably changed and, in many cases, destroyed.

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<sup>27</sup>Oriel Vallance, Brisbane, 24 Aug. 1987.

<sup>28</sup>Jack Truan, Palmers Island, N.S.W., 22 May 1993.

<sup>29</sup>Sadako Oki nee Yamashita, Cairns, 1 July 1992.

## Appendix A

### Internees held in Australia

#### Local Internees

Italians	4,754
Germans	2,013
Japanese	1,141
Chinese	232
Portuguese	39
Javanese	702
Sundry	40
 Total	 8,921

(AWM 54, 780/1/6, p.91)

#### Overseas Internees

Areas	German	Italian	Japanese	Sundry	Total
U.K.	2,342	200			2,542
Straits Settlements	222	50			272
Palestine	664	170			834
Iran	494				494
Middle East	18				18
Singapore	12				12
New Guinea				525	525
New Caledonia	1	5	1,124	9	1,139
New Hebrides			34		34
N.E.I.			1,949		1,949
Solomon Islands			3	5	8
New Zealand			50		50
 Total	 3,753	 425	 3,160	 539	 7,877

(NB. Japanese from New Guinea included in Local Internee statistics.)  
(AWM 54, 780/1/6, p.19)



## APPENDIX B

### Permanent POW & Internment Camps in Australia (1939-1947)

Map No.	State	Camp No.	Name of Camp	Capacity	Operation
1	QLD		Gaythorne PW & I	1,800	1940-1946
2	N.S.W.	No.12	Cowra POW	4,000	1941-1947
3	N.S.W.	Nos.6, 7&8	Hay POW Group	3,000	1940-1946
4	N.S.W.		Liverpool POW & I	500	1939-1946
5	Vic	No.1	Tatura I	1,000	1941-1947
	Vic	No.2	Tatura I	1,000	1940-1947
	Vic	No.3	Tatura I (Rushworth)	1,000	1940-1946
	Vic	No.4	Tatura I (Rushworth)	1,000	1940-1946
	Vic	No.13	Murchison POW	4,000	1941-1947
6	Vic	No.5	Myrtleford POW	1,000	1942-1946
	S.A.	No.14	Loveday POW & I	4,000	1942-1946
	S.A.	No.9	Loveday I	1,000	1941-1944
7	S.A.	No.10	Loveday I	1,000	1941-1944
	W.A.	No.11	Harvey I	500	1940-1942
8	W.A.	No.16	Marrinup POW	1,200	1943-1947
	Tas	No.18	Brighton POW	600	1944-1946

N.B. There were other transit/staging camps throughout the country.

(Source: AWM 54, 780/1/6, p.223)



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Canberra	CRS
Melbourne	MP (Melbourne Permanent)
Sydney	SP
Adelaide	AP
Brisbane	BP
Perth	PP

Archive file headings have been used when available, otherwise the writer has arranged appropriate titles.

#### Canberra

##### CRS A 373 series

160	Japanese Activities - Dutch East Indies
578	Control of Enemy Aliens 1941-43
1633	Alien Migration - White Australia Policy Attack by Japan 1938-39
2026	RSSAILA, Requests for Internment of Enemy Aliens 1942
5190	Japanese Associations and Activities
5290	Aide Memoire
5903	Japanese Activities amongst Aborigines
10298	Examination of Japanese Material ex-Thursday Island, Lists 1 -6 (referred to as <i>Thursday Island Material</i> )
1149-214	Repatriation of Japanese
11181	Intelligence - PW & I Camps, Notes from Camp Intelligence Reports 1945
11505/48	Japanese Internees 1946-48
11557	Inquiry by Justice Simpson into the cases of internees

##### CRS A 437 series

46/6/72	Local Japanese Internees Withheld from Initial Repatriation
46/6/84	Aliens who served in the Australian armed forces, 1939-1945

##### CRS A 518/1

16/2/1	Defence - Exchange of Civilian Prisoners of War with Japan: 1942 - 45
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##### CRS A 816 series

54/301/337	Japanese Residents in Pacific Islands - Question of Internment in Australia
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##### CRS A 817 series

54/301/337	Reception of overseas internees
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##### CRS A 1066 series

45/1/11/2	T Haraguchi
45/1/11/5	Repatriation "Koei Maru"

CRS A 2673 series  
Vols. 2,3,10            War Cabinet Minutes

CRS D 1919  
SS 994            Subversive Activities  
SS 1037           Protecting power representatives particulars of  
                         internees for 1942-43  
SS 1078           Children in internment camp

Melbourne

MP 70/1 series  
36/101/142       Security classified general correspondence 1940-45

MP 529/3 series  
CA 5             Transcripts of evidence of Aliens Tribunals, 1941-  
                         1942

MP 729/6 series  
63/401/85        Distribution of Internees July 1940  
63/401/135       Internment of Japanese - Policy (referred to as  
                         *Internment Policy*)  
63/401/416  
63/401/426  
63/401/518       John Nakashiba  
63/401/533       Enemy Aliens North East Coast of Qld  
63/401/535       Japanese internees from New Hebrides  
65/401/7          Principle of Internment Policy

MP 742/1 series  
255/2/283        Japanese Merchant Seamen - Change of Status  
255/2/811        Segregation of Formosans  
255/7/35          Property of Internees  
255/7/46          Effects of Deceased PWs and Internees  
255/7/57          Transfers from W.A.  
255/8/9           Internees' use of clothing ration coupons  
255/8/14          Inspection Reports  
255/9/35          Notes from Intelligence - PW & I Camps  
255/10/173       Possible disturbance  
255/13/142       Internee Labour  
255/18/432       Yoizuki (referred to as Yoizuki File)

MP 1103/1 series    Records of the Directorate of POW and Internees  
Box 1             Local Japanese  
Box 3             New Caledonia Japanese  
Box 5             N.E.I. Japanese  
Box 6             N.E.I. Japanese

MP 1103/2 series    Prisoners of War Information Bureau Reports on  
                         POW/Internees 1939-1945  
DJF 18114  
WJ 17906  
WJ 18060  
WJF 18065  
WJF 18079

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12 Nominal Roll Local Internees, 1941-1943  
18 Movements and Dispositions of Internees, 1944  
19 Movements and Dispositions of Internees, 1945-1946

AP 613/1 series

Inspection of PW and internment camps 1942-43 (no item No.)  
90/1/70 Internment Group Loveday  
90/1/146 Segregation of Japanese and Formosans at Loveday  
1943-45  
90/1/124 Educational facilities for Internees 1943-44  
162/1/64 Security Loveday Internment Camp 1945-46

AP 613/4 series

Loveday camp (no item No.)

AP 613/10 series

83A/1/2 National Security (Internment Camps) Regulations

AP 719/3 series

SA 12667 Intelligence reports 1946

D 1901 series

Internee Mail Reports/Individual File - Loveday  
A 3267 Anyei  
C 3374 Chio  
F 3151 Furuta  
F 4224 Furuta, K.  
H 3148 Hayashi  
H 3150 Hama  
I 3145 Inoue  
K 3142 Kamada  
K 3245 Kawata  
K 3313 Kwee  
M 3138 Makishima  
M 3140 Miyanishi  
M 3210 Miyamae  
M 3262 Murakami  
M 3389 Michimoto  
N 3139 Nagahiro  
N 3301 Nakashiba  
O 2694 Oda  
O 3137 Okamura  
O 4140 Okamura, W  
O 3261 Oyama

S 2242	Suzuki
T 2635	Tsuda
Y 3133	Yoshida
Y 3260	Yamamoto
Y 3251	Yoshida
Y 3134	Yonezawa

Brisbane

BP 242/1 series

Q 23993	Yamashita
Q 24012	Mrs Checca Kitano
Q 24301	Ryunosuke Seita (referred to as Seita Material)
Q 24780	J. Shibasaki
Q 30579	Internment Information
Q 33791	Internees Property
Q 39362	Japanese Internment Action

Perth

PP 302/1 series

W.A. 8	Japanese Activities, 1918-1941
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PP 519/1 series

241/3/122	Policy administration files
241/3/879	
241/3/488	

Sydney

C123 series

Criminal Investigation Files
J. Suzuki (no item No.)
H. Suzuki (no item No.)

AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL ARCHIVES

AWM 52 series

8/7/20	War Diaries, Hay POW Group, 1945-1946
8/7/42	War Diaries, Loveday Internment Group, 1943-1946
8/7/43	War Diaries, Tatura Internment Group, 1944-1946

AWM 54 series

780/1/6	Report on the Directorate of POW and Internees, 1939-1951, Vol. 1, Parts 1 & 3
780/2/4	History of Prisoners of War & Internees Administration in Australia, 1946
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9/11/1/10/2  
9/24  
9/24/2

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Francis, Frank, Rushworth, Vic., 5 Jan. 1993  
Huskett, Frank, Victor Harbour, S.A., 17 Jan. 1987  
Hutchinson, Guthrie, Adelaide, S.A., 3 Oct. 1984  
Levy, E., Adelaide, 26 Jun. 1985  
Main, Frank, Adelaide, S.A., 17 Jan. 1987  
Margitich, Bob, Adelaide, S.A., 28 Oct. 1984  
Nelson, George, Paringa, S.A., 29 March 1986  
Orchard, Albert, Adelaide, S.A., 24 June 1986  
Punshon, Ethel (dec.), Melbourne, Vic., 30 Nov. 1985  
Shaw David, Berri, S.A. 8 Sept. 1984  
Sheherd, Dr., Adelaide, S.A., 26 June 1985  
Sproat, Francis, Melbourne, Vic. 15 Aug. 1987  
Sullivan, James, Melbourne, Vic., 1 Dec. 1985  
Vallance, Don, Brisbane, 5 May 1991  
Whitmore, Bert, Barmera, S.A., 8 Sept. 1984  
Former intelligence officer (name withheld), 14 Apr. 1987

##### Former Internees

Ahloy nee Yamashita, Harumi, Thursday Island, Qld., 1 Sept. 1987  
Ahmat, Patrick, Perth, W.A., 25 Aug. 1986  
Ang, T.H. Haward, Rushworth, Vic., 5 Jan. 1993  
Antaku, Katsuzo, Broome, W.A., 25 Aug. 1986  
Asanuma, Tony, Brisbane, Qld., 15 Jan. 1993  
Banno, Jessie, Tokyo, Japan, 15 Jan. 1987, 10 Sept. 1988  
Carlie nee Shiosaki, Peggie, Derby, W.A., 26 Aug. 1986  
Chi, Jimmy, Broome, W.A., 25 Aug. 1986  
Chikanari, Etsuro, Kobe, Japan, 12 Jan. 1992  
Cummings nee Torimaru, Glory, Melbourne, Vic., 15 Aug. 1987  
Ichikawa, Taijiro, Fujisawa, Japan, 29 Jan. 1987  
Mrs Ichikawa, Fujisawa, Japan, 29 Jan. 1987

Imaizumi, Tatsuzo, Osaka, Japan, 23 Jan. 1987  
 Iwanaga, Anne, Brisbane, 25 Aug. 1987, 10 Oct, 1992  
 Jenkin nee Shibasaki, Hisako (dec.), Brisbane, Qld, 24 Aug. 1987  
 Kai, Mari (dec.), Yokohama, Japan, 11 Jan. 1987  
 Kaino, Chinenji, Wakayama, Japan, 26 Jan. 1987  
 Kanegae, Saburo (dec.), Broome, W.A. 25 Aug. 1986  
 Kondo, Masayo, Kawasaki, Japan, 25 Jan. 1987  
 Kondo, Shinji, Kawasaki, Japan, 25 Jan. 1987  
 Lam Sami, Leah, Mackay, 7 Jul. 1992  
 Lum, Ruby, Toowoomba, Qld., 13 Dec. 1989  
 Masuda, Sakae, Kobe, Japan, 12 Jan. 1992  
 Matuschik nee Suzuki, Hanna, Adelaide, S.A., 31 Oct. 1990  
 Minami, Takeichi, Wakayama, Japan, 27 Jan. 1987  
 Minami, Yasuko, Wakayama, Japan, 27 Jan. 1987  
 Mori, Taishiro, Saga, Japan, 17 Jan. 1987  
 Murakami, Kisaburo Joe, Yokohama, Japan, 25 Jan. 1987  
 Murakami, Masuko (dec.), Darwin, N.T., 29 Aug. 1986  
 Murayama, Shinpei, Tokyo, Japan, 30 Jan. 1987  
 Murayama, Mrs, Tokyo, Japan, 30 Jan. 1987  
 Nabeshima, David, Broome, W.A., 25 Aug. 1986  
 Nabeshima, Masaichi, Kobe, Japan, 16 Jan. 1987  
 Nabeshima, Masazo, Sydney, N.S.W., 22 Aug. 1987  
 Nabeshima nee Kanegae, Yoshi, Sydney, N.S.W., 22 Aug. 1987  
 Nakabayashi, Shigeru, Tokyo, Japan, 12 Dec. 1986, 8 Jan. 1987  
 Nakata, Tamiya, Thursday Island, Qld., 12 Jul. 1992  
 Namba, Haruko, Yokohama, Japan, 26 Dec. 1991  
 Nishi, Toshio, Cairns, Qld., 9 Jul. 1992  
 Oki, Chie, Sydney, N.S.W., 7 May 1992  
 Oki, Joan, Sydney, N.S.W., 7 May 1992  
 Oku, Jitsuzo, Wakayama, Japan, 17 Jan. 1984  
 Okumura, Masatora, Broome, W.A., 25 Aug. 1986  
 Pao, Alice, Rushworth, Vic., 5 Jan. 1993  
 Satonaka, Zenichiro, Yokohama, Japan, 1 Feb. 1987  
 She, Ching, Quan, Gaosheng, Taiwan, 5 Dec. 1986  
 Shibasaki, Bill, Thursday Island, Qld., 1 Sept. 1987  
 Shibasaki, Jamel, Thursday Island, Qld., 1 Sept. 1987  
 Shibasaki, Miyoko, Thursday Island, Qld., 1 Sept. 1987  
 Shiosaki, Albert, Perth, W.A., 21 Aug. 1986  
 Soneda, Yoichi, Kobe, Japan, 12 Jan. 1992  
 Suzuki, Harry (dec.), Sydney, N.S.W., 22 Aug. 1987  
 Suzuki nee Yamashita, Evelyn, Sydney, N.S.W., 22 Aug. 1987; Cairns,  
 Qld., 5 Nov. 1990  
 Takagaki, Jack, Mackay, Qld., 13 & 14 Jul. 1992  
 Takamura, Torakatsu, Yokohama, Japan, 1 Feb. 1987  
 Tanaka, Claude, Sydney, N.S.W., 7 May 1992  
 Truan, Jack, Palmers Island, N.S.W. 22 May 1993.  
 Tsushima, Yoko, Kawasaki, Japan, 15 Jan. 1987  
 Tsutsumi, Masu, Nagasaki, Japan, 17 Jan. 1987  
 Ueno, Albert, Yokohama, 16 Jan. 1987  
 Umemura, Joe, Kawasaki, Japan, 12 Jan. 1992  
 Umino, Douglas, Sydney, 3 Jan. 1993  
 Vallance nee Torimaru, Oriol, Brisbane, Qld., 24 Aug. 1987

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Beckwith, Mick, Hay, N.S.W., 25 May 1986  
Caprice, Sophia, Mackay, Qld., 7 Jul. 1992  
Dicinoski, Jeff, Brisbane, Qld., 4 Jun. 1992  
Eddie, Colleen, Adelaide, S.A., 28 Jan. 1985  
Firewood, Con, Thursday Island, Qld. 31 Aug. 1987  
Freeman, Bob, Brisbane, Qld., 26 Aug. 1987  
Fukuda, Toshio, Tokyo, Japan, 10 Jan. 1987  
Furuya, Robert, Geelong, Vic., 16 Aug. 1987  
Hasegawa, Ida, Geelong, Vic., 16 Aug. 1987  
Lamidey, Noel, Sydney, N.S.W., 21 Aug. 1987  
Loban, Ted (dec.), Thursday Island, Qld., 31 Aug. 1987  
Myra Tunbridge, Adelaide, S.A., 23 Oct. 1984  
O'Shea, Ken, Thursday Island, Qld., 11 Jul. 1992  
Palmer, Salome, Adelaide, S.A., 25 Mar. 1986  
Stockwell, Ross, Berri, S.A., 5 Sept. 1984  
Takai, Iwao, Thursday Island, Qld., 12 Jul. 1992  
Yamaguchi, Arthur, Mt. Isa, Qld., 23 May 1993  
Yamaguchi, Lora, Mt. Isa, Qld., 23 May 1993  
Yuan, Guo Qing, Tainan, Taiwan, 5 Dec. 1986  
Yuan, Guo Xi, Taipei, Taiwan, 4 & 5 Dec. 1986

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### Former AMF Personnel

Sullivan, Jim, 11 Sept. 1985, 26 Apr. 1988, 13 Feb. 1990  
White, Harold, 24 Jun. 1986  
Former intelligence officer (name withheld), 9 Feb. 1990

### Former Internees

Imaizumi, Tatsuzo, Osaka, 9 Apr., 25 Apr., 19 May, 25 Jul., 25 Sept.,  
10 Dec. and 16 Dec. 1985  
Murakami, Joe, Yokohama, 16 Jul. 1988  
Nakata, Tamiya, Thursday Island, 10 Jun. 1988

### Others

Collins, E.A., Melbourne, 2 May 1986  
Eddie, Colleen, Adelaide, 28 Jan. 1985  
Lawrence, Carmen (Leader of the Opposition of W.A.), Perth, 14 May 1993  
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