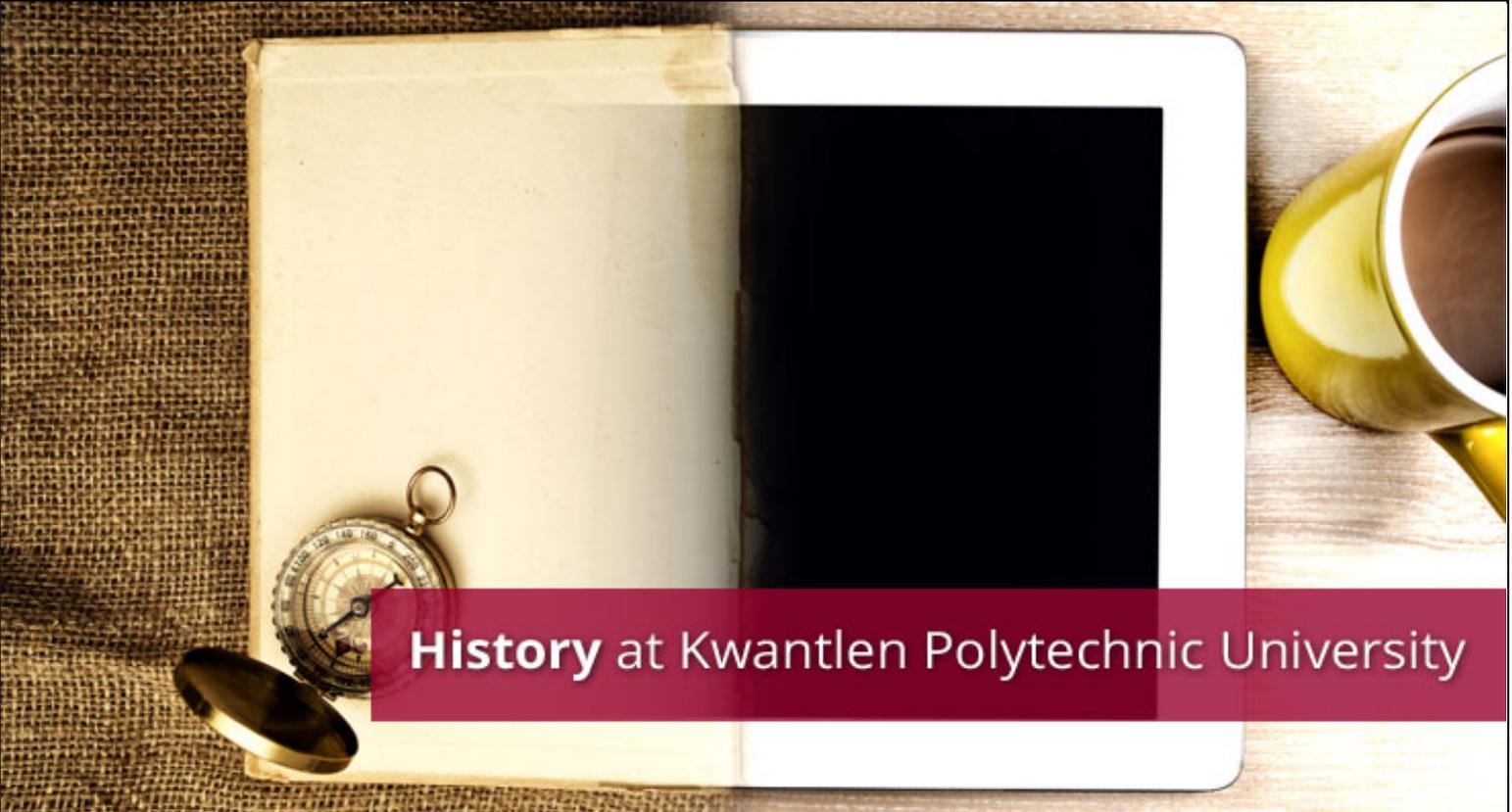


A Journal by and for Undergraduate History Students at KPU

A photograph of a wooden desk. On the left, there is a brown burlap fabric. In the center, a white tablet is open, showing a black screen. To the left of the tablet is a brass compass with its lid open. To the right of the tablet is a yellow ceramic cup filled with brown coffee. A semi-transparent maroon banner is overlaid on the bottom right of the photograph.

History at Kwantlen Polytechnic University

Spring/Summer 2023

Volume 10

The Emergent Historian



ISSN 2560-7871

The Emergent Historian is published by the Kwantlen Polytechnic University Department of History. Its annual publication provides us with a chance to showcase the very best of our students' work – from first-year classes to fourth-year seminars – from the previous academic year.

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The Emergent Historian
Volume 10
Spring/Summer 2023
ISSN 2560-7871

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Indigenous Stereotypes through the Lens of *Inglourious Basterds*

Lucas Akai – December 2022
HIST 3394: The Two World Wars
Kari North

Students were given a two-part assignment: the first part is a critical film review; the second part asked students to explore the historical accuracy of one or two parts of the film.

Part I: Film Review

Inglourious Basterds (2009), written and directed by Quentin Tarantino, styles itself as a parody of past Western depictions of World War II as it follows an ensemble cast of characters. Set in France under Nazi occupation, the movie spans 1941 to 1944 as it explores Nazi-occupied France, its partisans, and the SS. While a near purely fictional movie, the story explores a number of different areas as previously mentioned while following several different cohorts of characters ranging from Lt. Aldo Raine and his band of American soldiers, Hans Landa, a German SS officer, Shosanna Dreyfus, an escaped French-Jewish girl, and a number of supporting characters who interact with the three cohorts. While the *Inglourious Basterds* may appear as a simple action-adventure movie, it still carries with it the stereotypical American anti-hero message while presenting a parody of the historically violent depictions of World War II.

The movie opens with its primary antagonist, SS Officer Hans Landa, in a scene that quickly establishes him as a cunning manipulator as he interrogates a dairy farmer suspected of hiding Jewish people in his home.¹ Following the interrogation, the film gives us our first look into the near parody-level violence reminiscent of old Westerns as SS soldiers shoot into the home's crawl space, killing a family minus a daughter who manages to escape.² The film then changes scenes as it introduces Aldo Raine, a lieutenant, and as the movie progresses – a clear anti-hero who along with his group of eight, cut a violent warpath through France as they infiltrate the occupied European continent. Very early on we are introduced to the gory parody of historical depictions of WWII, when Aldo Raine as the supposed protagonist declares his intent to scalp,

¹ *Inglourious Basterds*, directed by Quentin Tarantino (Los Angeles, 2009), film.

² *Inglourious Basterds*, film.

maim, and disembowel every Nazi they find while using his own “Injun”³ heritage as justification.

Quentin Tarantino draws on past movies, amplifying the violence in comedic yet extremely graphic ways in an effort to highlight the glorification of warfare while providing a group of so-called protagonists that commit just as many atrocities as the Nazis, which makes viewers question the sides they are supporting. Breaking the mold of the often “straight-edge WWII hero” seen as a recipient of medals and awards, Tarantino’s band of self-titled Nazi killers instead cut a warpath as they scalp, maim, and torture prisoners and combatants alike. In one such scene, the character known as the Jew Bear beats a surrendered prisoner to death using nothing but a baseball bat as his group looks on finding the whole scenario entertaining.⁴ In another such scene set in a bar, the group of soldiers finds them in a satirical shootout against Nazis which again provides a parody of the glorification seen in other WWII films. In the final scene of the movie, Aldo Raine and his surviving soldiers having completed their mission of assassinating Hitler, give a final reminder to the viewers that they are not simple protagonists – carving a swastika into the forehead of the then-surrendered Hans Landa before the movie fades to black.

Inglourious Basterds is a movie that breaks the stereotypical clean depiction of war, which usually takes the image of the clear-cut protagonists and antagonists. This is done through the stable of anti-heroes who take the place of the standard war hero protagonist; instead, these anti-heroes can be seen taking part in parody-levels of violence and debauchery as part of the movie’s broader message and reflection on war movies as a method of glorifying gore. Even as the anti-heroes throughout the film glorify the killings, the movie itself tells a story of satire and parody as it depicts these anti-heroes using the same methods many other films have ascribed to the Nazis themselves.

Part II: Research Paper

Lt. Aldo Raine, the main protagonist of the *Inglourious Basterds* (2009), fulfills many roles – acting as the brutal warfighter and leader within Quentin Tarantino’s film. Yet amidst his smoky mountain appearance and stereotypical U.S. WWII hero getup, is the notion that “I’ve [Aldo Raine] got a little injun in me”⁵. Native American participation in World War Two has come to be treated almost in a mythological sense, with heroic action amplified to an even greater extent than is common throughout much of the rest of the Western world, and Aldo Raine is a perfect

³ *Inglourious Basterds*, film. Indigenous stereotypes are explored in greater detail in the second part of this assignment.

⁴ *Inglourious Basterds*, film.

⁵ *Inglourious Basterds*, film.

example of such amplification. While possibly flying in the face of historical accuracy, Aldo Raine represents a modern stereotype commonly associated with Indigenous soldiers, one which takes on a greater-than-life presence as part of the West's collective memory of Indigenous participation in World War II.

Significant investment and propaganda were made during the Second World War by both the American Government and in particular the Indian Bureau to change the way in which Indigenous people were viewed in America.⁶ This culminated in Indigenous Americans more frequently being seen as exceptionally "self-sacrificing, hardworking, and patriotic"⁷ building on the already well-documented (for the time period) contributions made during the war by Indigenous Americans. As addressed by Jere Bishop Franco, however, a lesser-known feature was that Indigenous Americans represented an important media component in support of the war by presenting an "exotic image for public consumption"⁸. This exotic image further perpetuated the near mythological stereotypes of Indigenous soldiers, something the Indian Bureau, Commission of Indian Affairs, and broader politicians were all the happier to exploit.⁹ The idea of 'Indigenous exceptionalism' was thus something that rapidly began to take hold, building on the ideas of 'martial cultures', which prescribed military attributes based on ethnic and racial background.¹⁰ These links to a martial culture or Indigenous exceptionalism were often made in an effort to further bolster the perceived view of Indigenous Americans, as was the case whenever Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior for the U.S. or Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (of same) used the media and other outlets to further encourage such positive stereotyping of Indigenous Americans.¹¹ The declassification of Navajo code talking operations after WWII¹² served only to further the mythic stereotypes of these so-called exotic warriors, which continued to brew as part of a larger mythos around Indigenous soldiers.

The stereotypical image of an Indigenous soldier would continue to follow returning Indigenous soldiers as the war ended, leading to different treatment than what had existed prior to the war, as Indigenous soldiers described a sense of far more equal treatment in post-War

⁶ Jere Bishop Franco, *Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II*. (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1999), <https://search-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=28656&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

⁷ Franco, *Crossing the Pond*, 120.

⁸ Franco, *Crossing the Pond*, 121.

⁹ Franco, *Crossing the Pond*.

¹⁰ Gavin Rand, and Kim A. Wagner, "Recruiting the 'Martial Races': Identities and Military Service in Colonial India," *Patterns of Prejudice* 46, no. 3/4 (2012): 232–54. doi:10.1080/0031322X.2012.701495

¹¹ Franco, *Crossing the Pond*, 121.

¹² William C. Meadows, "'They Had a Chance to Talk to One Another...': The Role of Incidence in Native American Code Talking," *Ethnohistory* 56, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 269–84. doi:10.1215/00141801-2008-058.

life.¹³ Yet despite these stereotypes, Indigenous veterans at the same time also still found themselves at the hands of the broader system which in the U.S. saw Indigenous veterans facing disadvantages when it came to accessing certain provisions and bonuses supposedly provided equally to all service members.¹⁴ In many ways, therefore, the stereotypes, while positive in establishing WWII as “the good war”¹⁵ did not actually do more than put the Indigenous in yet another stereotyped box that could be neatly put back on its shelf following the end of the war.¹⁶

While the early creation of these stereotypes as already discussed, was the combined result of government investment and Indian Bureau propaganda created to shift prior negative stereotypes, the question then becomes why did such stereotypes persist? Such a question is thus best answered as suggests R. Scott Sheffield, by the numerous amounts of literature written in the 1980s to early 2000s memorializing and reaffirming much of the same portrayal as was commonplace during WWII itself.¹⁷ These articles, books, and memorials had been written in part to salvage an area of history that had been neglected in the prior decades and as a result, had emphasized the same positive stereotypes in an effort to strengthen “the case for recognition and inclusion within the national consciousness.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, the continued existence of such stereotypes speaks to the power the original mythos held in the public mind, something which Aldo Raine represents symbolically when he brings up his “Injun” ancestry.¹⁹ The stereotype of the natural warrior is also something that presents itself across much of the limited academic work on Indigenous soldiers; Sheffield suggests that many scholars struggle “trying to walk the line while arguing Indigenous capacity with evidence from extraordinary soldiers, can inadvertently reinforce the ‘natural warrior’ stereotypes”²⁰.

Within Tarantino’s film *Inglourious Basterds*, Lt. Aldo Raine represents a parody of the ‘natural warrior’ stereotypes that have become commonplace and were familiar even during World War Two directly. Through the propaganda machine of the Indian Bureau, Commission on Indian Affairs, and U.S. politicians, the stereotypical idea of an Indian quickly began to shift toward what at the time was a more positive stereotype.²¹ At the same time, however, these stereotypes

¹³ R. Scott Sheffield, “Veterans’ Benefits and Indigenous Veterans of the Second World War in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 32, no. 1 (2017): 63–79. doi:10.5749/wicazosareview.32.1.0063.

¹⁴ Sheffield, “Veterans’ Benefits,” 67.

¹⁵ Sheffield, “Veterans’ Benefits,” 64.

¹⁶ R. Scott Sheffield, “Indigenous Exceptionalism under Fire: Assessing Indigenous Soldiers in Combat with the Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and American Armies during the Second World War,” *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History* 45, no. 3 (2017): 506–24. doi:10.1080/03086534.2017.1332135.

¹⁷ Sheffield, “Indigenous Exceptionalism,” 510.

¹⁸ Sheffield, “Indigenous Exceptionalism,” 510.

¹⁹ *Inglourious Basterds*, film.

²⁰ Sheffield, “Indigenous Exceptionalism,” 513.

²¹ Franco, *Crossing the Pond*.

still found themselves rooted in old racial ideas first identified during the colonial period of American and broader colonial history.²² Therefore while Lt. Aldo Raine's actions may specifically fly in the face of historical accuracy, the actual nature of his character as a parody is something that closely resembles the same overexaggerated stereotypes held during World War Two by the public and military alike.

²² Rand and Wagner, "Martial Races."

Karate Chops, Hip-Tosses, and Shoulder Tackles: How Traditional Martial Arts Have Influenced Japanese Professional Wrestling

James Cybulski – April 2023

HIST 3370: Modern Japan

Dr Jack P. Hayes

Tokyo Japan, 1957. Thousands of fans are intently watching professional wrestling's world champion, Lou Thesz battle the hometown hero, Rikidōzan in a two-out-of-three-falls contest to decide the fate of the championship title. The American champion has taken the first fall and seems in control of the match, utilizing his unparalleled grappling skills to control the bout on the mat. Both men make it back to their feet with Thesz throwing rabbit punches to the top of the challenger's skull. The hometown challenger pushes the champion against the ropes, and as Thesz' momentum brings him back, Rikidōzan unleashes his patented manoeuvre – the *karate chop*—catching the champion right in the solar plexus and dropping the American to the canvas, allowing the local favourite to cover the stunned Thesz for a count of three. The crowd erupts, as the challenger evens the contest up at one fall apiece.¹

Traditional Japanese martial arts were a significant part of professional wrestling's explosion into Japanese pop culture in the postwar period of the 1950s; seventy years later, elements of these arts still exist as a part of wrestling's physicality and theatrics in Japan and abroad. While wrestling in North America offers much more in the way of entertainment, Japanese professional wrestling is known for its hard-hitting style, trying to maintain a sense of authenticity and cultural history, despite most people recognizing that pro wrestling matches are pre-determined, described within the industry as a 'work.' The rapid growth of Japanese professional wrestling over the past seventy years sprouted from a sense of nationalism in the postwar era during the early 1950s, drawing from Japan's cultural roots involving martial arts disciplines dating back more than 1500 years. Beginning with Rikidōzan's powerful karate chop in the 1950s to the rise of 'strong style' in the 1970s, Japan's martial arts have given Japanese pro wrestling a sense of the country's traditional past, while providing the industry with a sense of authenticity from techniques applied through judo, karate, and sumo. Professional wrestling's

¹ Project Territories. "JWA Lou Thesz vs. Rikidōzan - NWA World Heavyweight Title - 13th October 1957." YouTube Video 24:43. May 2, 2020.

theatre is front and centre, but the physicality also shines through with the help of Japan's traditional martial arts.

Examining judo, karate, and sumo, this research paper will show how the evolution and modernization of traditional Japanese martial arts found their way into professional wrestling during wrestling's infancy in the postwar era in the 1950s and continued into the 1970s. As professional wrestling sought to maintain its mystique and show that the business was more sport than entertainment, the inclusion of martial arts inside the ring proved beneficial, especially in the first four decades of its exposure within Japan. The research will begin with China's early influence on Japanese martial arts, followed by the emergence of karate, sumo, and judo, all of which have been found within professional wrestling's squared circle.

Rikidōzan introduced Japan to professional wrestling in the mid-1950s, a time which coincided with the dawn of television. Wrestling and television were a perfect match, with wrestling ranking as some of the highest rated programs aired in Japan during the late 1950s and early 1960s.² In this period, it was said only the emperor was more famous than Japan's wrestling superstar.³ Rikidōzan originally began his athletic ways training in sumo but abandoned those plans and moved to North America where he spent more than a year training as a professional wrestler. He returned to Japan in 1953 to form the Japan Professional Wrestling Association. It could be suggested the birth of professional wrestling in Japan occurred February 19, 1954, when the first televised wrestling match aired with a tag-team contest involving Rikidōzan, his partner Kimura Masahiko, and their opponents, the Sharpe Brothers from America. The series of matches between the two teams proved to be a massive success with a theme developing: the Japanese heroes beating up foreign competitors, often from the United States.

For a nation recovering from the devastation of World War II, Rikidōzan's brand of professional wrestling did a few things effectively well. He gave the country a postwar hero by defeating foreign wrestlers – mostly American – which in some respects 'exorcised a demon,' and secondly, Rikidōzan's professional wrestling played off the propaganda utilized by the Japanese during the war, that they would ultimately prevail.⁴ As traditional martial arts such as judo and karate resumed their practices and popularity following their suspension by Allied forces at the end of the war in 1945, Rikidōzan drew upon the arts and utilized the *karate chop* for his definitive move.

² Lee Thompson, "The professional wrestler Rikidōzan as a site of memory," *Sport in Society* 14, no. 4 (2011): 533.

³ Igarashi Yoshikuni, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton, 2000), 122.

⁴ Yoshikuni, "Bodies of Memory," 124.

As some began to question the legitimacy of professional wrestling, Rikidōzan looked to ramp up the violence with his foreign opponents to maintain the authenticity.⁵ Television ratings remained strong until 1963, when the wrestling star was killed in an altercation at a nightclub. It was later revealed that wrestling's secret was not the only subject Rikidōzan hid. He was of Korean descent, born under the name Kim San-Rak and did not become a Japanese citizen until 1951.⁶ Given Japan's brutal colonial past with Korea, the wrestling star was determined to hide his nationality in this period, although in recent years his diversity has been celebrated along with his entrepreneurial success.⁷

The Legend of Bodhidharma and China's Influence on Japanese Martial Arts

Where did Rikidōzan's 'devastating' finishing manoeuvre originate? The earliest traces of traditional martial arts in Japan come from Chinese influences. If one is to put stock into the legends and myths associated with some of the region's earliest forms of hand-to-hand combat, those influences derive from India between the fourth and sixth centuries. It has been suggested that the one who introduced China to these methods was an Indian monk named Bodhidharma. Most scholars believe that Bodhidharma did not exist, but there are some who do accept that some form of the spiritual figure did exist, although myth and lore have been added to augment his story.⁸ The Buddhist monk's arrival into China also remains up for debate. The traditional date for Bodhidharma's arrival into China has been viewed as 520 CE; however, some believe it was during China's Sung Dynasty (420-479 CE).⁹

Bodhidharma was said to have travelled from Southern India to share his Buddhist teachings. He met with Emperor Wu who lived from 502-557 during the Liang dynasty in an area now known as Nanjing.¹⁰ Following Bodhidharma's "famous but historically questionable encounter"¹¹ with the emperor, much of the monk's story is focused on his time spent at the Shaolin Temple. It was there that Bodhidharma observed how scrawny the monks at the temple looked, and he began to teach them physical exercises in addition to spiritual mental activities.¹² The exercises introduced to the Shaolin monks became known as the "Eighteen Hands of the Lo-Han." This was early Shaolin *ch'uan fu* or kung fu, and the exercises shared close links with

⁵ Yoshikuni, "Bodies of Memory," 128.

⁶ Yoshikuni, "Bodies of Memory," 125.

⁷ Thompson, "Rikidōzan," 538.

⁸ Bruce Haines, "China," *The Overlook Martial Arts Reader: Classic Writings on Philosophy and Techniques*, ed. by Randy F. Nelson (Woodstock, 1989), 4.

⁹ Haines, "China," Page 4.

¹⁰ Haines, "China," 5.

¹¹ Haines, "China," 5.

¹² Haines, "China," 5.

Japanese karate, which began on the island of Okinawa.¹³ Many have debated why a spiritual Buddhist would be so skilled with fighting techniques; however, as Bruce Haines observed, Bodhidharma's background in India was that of a warrior caste, thus he would have been exposed to fighting skills using his hands when he was younger.¹⁴ After Bodhidharma's passing, a book said to elaborate on his physical teachings surfaced nearly a thousand years later in the 17th century which proved to have a huge influence on early and then imperial Japanese martial arts.¹⁵ However, Haines believes that it is highly unlikely the work is authentic.¹⁶ Bodhidharma's influence and existence may be up for debate, however the parallels between Shaolin kung fu and Okinawa's early forms of karate have been well documented, which helped pave the way towards Rikidōzan's *karate chop*.

Karate

Rikidōzan may have popularized the 'karate chop' within wrestling circles, but it could be argued karate's hand striking manoeuvre is the most recognizable martial art technique on the planet. While it has become popularized from fight scenes in movies and television shows, along with the visual demonstration of someone breaking boards with their bare hands, this tactic was not considered the real nature of the discipline.¹⁷ Karate was originally designed to defend, not attack. Shotokan karate, which Funakoshi Gichin later popularized in the 20th century, has five key rules, known as the *Dojo Kun*, with the final rule being to abstain from violent conduct.¹⁸

Modern karate is known as "empty hand," while the original form dating back to Okinawa in the seventeenth century, is labelled "Chinese hand." Karate is one of the most commonly practiced forms of traditional Japanese martial arts in the world, and its popularity has only soared over the last forty years from the exposure through widespread sport schools, the *Karate Kid* films, and more recent spinoff television series, *Cobra Kai*.¹⁹ Japanese karate's birthplace is widely recognized as the island of Okinawa; however, the details of karate's history are murky based on a lack of reliable historical information.²⁰ Okinawa's location lent itself to its development as a critical trade hub, and a place ideal for restocking supplies and resting before continuing a journey. Both China and Japan exerted a large cultural and political influence, and

¹³ Haines, "China," 5.

¹⁴ Haines, "China," 6.

¹⁵ Meir Shahaar, *The Shaolin Monastery* (Honolulu, 2008), 14.

¹⁶ Haines, "China," 7.

¹⁷ Brianne Lawton and John Nauright, "Globalization of the Traditional Okinawan Art of Shotokan Karate," *Sport in Society* 22, no. 11 (2019), 1765.

¹⁸ Lawton and Nauright, "Globalization," 1765.

¹⁹ David A. Hall, *Encyclopedia of Japanese Martial Arts*. (New York, 2012), 238.

²⁰ Kevin S. Y. Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition: Rethinking a Popular History of Karate-Dou," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 28, no. 2. (2004), 172.

because of Okinawa's smaller Indigenous population, the island was generally at the economic and militaristic mercy of the larger powers, even before Japan annexed Okinawa in the nineteenth century.²¹

Dr. Kevin Tan's research into karate, explores a popular story about how Chinese martial arts blended into the birth of karate in Okinawa. *Tou-de Sakugawa* is considered a critical figure who brought these influences from China to Okinawa.²² Sakugawa was his family name, while *Tou-de* was said to be a nickname for his martial arts skills.²³ Sakugawa travelled to China from his hometown of Shuri in 1724 in search of learning about *ch'uan fu*, and eventually returned to Okinawa several years later well-versed in these skills and abilities.²⁴ His physical combat techniques were less about the use of weapons and eventually became known on the island as '*Shuri-te*,' or 'Shuri hands.'²⁵ Tan notes that while there is little evidence to verify the accuracy of Sakugawa's story, it is possible the journey may have happened a few years earlier. During the 1600s, the island was at the mercy of the Satsuma daimyo, and in 1669 a ban on the use of swords and other weapons was implemented on the island.²⁶ This ultimately left the indigenous population no choice but to learn how to defend themselves using hand-to-hand combat.

The real evolution and growth of the discipline came under Funakoshi Gichin in the twentieth century. Born in Okinawa in 1869, Funakoshi was widely recognized as the one who took the martial art off the island and had a major hand in the 'Japanization' of what we know today as karate. Funakoshi evolved from student to teacher and in 1916, his big moment arrived when he performed a demonstration in front of Japan's emperor at the All-Japan Athletic Exhibition.²⁷ The martial art grew almost immediately. Funakoshi began teaching the discipline at the University of Tokyo in the early 1920s, and by the mid-1930s, he had opened more than thirty training centres known as dojos which were mostly funded by educational institutions.²⁸ When judo founder Kano Jigoro created lightweight uniforms and the coloured belt class system, Funakoshi had karate follow judo's lead.²⁹

At the conclusion of World War II in 1945, the practice of many martial arts ceased when the Allied Powers, led by the United States during their occupation of Japan, demanded Japan drop all vestiges of imperial militarism. Karate was viewed as one such practice. However, many

²¹ Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition," 173.

²² Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition," 178.

²³ Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition," 178.

²⁴ Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition," 178.

²⁵ Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition," 178.

²⁶ Tan, "Constructing a Martial Tradition," 178.

²⁷ Lawton and Nauright, "Globalization," 1764.

²⁸ Lawton and Nauright, "Globalization," 1764.

²⁹ Lawton and Nauright, "Globalization," 1765.

American soldiers took an interest in the physical discipline and the practice resumed, with some soldiers bringing the art back to the United States. Karate continued to grow globally and is viewed nowadays as a sport rather than a martial art. In 2020, karate finally made its debut at the Summer Games, fittingly in Tokyo. Karate has deviated from its original Okinawan form to what it is today, but while it has evolved over multiple generations, the martial art still thrives.

Sumo

Prior to becoming Japan's first professional wrestling superstar, Rikidōzan trained as a sumo wrestler in Korea. He eventually left the discipline and turned to professional wrestling studying in the United States for a year before returning to Japan with his newfound skills. Mixing in some of his charging shoulder tackles and collisions inside the squared circle, Japan's first wrestling superhero also brought elements of sumo to his emerging business venture.

The history of sumo goes back to Japan's earliest days. Sumo, or *sumai* was a style of combat in which anything goes, and an opponent could even face death in battle.³⁰ The *sumai* discipline included striking with hands and feet, with suggestions there were influences that came from both Chinese martial arts, along with Korean practices.³¹ The warriors who practiced this form of combat were typically ones chosen to represent a side of an opposing party to settle an issue or long standing grudge. During the Nara period when Japan was unified during the 8th century, the practice of sumo began to evolve. Rules were established, tournaments took place, and sumo eventually became a military art.³² During the Edo period from the early 1600s up until the late 1860s, there were multiple variations of sumo. The art's popularity grew, and the version of sumo which is known today, took its shape. It was during this time that the *dohyo* was developed, which was a low ring to keep the combatants enclosed. Striking was eliminated, and the rules evolved from a fight to the death to scoring points by knocking an opponent outside the circle.

Outside Japan, the world's first glimpse of sumo came from the writings of Francis Hawks. Hawks was the official historian for Commodore Matthew Perry's American expedition to Japan in 1854. His documentation of sumo on the trip is recognized as the first ever transcribed in English. Hawks' writing takes a somewhat of a patronizing tone, but his work does demonstrate the early fascination upon seeing the massive martial artists and observed, "...the attention of all was suddenly riveted upon a body of monstrous fellows, who tramped down

³⁰ Hall, "Encyclopedia," 474.

³¹ Hall, "Encyclopedia," 474.

³² Louis Frédéric, *A Dictionary of the Martial Arts*, ed. by Paul Crompton (New York, 1988), 216.

the beach like so many huge elephants."³³ Two dozen sumo took part in a formal gathering with the Commodore's delegation, and provided a demonstration for the Americans which based on Hawks' writing, had many in awe. The historian noted how they only wore "cloth about their loins"³⁴ When it was time to compete, Hawks pointed to the athleticism amongst the sumo based on their feats of strength stating, "in an instant, they had both simultaneously heaved their massive forms in opposing force, body to body, with a shock that might have stunned an ox."³⁵

As stories like this slowly made their way to America and Europe, the perception was not what the Japanese had hoped. Sumo was perceived as barbaric with the competitors barely clothed. It made the Japanese seem uncivilized and eventually these attitudes took hold in Japan, with many calling for the practice to be banned.³⁶

As the budding Meiji empire (1868-1912) pushed for increasing industrialization and socio-economic development, sumo was anachronized – viewed as something stuck in the past. The famous topknot hairstyle of samurai and sumo wrestlers was banned in 1871, as more Western styles were popularized. An exemption was granted for many sumo wrestlers and kabuki actors; however, most of the actors and sumo training staff opted to cut their hair, leaving only the wrestlers themselves to maintain their familiar look for their presentation.³⁷

However, sumo soon bounced back in Japan when a demonstration was performed for the emperor in 1884, and its popularity boomed once again, along with all kinds of other 'national arts' highlighting the cultural history of Japan. Sumo benefitted from a growing sense of nationalism after the country's victories during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars around the turn of the century.³⁸ Women had also practiced sumo dating back to the nineteenth century, although women were banned for a period beginning in 1925, when the government pushed women towards motherhood, and urged them to focus more on their homes.³⁹ Sumo remained popular thanks to the emperor's enjoyment of the sport, although the martial art suffered the same fate as many other disciplines at the end of World War II in 1945 when the Allied forces banned the practice for a few years. As with karate, it was 'rehabilitated' and now is a recognizable and popular part of Japan's 'classical' cultural fabric.

³³ Francis L. Hawks, "Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan." *The Overlook Martial Arts Reader: Classic Writings on Philosophy and Techniques*, ed. by Randy F. Nelson (Woodstock, 1989), 37.

³⁴ Hawks, "Narrative," 38.

³⁵ Hawks, "Narrative," 39-40.

³⁶ Kenji R. Tierney, "From Popular Performance to National Sport: The 'Nationalization' of Sumo," in William Kelly and Atsuo Sugimoto, eds., *This Sporting Life: Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan* (New Haven, 2007), 71-73.

³⁷ Tierney, "Nationalization," 73.

³⁸ Tierney, "Nationalization," 76-77.

³⁹ Tierney, "Nationalization," 80.

Judo

Within Japanese professional wrestling, there are certain individuals and fighting styles that bring an authentic element to the business that gives it a greater sense of realism compared to the product displayed by the industry's global leader, World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE). Japan's hard-hitting physical traits have become known as 'strong style.' This approach to the business has been credited to one of Rikidōzan's protégés, Antonio Inoki, who was determined to suspend disbelief amongst the audience. Inoki's popularity was almost equal to his mentor's, with Inoki being elected to the Japanese diet in 1989. The star performer was determined to keep the audiences believing and went to great lengths to blur the lines to maintain an authentic feel. Inoki started the promotion New Japan Pro Wrestling in the 1970s, and labelled the company, 'King of Sports,' to keep a form of real combat.⁴⁰ Inoki also arranged contests with legitimate martial artists and competitors, including 1972 Olympic judo gold medallist, Willem Ruska.

Inoki's most famous attempt to blur the lines for a big audience was his fight with boxing heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali in 1976. The facts behind the actual contest are somewhat disputed, but Ali assumed the fight was supposed to be an exhibition with a pre-determined result, with Inoki thinking much differently. The rules were changed so dramatically that it resulted in a legitimate contest that was a visual disaster. Inoki crawled on his back for fifteen rounds worried about being punched, while Ali danced around the ring, refusing to grapple for fear of being placed in a submission hold.⁴¹ Some view Inoki's vision as the birth of mixed martial arts, which the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) has turned into a multi-billion-dollar industry during the twenty-first century, where different martial arts disciplines converge within a caged octagon and allow two combatants to fight in a three to five round contest. Japanese wrestling still tries to maintain a level of physicality so that while consumers may know the business is entertainment, the level of combative skill still helps to suspend disbelief once the bell rings.

I would argue that no martial art relates more to professional wrestling than judo. In addition to Ruska, several former judo champions have seamlessly transitioned to professional wrestling. Before enjoying tremendous success as a famed Hollywood stuntman, 'Judo' Gene LeBell was the United States national champion in the 1950s, prior to training under Lou Thesz as a professional wrestler. LeBell also happened to be the referee for the Ali-Inoki contest in 1976. Shortly after claiming a bronze medal at the 1976 Summer Games in Montreal, Allen Coage became a professional wrestler in Japan, and went on to greater fame under the moniker Bad

⁴⁰ Clara Marino, "Real Fake Fighting: The Aesthetic of Qualified Realism in Japanese Pro Wrestling" (master's thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2021), 7.

⁴¹ Marino, "Real Fake Fighting," 7-8.

News Brown. More recently, Ronda Rousey, who trained under LeBell, won a bronze medal at the 2008 Beijing Olympics, then became a UFC mixed martial arts champion before signing a multi-million-dollar contract as a professional wrestler with WWE.

Contemporary judo's origins can be found in the Meiji period. Kano Jigoro studied jujutsu during the Meiji era, but as evidenced with sumo earlier, this was also a time in Japan when there was very little appreciation for traditional Japanese methods, and jujutsu's practice declined.⁴² Kano, who went to great lengths studying and training, felt the discipline was a "cultural asset worthy of the respect of the nation," and focused his efforts on rehabilitating the martial art's reputation.⁴³ Kano did not like the way Meiji-era jujutsu had evolved writing, "many *jujutsu ryu* often indulged in such dangerous practices as throwing by unfair means, or by wrenching limbs. This led not a few people who had occasion to witness those wild exercises to deprecate jujutsu as being dangerous and harmful to the body."⁴⁴ The attitude and approach to training had to be part of the reconstruction.

Kano introduced what he called Kodokan Judo in 1882. Kodokan means "a school for studying the way."⁴⁵ He stressed Kodokan in his new discipline to distance itself from earlier forms of judo from the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ Kano focused on applying effective jujutsu combat movements from the leg, body, arm, that were both from a standing and ground position and using these methods to disrupt an opponent's balance, ultimately neutralizing them with throwing techniques.⁴⁷ The principles came down to leverage and balance. While physical strength could be a natural advantage, judo looked to use an opponent's momentum against them. It was less about a collision between opponents, and more about outsmarting the opposing competitor with the right manoeuvre and immobilizing them.⁴⁸ Gripping an opponent's uniform or outfit was also a critical element to the practice because not only did it allow for more leverage, but it proved to be safer for the person getting tossed around.⁴⁹

Don Draeger, who served in the U.S. military during the Pacific War, and later became an authoritative author on the practices and history of martial arts, found that Kano's judo was not initially designed for just anyone to learn. As Kano was highly educated and coming from a family with both affluence and influence, Draeger felt Kano knew all about the differences in

⁴² Donn F. Draeger, "Kano Jigoro and Judo." *The Overlook Martial Arts Reader Volume 2*, ed. by John Donohue. (Woodstock, 2004), 56.

⁴³ Draeger, "Kano Jigoro," 56.

⁴⁴ Draeger, "Kano Jigoro," 57.

⁴⁵ Kodokan Judo Institute, "What Is Judo?" www.KodokanJudoInstitute.Org (accessed April 28, 2023).

⁴⁶ Draeger, "Kano Jigoro," 57.

⁴⁷ Frédéric, "Dictionary," 66.

⁴⁸ Draeger, "Kano Jigoro," 60.

⁴⁹ Draeger, "Kano Jigoro," 63-64.

social classes and aimed to teach his Kodokan Judo to those with the “highest moral qualities,” rather than making it a discipline for all.⁵⁰ In the late nineteenth century, Kano travelled to Europe to demonstrate his new martial art, which he proclaimed to be the best. Kano continued to showcase his modernized martial art emphasizing both physical activity and spiritual cleansing, and judo grew in popularity up until the outbreak of World War II.⁵¹ Kano eventually became Japan’s first member of the International Olympic Committee and helped the country land the rights to host the 1940 Olympics, although the Games were moved because of the war.⁵² Similar to sumo and karate, judo was banned in 1945 after the Allied Forces occupied Japan, but it resumed by 1947. Judo became an Olympic sport in 1964 and continues to be today.

The Final Count

Just as many of these martial arts have evolved or modernized since the Meiji era, Japanese professional wrestling has also evolved since Rikidōzan introduced it to Japanese audiences seventy years ago. In recent years, the business is much less about grappling, with wrestlers looking more like gymnasts or aerialists. Minoru Suzuki, a disciple of Inoki who has thirty-five years’ experience as both a professional wrestler and mixed martial artist, feels that the industry has somewhat distanced itself from traditional martial arts in the twenty-first century. Although widely regarded as a throwback type wrestler with a hard-hitting presentation, the fifty-five-year-old Suzuki thinks his style and many others have veered away from Japan’s traditional forms of combat. Suzuki observes, “nowadays, today’s pro-wrestling is quite different from Japanese martial arts back then, so it has nothing to do with my style.”⁵³ Suzuki may see professional wrestling moving away from judo, karate, sumo, and other martial arts disciplines, but they still exist within the presentation today. Virtually every match features a competitor karate chopping an opponent in the chest, the same move made famous by Rikidōzan in the 1950s. The ‘karate chop’ may no longer be seen as ‘devastating’ enough to finish off an opponent, as Japan’s first wrestling hero did so effectively seventy years ago, but Japan’s martial arts remain a part of Japanese professional wrestling eight decades later. And just in case you were wondering who came away the victor in the third and final fall between Rikidōzan and Thesz back in 1957, the match was ultimately ruled a draw, leaving fans wanting more. That meant rematch, and more tickets sold. The story continues...

⁵⁰ Draeger, “Kano Jigoro,” 57.

⁵¹ Tierney, “Nationalization,” 75.

⁵² Tierney, “Nationalization,” 75.

⁵³ Minoru Suzuki (professional wrestler) in discussion with author, March 23, 2023.

Annotated Bibliography

Draeger, Donn F. "Kano Jigoro and Judo." In *The Overlook Martial Arts Reader Volume 2*, edited by John Donohue. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2004.

Draeger's biography on the architect of judo lays out how Kano Jigoro modified jujutsu into his own stylings which became Kodokan judo. Kano tried to create a more level playing field for all strengths, and not just the most powerful individual. While he preached peace and spirituality, Kano also promoted his new martial art with a strong confidence of the practice as he claimed his new art to be the best in Japan. Draeger also shares how judo was impacted by the ban on the practice of martial arts after World War II, but popularity in the discipline picked up again when the prohibition was lifted in 1947. While the writing gets a little technical for the average reader to digest, this will still be an excellent piece to help transition the art of judo and how the practice could translate into professional wrestling, as the art really began to take off globally around the same time as professional wrestling arrived in Japan in the postwar era.

Frédéric, Louis. *A Dictionary of the Martial Arts*. Translated and edited by Paul Crompton. New York: Dover Publications, 1988.

Frédéric's publication was a glossary for terms, names, and practices within the world of martial arts. This book was a critical piece of my research, allowing me to quickly reference names and meanings which could point me in the right direction throughout my research process. While the work does not offer a deep dive into topics, it proved essential in making the navigational process in my research much easier to handle.

Haines, Bruce. "China." In *The Overlook Martial Arts Reader: Classic Writings on Philosophy and Techniques*, edited by Randy F. Nelson. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1989.

Haines tells the story of Bodhidharma, a Buddhist Indian who travelled to China and beyond his spiritual teachings, introduced people to a form of bare-handed combat, which became seen as the earliest form of martial arts. The remarkable figure who could blend a sound mind with the ability to turn his body into a weapon, is viewed by scholars as more of a mythological figure than an actual person, however there is a belief by some historians that Bodhidharma did indeed exist. This essay provided quality reference material for the early portion of my paper explaining how combat martial arts initially made its way to Asia, specifically China, during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Indian monk's physical techniques were less about fighting and more about a mental state of mind that connected both mind and body, which we will see in the applications of other martial arts that I examined in my research, namely the development of judo.

Hall, David A. *Encyclopedia of Japanese Martial Arts*. New York, NY/London, UK: Kodansha USA Inc. and Kodansha Europe Ltd., 2012.

Hall's work consists of explaining the terminology, specific names, and various disciplines within the world of Japanese martial arts. This was a great resource for understanding methods and providing a brief history and background of the practices and some of the individuals that impacted the martial arts landscape.

Hawks, Francis L. "Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan." In *The Overlook Martial Arts Reader: Classic Writings on Philosophy and Techniques*, edited by Randy F. Nelson. Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1989.

This is a primary source that emanates from Commodore Perry's arrival to Japan in the mid-nineteenth century. Perry had brought along Francis L. Hawks, who was the official historian of the journey, and his documentation and observations from the trip gave many Americans their first peek at life in Japan—albeit a peek with a bias along with strong hints of racial undertones. Hawks' writing focuses on the presentation of sumo wrestlers, describing these large men as they gathered to put on a demonstration for the American delegation visiting Japan. While this does not fully explain the background of sumo, it does paint a picture of the martial art from the mid-1800s.

Lawton, Brianna, and John Nauright. "Globalization of the Traditional Okinawan Art of Shotokan Karate." *Sport in Society* 22, no. 11 (2019): 1762-1768.

This was an excellent resource for my background work into the history of karate. Lawton and Nauright explore the evolution of the discipline from an initial form of self-defence in Okinawa, to its modifications from global expansion in postwar Japan where karate eventually becomes a sport. The article examines how the seeds for what is now known as karate, began during the Tokugawa shogunate in the seventeenth century. Stemming from a law that banned anyone except a samurai from carrying a sword, people in Okinawa learned to defend themselves using their bare hands, or objects you might find around the home. With the island often viewed as a trading hub, many foreign people arrived, and under the strict laws preventing interaction with outside influences, a cold shoulder was often the recipe for confrontations. I will utilize this work to assist in following the infancy of Shotokan karate under the guidance of Peichin Satunushi Sakugawa which carried into Meiji rule in the late nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth century where Gichin Funakoshi took the discipline off the island and exposed it to the rest of Japan, where it became militarized, and part of the education curriculum. Karate exploded in the mainstream globally following World War II as Americans took notice of the methods and eventually the discipline morphed into a competitive sport, a far cry from what its foundation was meant to be.

Marino, Clara. "Real Fake Fighting: The Aesthetic of Qualified Realism in Japanese Pro Wrestling." Masters Thesis. University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2021.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2099&context=masters_theses_2

Marino's 2021 work covers Japan's introduction to professional wrestling in the 1950s, and transitions to the dominance and influence wrestler Antonio Inoki had from the 1970s through to the early 2000s. Inoki craved a sense of realism with his style of wrestling, forming New Japan Pro Wrestling (NJPW), which is now considered one of the three largest wrestling promotions in the world. Inoki recruited trained competitors from various disciplines in judo, kickboxing, and wrestling to compete in more realistic style matches, culminating with a contest pitting Inoki himself against boxing's heavyweight champion of the world, Muhammad Ali in 1976. Marino explores how New Japan's current slogan, 'strong style' originates from Inoki and his relentless quest to make the audience believe. Inoki's continuous attempts to stylize matches and events with an authentic feel contributed to the growth of mixed martial arts promotions through the 1990s and continues with great success today.

Project Territories. "JWA Lou Thesz vs. Rikidōzan - NWA World Heavyweight Title - 13th October 1957." YouTube Video 24:43. May 2, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fML-egKHK6E>

Video of wrestling match between North American champion Lou Thesz and Rikidōzan from Tokyo in 1957. I used this match to set the scene of my research paper at the outset.

Suzuki, Minoru. Interview. Conducted by James Cybulski. March 23, 2023.

Minoru Suzuki is a legendary professional wrestler and former mixed-martial artist. The 55-year-old grappler was in Vancouver for a match in late March, and we spoke briefly prior to the event he was in town for.

Shahar, Meir. *The Shaolin Monastery*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. muse.jhu.edu/book/8256.

A deep history into the background of the Shaolin ways and tradition, this work did not provide me with much resource material to draw from, however it did help in connecting the dots with some of the details for the story involving Bodhidharma and the early influence of martial arts amongst the monks.

Tan, Kevin S. Y. "Constructing a Martial Tradition: Rethinking a Popular History of Karate-Dou." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 28, no. 2 (2004): 169–92. [doi:10.1177/0193723504264772](https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723504264772).

Tan's work explores the roots of karate, along with the vague and inconsistent history it possesses. Okinawa is largely viewed as the birthplace of the martial art, but what complicates the story is the lack of quality source material for scholars, with much of the past mired in politics, colonization, and mythology. This was an excellent resource to understand a sense of Okinawa's past and the influences they encountered from the Chinese, and later annexed by the Japanese. One prominent figure in Tan's work is Tou-de Sakugawa, who is seen as one of the key individuals in introducing the Chinese elements into Okinawa's martial arts during the 1700s. The discipline became known as Shuri-te. Tan also follows the evolving practices up to Japan's Meiji period, where Gichin Funakoshi takes the role in being recognized for bringing the discipline outside of Okinawa, and modifying Sakugawa's initial teachings, in order to appeal to more Japanese. It is during this period from the late 1800s into the twentieth century that the term 'Kara-te' began being used. The early 1900s saw Japan's education system incorporate karate into the curriculum as a form of "spiritual education," while the military also embraced the practice. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, Funakoshi and his colleagues re-wrote karate's codes which was more of a way to scrub China's influence on the practice as hostilities between Japan and China intensified. Karate gained more exposure following the war, and the American influence allowed the sport to continue to grow in exposure and popularity over time.

Thompson, Lee. "The professional wrestler Rikidōzan as a site of memory." *Sport in Society* 14, no. 4 (2011): 532-541.

Thompson's research came up often in my searches for the history of Japanese professional wrestling. This is somewhat of a biography piece on Rikidōzan, the person who introduced American style professional wrestling in Japan, during the postwar period, and became a national celebrity. A former sumo wrestler, Rikidōzan played off the result of the war, and recruited American wrestlers, where he would draw upon Japan's traditional martial arts, and finish off his opponents using a powerful karate

chop, much to the delight of the Japanese fans. During the 1950s, until his death in the early 1960s, wrestling became hugely popular on television in Japan. All the while, Japan's wrestling superstar hid the fact that he was born in Korea. Thompson explains that while Rikidōzan's true identity was somewhat scandalous when the story was unearthed, and denied by family members for years, the colonial history between Japan and Korea eventually made the wrestling legend more of a sympathetic figure and ultimately accepted in both countries as a hero. This work was a critical piece for my research paper as I could not tell the story of Japanese pro wrestling without Rikidōzan, and how he was the first to bridge the gap between traditional martial arts, and the theatrical entertainment element inside the squared circle.

Tierney, R. Kenji. "From Popular Performance to National Sport: The 'Nationalization' of Sumo." In *This Sporting Life: Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan*, edited by William Kelly and Atsuo Sugimoto. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

This work speaks to the evolution of sumo from its modest period in the seventeenth century, to becoming a part of Japan's cultural fabric by the twentieth century after its beginnings as more of a carnival side show. Tierney's work is less about the technical element of sumo, but rather the pomp and circumstance surrounding the sport. As the photograph began to grow during the nineteenth century, Commodore Perry's visit to Japan, provided global exposure for the sport as sumo had been demonstrated for the American leader, and images were documented which spread throughout the western world. As Japan modernized and adopted more western styles and attire, sumo wrestlers were exempted to maintain the topknot hairstyle, and embraced the more traditional style. The sport also saw women begin participating during the Meiji era, although the gender bias loomed large in 1925 when women were barred from taking part. The traditional aspect of sumo also began to be embraced by the Japanese military with sumo demonstrations taking place in several colonized nations such as Korea and Taiwan.

Yoshikuni, Igarashi. *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

In this chapter from Yoshikuni's book, the focus is on three wildly popular forms of entertainment in post-war Japan during the 1950s: the monster Godzilla, a radio show called Kimi no Nawa, and the person who introduced Japan to professional wrestling, Rikidōzan. Although he fought hard to keep his true ethnic origins a secret, Rikidōzan was born in Korea, which is ironic given Japan's brutal colonial history of Korea, and yet there he was fighting 'foreign' wrestlers defending Japan's honour. This work examines how ruthless the wrestler could be to protect his image, and legitimize professional wrestling which despite his commercial success, still found critics who recognized the business as a work, with matches being pre-determined. The chapter notes Rikidōzan's background as a sumo wrestler, but seemed more determined to display a karate background, using a 'karate chop' as one of his patented holds. I drew extensively from this work to help lay out the details of the person who introduced Japan to the American style of professional wrestling, and how Rikidōzan had travelled to the United States and trained there for a year before returning to Japan and create his own brand of sports entertainment.

The Holocaust: Victimized Groups and their Unique Experiences

Erika Genesisius – March 2023

HIST 4430: The Holocaust in Historical Experience

Dr Tracey J. Kinney

Elie Wiesel, Auschwitz survivor, claimed that the Holocaust was a uniquely Jewish experience when he said that “not all victims were Jews, but all Jews were victims.”¹ While Wiesel is not wrong that the Holocaust was a unique experience for all Jewish people, this claim has a tendency to place the victims of the Holocaust within a hierarchy of suffering where Jewish people matter the most because they suffered the most.² In actuality, the experiences of each group were unique when compared to each other. Each group was targeted to varying degrees, suffered differently, and/or was targeted to different extremes, as will be covered in this paper. This essay argues that the Holocaust was a uniquely Jewish experience, but the experiences of Soviet civilians, Slavic victims, prisoners of war, political opponents, the sick and disabled, and the Roma and Sinti were also unique and deserve an equal amount of attention in order to better learn from the Holocaust.³

It is fair to consider the Holocaust as a uniquely Jewish event because of the way that Jews were targeted by Nazi Germany. Elie Wiesel was right to say that “all Jews were victims.”⁴ While anti-Semitism had existed in the region for a long time, throughout the 1920s and 1930s anti-

¹ “Remembering the Victims of the Holocaust: Elie Wiesel’s Quote,” *UNE News Room* (2013), <https://www.unesen.ca/press/?p=1680>; Wiesel Resources, “Remarks on Presenting the Congressional Gold Medal to Elie Wiesel and on Signing the Jewish Heritage Week Proclamation, April 19, 1985,” *PBS*, <https://www.pbs.org/eliewiesel/resources/reagan.html>.

² Arguably, Soviet civilians suffered approximately as many deaths as Jewish people, and even though some groups only suffered hundreds or thousands of deaths (as opposed to millions), those are still significant numbers. This gets minimized when we focus on “how-many-million died.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Documenting Numbers of Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution,” *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/documenting-numbers-of-victims-of-the-holocaust-and-nazi-persecution>; UCL Center for Holocaust Education, *Non-Jewish Victims of Nazi Persecution and Murder: Using National Research to Inform Your Classroom Practice* (UCL Center for Holocaust Education, 2016), <https://holocausteducation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/1.-Non-JewishVictimsOfNaziPersecutionMurder-Digital.pdf>.

³ This is not an exhaustive list of the groups that were victimized during the Holocaust, and categories such as “political opponents” contain numerous sub-categories like criminals, asocials, homosexuals, Jehovah’s Witnesses, etc.; “Slavic people” includes Poles, Serbs, Ukrainians, Russians, and many others.

⁴ Wiesel Resources, “Remarks on...”

Jewish measures increased in intensity. As well, after the Nazis took power in 1933, anti-Semitism became incorporated into government policy.⁵ Jewish people were more and more restricted in their daily lives as they found themselves with increasingly fewer rights. Some of these measures included being excluded from specific spaces, the criminalization of relationships with Germans, decreased citizenship rights, their eventual disenfranchisement in Germany, and increased persecution for criminal behaviour as set out in the Nuremberg Laws.⁶ Once the war began in 1939 Jewish people were further targeted by being forcefully relocated within occupied eastern Europe.⁷ Jews were concentrated in designated ghettos where they suffered from starvation, over-crowding, unsanitary conditions, and more.⁸ They were eventually liquidated from those ghettos as part of the Final Solution, which resulted in Jews being executed or deported to concentration and extermination camps.⁹

The end result was that approximately six million Jews died during the Holocaust, and if it were entirely within Nazi Germany's control millions more would have died.¹⁰ Nazi Germany set out to annihilate every member of the Jewish population, and this, in addition to the total number that died and the ways that they were killed, is what makes their experience unique.¹¹ Unfortunately, by saying that the Holocaust was uniquely Jewish it implicitly suggests that it was not a unique experience for the various other targeted groups. When Elie Wiesel said, "not all victims were Jews," it had the effect of acknowledging that other groups were targeted during the Holocaust, but it simultaneously minimized their experiences by lumping them together as a singular group of victims that was not the same as the Jews. The experiences of Soviet civilians, Slavic peoples, prisoners of war, political opponents, the sick and disabled, and the Roma and Sinti were unique in their own specific ways and should be acknowledged as such.

⁵ Peter Longerich, "Historical Background: Anti-Semitism in the Weimar Republic," *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews* (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), 20.

⁶ Longerich, "Historical Background..." 17-20; Richard D. Heideman, "Legalizing Hate: The Significance of the Nuremberg Laws and the Post-War Nuremberg Trials," *Loyola of Los Angeles International & Comparative Law Review* 39, no. 1 (2017): 1, 6, 9-10.

⁷ Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos During the Holocaust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 15-16.

⁸ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Introduction to the Holocaust," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/introduction-to-the-holocaust>, accessed March 10, 2023.

⁹ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Introduction to..."

¹⁰ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Documenting Numbers of Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/documenting-numbers-of-victims-of-the-holocaust-and-nazi-persecution>, accessed March 10, 2023.

¹¹ Alan E. Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique?: Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*, edited by Alan S. Rosenbaum and Israel W. Charny, 3rd edition. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009), 28.

In the occupied regions of the Soviet Union, civilians were targeted by brutal Nazi tactics that ended up killing approximately seven million people.¹² Slavic people in this region (and other occupied regions) were likewise subject to Nazi plans of destruction.¹³ In the first half of the 1940s Soviet civilians endured starvation and their villages were burned; many people were executed or deported to special locations for specific uses.¹⁴ Food was weaponized by Nazi Germany to deal with its own food shortages, and many Soviet civilians consequently starved.¹⁵ The dramatic reduction of the Soviet population was an intended consequence of these brutal tactics.¹⁶ Control of food and local resources in the Soviet Union was one of the reasons that Germany invaded the region in addition to having plans of expansion, but Germany also required this food source in order to sustain itself in the war.¹⁷

Slavic people were targeted in varying ways depending on the region from which they came, but generally they were deemed to be racially inferior to the Aryan.¹⁸ Ukrainians and Russians, for example, were regarded as “semi-savage inferiors, incapable of reason.”¹⁹ Poles specifically suffered brutal treatment when Nazi Germany occupied Poland. They endured mass executions, hostile treatment, destruction of their lives and culture, and random arrests that either led to their deportation for forced labour or death.²⁰ Similar to the laws against the Jews as set out in the Nuremberg Laws, Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians were persecuted if caught having relations with Germans.²¹ Between the Soviet civilians and Slavs, their harsh treatment

¹² This estimate includes approximately 1.3 million Jewish people. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Documenting Numbers...”

¹³ Some of these categories that are mentioned in the thesis statement overlap, and this is an example of that. Slavic people were targeted in ways by the Nazi regime, and they were also subject to annihilation plans that were implemented in regions that the Nazis occupied, such as in the Soviet Union. Additionally, these categories include both Jews and non-Jews. John Connelly, “Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice,” *Central European History*, 32, no. 1 (1999): 7.

¹⁴ Nathalie Moine and John Angell, “Defining “War Crimes Against Humanity” in the Soviet Union,” *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 52, no. 2/3 (2012): 445, 451.

¹⁵ Gesine Gerhard, “The *Hungerplan*: Barbarossa and the Starvation of the Soviet Union,” *Nazi Hunger Politics: A History of Food in the Third Reich* (London, England: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 85-86

¹⁶ Gerhard, “The *Hungerplan*...,” 92-3.

¹⁷ This suggests that without targeting Soviet civilians in this way and gaining access to food sources, Germany’s own war efforts would not have been capable of being carried out on the scale that they were. Gerhard, “The *Hungerplan*...,” 87.

¹⁸ Connelly, “Nazis and Slavs...,” 8.

¹⁹ Linda Jacobs Altman, *The Forgotten Victims of the Holocaust*, (Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow, 2003), 49; Bohdan Wytwycky, *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell* (Washington DC: Novak Report on the New Ethnicity, 1980), 55.

²⁰ Connelly, “Nazis and Slavs...,” 9.

²¹ Other groups were also legally bound to such laws, such as Blacks and the Roma and Sinti peoples. Connelly, “Nazis and Slavs...,” 11.

and deaths were a result of Nazi Germany's goals for expansion and settlement that were based on racial ideologies.²²

It was the Nazi regime's contempt toward Slavic peoples that helped inform the way with which Soviet prisoners of war were dealt; almost three million were murdered within an eight month time-span when the war began.²³ At this point in time Jewish victims had not even reached this number.²⁴ Prisoner of war camps were populated with incarcerated military personnel from various countries, such as Britain, America, France, Poland, and the Soviet Union.²⁵ Many were subject to inhumane treatment who fell into these categories, and they ended up in different types of prisons where they were exposed to forced labour, torture, experimentation, or execution.²⁶ Tolerance was generally not afforded to those who proved incapable of conforming to Nazi ideology.

Political opponents, which included gay men, 'asocials', and others, were considered dangerous to German society.²⁷ Individuals who did not align with the Nazi regime politically were persecuted, as well as those who engaged in forms of resistance, criminal activities, addictions, or those who were nonconforming to Nazi social norms. These categories of people were subject to harsh (deadly) treatment, yet some were also believed to be capable of coming around and adopting the Nazi worldview.²⁸ When people were found guilty of being homosexual, they sometimes ended up imprisoned in camps or executed for criminal behaviour.²⁹

The targeting of homosexuals picked up in intensity in 1934 when police units were cleansed of any homosexual members.³⁰ While there had been a law that criminalized homosexuality as far

²² Connelly, "Nazis and Slavs...", 10.

²³ Altman, *The Forgotten Victims...*, 51. The so-called *Kommissarbefehl*, issued in advance of the German invasion of the USSR, specifically revoked the protections of international law in the fight against Bolshevism. The order states, "commissars will not be recognized as soldiers; the protection granted to prisoners of war in accordance with International Law will not apply to them. After having been segregated, they are to be dealt with." See: <https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/English58.pdf>. Ed.

²⁴ Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 207.

²⁵ "What Were the Ghettos and Camps?: Types of Camps," *The Holocaust Explained*, <https://www.theholocaustexplained.org/the-camps/types-of-camps/prisoner-of-war-camps/>, accessed March 11, 2023.

²⁶ "Gay People," *Holocaust Memorial Day Trust*, <https://www.hmd.org.uk/learn-about-the-holocaust-and-genocides/nazi-persecution/gay-people/>, accessed March 11, 2023; "Asocials," *Holocaust Memorial Day Trust*, <https://www.hmd.org.uk/learn-about-the-holocaust-and-genocides/nazi-persecution/asocials/>, accessed March 11, 2023.

²⁷ Asocials included the Roma and Sinti, as discussed below. This is another example of the way that the categorization of people overlapped at times.

²⁸ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Political Prisoners," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/political-prisoners>, accessed March 10, 2023.

²⁹ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 75.

³⁰ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 75.

back as 1871, it was generally not enforced during the Weimar era.³¹ Homosexuality was widely embraced and accepted during this time.³² In 1935, however, this law was amended and made harsher, which resulted in many homosexuals being targeted for seemingly arbitrary reasons.³³ Those who ended up in concentration camps were subjected to brutal treatment as they were visibly identified as homosexual within the camp, and they were commonly beaten to death because of the homophobia of guards and others.³⁴

While the other groups that Nazi Germany targeted were based on notions of inferiority, the sick and disabled were targeted because they were believed to be counter-productive to the well-being of the nation.³⁵ Sick and disabled peoples were viewed as financial burdens to Germany in addition to being considered a biological threat to the health of the nation. These groups were targeted on an increasing scale in the 1930s. Policies based on eugenics were enacted in the Nazi regime that forced hundreds of thousands of sick and disabled people to be sterilized.³⁶ Hundreds of thousands were also euthanized as these programs increased in their scope after 1939.³⁷ Face-to-face executions were implemented, the use of gas vans followed, and starvation was routinely used to cause the deaths of many.³⁸ Killing centres were created and mercy killings were then accomplished in gas chambers.³⁹ These specific practices reflect the way that other groups of people were soon targeted during the Holocaust. It suggests that the sick and disabled peoples were dealt with in a trial-and-error way which then informed the best methods to implement when targeting other groups of people in future years.⁴⁰

Like the sick and disabled, the Roma and Sinti were also considered a biological threat to Germany, and the way that they were targeted did not differ much from the way that Jews were

³¹ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 79; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Gay Men Under the Nazi Regime," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/gay-men-under-the-nazi-regime>, accessed March 11, 2023.

³² In some major urban centres such as Berlin. Ed.

³³ For example, when a gay male smiled at another male. Altman, 79.

³⁴ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 81; Terese Pencak Schwartz, "The Holocaust: Non-Jewish Victims," *Jewish Virtual Library: A Project of AICE*, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/non-jewish-victims-of-the-holocaust>, accessed March 11, 2023.

³⁵ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 25.

³⁶ Members of other groups, such as the Roma and Sinti, were also subject to forced sterilization. Slawomir Kapralski, "The Genesis and Course of the Nazi Persecution of Roma and Sinti," *The Destruction of European Roma in KL Auschwitz: A Guidebook for Visitors*, (2019), <https://www.roma-sinti-holocaust-memorial-day.eu/history/the-genesis-and-course-of-the-nazi-persecution-of-roma-and-sinti/>, accessed March 11, 2023; Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 18

³⁷ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Documenting Numbers..."

³⁸ Browning, *Ordinary Men...*, 208.

³⁹ Altman, 22.

⁴⁰ Even when gas chambers were closed, euthanasia continued at increasing rates by way of pills, injections, and starvation. Starvation was a widespread tool that was used by the Nazi regime in many different circumstances throughout their time in power. Altman, 22 - 23.

targeted.⁴¹ They, too, had experienced a long history of being discriminated against in many regions across Europe.⁴² They were originally classified as “wandering” or “settled,” so policies were aimed at assimilating them into mainstream society.⁴³ This changed once nation-states were established in central Europe. Roma and Sinti people became stereotyped as “deviant” and “workshy,” so it was no longer about assimilation.⁴⁴ The racialization of the Roma and Sinti consequently occurred with rise of Nazi Germany’s eugenics policies.⁴⁵ They were targeted based on appearances (having darker skin, typically), their perceived cultural inferiority, their assumed inability to conform, and depending on if they were classified as ‘pure-blood’ or ‘mixed-blood’.⁴⁶ Mixed Roma and Sinti people were designated for extermination.⁴⁷ The medicalization of racial hygiene theories led to the criminalization and persecution of Roma and Sinti people, regardless of whether they had previously been able to assimilate.⁴⁸

Based on these medically supported assumptions, Roma and Sinti were targeted by policies that justified their detainment on the basis that they were unable or unwilling to contribute to the dominant society.⁴⁹ With the racialization of the Roma and Sinti came increasing policy measures enacted by Nazi Germany, such as the “Combating the Gypsy Nuisance” policy, which outlined the proper way to deal with the “Gypsie problem.”⁵⁰ They were forced to register themselves as “Gypsies,” or “part-Gypsies,” and thousands were deported to ghettos, concentration camps, work camps, and extermination camps, much like the Jews were.⁵¹ There, like so many others, they suffered from starvation, poor conditions, lack of medical care, and experimentations.⁵² In other regions, the Roma and Sinti were simply executed on the spot when the SS came across them.⁵³ In total, an estimate of 250,000 to 500,000 Roma and Sinti died during the Holocaust.⁵⁴

⁴¹ Rosenbaum, 28; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Who Were the Victims?” *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/mosaic-of-victims-an-overview>, accessed March 10, 2023.

⁴² Eszter Varsa, “‘The (Final) Solution of the Gypsy-Question:’ Continuities in Discourses about Roma in Hungary, 1940s – 1950s,” *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 1 (2017): 115.

⁴³ Varsa, “‘The (Final)...,” 115

⁴⁴ Varsa, “‘The (Final)...,” 115

⁴⁵ Varsa, “‘The (Final)...,” 116.

⁴⁶ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 60.

⁴⁷ Varsa, “‘The (Final)...,” 116.

⁴⁸ Varsa, “‘The (Final)...,” 116.

⁴⁹ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 62.

⁵⁰ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 65.

⁵¹ Other regions, such as Romania, aligned with the Nazi regime on Roma and Sinti policies. This resulted in the deportation of thousands more Roma and Sinti people. Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 67; Michelle Kelso, “‘And Roma Were Victims, Too.’ The Romani Genocide and Holocaust Education in Romania,” *Intercultural Education* 24, no. 1-2 (2013): 63.

⁵² Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 71; Kelso, “‘And Roma Were...,” 63.

⁵³ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 70.

⁵⁴ Altman, *The Forgotten...*, 73; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Documenting Numbers...”

As is evident, each group had distinct experiences that are significant to an overall understanding of the Holocaust. As well, experiences did not happen in isolation from other experiences. Each group's experience was in some way similar or related to another group's suffering. Learning about the Holocaust is not about determining who suffered more, but it is about understanding how all these elements played out, impacted people, and can be prevented in the future. The Holocaust was a uniquely Jewish experience as much as it was a uniquely Polish experience, or a uniquely Roma and Sinti experience. Any victimized group has legitimacy in claiming that the Holocaust was a unique experience for them. A more even distribution of weight assigned to the narratives of each group is needed to best understand the Holocaust, as current narratives heavily rely on the Jewish experience. Although each group was impacted in different ways and for distinct reasons, it was the racist Germanization plans that subjected these groups to such horrific treatment. The creation of a racially pure Aryan nation justified the annihilation and re-ordering of specific groups in order to see the Germany rise as a superior new nation.⁵⁵

The importance of the Holocaust does not depend on its uniqueness, and issues of uniqueness should not take up space as the most important thing to decipher.⁵⁶ What is important is that each group's experiences are understood to the fullest extent possible, without relegating groups to different rungs according to a hierarchy of suffering.⁵⁷ Victimized group experiences are important to know about to learn from the Holocaust and how people were treated, but not for framing the way the Holocaust is thought about.⁵⁸ Elie Wiesel's statement, "not all victims were Jews, but all Jews were victims," can arguably be used by each targeted group by exchanging the word "Jews" for their own group. Wiesel may not have intended to minimize the suffering of non-Jewish victims, but his statement does just that. The Holocaust was as much uniquely Jewish as it was unique for Soviet civilians, Slavic peoples, prisoners of war, political opponents, the sick and disabled, and the Roma and Sinti, and acknowledging this enables a greater understanding of the Holocaust.

⁵⁵ Isabel Heinemann, "Defining "(Un)Wanted Population Addition:" Anthropology, Racist Ideology, and Mass Murder in the Occupied East," *Racial Science in Hitler's New Europe, 1938-1945*, edited by Anton Weiss-Wendt and Rory Yeomans, (University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln and London, 2013), 48-49.

⁵⁶ Alan S. Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique?: Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 28.

⁵⁷ Taking into account that complete accuracy can never be achieved in understanding historical events.

⁵⁸ Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust...*, 34-35.

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The Cold War's Challenge to "Civilization": Sexual Regulation and the Canadian Response to the US-Exported Lavender Scare

Nolan Jensen – July 2022

HIST 4499: Queer Histories of North America

Dr Maddie Knickerbocker

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States took on the self-imposed role of torchbearer for Western civilization.¹ Obsessed with avoiding decadence, the U.S. — and to a large extent, Canada — systematically attempted to mobilize society around patriarchal, white, middle-class values, while fabricating internal threats to its stability.² In this dogmatic image of the “good society” (my quotations), heteronormativity was held as an ideal; a by-product of this ideal was the repression of sexual diversity. However, domestic regulation of sexuality in the United States was not enough. Sharing the world’s most extensive land border with Canada, for instance, the United States had to ensure that the “homosexual menace”³ did not infiltrate its borders from without. Domestically and internationally, therefore, the United States sought to curtail the influence of the two alleged primary threats to its hegemony: Communism and homosexuality. Canada, holistically dependent on the United States for its foreign-gathering intelligence, obliged its southern neighbours and enacted public policies targeting queer communities.⁴ Whereas the United States created formal bodies such as the “Miscellaneous M Unit”⁵ to investigate homosexuals in government, Canada, through its Royal Mountain Canadian Police (RCMP), created an “A-3”⁶ unit tasked with the same goal. Moreover, where the Miscellaneous M Unit investigated alleged homosexuals with polygraph exams and personal interviews, Canada, again through its RCMP, conducted oppressive tests on those listed as potential homosexuals through what became known as the “Fruit Machine.”⁷ Why did

¹ Naoko Shibusawa, “The Lavender Scare and Empire: Rethinking Cold War Antigay Politics: The Lavender Scare and Empire,” *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 4 (2012): 727.

² Shibusawa, “The Lavender Scare and Empire,” 752.

³ Will Hansen, “The Cold War and the Homophile, 1953-1963,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 38, no. 1 (2019): 88.

⁴ David K. Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” in *Global Homophobia: States, Movements, and the Politics of Oppression*, eds. Meredith L. Weiss and Michael J. Bosia (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 67.

⁵ Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 60.

⁶ Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 68.

⁷ Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 69.

a “Lavender Scare”⁸ emerge in parallel with a “Red Scare”⁹ in the United States? What were its effects on Canada? Were Canadian actions “more zealous,”¹⁰ as David K. Johnson argued, relative to its American counterparts? As evidenced through a revisit of secondary literature on the Lavender Scare and a brief exploration of the *Globe and Mail* and *Vancouver Sun’s* archives, I will argue that, once a conscious decision was made to replicate the sexual regulatory policies of the United States, Canada actively repressed those who fit outside the propagated image of heteronormativity.¹¹

Joseph McCarthy, John Peurifoy, and the “Lavender Scare”

Shortly after Wisconsin’s Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy stated that the State Department was a haven for Communists in 1950, Deputy Undersecretary of State John Peurifoy claimed that 91 homosexuals had infiltrated the department.¹² As evidenced by Naoko Shibusawa and David K. Johnson, the second admission garnered more attention from the American population.¹³ A brief analysis of Cold War political ideology is required to understand the shock and horror felt following Peurifoy’s revelation. In the immediate post-war period, the image of the heterosexual nuclear family was propagated to Americans as representative of their ideals. Thus, to fall outside of the top-down socially-constructed idea of sexuality was also to risk, in the eyes of the dogmatic propagandist, exposure to ideals that threatened American hegemony and stability. And following Alfred Kinsey’s studies, conducted in 1948 and 1953, indicating that homosexuality was more prevalent than initially expected in the United States, there existed a palpable fear that gender, sexuality, and perhaps most damning to American ideals, *masculinity*, were in a state of crisis.¹⁴ There was no room for same-sex intimacies in the

⁸ Amanda Littauer, “Sexual Minorities at the Apex of Heteronormativity (1940s-1965),” in *The Routledge History of Queer America*, ed. Don Romesburg (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2018), 70.

⁹ Littauer, “Sexual Minorities at the Apex of Heteronormativity (1940s-1965),” 70.

¹⁰ Littauer, “Sexual Minorities at the Apex of Heteronormativity (1940s-1965),” 69.

¹¹ This argument, championed by Canadian sociologist Gary Kinsman, will be revisited with a focus on how media representation and Canada’s security apparatus worked harmoniously in the regulation of sexuality after McCarthy and Peurifoy’s revelations in 1950. For more, see Gary Kinsman, “The Canadian Cold War on Queers: Sexual Regulation and Resistance,” in *Queerly Canadian: An Introductory Reader in Sexuality Studies*, eds. Maureen Fitzgerald and Scott Rayter (Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2012,) 68.

¹² Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 57.

¹³ As noted by Johnson, three-quarters of McCarthy’s mail expressed “shocked indignation at the evidence of sex depravity.” For more, see David K. Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 57.

¹⁴ Will Hansen, “The Cold War and the Homophile, 1953-1963,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 38, no. 1 (2019): 87. According to Hansen, Kinsey “... shattered the view that homosexuals were a minority aberration” Likewise, Elizabeth Clement and Reans Velocci, referencing the works of Kevin Murphy and Gail Bedermon, argued that the challenged posed by marginalized communities to infiltrate the hegemonic ideology caused white men to define manhood. Thus, masculinity was in a constant state of crisis. For more, see Elizabeth Clement and Beans Velocci, “Modern Sexuality in Modern Times (1880s-1930s),” in *The Routledge History of Queer America*, ed. Don Romesburg (New York: Routledge Press, 2018), 58.

rigid, heavily regulated ideology of the Cold War period. Gary Kinsman posited that the conflict between the two global superpowers was not exclusively an imperialist war, but a domestic one.¹⁵ The United States and Canada methodically “othered” (my quotations) those within their borders deemed ideologically incongruent with Western sexual norms. Sexuality was heavily policed and regulated by the hegemonic order; to oppose Western heteronormativity was to oppose bourgeois values — thus aligning oneself with Soviet-style Communism. This narrative conveniently ignored the fact that homosexuality had been outlawed in Tsarist Russia as it had been in Joseph Stalin’s U.S.S.R. and Mao Zedong’s China.¹⁶ This belief was nonetheless employed by the likes of Rosie Goldschmidt Waldeck and D. Milton Ladd and accepted as fact by the State Department, themselves in need of a *raison d’être* for the witch hunt against homosexuals.¹⁷ Likewise, oppressive measures enacted against queer individuals were politically popular. As seen in the Hoey Committee report, combatting homosexuality in the government was a bipartisan effort.¹⁸ North Carolina’s Democratic Senator Clyde Hoey chaired a committee charged with exposing homosexuals in the government.¹⁹ Though Hoey’s Committee — much like those before and after — could find no concrete evidence linking homosexuality with Communism, the *possibility* that the two were interlinked was seen as factual by Congress.²⁰ The United States next exported its Lavender Scare to Canada.²¹

The Canadian Lavender Scare Not as an Aberration, but a Culmination

¹⁵ Gary Kinsman argued that the Cold War’s fight for heterosexual hegemony has significant implications for our contemporary world; the legacy of the Lavender Scare is still felt through Canadian institutions and the society at large. For more, see Gary Kinsman, “The Canadian Cold War on Queers: Sexual Regulation and Resistance,” 68.

¹⁶ Shibusawa, “The Lavender Scare and Empire: Rethinking Cold War Antigay Politics: The Lavender Scare and Empire,” 724-725. Craig M. Loftin estimated that nearly “... 1,000 people were persecuted each year for homosexuality from the 1930s through the 1950s in the Soviet Union ...” and that “... Stalin’s anti-homosexuality policies proliferated throughout most of the communist Second World.” Thus, on both ends of the Cold War, to reject heteronormativity was to invite State-sanctioned repression. For more, see Craig M. Loftin, “Imagining a Gay World: The American Homophile Movement in Global Perspective,” in *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2012,) 81.

¹⁷ “Reds Probe Private Lives For Blackmail (Page 26 of 68),” *The Vancouver Sun*, Dec 15, 1950.

<https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/december-15-1950-page-26-68/docview/2240335710/se-2?accountid=35875>; Rosie Goldschmidt Waldeck, comparing Communists and homosexuals, wrote that “... members of one conspiracy are prone to join another conspiracy.” The State Department used Goldschmidt’s argument to justify actions taken against homosexuals in government positions. For more, see Naoko Shibusawa, “The Lavender Scare and Empire: Rethinking Cold War Antigay Politics: The Lavender Scare and Empire,” 732.

¹⁸ Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 59.

¹⁹ Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 59.

²⁰ Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 59.

²¹ David K. Johnson and Craig M. Loftin argued that the Lavender Scare, originating in the U.S., was exported to its Western allies — especially Canada. For more, see Johnson, “America’s Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare,” 55.

Daniel J. Robinson and David Kimmel note that, unlike the United States, Canada's security apparatus was a "closed-door affair without review provisions."²² Thus, unlike its geopolitical partner south of the border, there was no room for public appeals for employees purportedly suspected of behaviour undesirable to the Canadian government. Bureaucrats defended their despotic power, perhaps paradoxically, using liberal language. Looking out for their 'best interests', the RCMP vetted undesirables from prominent positions, but did so sans the humiliation of public condemnation.²³ However, this "liberal" landscape led to a series of illiberal purges — conducted free from public view, allegedly for their own safety — where civil servants were "most likely unaware that security reasons," an umbrella term that removed undesirables at the government's discretion, "were to blame for a firing, transfer, or demotion."²⁴ The Canadian RCMP had begun conducting these types of security checks in the 1940s.²⁵ Thus, when homosexuality came to be categorized as a security risk following McCarthy and Peurifoy's revelations in 1950, a precedent had already been set to deal with political undesirables. The powers that be simply absorbed homosexuals into the ever-widening umbrella term of "subversives."²⁶ Hollywood depictions in the post-war era also acted to reinforce the narrative of the homosexual as a dangerous or mentally disturbed individual.²⁷ RCMP constables attempted to align themselves with the Hollywood depiction of the virtuous public official.²⁸ It is not far-fetched to claim that characterizations of queer individuals also shaped the RCMP's perceptions and led to further stigmatization.

Canada worked swiftly to propagate homophobic sentiments in the press, amend laws, and devise new, overtly repressive technological innovations to remove suspected subversives from governmental positions. On the one hand, amendments to the Immigration Act in 1950 that barred homosexuals from entering Canada — which came two days after the State Department's warning that Communists and homosexuals infiltrated American governmental positions — would likely have never surfaced without influence outside its borders.²⁹ However, the ardour displayed by the Canadian government in openly repressing queer communities indicated that

²² Daniel J. Robinson and David Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (1994): 323.

²³ Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 324.

²⁴ Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 324.

²⁵ Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 326.

²⁶ Johnson, "America's Cold War Empire: Exporting the Lavender Scare," 62.

²⁷ Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin argued that post-war Hollywood allowed for more queer representation in film; however, queer characters were near-exclusively depicted in negative lights — as deviants, pedophiles, or sexual predators. They were antagonistic and the film's main character usually had to overcome them. For more, see Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin, *Queer Images: A History of Gay and Lesbian Film in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Pub, 2006,) 85.

²⁸ Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 324.

²⁹ Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 328.

such sentiments were not an abrupt or sudden imposition, but had existed for generations.³⁰ In essence, heteronormative and, thus, anti-homosexual Cold War political ideology found a welcoming home in Canada.

The Globe and Mail, the Vancouver Sun, and the “Civilization” Narrative

During the 1950s, the *Vancouver Sun* prided itself on coverage devoted to tolerance and freedom of thought.³¹ It was self-described as progressive and inclusive. In a March 29, 1950, editorial published by the *Sun*, Robert C. Ruark belied such sentiments through a homophobic polemic.³² Deploying dominant homophobic tropes, Ruark concluded that the Canadian government did not “need them (homosexuals) in positions of heavy trust.”³³ Those who assumed government positions were to maintain the Canadian vision of a good society. These public officials were to reject moral and sexual degradation as the last bastion of Western civilization.³⁴ In 1960, the *Sun* featured the work of Dr. Walter C. Alvarez, who conducted case studies connecting childhood upbringing with adult homosexuality: “practically all the persons had psychotic, alcoholic, or odd relatives.”³⁵ Of course, there was no context or additional analyses of how Dr. Alvarez came to these conclusions — generalizations and assumptions were disguised as empirical evidence, implicating homosexuals as mentally unstable and thus capable of crimes. Dr. Alvarez was one of many licensed professionals who attempted to define homosexuality using psychoanalysis teeming with subjectivity and, frankly, poor scientific methods. Ezra Hurlburt Stafford, published in the *Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery* in the late nineteenth century, theorized

³⁰ In 1868, the *Criminal Code* stated that that same-sex relations were acts of “... ‘gross indecency,’ and a conviction could — and frequently enough did — result in severe jail time and even flogging.” Thus, entering its post-Confederation period after 1867, Canada’s position vis-a-vis sexuality was homogeneous and oppressive. These attitudes carried over into the twentieth century and peaked during the Cold War. For more, see John Belshaw, Tracy Penny Light, and Thompson Rivers University, “12.7: Queer and Other Histories,” In *Canadian History: Post-Confederation*, 2nd ed. (Victoria, B.C: BCcampus, BC Open Textbook Project, 2020,) 1019.

<https://opentextbc.ca/postconfederation2e/chapter/12-7-hidden-histories/>.

³¹ Robert C. Ruark, “Abnormals Menace U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Vancouver Sun* (1927-1959), Mar 29, 1950, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>. The *Sun*’s subheader included the following comment: “The *Vancouver Sun*, owned and operated by Vancouver people, is a newspaper devoted to progress and democracy, tolerance and freedom of thought.”

³² Ruark, “Abnormals Menace U.S. Foreign Policy.”

³³ Ruark, “Abnormals Menace U.S. Foreign Policy.”

³⁴ Ruark, “Abnormals Menace U.S. Foreign Policy.”

³⁵ Walter C. Alvarez, “Deviations Often Run in Family Tree,” *Vancouver Sun* (1959-1973), Jul 21, 1960, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>.

homosexuality as degenerative.³⁶ Calling on Stafford's concept of "degeneration theory,"³⁷ Canadian and American bureaucrats could argue that homosexuality was incongruent with broader notions of Western civilization and progress. Cameron Duder noted that lesbianism, for instance, was acceptable in the formative stages of childhood but became unacceptable as an individual matured into adulthood.³⁸ Herbert Thurston, a vocal advocate of the civilization narrative, voiced his concerns about embracing sexual diversity in *The Globe and Mail* in November 1963.³⁹ Thurston, an inspector of the metropolitan Toronto area's "morality squad," remarked that since "the public no longer discriminates against them, it's no wonder the perverts have come out in the open."⁴⁰ Through Thurston's anachronistic gaze, public discrimination acted to combat decadence and thus upheld the highly bureaucratized vision of civilization. Thurston advocated for the days of old, when, as *The Globe and Mail* reported in 1955, the Ontario Department of Education could immediately suspend a license solely based on allegations of homosexuality.⁴¹

The RCMP as the Vanguard of the Lavender Scare

At the forefront of Canada's domestic security apparatus was the RCMP, which, despite operating in an environment of growing tolerance, only concluded internal investigations of homosexuality in 1992.⁴² The RCMP alongside Robert Wake, a professor at Carleton University, represented the apex of sexual regulation in Canada. Wake had been given \$5000 by the Department of National Health and Welfare to study sexual deviation in the U.S. during the 1961-1962 academic year.⁴³ The culmination of Wake's research was the "Fruit Machine,"⁴⁴ a

³⁶ Steven Maynard, "On the Case of the Case: The Emergence of the Homosexual as a Case History in Early-Twentieth-Century Ontario," in *Queerly Canadian: An Introductory Reader in Sexuality Studies*, eds. Maureen Fitzgerald and Scott Rayter (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2012,) 158.

³⁷ Maynard, "On the Case of the Case: The Emergence of the Homosexual as a Case History in Early-Twentieth-Century Ontario," 158. In 1952, DSM I classified homosexuality within the sociopathic personality disturbance category. It remained a "sexual deviation" until 1974. Ed.

³⁸ Cameron Duder argued that "... homosexuals were stereotypically male, and they were adults." Revisiting archives of the *Sun* and *The Globe and Mail*, articles featuring reports or analyses of queer individuals or communities were dominantly written using he/him pronouns in the 50s and 60s. Moreover, analyses of the plight of BIPOC queer communities are absent from these publications. For more, see Cameron Duder, "Awfully Devoted Women: Lesbian Lives in Canada, 1900-1965," (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 112.

³⁹ Albert Warson, "Degenerates Parade, Inspector Says: Blames Lack of Public Disgust for Growth of Homosexuality," *The Globe and Mail* (1936-), Nov 14, 1963, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>.

⁴⁰ Albert Warson, "Degenerates Parade, Inspector Says: Blames Lack of Public Disgust for Growth of Homosexuality."

⁴¹ "Ponder how to Deal with Sex Deviates," *The Globe and Mail* (1936-), Dec 30, 1955, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>.

⁴² Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 333.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁴⁴ "RCMP Hoped 'Fruit Machine' would Identify Homosexuals," *The Globe and Mail* (1936-), Apr 24, 1992, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>.

technological innovation that recorded a subject's pupil size as images were shown. If the size of the subject's pupils enlarged at the sight of an erotic photograph, naturally, that evidenced their sexuality. Ironically, one of the reasons for shelving the Fruit Machine was the RCMP constables' fear that they might get ousted for possessing intimate same-sex desires.⁴⁵ However, the utterly obscure and wildly inaccurate methodologies employed by Wake and the Canadian bureaucratic institutions that supported the project lay at the forefront of its demise.⁴⁶

Queer Communities' Resistance to Heteronormativity

Though anti-homophobic sentiments pervaded the *Vancouver Sun* and *The Globe and Mail*, some articles challenged dogmatic notions of sexuality. "Letters to the Editors," a small section provided to anonymous writers giving commentary on the *Sun's* articles, could and did act as a mode of resistance. In response to Robert C. Ruark's polemic, an anonymous writer challenged the author's perception of the immoral wickedness of homosexuality: "When you do find the homosexual and know him, you will generally have to, grudgingly or not, concede that he, too, is a fellow human being."⁴⁷ Likewise, William Nichols, in a July 6, 1965 edition of the *Sun*, used psychoanalysis against its practitioners by stating that homosexuality "threatens an adjustment to life which is very important to us,"⁴⁸ thus explaining the fear and apprehension felt by Canadian consumers of media print to queer communities. Instead of advocating for assimilation or integration, as the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis had done,⁴⁹ Nichols argued that the hegemonic culture should restructure its thought — getting down to the root cause of its hostility — to be more inclusive and accepting of sexual diversity. On a broader scale, sexual liberation movements in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s enjoyed the ability to mass mobilize and enact concessions by the state.⁵⁰ In Canada, as Miriam Smith argued, queer individuals were granted certain agency and autonomy through Supreme Court decisions riding in their favour whenever the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was cited.⁵¹ However, legal concessions rarely equated to drastic changes in attitude; thus, many of the issues that plagued social movements of the era still loom large today.

⁴⁵ Gary Kinsman, "The Canadian Cold War on Queers: Sexual Regulation and Resistance," 72.

⁴⁶ Robinson and Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," 344.

⁴⁷ "Letters to the Editors: Sex Variants," *The Vancouver Sun (1927-1959)*, Apr 03, 1950, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>.

⁴⁸ William Nichols, "Homosexuality: Changing the Laws Could Raise Morality," *The Sun (1959-1973)*, Jul 06, 1965, <https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login>.

⁴⁹ Littauer, "Sexual Minorities at the Apex of Heteronormativity (1940s-1965)," 73.

⁵⁰ Smith, "Identity and Opportunity: The Lesbian and Gay Rights Movement," 128

⁵¹ Smith, "Identity and Opportunity: The Lesbian and Gay Rights Movement," 128.

D. Milton Ladd, assistant to the FBI director, in December of 1950, was covered by the *Sun* for his role in a Senate-investigating subcommittee tasked with infiltrating queer circles in the U.S. government.⁵² Ladd concluded that Soviet intelligence officers could use “unsavoury facts about U.S. officials’ private lives”⁵³ as leverage geopolitically. As the Western world condemned the Soviet experiment as inherently backward and despotic, so could, in the viewpoint of Western bureaucrats, the Soviets point to the U.S. as ethically and morally insolvent with unfettered individuality. If anything, this perspective had more to do with the American obsession with empire and decadence, than with a fear that the Soviets would utilize Western sexuality as leverage in global affairs. U.S. President Richard Nixon intimated to one of his aides in 1971, “You know what happened to the Greeks. Homosexuality destroyed them.”⁵⁴ And when the United States exported its Lavender Scare to its northern neighbours, the latter embraced the regulation and repression of those who did not meet the heteronormative standards of the era with zeal, as David K. Johnson argued. The Fruit Machine was not a reactionary response to appease the United States; instead, it was the by-product of homophobic sentiments that pervaded Canadian society for generations. Canadian psychiatric discourse, written media publications, and its major domestic security organ, the RCMP, all worked to actively suppress homosexuality by embracing heteronormativity as an active defence against decadence.

⁵² “Reds Probe Private Lives For Blackmail (Page 26 of 68),” *Vancouver Sun*

⁵³ “Reds Probe Private Lives For Blackmail (Page 26 of 68),” *Vancouver Sun*

⁵⁴ Shibusawa, “The Lavender Scare and Empire: Rethinking Cold War Antigay Politics: The Lavender Scare and Empire,” 752.

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LOOT and Intersectionality (Or, a Lack Thereof)

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 HIST 4499: Queer Histories of North America
 Dr Maddie Knickerbocker

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have witnessed waves of human rights activist movements, from the American Indian Movement to the Civil Rights Movement. In Canada, the Gay and Lesbian Rights Movement gained traction in the late 1970s and early 1980s, leading to the formation of lesbian feminist organizations and lesbian countercultures in Toronto. The Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT) was one of these organizations, operating from 1976 to 1980. *Rise Up, the Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, describes LOOT as a “cultural, social, and political hub of mostly white, young, middle-class women who identified as lesbians.”¹ The organization ran out of a home, at 342 Jarvis Street, in Toronto, and housed a newspaper publication, women’s band, coffeehouse, and a number of other businesses and cultural ventures.²

LOOT contributed to and fostered a specific lesbian feminist culture that included print, music, lifestyle, and general “out” culture, while also restricting membership by adhering to a standard of “correct” lesbian feminism that rejected transgender, disabled, and non-white lesbianism. Only four years after its inception, LOOT closed its doors, as its membership drastically declined, and the organization could no longer afford to rent 342 Jarvis Street. This essay will focus on analyzing a combination of newsletters published by LOOT, including *Lesbian Perspective* and *Lavender Sheets*, as well as LOOT’s appearance in *The Body Politic*. While LOOT created a positive atmosphere for lesbians in the Toronto area that encouraged freedom of expression for white, cis lesbians, its restrictions regarding non-white, disabled, and trans lesbian involvement is what ultimately led to its dissolution.

342 Jarvis Street was, from its inception, idealized as a lesbian haven, dedicated to creating a distinct lesbian community and culture in Toronto in the late ‘70s. In the larger context of the

¹ “Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT),” *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*. Accessed June 10, 2022. <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/activism/organizations/lesbian-organization-of-toronto-loot/>.

² “Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT),” *Rise Up!*

lesbian and gay rights movement, as well as the women's movement, lesbians had to fight for individuality. As Miriam Smith explains in "Identity and Opportunity: The Lesbian and Gay Rights Movement," "the autonomous lesbian movement focused on building social and political space to define the distinctive political interests of lesbians as separate from gay men or from straight women."³ LOOT formed as a result of this movement described by Smith, becoming a place for lesbians to find community and identity within the counterculture of the lesbian, gay, and women's rights movements of the late 1970s. Despite a desire for autonomy, the organization prided itself in supporting the wider women's movement as well. In an issue of *Lesbian Perspective*, LOOT recounts carrying "its banner in the [women's] march because [they] support rights for all women and because the march organizers were also supportive of rights for lesbians."⁴ The wording of this quote hints at what is to come, as there is the clear caveat that LOOT's support of the women's movement is because the women's movement supported the autonomous lesbian movement in return. These conditional partnerships are likely what led to their lack of enthusiastic membership, despite their attempts to foster a budding lesbian community in Toronto.

The organization, throughout the years, hosted a phonenumber, was a rehearsal space for lesbian bands, held dances, ran a bar and newsletter, and, among a number of other events, overall contributed to a vast lesbian-oriented culture in Toronto. In a copy of its newsletter, *Lesbian Perspective*, LOOT members wrote that they "created [their] own culture, a culture which gives [them] both strength and identity as lesbians."⁵ A sense of cultural pride is evident throughout their community initiatives, newsletters, and meetings. LOOT was, first and foremost, a place for Toronto lesbians to find a welcoming community. Not only did the events hosted by LOOT benefit lesbian culture, Becki Ross, in her article "The House That Jill Built: Lesbian Feminist Organizing in Toronto, 1976-1980" argues that "tremendous amounts of lesbian energy fueled much of what came to be understood as Toronto's alternative women's culture of the late 1970s."⁶ On the whole, LOOT appeared to be successful in its determination to build a lesbian haven at 342 Jarvis Street – yet, membership and attendance at these events and meetings dropped drastically throughout the years, ultimately leading to its disbanding in 1980.

³ Miriam Smith, "Identity and Opportunity: The Lesbian and Gay Rights Movement," in *Queerly Canadian: An Introductory Reader in Sexuality Studies*, edited by Scott Rayter and Maureen Fitzgerald (Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press Inc./Women's Press, 2012), 125.

⁴ "Letter to Ms. Valerie Dunn," *Lesbian Perspective. Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, August 1979. <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lesbian-perspective/lesbianperspective-august-1979/>

⁵ *Lesbian Perspective. Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, November 1979. <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lesbian-perspective/lesbianperspective-november-1979/>

⁶ Becki Ross, "The House That Jill Built: Lesbian Feminist Organizing in Toronto, 1976-1980," *Feminist Review* 35 (1990): 86. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1395402>.

The key reason for LOOT's failure to sustain membership was a lack of inclusivity or intersectionality within their politics; despite this, LOOT insisted they were a welcoming and inclusive organization. In an early publication of *Lesbian Perspective*, LOOT declared they "do not exclude anyone on the basis of her race, religion, politics, economic status, occupation, or degree of openness."⁷ Similar sentiments are expressed in an article titled "What LOOT Can Do For You!" as the author emphasizes that 342 Jarvis Street is "a place where lesbians from all ethnic, social, and economic backgrounds [can] congregate."⁸ Many of these claims of inclusivity fell flat, however, as evidenced by their ever dwindling membership. Despite this, LOOT took care to appear, at least on the outside, as a welcoming group, even to opinions that differed from theirs. In a LOOT sponsored *Lavender Sheets* publication in 1980, the editors give a prelude warning to an article titled "Slut Perspective," saying the "editorial staff takes great exception to the views expressed in this article, but decided to print it anyway. just to show how liberal [they] are."⁹ Published near the end of LOOT's lifespan, this comment may have been a last desperate attempt to prove that the organization was indeed inclusive and 'tolerant' of other peoples' opinions. The wording of this particular comment, however, is questionable, and it is easy to understand how non-conforming lesbians reading *Lavender Sheets* may not have been convinced of LOOT's liberalism. Despite adamant claims from LOOT that their organization was inclusive, lesbians who did not fit into the 'correct' standard of lesbian feminism, including disabled, non-white, and trans lesbians, were often shamed or turned away from the 'lesbian haven' at 342 Jarvis Street.

By analyzing the large expectations of what the lesbian paradise at 342 Jarvis Street could be, and how LOOT failed to live up to those expectations, it is easy to see why, where, and how LOOT's membership faltered. LOOT received a lot of contradictory reviews, as explained in an issue of *The Body Politic* detailing LOOT's lifespan – on one hand, some found LOOT to be too political and unfriendly, whereas others argued the organization was too social and criticized its apolitical views.¹⁰ The contradictory sentiments towards LOOT give hints as to which lesbians felt which ways about the organization. As described in the previous paragraphs, those who found LOOT to be too social and apolitical were white, middle-class, radical feminist lesbians, whereas marginalized lesbians found LOOT uninviting. Overall, the lesbian community had a lot of feelings, positive and negative, towards LOOT. For example, though

⁷ *Lesbian Perspective*. *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, July 1977.

<https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lesbian-perspective/lesbianperspective-july-1977-2/>

⁸ "What Loot Can Do for You!" *Lesbian Perspective*. *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, May 1979.

<https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lesbian-perspective/lesbianperspective-may-1979-2/>

⁹ "Editorial Note before Slut Perspective" *Lavender Sheets*. *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, Summerish 1980. <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lavender-sheets/lavendersheets-summer-1980/>

¹⁰ *The Body Politic*. *Canadian Museum for Human Rights*, October 1980, 1.

<https://archive.org/details/bodypolitic67toro/mode/2up?q=LOOT>

the LOOT-founded phoneline continued after LOOTs demise, “In September 1981, they changed their name to the Lesbian Phone Line because they felt they were carrying the burden of the hopes and expectations, the resentment and nostalgia still felt towards LOOT.”¹¹ Even the one lasting, beneficial impact LOOT had on Toronto lesbians was stripped of its association to the organization. This further proves that, while the organization claimed to be inclusive, with the best wishes of lesbians in mind, LOOTs lack of commitment to intersectionality and lasting change led to its downfall.

While the lesbian culture fostered by LOOT was rich and served the middle-class, white, feminist lesbians that frequented the organization, it was a culture that largely excluded non-conforming, disabled, non-white, and trans lesbians from participating. In an interview for *The Body Politic* with Bonnie Perry, a deaf lesbian and president of the York Rainbow Society for the Deaf, Perry was asked whether she had heard of LOOT before. Perry responded saying that “she means to, but is uncertain of her welcome, and shy.”¹² With LOOTs repetitive mission statements of inclusivity and welcoming, a comment such as this from a marginalized lesbian is confusing and can only indicate that LOOTs claim to intersectional lesbian feminism is weak. Even cisgendered, white, middle-class lesbians who simply did not ‘fit’ the narrative of what a lesbian should be, such as musician Heather Bishop, were restricted by LOOT. Bishop, in an interview for *The Body Politic*, explained that she had never been asked not to sing her “gay songs” at heterosexual-frequented venues.¹³ She also emphasized that “the only time anything like that happened is when [she] was asked not to play straight songs here (at LOOT), and that sort of bothered [her].”¹⁴ Bishop’s experience with LOOT is just one perspective, but the lack of membership and community activity proves that this kind of experience was common enough to discourage even white, middle-class lesbians from joining the organization, let alone disabled, non-white, or trans lesbians.

With LOOTs history of radical feminist lesbians, it is not surprising that the organization expressed anti-trans sentiments, as anything connected to men or the patriarchy (despite the fact that trans women are women too) was not welcomed by the cisgendered lesbians that ran LOOT. Trans exclusion is another lack of intersectionality to add to the long list generated by marginalized lesbians’ experiences of LOOT – as Ross explains in her article “How Lavender Jane Loved Women: Re-Figuring Identity-Based life/stylism in 1970s Lesbian Feminism,” “On

¹¹ *The Body Politic*. Canadian Museum for Human Rights, Jan/Feb 1982.

<https://archive.org/details/bodypolitic80toro/mode/2up?q=LOOT>

¹² *The Body Politic*. Canadian Museum for Human Rights, February 1980, 20.

<https://archive.org/details/bodypolitic60toro/page/20/mode/2up?q=LOOT>

¹³ *The Body Politic*. Canadian Museum for Human Rights, November 1978, 27.

<https://archive.org/details/bodypolitic48toro/page/26/mode/2up?q=LOOT>

¹⁴ *The Body Politic*. November 1978, 27.

occasion ... a lesbian transsexual” or other marginalized lesbians “passed through the LOOT centre and wider lesbian feminist circles, but almost never stayed.”¹⁵ Again, their swift departure from LOOT proves that the organizations desire to be welcoming were not enforced, and the politics of lesbian radical feminists were more important than inclusivity. In the *Lesbian Perspective* publication of October 1978, LOOT even raised the “transsexual issue” to their followers after a trans lesbian sought to participate in the organization.¹⁶ The overwhelming response to this was that “several LOOT members underscored the offensive, exaggerated femininity exhibited by these ‘masquerading men,’” despite this woman having already undergone gender affirming surgery and being described as “anatomically female.”¹⁷ This blatant exclusion of trans women is even further proof of the lack of intersectionality in LOOT, which ultimately led to a decline in membership. Transphobia was so potent in the culture of LOOT, however, that even non-trans lesbian icons, such as musician Patti Smith, were criticized by LOOT newsletter *Lavender Sheets* for being too masculine. In the summer 1980 issue, Patti’s “romantic lesbian persona in poetry and song” is described as “disturbingly male-identified at times.”¹⁸ Transphobic beliefs limited not only the membership of trans lesbians, they also limited the membership of masculine-leaning lesbians. Indeed, LOOT had a clear view of what they considered to be ‘correct’ lesbianism, and trans, non-white, and disabled lesbians did not find themselves welcome within the community.

Ultimately, even LOOT was forced to recognize its failures. In “An Open Letter to the Lesbian Community,” the editors write that, “[i]t has become obvious that LOOT is not meeting the needs of either the Lesbian community, or the wimmin who work on the house – the house is empty, the energy is low, and the whole place feels like it's dying.”¹⁹ For LOOT to have been successful, and meet the needs of the lesbian community, it would have needed to broaden its membership by focusing on intersectionality, rather than creating an environment that only met the needs of lesbians who ‘fit in’ to their standards of radical feminist lesbianism. In the end, “LOOT as an organization never succeeded in broadening its base of support beyond its white, middle-class, radical lesbian-feminist base,” which is why the organization lasted a mere four

¹⁵ Becki Ross, "How Lavender Jane Loved Women: Re-Figuring Identity-Based life/stylism in 1970s Lesbian Feminism," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30, no. 4 (1996): 110-128.
<https://ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/how-lavender-jane-loved-women-re-figuring/docview/203514229/se-2?accountid=35875>.

¹⁶ “Transsexual Issue,” *Lesbian Perspective. Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, October 1978.
<https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lesbian-perspective/lesbianperspective-oct-1978-2/>

¹⁷ Ross, "How Lavender Jane Loved Women."

¹⁸ “Sic Transit Gloria.” *Lavender Sheets. Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, Summerish 1980.
<https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/lavender-sheets/lavendersheets-summer-1980/>

¹⁹ Lesbian Organization of Toronto, “Open Letter to the Lesbian Community,” *Rise Up! A Digital Archive of Feminist Activism*, 1979.

years.²⁰ The organization's failure, and its recognition of its failure, was an important step in lesbian feminism and activism, however, as it served as a warning sign for future organizations – should their activism be intersectional and genuinely inclusive, they would be much more successful in both fostering community and ushering change.

LOOT was ultimately unsuccessful in building its 'lesbian haven' at 342 Jarvis Street, despite providing a budding community for white, cis, middle-class lesbians, as the organization did not prioritize intersectional lesbian feminism. By turning away trans lesbians and creating an environment that was not friendly to disabled, non-white, or non-conforming lesbians, LOOT drastically limited its member pool and left itself homeless, feeling a failure to the lesbian community. LOOT is proof of a larger problem in the 1970s and 1980s among activist groups and organizations simultaneously working towards benefiting minority groups, such as lesbians, while also denying non-white, disabled, and trans lesbians access to the same benefits. Every activist group throughout history has some connection to intersectionality, whether they are supportive of it or reject it, and how activist groups interact with intersectionality predicts their future success. As such, critiquing LOOT's efforts in creating a comfortable and encouraging space for lesbians in Toronto through the lens of intersectionality is an important step in understanding the evolution of lesbian feminism in Canada.

²⁰ Ross, "The House That Jill Built."

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Prisoner of War During World War I: Ernest Albert Underwood

Jessica McCauley – November 2022

HIST 3394: The Two World Wars

Kari North

When people think of both World Wars, they automatically think of combat, fighting, trenches, and battles which is all true, but there is also another part of war that is often overlooked: prisoner of war camps, commonly known as P.O.W. camps. “[P]risoners of war were entitled to the periodic exchange of correspondence through provisions made at the 1929 Geneva Convention” which enabled soldiers, through letters and postcards, to stay connected with family and friends while being detained in P.O.W. camps.¹

The World War II letter set I chose was that of Ernest Albert Underwood. Ernest (Ernie) was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1915, and he enlisted with his brother Leslie (Buster) in Victoria, British Columbia in 1939 with the 3rd LAA Battery, RCA;² subsequently, their younger brother Ghazi joined the war in 1943, at age eighteen.³ Unfortunately, there is only documentation of Ernie’s letters in the World War II Letters and Images collection. Both Ernest and Leslie arrived in England in 1941, on a date unspecified, and were part of the first Canadian crew to get recognition for shooting down a German bomber. Both brothers continued to serve together until the Dieppe Raid of August 1942, where Ernest was injured and became a prisoner of war; he remained a P.O.W. until the end of the war.⁴ Both Leslie and Ghazi continued to fight in the war, and surprisingly all three brothers survived and all returned safely back to Victoria, British Columbia, in 1945.⁵ This letter set demonstrates how the provisions of the Geneva Convention enabled the Canadian army to keep families informed on the status of their loved ones once

¹ Clare Makepeace, “Living Beyond the Barbed Wire: The Familial Ties of British Prisoners of War Held in Europe During the Second World War,” *Institute of Historical Research* 86, no. 231 (2013): 161, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.2012.00614.x>.

² LAA is light anti-aircraft and RCA was Royal Canadian Artillery. Ernest and his brother were responsible for shooting down enemy aircraft from the ground in the defence against aerial attacks with massive anti-aircraft guns. See information at “Antiaircraft Gun,” *Britannica*, last revised and updated by Amy Tikkanen, accessed October 25, 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/antiaircraft-gun>.

³ “Underwood Family,” Authority Record, District of Saanich, accessed October 26, 2022, <https://saanich.accesstomemory.org/underwood-family>.

⁴ Ernest Albert Underwood, *The Canadian Letter & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/collections/war/469/collection/20733>.

⁵ “Underwood Family,” Authority Record, District of Saanich.

they became prisoners of war, and enabled these prisoners of war to stay connected to family and friends through letters and postcards; however, these letters were limited to a specific amount and length, leaving what needed to be said short and to the point.

After Ernie went missing his parents were informed in a short but thoughtful letter from a Colonel in the Canadian army, Russel Kerr. Colonel Kerr quickly and respectfully informed Ernie's father in the first sentence of the letter that Ernie was missing. The letter went on further to talk about Ernie's good character and that there was still hope that he was a prisoner of war and not dead. Also, in an effort to further reassure Ernie's parents, Colonel Kerr throws in a small paragraph informing Ernie's parents that their other son Buster is doing well and is very well liked, and Buster is going "to miss Ernie so much, as they were always together."⁶ This correspondence with soldiers families shows that the Canadian Army did their best to keep families up to date with information about their relatives as best they could; furthermore, trying to keep a positive outlook about the fates of the soldiers to their loved ones. This letter also shows that the two eldest Underwood brothers were stationed together, thus keeping family ties even in combat.

The Geneva Convention stipulations pertaining to P.O.W.s allowed the Canadian Army to stay optimistic while waiting for the release of P.O.W.'s names. After it was found that Ernie became a prisoner of war, not only would his family have been notified as soon as possible, but he was allowed to send home correspondence in the form of letters and postcards. Knowing Ernie was alive must have been a huge relief to his whole family, especially his brother Buster, with whom Ernie was close.

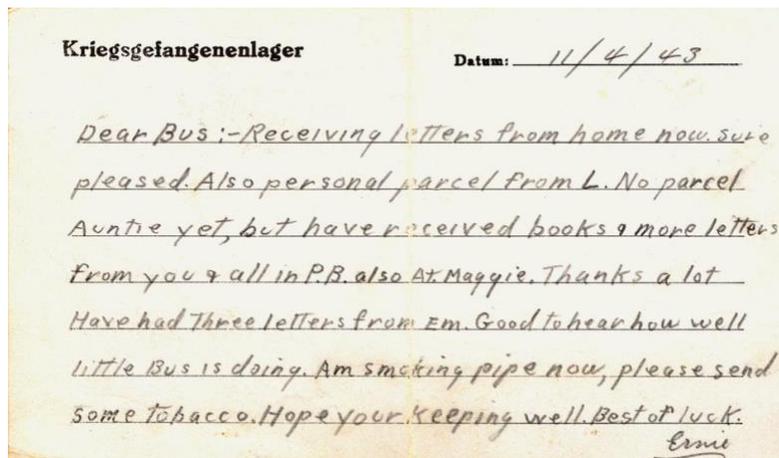
Being a prisoner of war made it difficult for soldiers to keep a line of communication open with family and friends because of the limited amount of correspondence allowed and the consistency of moving camps. Ernie's letters are primarily to his brother Buster, who is still fighting in the war, and Buster's wife Emily (Em), Ernie's sister-in-law. Although there is no documentation of Ernie's letters to his wife/fiancé Laurraine, Ernie made mention to Buster that he only gets to write letters once every other week, and he likes to keep those for Laurraine.⁷ Although postcards allowed for soldiers to stay connected to family and friends, postcards leave a very small space to write. There is a definite difference in how Ernie writes his few letters to

⁶ Ernest A. Underwood, "August 26th 1942," *The Canadian Letter & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-13417?position=1&list=f-5ihBubK55ZLnhiPOrRIDRolwDxehHuGkF1v-kHRdw>.

⁷ Ernest A. Underwood, "December 12th 1942," *The Canadian Letter & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-13418?position=2&list=gVLcMm-WovxY7NMUKyIgttMENsCrY5iETJNlpZH-5hY>.

how he writes his multiple postcards. In his letters he used full names, like Laurraine, but in his postcards he refers to her as L, and the majority of Ernie's correspondence is in postcard form. You can see in Ernie's postcards that he is very specific about what he talks about and uses abbreviations and acronyms because he needs to utilize the little space with as much information as he can fit. Ernie uses multiple acronyms and abbreviations because he knows his brother is going to understand them, showing the closeness in their brotherly bond.

Although the Geneva Convention stipulated that prisoners of war were allowed to write and receive correspondence, it did not mean that correspondence was always easily attained. Moving P.O.W.s to different camps made it increasingly difficult to receive letters. In Ernie's fifteen correspondences, he comments that he has moved camps five different times. Ernie moved camps four times between December 1942 and February 1943, and he was settled for two months before his letters started reaching him consistently. This lack of letters due to moving made it hard for prisoners to keep that connection to home. When Ernie's letters finally start arriving, he states how pleased he was, and in his excitement he continues to tell his brother Buster how many letters he has received.⁸



This postcard, from Ernie to 'Bus' is dated April 11, 1943, and notes the arrival of a parcel, books, and letters. At this point Ernie was detained at Stalag Luft III 100 miles outside of Berlin. Ed. <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-13416?position=9&list=gVLcMm-WovxY7NMUKyIgttMENsCrY5iETJNlpZH-5hY>. Accessed June 24, 2023.

⁸ Ernest A. Underwood, "April 11th 1943," *The Canadian Letter & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-13416?position=9&list=gVLcMm-WovxY7NMUKyIgttMENsCrY5iETJNlpZH-5hY>.

Receiving letters was extremely important to Ernie, and this is obvious because he mentions letters that he has, or has not, received in every correspondence that he sends to Buster; furthermore, he always double checks that Buster has the new and correct mailing address and to make sure others are using the correct address. Letters in a P.O.W. camp can be of the utmost importance to a prisoner's sanity and connectedness to home. Although Ernie always has limited space in his postcards, he always has space to give well wishes at the end of every correspondence, showing his appreciation for that connection to home.

Being a prisoner of war comes with a different set of stressors, camp relocation, wondering what is going on in the war, whether the war will ever end, what will happen to prisoners of war, and the idleness and guilt of sitting in a P.O.W. camp while others are still fighting. Being able to write and receive letters and postcards, even though limited and short, allows prisoners of war to stay connected to family, and this connection goes a long way in keeping soldiers sane. The Germans, although guilty of genocide and other atrocities, stayed true to the stipulations of the Geneva Convention allowing prisoners of war to keep a connection to home, possibly the only thing that kept them going in the hopes of one day being liberated.

Norwegian Neutrality in the Second World War through the Lens of *The King's Choice*

Eric Monato – December 2022
HIST 3394: The Two World Wars
Kari North

Film Review

*The King's Choice*¹ is a 2016 Norwegian biographical war film depicting the events of the German invasion of neutral Norway in 1940. The film is mainly composed in Norwegian, with minor parts of German and English, but is fully subtitled in English. It primarily focuses on the early stages of the German invasion, beginning from the opening conflict on the 9th of April to bombing of Elverum on the 11th of April. It follows an hour-by-hour depiction of the events unfolding at places such as Oslo, Hamar, or Elverum. Most of the film's perspective is seen through the main character, King Haakon VII of Norway, often alongside his son Crown Prince Olaf, or the Norwegian government. As leader of the Norwegian constitutional monarchy, he must abide by democratic forces while also using his influence and authority to protect his people. However, the story also follows supporting characters such as German Diplomat Curt Brauler, Colonel Birger Eriksen, and Guardsman Fredrik Seeberg, all of whom have their own subplots revolving around the king's plot, and are actual historical people present during the event. *The King's Choice* (2016) demonstrates how the policy of neutrality during the Second World War is a complex issue the success of which is dependent on multiple variables.

The first example comes from German ambassador Curt Brauler. Throughout the film, he attempted to broker a ceasefire and peace between the two countries as he held loyalties to both. From opposing German actions to establishing mutual contact, it not only showed that not all Germans agreed with the invasion, but also agreement to a meeting of negotiations is as difficult as the negotiations themselves. The second example comes from a national radio speech by Vidkun Quisling, the leader of a Norwegian fascist party. In his address, as he installs himself as the new government, he mentioned that German intervention was necessary because of British action infringing on Norwegian neutrality. What this revealed was that it was not just Germany, but Britain and France who also disregarded Norwegian neutrality, making the

¹ *The King's Choice*, directed by Erik Poppe (Oslo, 2016), film.

whole idea of the invasion more complex. The third and last example comes from differences and interactions between the pro-peace and pro-war factions. While the Norwegian Prime Minister and the majority of parliament were pro-peace and willing to submit to German demands, Crown Prince Olaf, and to a lesser degree King Haakon, were determined to maintain absolute sovereignty and were willing to fight against the Germans. The film thus exhibited the internal politics among the different parts of Norwegian society that were willing to maintain their neutrality up to varying costs.

Overall, I argue that the film did a decent job portraying its message because it places a heavier emphasis on psychological interactions between the characters and their situation, rather than through grand battles. It showed what was at stake for everyone and their motives for advocating their choice of action. Furthermore, the added perspective of young civilian turned guardsman Fredrik Seeberg and German diplomat Carl Brauler introduced both common person's and pro-peace perspectives, not solely making the film about the monarchy, but the Norwegian society as a whole. Although the plot is tied to a real historical event, it is not difficult to take the theme of the story out of a wartime context. For example, the film could have taken place during a natural or extraordinary disaster, such as a hurricane or pandemic, and showcase the leader being influenced by various people such as spouses, children, or factions. In conclusion, I would recommend this film to others because it sticks close to historical accuracy, it balances the many different perspectives shown, and was well made and directed.

Research Paper

The policy of neutrality is a complex and difficult idea that is continuously changing. This was especially the case in the Second World War. The Norwegian film *The King's Choice* (2016) portrays the German invasion of neutral Norway during the ongoing Second World War.² While the policy of neutrality was not the centre of the film, the whole basis of the film lies in the failure of Norway's neutrality policy. But not all neutral countries during this period succumbed to Norway's fate. In M. Gunnar Hagglof's work *A Test of Neutrality*, he states that "in September 1939 twenty European States declared their neutrality. When the war came to an end in 1945, only five European neutrals remain."³ While neutral countries such as Ireland and Sweden were able to maintain a policy of neutrality, Norway could not, mainly because of the flexibility of its neutrality policy due to various other factors such as geography or strategic value.

Neutrality is not a single defined thing, as neutrality can come in many different forms. For example, Finland had a more flexible policy of neutrality as its leaders supported a mutual

² *The King's Choice*, directed by Erik Poppe (Oslo, 2016), film.

³ M. Gunnar Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality: Sweden in the Second World War," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 36, no. 2 (1960): 153, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2612040>.

defensive pact among the other Scandinavian States, while Denmark and Norway were against such a pact based on strict neutrality.⁴ This demonstrated that not all neutral countries were in agreement on what actions were viable to maintain their neutral stance, and countries like Finland were willing to consider neutral alignments. So, in the case of Norway, its leaders primarily chose to follow strict neutrality. On the outbreak of the Second World War, Norway made great efforts to establish trade agreements with both the British and the Germans, ensuring equality between the two so as not to seemingly favour one over the other.⁵ This action is similar to the Irish Free State, which continuously maintained its statement of neutrality to both British and German diplomats before the war.⁶ The film portrayed the Norwegian government and diplomats as strict and adamant about their neutrality and in maintaining their sovereignty in the negotiations during the German invasion.⁷ But in the end, while Ireland was never invaded by either side, Norway was.

The neutral countries that were more flexible in their neutrality policy most often had to make concessions to either one or both sides. For example, the Republic of Ireland had made concessions to the British, allowing British naval ships to patrol in Irish coastal waters which favoured Britain's navy in the Battle of the Atlantic.⁸ This was one of the many policies that the Irish did that aligned their policy to a 'pro-British neutrality'. As Aoife O'Donoghue mentions in *Neutrality and Multilateralism after the First World War*, "from the British perspective Ireland's geographical position meant that [...] control of Ireland's waters was important to their security."⁹ This displayed the urgency and the cost that Ireland was to Britain for Britain to have a significant motive to infringe on Irish neutrality. Meanwhile Germany, being geographically farther away, was not as much of an issue for Irish neutrality as Britain.¹⁰ Therefore, the Irish had more to gain and less to lose in their neutrality with secretly aligning themselves more with the British than the Germans. It would definitely explain why the Irish decision to black out Dublin was chosen as to assist in Britain by preventing German bombers pinpointing British cities.¹¹

For Sweden, its stance on neutrality would shift over time. In the beginning, Sweden attempted to maintain true neutrality, completing a trade agreement with both Britain and Germany in

⁴ Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality," 154.

⁵ Preeti Nilesh, "Norway and World War II: Invasion, Occupation, Liberation," *Indian History Congress* 73 (2012): 1117-1118, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44156312>.

⁶ Aoife O'Donoghue, "Neutrality and Multilateralism after the First World War," *Journal of Conflict & Security Law* 15, no. 1 (2010): 192, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26294684>.

⁷ *The King's Choice*, directed by Erik Poppe (Nordisk Film Distribusjon, 2016).

⁸ O'Donoghue, "Neutrality and Multilateralism," 197.

⁹ O'Donoghue, "Neutrality and Multilateralism," 180.

¹⁰ O'Donoghue, "Neutrality and Multilateralism," 198.

¹¹ O'Donoghue, "Neutrality and Multilateralism," 195.

limiting and securing the supply of iron ore respectively.¹² Then, after the German occupation of Denmark and Norway, Sweden would have to align its neutrality to a pro-German stance due to the geographical blockade by Germany. For example, a whole armed German division was able to travel through Swedish territory to Finland in 1941, an action which technically violated Swedish neutrality.¹³ But from 1942 to the end of the war, the Swedish government turned back to a pro-British neutrality, feeling confident enough with the ongoing events turning against Germany and the successful rearmament of Swedish defences to reverse pro-German policies from previous years.¹⁴ What this shift exhibits is that the Swedish government recognized the current situation and its geographical position to both sides, and adjusted its neutrality policy to the biggest threat to Sweden, changing course when the old threat was gone or a new threat had arisen.

For Germany, it made sense to maintain Sweden's neutrality because Sweden provided 50% of iron ore exports to Germany,¹⁵ only extracting concessions when it had the upper hand. Ireland, on the other hand, was geographically far from Germany, and was better for Ireland to remain neutral to limit Britain than to join and assist them. For Britain, it made sense to keep Ireland neutral as they gave many concessions to Britain, alongside the geographic distance of Ireland to Germany. Furthermore, Sweden's population was overly anti-fascist,¹⁶ and Sweden's geographic position after the fall of Denmark and Norway made Britain prefer Sweden to remain neutral. But even Norway made similar agreements that would technically breach their neutrality similar to Ireland or Sweden. For example, the Norwegian government favoured the British in terms of leniency towards neutrality infringements more than the Germans, something T. Kristiansen describes as "Realpolitik disguised as neutrality."¹⁷ In the film, however, there was no scene which illustrated the idea of Norwegian covertly aligning themselves with the Allies, mainly focusing on Norway being a truly neutral country.¹⁸ The main difference, however, between Ireland and Sweden versus Norway was that Norway's geographic and strategic importance was of equal value to both Britain and Germany. For Britain, controlling Norway would allow Britain to improve its Atlantic naval blockade against Germany.¹⁹ For Germany, the already limited Swedish iron ore exported through Narvik and

¹² Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality," 156.

¹³ Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality," 162.

¹⁴ Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality," 164-165.

¹⁵ Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality," 154.

¹⁶ Hagglof, "A Test of Neutrality," 162-163.

¹⁷ T. Kristiansen, "Neutrality Guard or Preparations for War? The Norwegian Armed Forces and the Coming of the Second World War," in *Small Powers in the Age of Total War, 1900-1940*, ed. Herman Amersfoort and Wim Klinkert (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 305, <https://search-ebsochost-com.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2443/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=368127&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

¹⁸ *The King's Choice*, directed by Erik Poppe (Oslo, 2016).

¹⁹ Kristiansen, "Neutrality Guard," 298.

the barrier between Britain and the Baltic required them to secure Norway.²⁰ In the end, the strategic position of Norway was one of the central factors tied to Norwegian flexible neutrality policy that forced both Britain and Germany to draw invasion plans for Norway,²¹ with Germany ultimately being the first to take the initiative and invade Norway. In the film, the perspective of German diplomat Curt Brauer revealed how determined Germany was to control Norway, with Brauer only able to accept Norway's submission through its terms of allowing German troops to occupy Norway.²²

In conclusion, the flexibility of a policy of neutrality coincided with other factors such as geography and strategic value. While much about the intricacies of neutrality was not shown in the film, the film was not really about neutrality, but the events that occurred after Norway's neutrality policy failed. The topic of neutrality is important even in the present day, as the world is seemingly getting closer to another global war. The war in Ukraine, for example, has drawn Sweden and Finland, two nominally neutral countries, to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Thus, the film focusing more on the political and diplomatic areas of international relations rather than iconic battlefields can make people better understand the complexities of modern societies.

²⁰ Niles, "Norway and World War II," 1119.

²¹ Niles, "Norway and World War II," 1118.

²² *The King's Choice*, directed by Erik Poppe (Nordisk Film Distribusjon, 2016), film.

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Lieutenant Edward Brock – Commander and Comrade

Nick Robinson – October 2022
 HIST 3394: The Two World Wars
 Kari North

This letter set is a collection of condolence letters sent to families of deceased soldiers, as well as a group of letters sent in reply to condolence letters from Lieutenant Edward Brock. By chance, I came upon Brock's condolence letter and all the heartfelt replies from family members. I began searching for similar condolence letters but had trouble finding any from officials like that of Brock and decided that the style of his letter would be my focus.

Lieutenant Edward Brock fought in Italy and Holland in the Second World War. He was the Platoon Commander [for the 48th Highlanders, ed.] and was responsible for writing letters to the families of those he lost.¹ This letter set demonstrates that, in writing to inform families of the death of their serving loved ones, Brock styled his letters more as a fellow soldier than a commanding officer, and that the families received great comfort from him doing so.

This collection of letters will show that condolence letters from those with higher standings in the military were brief, lacked detail, and displayed little sympathy. The letter directed to the family of Pilot Officer Francis Scandiffio, sent from Buckingham Palace, for example, was relatively short, containing only 64 words and no details of the death.² While the Royal family doubtlessly had plentiful letters to write and could not personalize them all, this does provide an example of a standard letter for families of fallen soldiers to receive, laying a base for what a notice of death letter commonly contains. Sergeant William Boon's family receives a similar letter as that from the royal family, but from the Chief of the Air Staff, expressing despair that "a promising career should thus be terminated".³ Letters from higher-ranking officials not on the ground have little to add to the family other than that their loved one has passed, and they consider it a loss to their military more than to a family. The officers on the ground with the

¹ Edward Brock, *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/collections/war/469/collection/20864>

² Marcelles, [re Pilot Officer Francis Michael Scandiffio, ed.] "May 25th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-8618?position=27&list=6tj7e37KItdqN66kVvtEm7Xye1wnbhSGE-j9ERU2V5w>.

³ Air Marshal L.S. Breadner, [re Sergeant William Daniel Boon, ed.] "March 1st 1943," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-62829?position=20&list=uXS0Xv0bpz6w8lHL8smPssVKe95LHwnmgMUr9okiPN4>.

men put more emotion into their letters. A platoon officer, writing to the father of Private John Bohan, one of his fallen men, included personal details such as a nickname, and a personal commendation of his character, while still keeping the letter short.⁴ The officers on the ground put more emotion into their letters, but still retained a similar style to those of higher-ranking officials. The style of the letters from higher-ranking officials set a precedent for the style of the official letters that soldiers' families receive upon their deaths.

Fellow soldiers who wrote to the families of their fallen comrades wrote long letters filled with detail and emotion, directly in contrast to those of the higher-ranking officers. W.W. Burnett writes a letter to the fiancée of a fallen comrade of his.⁵ Burnett's letter is quite long compared to those written by superiors, coming in at almost 1000 words.⁶ Much time was put into the letter, implying the importance of writing the fiancée of his fallen comrade to Burnett. Burnett's letter is very detailed with the means of Trooper Norvin Crawford's death.⁷ As noted by families who write back, they want to know how their loved one passed away.⁸ Burnett here is giving those details, much unlike the letters from higher-ups. Burnett speaks in his letter about his grief and despair around Crawford's death.⁹ This is a change from the superiors' drier writing styles. Burnett's emotion can compare with that of Crawford's fiancée, letting her know that her grief is not alone and that those around him mourned his death.

Brock's letter, while coming from a commanding officer, carries many traits similar to those from comrades and not superiors. Introducing himself to the mother of one of his fallen men, Brock mentions that he is his commanding officer, though he also says that he "lost a very good friend."¹⁰ He immediately sets a different tone than other commanding officers and higher-ups.

⁴ J.H.F. Mara, "September 22nd 1944," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-13923?position=1&list=DKi7sIHB1559dbgxGEjnFdziNFDCIeqw0NfZ3OjfDzY>.

⁵ WW Burnett, "January 28th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-18916>; Veterans Affairs Canada, "Norvin Smith Crawford," *Canadian Virtual War Memorial*, <https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/canadian-virtual-war-memorial/detail/2381475>.

⁶ WW Burnett, "January 28th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-18916>.

⁷ WW Burnett, "January 28th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-18916>.

⁸ Frances Willoughby, "February 17th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-20958?position=3&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

⁹ WW Burnett, "January 28th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-18916>.

¹⁰ Edward Brock, [re Lance Corporal David Lloyd Pulsifer, ed.] "December 28th 1944," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-19121?position=0&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

His letter is much longer than those of other commanders, coming in at over 500 words.¹¹ While still far from the length of Burnett's letter, the length shows that Brock cared enough to spend time on this letter instead of keeping it brief. Brock's letter also details the soldier's death.¹² These are very personal details, written only by comrades, yet Brock still makes an effort to include them. Despite being a higher-ranking officer, Brock's writing style much more matches a comrade's style than that of a commander. This shows that he had a strong comradely bond with his men.

The letters sent to Brock from family members in response to his condolence letters show that they receive comfort from the way he writes his letters. The letters written back to Brock, like that from one father, William Angove, are important because Brock provides a more tangible person with whom they can interact.¹³ Letters to the Royal Family, or Air Marshalls, would be much less likely to be read, let alone kept as these were. Angove writes back to Brock, thanking him for providing the particulars of his son's death and mentioning that the letter was very personal.¹⁴ A letter from the mother of Private Hugh Walker shows us that Brock's inclusion of the details matters to family members, making the letters more personal. Brock's letter helps build a level of trust with the mother, as she requests Brock's assistance in sending information about the son of a friend.¹⁵ Another letter mentions that upon the death of his brother, he feared that he might never hear any more about his brother.¹⁶ Brock's letters allowed families to have closure, knowing how and when their loved ones passed. This closure allowed them to grieve without despairing over unanswered questions. The letters written back to Brock praise the detail and care he includes, explicitly noting the elements of his letters that differentiate him

¹¹ Edward Brock, "December 28th 1944," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-19121?position=0&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

¹² Edward Brock, "December 28th 1944," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-19121?position=0&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

¹³ William Angove, "February 8th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-20961?position=2&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

¹⁴ Edith Walker, "February 19th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-20959?position=4&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

¹⁵ Edith Walker, "February 19th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-20959?position=4&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

¹⁶ Mildred Pulsifer, "February 6th 1945," *The Canadian Letters & Images Project*, WWII Collection, <https://www.canadianletters.ca/document-20962?position=1&list=XNjuid-I80y1g-G6bcjTktoKwKZBU2300PG6JCKIFFY>.

from a commanding officer, and represent him more like a comrade, which he certainly was to his men.

Lieutenant Brock's condolence letters to the families of his fallen men carry a tone very different from those from higher officials, styled more as if from a comrade. Families often desired letters from friends of their deceased loved ones, who would include more detail and emotion than official sources. This diminishes the impact that official condolence letters often have, as it would lead to families writing to enquire about more information. While writing as an official, Brock took the time and effort to write as a comrade, providing families with the details they desired without forcing them to reach out and enquire and await a response.

Anime in the Western World: Forget SpongeBob SquarePants, Let's Watch Pokémon

Gurjinder Sall – November 2022
HIST 4499: East Asian Pop Culture
Dr Jack P. Hayes

“Pikachu go inside the Poke ball, it’s the only way,”¹ screamed Ash Ketchum as he tried to protect Pikachu from an attack, and that was when I knew I was going to be hooked on the *Pokémon* series as the scene pulled on my emotional strings. I started to consume and purchase all kinds of *Pokémon* products as illustrated in Figure 1. As an avid fan of anime, I have been given the opportunity to discuss anime in the Western world. Growing up, my interest in anime had allowed me to explore Japanese culture, but it was difficult to do so as the availability of resources in North America were limited. Over the years, anime has become much more accessible and larger as fans have been able to connect all over the world. Thus, this essay will identify the scope of influence that anime has had on Western popular culture and discuss why it is significant. It will explore the origins of anime, Japan’s use of anime as a soft power tool, the similarities and differences between western cartoons and anime, the influence of anime on Western popular culture, and why it is significant.



Figure 1. Pokémon Products that I have purchased. (Photograph by Gurjinder Sall, Pokémon Products, November 15, 2022, Surrey BC.)

¹ Nintendo/Creatures Inc, “Season 1, Episode 1, I Choose You,” https://www.pokemon.com/us/pokemon-episodes/01_01-pokemon-i-choose-you/ [accessed October 15, 2022].

To understand the influence of anime in Western popular culture, it is important to define what anime is and how it is different from Western cartoons. This essay will use a broad definition of anime and will refer to it as “animation from Japan”² as Johnathan Clements notes in his introduction to anime. Anime can be traced back to between 1903 and 1915 in Japan and really accelerated in the postwar period (1950-1989) with lengthy animated films.³ Anime’s popularity first peaked in 1963 when Osamu Tezuka introduced *Astro Boy*, Japan’s first animated television series.⁴ Tezuka originally wrote *Astro Boy* as a Japanese manga series and had published it in a magazine for boys in 1953 to create alternate visions of atomic power for a younger generation.⁵ *Astro Boy* became the first Japanese television series to air in the United States and gained popularity throughout the Cold War period.⁶

Moreover, according to historian Tsugata Nobuyuki, anime expanded three different times in Japanese history: *Astro Boy* in 1963, *Space Cruiser Yamato* from 1974 to 1984, and *Neon Genesis Evangelion* and *Princess Mononoke* from 1995 and 1997.⁷ These three different time periods experienced anime on different levels. Nobuyuki defines the introduction of *Astro Boy* as period zero of anime which evolved into something much larger such as objects and processes such as foreign interest, transgression, visual cues, merchandising, and integration.⁸ This evolution had led to Japan in obtaining a new kind of superpower.⁹ As Fabienne Darling-Wolf notes in his journal article, Japan obtained a “Gross National Cool”,¹⁰ as Western children embraced anime as they found it to be foreign and intriguing.¹¹ The goal of Cool Japan was to promote Japan through cultural exports such as anime and manga.¹²

As mentioned, anime was introduced to America through *Astro Boy* as Osamu Tezuka traveled to New York City to meet with NBC to have *Astro Boy* broadcast in the United States.¹³ The producer of the English-language version of *Astro Boy*, made changes to the show to make it

² Jonathan Clements, *Anime: A History* (New York, 2017), 1; manga, in contrast, is usually defined as printed work in any form, ed.

³ Susan J. Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation* (New York, 2001), 17.

⁴ Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*, 17.

⁵ Alicia Gibson, “Atomic Pop! *Astro Boy*, The Dialectic of Enlightenment, and Machinic Modes of Being,” *Cultural Critique* 80 (2012): 183.

⁶ Gibson, “Atomic Pop! *Astro Boy*,” 183.

⁷ Clements, *Anime: A History*, 2.

⁸ Clements, *Anime: A History*, 1.

⁹ Fabienne Darling-Wolf, “What West Is It? Anime and Manga According to Candy and Goldorak,” In *Imagining the Global: Transnational Media and Popular Culture Beyond East and West*, 101.

¹⁰ Darling-Wolf, “What West Is It,” 101.

¹¹ Darling-Wolf, “What West Is It,” 103.

¹² Joshua Michael Draper, “The Cool Japan Project and the Globalization of Anime and Manga in the United States,” Bachelors Thesis, (Appalachian State University, 2015), 31.

¹³ Draper, “The Cool Japan Project,” 12.

appear less Japanese.¹⁴ For instance, names of characters were altered, violence was censored, and certain cultural features were erased.¹⁵ Eventually, due to globalization, all sorts of anime series appeared in the Western world that allowed people to connect. For instance, as science-fiction conventions or fan clubs aired these series, audiences were able to experience cultural exchanges with the creators of the shows and fans on the other side of the world.¹⁶ This added a new element that basic American television series or cartoons were not able to achieve which was cultural exchange and the linkage of fans all over the world.

It is important to note the similarities and differences between Western cartoons and anime as it helps understand why American audiences are enticed by anime. Anime has similarities to Western cartoons as it includes everything that Western audiences are accustomed to seeing such as romance, comedy, tragedy, and more.¹⁷ In comparison to cartoons, however, anime in Japan is considered a “mainstream pop cultural phenomenon.”¹⁸ Figure 2. illustrates the differences in artwork style between Western cartoons and anime. More importantly, cartoons were often considered only for young children, but anime audiences range from young children to college students or young adults, and sometimes it even crossed generational lines as they were increasingly embraced by grandparents as well.¹⁹ In comparison to cartoons in the Western world, anime offers insights to Japanese society as it showcases significant issues, dreams, and nightmares of society.²⁰ For instance, Miyazaki Hayao adapted his manga into a Japanese animation film in which he was able to showcase how animation was able to bring attention to real-world problems such as environmental degradation and the need to coexist with other cultures and species.²¹ Thus, anime had this enticing aspect that had drawn the Western world to engage in this cultural exchange with Japan.

¹⁴ Draper, “The Cool Japan Project,” 12.

¹⁵ Draper, “The Cool Japan Project,” 12.

¹⁶ Andrew C. McKeivitt, “You Are Not Alone!': Anime and the Globalizing of America,” *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 5 (2010): 894.

¹⁷ Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*, 7.

¹⁸ Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*, 7.

¹⁹ Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*, 7.

²⁰ Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*, 7.

²¹ Brian Ruh, “Transforming U.S. Anime in the 1980s: Localization and Longevity,” *Mechademia* 5 (2010): 32.

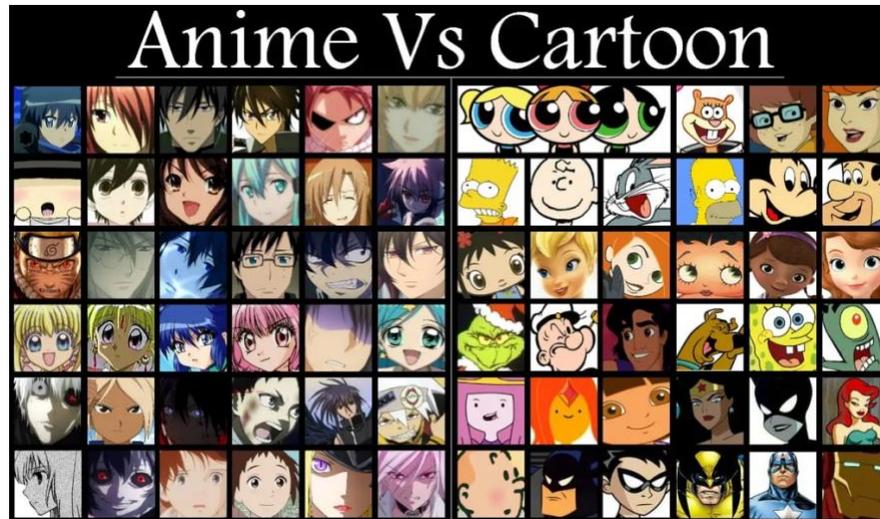


Figure 2. Comparison of Western Cartoons and Anime. (Image by Gustav Michalon, *Anime vs. Cartoon*, November 2020, *Toons Magazine*, https://www.toonsmag.com/mag_poll/anime-vs-cartoon/).

More importantly, anime has influenced Western popular culture in various ways. Anime has influenced the creation of popular films in the United States such as *The Lion King* and *The Matrix*. For instance, Osamu Tezuka created the show *Kimba, the White Lion*, and the American version of this show was *The Lion King*.²² There are similarities between the characters as both included a “baboon, the bird, the hyenas, and the evil lion.”²³ Some of these similarities are illustrated in Figure 3. Many of the American directors and producers had stated that they were not familiar with the Japanese television series and that *The Lion King* was an original.²⁴

Another Japanese work that heavily influenced the American film, *The Matrix*, was the 1995 film *Ghost in the Shell* by Mamoru Oshii.²⁵ Lana and Lilly Wachowski who created *The Matrix*, gave recognition to Oshii’s work and how it contributed to characters accessing the Matrix and the digital rain within the film.²⁶ Additionally, *Ghost in the Shell* also influenced other works such as *Cyberpunk 2077*, *Avatar*, and *Deus Ex*.²⁷ Another example includes how the director of *Toy Story* acknowledged how the anime director Miyazaki Hayao had been a large influence and inspiration in his work.²⁸ Thus, anime has influenced works in Disney and Hollywood which are two large forces in the Western world.

²² Draper, “The Cool Japan Project,” 27.

²³ Robert W. Welkos, “A ‘Kimba’ Surprise for Disney: Movies: ‘The Lion King’ is a Hit but Reported Similarities to the Japanese-created American Cartoon of the ‘60s are Raising Some Questions,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1994.

²⁴ Welkos, “A ‘Kimba’ Surprise for Disney,” *Los Angeles Times*.

²⁵ Draper, “The Cool Japan Project,” 28.

²⁶ Mitchell Lineham, “How Ghost in the Shell Influenced Popular Works,” *Funimation*, September 16, 2021.

²⁷ Lineham, “How Ghost in the Shell Influenced Popular Works,” *Funimation*.

²⁸ Napier, *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke*, 24.



Figure 3. Kimba, *The White Lion* VS. *The Lion King*. (Image by Bill Bradley, *Lion King Copied from A Japanese Cartoon*, January 27, 2015, HuffPost, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/lion-king-kimba_n_6272316).

Anime has also influenced how fans in the West interact with their favourite anime television series. For instance, anime fan clubs in the West have taken on another level of interactive exchanges between fans. Susan Napier discusses the Miyazaki Mailing List (MML), which is an international group of fans who are devoted to the work that Miyazaki Hayao has created.²⁹ She discusses this group as they are one of the oldest Internet anime fan groups online, created by Steven Feldman at Brown University in 1991.³⁰ Napier argues that anime has become pervasive in American culture as it has expanded anime fan clubs into diverse groups on a demographic and geographical level, thus MML has become a form of virtual community.³¹

Lawrence Eng acknowledged something similar as he examined how the anime fandom became a networked culture. For instance, he noted that children who grew up watching anime, were starting to attend college, thus, an explosion of anime fan clubs on college campuses appeared in the Western world.³² These college anime fan clubs allowed fans to share their resources as it was difficult or too expensive to obtain anime on their own.³³ Fan clubs caused change in many ways as it allowed fans to share information, become socially interactive by watching anime together, and gave fans an opportunity to make friends with other fans in person.³⁴ Fans contributed to these clubs by providing “artwork, news updates, gossip, reviews, and fan fiction.”³⁵ Thus, anime has influenced the way the that West had interacted with their favourite

²⁹ Susan Napier, “The World of Anime Fandom in America,” *Mechademia* 1 (2006): 48.

³⁰ Napier, “The World of Anime Fandom in America,” 48.

³¹ Napier, “The World of Anime Fandom in America,” 50.

³² Lawrence Eng, “Anime And Manga Fandom As Networked Culture” In *Fandom Unbound: Otaku Culture in a Connected World* edited by Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe and Izumi Tsuji (New Haven, 2012): 123.

³³ Eng, “Anime And Manga Fandom As Networked Culture,” 162.

³⁴ Eng, “Anime And Manga Fandom As Networked Culture,” 162.

³⁵ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 911.

anime series which included the creation clubs, sharing of anime knowledge, watching anime together, and a reason for fans to meet each other in person.

In addition to regular fans in the United States, there is an 'Otaku Generation'.³⁶ These fans are a devoted fanbase as they are obsessed with video games, anime, manga, and more.³⁷ Unfortunately, Otaku are perceived as social outcasts and have been given a negative image as it has become associated with Tsutomu Miyazaki, an otaku who kidnapped, sexually assaulted, and murdered girls.³⁸ Others associate the term in a positive light in the United States as it has become an example of how "soft power can greatly influence a group of people in a different country."³⁹ For instance, female otaku expanded in the United States as *Sailor Moon* became successful and anime distributors increased anime titles aimed at younger women.⁴⁰ Hence, the availability of female powered shows has resulted in anime becoming popular with young women and resulted in a rise of girls identifying themselves as otaku.⁴¹ Thus, anime has influenced a subculture of fans in the Western world.

Moreover, another influence of Anime in the West is streaming services. Anime was limited in availability in mainstream retail as it was still new to America, hence, fans pooled all their resources together.⁴² Websites were on the rise by the early 1990s and fans were creating websites to "cheaply publish persistent content online."⁴³ At this point it was still difficult to watch anime online but in recent years it has become popular and has transformed the availability of shows. For instance, Shannon Wells noted how Japanese anime has become a link for cultural exchange between Japan and America during COVID-19. Wells discussed how the movie "Demon Slayer? Kimetsu no Yaiba" was released in American cinemas on April 23, 2021 and the film made \$19.5 million while also becoming the most watched foreign-language movie in America of all time.⁴⁴ This film contributed to the popularity of anime in American News. Hence, there has been an increase of foreign films and TV shows in American streaming services.⁴⁵ For example, Netflix announced that anime views by subscribers have increased by 50% and that foreign films and television shows have become more accessible to American

³⁶ Lawrence Eng, "Strategies Of Engagement: Discovering, Defining, And Describing Otaku Culture In The United States" In *Fandom Unbound: Otaku Culture in a Connected World* edited by Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe and Izumi Tsuji (New Haven, 2012), 88.

³⁷ Draper, "The Cool Japan Project," 20.

³⁸ Draper, "The Cool Japan Project," 20.

³⁹ Draper, "The Cool Japan Project," 21.

⁴⁰ Draper, "The Cool Japan Project," 21.

⁴¹ Draper, "The Cool Japan Project," 22.

⁴² Eng, "Anime And Manga Fandom As Networked Culture," 162.

⁴³ Eng, "Anime And Manga Fandom As Networked Culture," 167.

⁴⁴ Shannon Wells, "Japanese Anime and Cultural Exchange During COVID-19," *East West Center*, October 4, 2021.

⁴⁵ Wells, "Japanese Anime and Cultural Exchange During COVID-19," *East West Center*.

audiences.⁴⁶ During the COVID-19 shutdowns, many viewers engaged in anime and resulted in Japan having the opportunity for cultural exchange.⁴⁷ Hence, Western streaming services adapted to this cultural exchange by adding more foreign shows and movies for American audiences.

Furthermore, anime conventions strongly influence anime in the Western world. Anime Expo is the largest annual gathering of anime fans in the United States; over 40,000 fans attend to share their love of anime.⁴⁸ Likewise on the East Coast, Otakon is the largest anime fandom gathering.⁴⁹ Otakon was founded in 1994 and it celebrates Asian popular culture ranging from anime to video games and fandoms.⁵⁰ These conventions have become a permanent part of American popular culture as over 200 fan gatherings revolving around anime take place in the United States each year.⁵¹ These gatherings are illustrated in Figure 4 as fans are dressed in cosplay at Anime Expo and Otakon. These organized events involve fans practicing cosplay which is dressing up as their favourite anime character.⁵² More importantly, anime conventions have provided fans the opportunity for fellowship and solidarity by offering a location for fans to interact outside of their regular lives.⁵³ Hence, anime conventions have become a large part of American popular culture due to anime influencing Western fans.



⁴⁶ Wells, "Japanese Anime and Cultural Exchange During COVID-19," *East West Center*.

⁴⁷ Wells, "Japanese Anime and Cultural Exchange During COVID-19," *East West Center*.

⁴⁸ Eng, "Strategies Of Engagement: Discovering, Defining," 93.

⁴⁹ Nissim Otmazgin, "Anime in the US: The Entrepreneurial Dimensions of Globalized Culture," *Pacific Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2014): 64.

⁵⁰ Otakorp, "Otakon Home Page," <https://www.otakon.com> [accessed November 14, 2022].

⁵¹ Otmazgin, "Anime in the US," 64.

⁵² Otmazgin, "Anime in the US," 54.

⁵³ Napier, "The World of Anime Fandom in America," 51.



Figure 4. Fans at Anime Expo and Otakon. (Photograph by Otakorp, Fans at Otakon, Walter E. Washington Convention Center, <https://galleries.otakon.com> & Photograph by AnimeExpo, Cosplayers at Anime Expo, Los Angeles Convention Center, <https://www.anime-expo.org/activity/gatherings/>).

Lastly, anime in Western popular culture is significant because it has become a fixture of life in the United States as anime became a vehicle of globalization. Accordingly, anime became a bridge between Japanese culture and the Western world. For instance, Andrew Mckevitt noted that fans have engaged in the process of globalization by consuming anime and creating new social communities that are inspired by anime.⁵⁴ He noted that U.S fandoms in the early stages were a form of intercultural relations whereby an element of the U.S-Japan relationship was mediated through the exchange and consumption of anime texts.⁵⁵ Additionally, he explained that anime was able to “cross borders without carrying a distinct national identity.”⁵⁶ As fans demanded more access, they relied on their own forms of activism such as fan clubs, conventions, and self-published literature on anime.⁵⁷ These forms of activism became fixtures in their daily lives as they continue to interact and share their love of anime.

Additionally, there was a cultural aspect that was shared between anime fans in the Western world as they struggled to understand the original Japanese versions of the tapes. For instance, fans took it upon themselves to learn the language to understand their favourite anime.⁵⁸ Club gatherings were the basis for “communal activities of watching, interpreting, and participating”⁵⁹ which contributed to a “social construction of a distinct community.”⁶⁰ Western anime fans even encouraged others to explore Japanese history and culture which illustrates globalization through anime. Thus, anime is significant in Western popular culture as it has

⁵⁴ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 896.

⁵⁵ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 897.

⁵⁶ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 900.

⁵⁷ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 905.

⁵⁸ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 910.

⁵⁹ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 910.

⁶⁰ McKevitt, “You Are Not Alone!” 910.

become a vehicle of globalization in which Western fans consumed anime, created their own communities, indulged in, and have sought to popularize Japanese culture.

In conclusion, the scope of influence that anime has on Western popular culture is large as anime has influenced the creation of popular films such as *The Matrix* and inspired films such as *Toy Story*, inspired fans to create fan clubs to share their experiences with anime, influenced a subculture of otaku who are obsessed with anime, changed how streaming services in the west have added more foreign films, thus, making it easier for Western audiences to access Japanese works, and has influenced anime conventions to be held annually as it allows fans to come together and interact with other fans in person. More importantly, anime is significant in Western popular culture because it has become a fixture in the lives of Westerners as they consume and produce anime and its products. Thus, anime has become a vehicle of globalization as it has allowed fans to experience Japanese culture through the consumption of anime and create their own communities to share their experiences with anime.

Finally, anime is significant to me because it allowed me to explore Japanese culture at a young age, influenced my artwork style, and helped me make friends as I was an anti-social child. Likewise, I was able to make friends all over the world by joining fan clubs online and sharing my anime interests with other fans. Thus, I was an example of how anime influenced the Western world as I consumed and even produced some of my own work, inspired by my favourite anime shows.

Annotated Bibliography

Clements, Jonathan. *Anime: A History*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.

Clements provides a background history on anime and explores the production and reception of anime internationally. This is important for my research paper because it provides the origins of anime, the definitions of anime, and how it impacted the rest of the world.

Darling-Wolf, Fabienne. "What West Is It? Anime and Manga According to Candy and Goldorak." In *Imagining the Global: Transnational Media and Popular Culture Beyond East and West*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2014.

Darling-Wolf discusses how Anime invaded the United States and allowed Japan to decentralize the role of the United States as the world's most significant global cultural producer. The article provides some details discussing the cultural significance of Japanese influence in the West. Thus, I use this article as evidence as to illustrate the ways in which anime has infiltrated the West and the implications of it. Additionally, it is helpful because it provides more background information about Anime.

Draper, Joshua Michael. "The Cool Japan Project and the Globalization of Anime and Manga in the United States." Bachelor's Thesis. Appalachian State University, 2015.

Draper examines what anime is, provides information on Osamu Tezuka, anime arriving to America, the trends in anime, otaku, and the influence of anime in American popular culture. This article is useful as it provides examples as to how American popular culture has been inspired by Japanese works and provides some insight to the Japan as a soft power as it promoted Japan through cultural exports such as anime and manga.

Eng, Lawrence. "Strategies Of Engagement: Discovering, Defining, And Describing Otaku Culture In The United States" In *Fandom Unbound: Otaku Culture in a Connected World*, edited by Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe, and Izumi Tsuji. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.

Eng's chapter on Otaku culture in the United States examines as to how it evolved from the 1990s to the present, discusses otaku subculture and its definition. This chapter provided insight to an Otaku Generation and how it was viewed with a positive and negative image. It was helpful as it provided background information on Otaku culture for my essay.

-----". "Anime And Manga Fandom As Networked Culture" In *Fandom Unbound: Otaku Culture in a Connected World*, edited by Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe, and Izumi Tsuji. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.

Eng's chapter discusses how anime and manga fandom in the United States originated and evolved from the 1960s to the present and focuses on social networks between fans. It also discusses the history of anime fandom in the U.S., and the different states of otaku networks. It is important to my research paper because it provided evidence as to how anime evolved within a generation of people and how fan clubs expanded with these people. It also helped with discussing how fans were interactive during their anime club meets.

Gibson, Alicia. "Atomic Pop! *Astro Boy*, The Dialectic of Enlightenment, and Machinic Modes of Being." *Cultural Critique* 80 (2012): 183–205.

Gibson argues as to how *Astro Boy* expresses the utopic desires and terrors and provides some background information on Osamu Tezuka. I was able to use this background information to help discuss the history of anime and *Astro Boy*.

Lineham, Mitchell. "How *Ghost in the Shell* Influenced Popular Works." *Funimation*, September 16, 2021.

Lineham's blog post discusses the success of *Ghost in the Shell*, how it had resonated with Western audiences, and how it influenced works such as *The Matrix*, *Cyberpunk 2077*, and *Avatar*. This post was helpful as it allowed me to use *Ghost in the Shell* as an example as to how Western films or shows were influenced by Japanese works.

McKevitt, Andrew C. "You Are Not Alone!': Anime and the Globalizing of America." *Diplomatic History* 34, no. 5 (2010): 893-921.

McKevitt discusses how Anime presented an opportunity for Americans to participate in a global community that had cultural differences. He also discusses the influence of Anime as it inspired fans to create fan clubs that illustrated a sense of cultural interconnectedness. This journal article is important to my paper because it illustrates how Anime was consumed in the United States and how it became a global cultural exchange between America and Japan.

Napier, Susan J. *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Napier's book provided insight to as to why American audiences gravitate towards anime. It discusses how anime provides similar genres to Western cartoons, how anime is viewed in Japan, and how anime appeals to all ages. It was helpful to my research as it provided evidence as to why American audiences appreciated anime as it discussed why all ages are attracted to anime and how anime provides insights to Japanese society as it showcases significant issues.

----- "The World of Anime Fandom in America." *Mechademia* 1 (2006): 47–63.

Napier examines the Miyazaki Mailing List, which is an international group of fans who adore the works of Miyazaki Hayao, an animator. She discusses this group in relation to anime fan cultural and Japanese soft power. This journal article is important to my paper because it provides evidence of dedicated fan bases in America and illustrates the power of Anime in America.

Nintendo/Creatures Inc. "Season 1, Episode 1, I Choose You." https://www.pokemon.com/us/pokemon-episodes/01_01-pokemon-i-choose-you/ [accessed October 15, 2022].

This is an episode from the anime, Pokémon, and it is the first episode that I watched as a child. It piqued my interest in anime. I used this episode as the opener to my essay to explain why I chose this subject for my research paper.

Otakorp. "Otakon Home Page." <https://www.otakon.com> [accessed November 14, 2022].

This website is the Otakon Home page which is the largest anime convention on the East Coast of America. I used this website to find information on when Otakon was founded and the events that occur at the convention.

Otmazgin, Nissim. "Anime in the US: The Entrepreneurial Dimensions of Globalized Culture." *Pacific Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2014): 53–69.

Otmazgin's article explores how entrepreneurship is a central feature in the process of transnational distribution, reproduction, and consumption of cultural commodities and genres. I was able to use the section in which he discusses how conventions have become a permanent part of American popular culture. This article provided evidence of how many fan gatherings happen annually and how fans interact at these organized events.

Ruh, Brian. "Transforming U.S. Anime in the 1980s: Localization and Longevity." *Mechademia* 5 (2010): 31–49.

Ruh explores the transformation of Anime in the United States in the 1980s and the adaptations of Japanese television shows. He explores how Americans altered media products from Japan to make it more acceptable to domestic audiences which resulted in more profits for local producers. This journal article is important because it analyzes how Japanese animation was imported and used in the United States. This will be good evidence to illustrate how the Anime influenced the United States and how the United States adapted Anime.

Welkos, Robert W. "A 'Kimba' Surprise for Disney: Movies: 'The Lion King' is a Hit but Reported Similarities to the Japanese-created American Cartoon of the '60s are Raising Some Questions." *Los Angeles Times*, July 13, 1994.

This newspaper article from 1994 explores how *The Lion King* is similar to Osamu Tezuka's *Kimba the White Lion* and compares the similarities and differences between the Japanese and American works. I was able to use this newspaper article as evidence as to how American works were inspired or were influenced by Japanese works.

Wells, Shannon. "Japanese Anime and Cultural Exchange During COVID-19." *East West Center*, October 4, 2021.

Well's news article explores how Western streaming services have expanded their foreign films/tv show collections and have made these shows more accessible to Western audiences. I was able to use this article as an example as to how Western streaming services such as Netflix have explored more works from Japan and have allowed the opportunity for cultural exchange to take place.

Digital Projects

Each of the projects included here includes a brief explanation of the assignment, in addition to a link to view a larger version.

Mothers of the Volk: Women's Roles during the Early National Socialist Era

Kiran Johal – March 2023

HIST 3331: Twentieth Century Germany

Dr Tracey J. Kinney

Rather than a research paper, students were assigned an audio PowerPoint presentation which, following feedback from the instructor, was to be resubmitted as a digital research poster. Students had the option – as Kiran has done here – to include the research bibliography as a separate document.

MOTHERS OF THE VOLK

Women's Roles during the Early National Socialist Era

INTRODUCTION

THESIS

The idealization of motherhood as a central pillar of Nazi ideology placed German women in a unique position of responsibility, as they were tasked with not only raising the next generation of Aryan children but also promoting Nazi values and reinforcing the social hierarchy of the Third Reich; their experiences shed light on the complex intersection of gender, nationalism, and totalitarianism in Nazi Germany.

Fig. 1. "Women! Millions of men without work, millions of children without a future, save the German family, Vote for Adolf Hitler!"

WHY VOTE FOR THE NAZIS?

- mostly women in the lower and lower-middle-class strata voted for the party.
- some had not felt emancipated by the rights constitutionally granted in the 1920s.
- felt burdened juggling work & home; often the sole support for their families with the onset of the Great Depression and unemployment.
- many were widowed or single, due to WWI, so some women were open to the idea of marriage and motherhood, promoted/financially supported by the Nazi government through tax deductions and marriage loans
- self-interest: belief that the party represented their idea of German society, similar to men.

Fig. 2. The percentage of men & women who voted for the NSDAP/Hitler between 1929 and 1932 is shown in the bar graph.

EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

- educational initiatives created to indoctrinate German females and prepare them for role as mother & wife.
- League of German Girls: girls taught about racial purity, health, and their duty to the Volk.
- NS-Frauenschaft: taught women about duties as wife and mother, and instructed on how to properly care for their home and family.

EMPLOYMENT

- viewed women's employment as one of the defects of capitalism, which placed monetary gain above unpaid work in the home.
- prohibited married couples from both working outside the home
- created marriage loans in 1934 to encourage women to abandon the workforce.
- believed some jobs were suitable for women: nurses, daycare providers, assembly line work.

CONCLUSION

German women in the Third Reich experienced significant discrimination due to the Nazi regime's emphasis on traditional gender roles and motherhood, including exclusion from the political and professional spheres, limited educational opportunities.

By: Kiran Johal
HIST 3331 SIO

Fig. 3. "Germany Grows through Strong Mothers and Healthy Children." Propaganda Poster.

IDEAL WOMAN

- Nazi propaganda/culture reinforced a narrow and restrictive vision of femininity.
- expected to be homemakers & to prioritize their roles as wives and mothers.
- hereditarily fit women expected to conceive & raise racially pure children.
- only permitted activities for women were *Kinder, Küche, & Kirche* (children, kitchen & church)
- mothers given some honourable standing and distinction as soldiers because, like a soldier, a mother gave her body and her life in service to the Fatherland.

This template has been created by [Slidesgo](#)

Click [here](#) to view a full-sized PDF of the poster

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Fig. 1. Süddeutsche Zeitung Photo. *Election Poster of the NSDAP, 1932*. 1932. Online Image. *SZ Photo*. Accessed March 19, 2023. <https://www.sz-photo.de/?60044309618120829140>.

Fig. 2. *Percentage of Women's and Men's Votes for Hitler/NSDAP*. n.d. *University of Oregon*. <https://pages.uoregon.edu/dluebke/NaziGermany443/410NSDAPMembers.html>.

Fig. 3. Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz. "Germany Grows through Strong Mothers and Healthy Children." n.d. Online Image. *German History in Documents and Images*. Accessed March 19, 2023. https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=2045.

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Gamifying History: “A Nisei’s Invocation”

Natasha McConnell

HIST 4405: Doing Digital History – Apps, Video Games, and the Future of the Past
Dr Kyle Jackson

The Project

For HIST 4405, Digital History, I was tasked with unearthing the narrative potential in the story of Tashme, a Second World War Japanese Internment camp located just north of Hope. The assignment involved a series of unique challenges. It involved hands-on research, unlike any I had attempted before. Not only did we conduct in-person research at the Nikkei Museum and archives, we visited the site of Tashme to develop a full understanding of the environment. The assignment further required a unique presentation of history using a platform that was entirely foreign to traditional history presentations. Making a video game using Bitsy was a new experience and required a great deal of imaginative work to integrate appropriate historical conventions like citations. Making the video game in a narratively satisfying way required a balance of accuracy and narrative convention. The question of the historian’s ethics was prominent, as the needs of the story would occasionally require changes in the exact details of the history, and vice versa. My project, where I decided to focus on the experience of teenagers at Tashme, was heavily shaped by each of these challenges. The research material from the Nikkei archives informed the nature of my project, the challenge of presenting citations in a video game led to the creation of my supporting document, and the question of narrative and accuracy was ever present as I completed my game. The end result, “A Nisei’s Invocation,” is an attempt to present the emotional turmoil felt by emerging young adults, faced with the dismissal and distrust of a nation they called home.

“A Nisei’s Invocation” can be accessed via the following link: <https://natasha-marie.itch.io/a-niseis-invocation> As with all 8-bit games, navigation uses the →← ↑↓ keys.

Acknowledgements and Bibliography

This game could not have been completed without the invaluable assistance of many individual and community partners, listed below in chronological order of when their contribution impacted the project.

Firstly, tremendous thanks to the Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre Archives for the use of documents related to adolescents who lived in Tashme, including letters and written pieces which have been reproduced in this game. Their invaluable work in preserving these documents, and their tireless work in ensuring ethical use of them in research cannot be understated.

Secondly, immense thanks to the Tashme Museum and Historical Project, the museum curator Ryan Ellan, and assistant curator Christine Tomlinson, for the depth of detail in their research, their dedication to raising awareness about Tashme, and their generously donated time in guiding a research tour around the museum.

Thirdly, incredible thanks to the HIST 4405 class of Fall 2022 for their peer-feedback on the early stages of this game. The guidance and suggestions they made for the game served to improve the finished product and were invaluable to the completion of this game.

Fourthly, the game “Greed and the Balance of Power” by Nigel Loepky, which served as inspiration for the colour changes in the final portion of the game. The credit for the idea of using darker and muddier colours to indicate negative emotions and situations lies solely with him.

Finally, thanks to Tristan McConnell for his role as an uninformed beta tester. With his help, the educational value of the game was more fully assessed, since he was not biased by prior knowledge to fill in gaps which may have impeded understanding.

The following citations are listed in chronological order as they appear in the Bitsy game “A Nisei’s Invocation.” Brief headings further clarify the location of the sources within the game.

Title and Introductory Sequence

Evenden, L.J., and Anderson, I.D. “The Presence of a Past Community: Tashme, British Columbia.” In *B.C. Geographical Series, Number 15*, edited by W.G. Hardwick (Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Research Limited, 1972), 41.

This source outlines how Japanese Canadians were relocated to internment camps, including Tashme, due to the Second World War. This important context is clearly written at the beginning of the game to ground players in the world.

McConnell, Andrew. Personal Communication, October 17, 2022.

The phrase “beyond Hope” originated as a joke, made in conversation about the field research trip to Tashme. The slightly macabre nature of the joke stuck with the developer and was included in the eventual game, though without the initial humour.

“Tashme Timeline of Events.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022.
<http://tashme.ca/overview/tashme-timeline-2/>.

Japanese Canadian families were first sent up to Tashme in early September 1942, and by the end of September 1942, all Japanese people, except those in medical care, were removed from the 100 mile protected area along the coast. The chosen arrival date of the game falls between these dates as a reasonable date for the player arrival.

Jackson, Kyle. Class Instruction, Personal Communication. October 15, 2022.

The Japanese Canadians were sent up to Hope via train, then up to Tashme via truck. Given the length of the trip, the player character comments upon the journey to illustrate the remoteness of, and difficulty of travel to, Tashme.

Adachi Ken. *The Enemy that Never Was* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991), 252.

The men who worked on the Hope-Princeton Highway project were initially separated from their families. This controversial government policy was rescinded in June 1942, allowing married men to reunite with their families in the internment camps.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

From late 1942 to early 1943, most of the internees at Tashme were mothers and children, and the elderly. Most of the men, including the married men with families, stayed up at the highway camps and only came back to visit their families during specific times.

“Tashme Timeline of Events.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022.
<http://tashme.ca/overview/tashme-timeline-2/>.

The first arrivals at Tashme were men who worked on the Hope-Princeton Highway project, arriving March 7, 1942. These men built the houses at Tashme during the spring and summer of 1942.

Based on the Adachi, Ellan, and “Tashme Timeline of Events” sources, the player character has not seen their father for several months by the start of the game. This fact is noted to indicate to the player that the player character has been in a strange situation for a great length of time by the start of the game.

“Buildings.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-description/buildings/>.

The houses for families were extremely small, encompassing approximately 350 square feet of space. The player character notes the size to indicate to the player that the size of the building is uncommon to the character, since the player has no frame of reference for building sizes within the game.

First Space: Bedroom, September 20, 1942

“Buildings.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-description/buildings/>.

Bunk beds were common in Tashme bedrooms. This design feature is visible in the visual design of the bedroom.

Findley, Kaitlin, Blomly, Nicholas, and the Landscapes of Injustice Research Collective. “(De)valuation: The State Mismanagement of Japanese Canadian Personal Property in the 1940s.” In *Landscapes of injustice: a new perspective on the internment and dispossession of Japanese Canadians*, edited by Jordan Stranger-Ross (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020), 220-221.

The number of belongings each person could bring up to Tashme was limited. Children could only bring a total of 75 lbs, adults could bring 150, with a grand total of 1000 lbs per family. All additional belongings had to be left at home, though the BC Security Commission assured the Japanese Canadians that they could have additional baggage sent up. To illustrate this in game, the developer chose to have limited belongings to unpack, and to have the player character not express concern over their missing book, as they would have confidence that the government would care for their belongings.

Second Space: Inside House, Full, September 20, 1942.

“Buildings.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-description/buildings/>.

Houses in Tashme often had no solid doors between rooms, instead using curtains between rooms for privacy. To demonstrate this, the game consistently shows the entire house when the player character is in the kitchen area. The goal is to show players that there is very little privacy in the Tashme houses. The interior layout of houses in Tashme consisted of one combined living and kitchen area, and one to two bedrooms on either side of the kitchen. In the game, only one bedroom is shown, to better demonstrate the small size of the living arrangements at Tashme.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

Many Japanese Canadians who were sent to Tashme initially believed that they would return home after the war. Additionally, one of the foremost goals of the parents in Tashme was to protect their children and provide for them as best they could in all aspects. For this reason, the mother in the game explains that they will just be at Tashme for a little while. This is to express both her belief in the idea, as well as her desire to protect and comfort her child.

Third Space: Outside, September 20, 1942

Nikkei National Museum Archives. *Map of Tashme*. Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada. Image Viewed October 7, 2022.

This image was used to determine the visual layout of the houses within the game, as well as to choose which streets to replicate. The layout is oriented with East at the top of the game map, and West at the bottom. The directionality is based upon the assumption that the Map of Tashme at the Nikkei National Museum is oriented with North at the top of the map. Based upon house location, the player character's house is number 302, which was the dwelling of the Omoya family, though the player character is not explicitly part of the Omoya family. Second and third avenue were chosen because of the clear field between these streets at the Sumallo River. Between other streets at the river, there were other buildings which would have required detailed rendering. In the game, the Sumallo River is significantly closer to the houses than in reality. The curve of the river in the game takes some artistic liberties to increase visual appeal, as it is slightly more curved in the game than depicted on the map.

Evenden, L.J., and Anderson, I.D. "The Presence of a Past Community: Tashme, British Columbia." In *B.C. Geographical Series, Number 15*, edited by W.G. Hardwick (Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Research Limited, 1972), 46.

Many of the children who lived at Tashme recalled the natural environment of Tashme with awe, since it was so different from their environment back home. For this reason, the other teenager whom the player encounters mentions the features that would be most unfamiliar: the river and the mountains.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

Along with the natural environment, one of the memories of children who lived at Tashme was of being surrounded by other Japanese Canadians, sometimes for the first time in their lives. In fact, one of the most distressing experiences for children who lived at Tashme was leaving because they were torn away from the other Japanese Canadians with whom they had formed a community. The formation of a community is indicated early in the game to increase player empathy and understanding at the end of the game.

"Issei and Nisei: Overview of World War II." *Study.com*. Accessed November 30, 2022.
<https://study.com/learn/lesson/issei-nisei-overview-world-war-ii.html>.

The definitions of Issei and Nisei are outlined in this piece, although used within the context of the United States rather than Canada. These words are defined in game to explain the game's title, to increase player empathy when they reach the end of the game, and to explain the different departure decisions taken by different families later in the game.

"Tashme Timeline of Events." Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022.
<http://tashme.ca/overview/tashme-timeline-2/>.

By September 16, elementary school students began enrollment into the emergency school which was set up. However, high school classes were not set up until January 1943. By the start of the game, it would be known to

Tashme internees that there were no plans in place for the high school as yet, and that the BC Security commission was organizing the elementary school.

Evenden, L.J., and Anderson, I.D. "The Presence of a Past Community: Tashme, British Columbia." In *B.C. Geographical Series, Number 15*, edited by W.G. Hardwick (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1972), 47-48.

The responsibility of providing education to children at Tashme was hotly debated, with different government agencies refusing to take responsibility for the task. Eventually, the BC Security Commission took responsibility for the elementary school, though they refused to organize the kindergarten and secondary school system at Tashme. The constant shifting of responsibility cause parents at Tashme a great deal of distress, which is noted in the dialogue of the game.

Taylor, Mary. *A Black Mark: The Japanese-Canadians in World War II* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 2004), 96.

To compensate for the BC Security Commission's refusal to organize the high school, Reverend Wilbert Roy McWilliams, the United Church minister at Tashme, took on the task of organizing a secondary school. This took time, and was not complete until early January 1943, so at the start of the game, the high school would be in the early stages of development.

Fourth Space: Outside Unspecified Administrative Building, September 20, 1942

Nikkei National Museum Archives. *Map of Tashme*. Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada. Image Viewed October 7, 2022.

The building depicted here is not a recreation of any particular building at Tashme, though it's placement relative to other buildings and to surrounding greenery is intended to suggest D building – the building which was eventually utilized as the school and gym for Tashme.

McWilliams, Wilbert Roy, interviewed by Marilyn Harrison. February 1970. <http://tashme.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/WR-McWilliams-interview.pdf>. 11.

Though most publications credit Reverend McWilliams for the establishment of the Tashme high school, he himself credits the Women's Missionary Society for its organization. For this reason, the sprite of Reverend McWilliams in the game explains how he is working in conjunction with the Women's Missionary Society.

Fifth Space: Inside House, Full, January 2, 1943

"1943 BCSC Annual Report on Education (January to June)." Retrieved from "Education." Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

High school classes in Tashme were initially slated to begin on January 4th, 1943. For this reason, the chosen date for the first winter start in the game is just before the intended date to better fit the narrative.

“Buildings.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 29, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-description/buildings/>.

The houses at Tashme were not insulated and were particularly cold during the first winter, since the internees weren't prepared for the cold, and because the ship lap lumber used in construction was still green. Since the wood had not been properly dried before being used in construction, it shrank as it dried and resulted in gaps in the walls of the houses. The impact of the cold on the internees of Tashme were extensive, so it is a major component of the first winter period in the game. In Tashme houses, the heating systems consisted of the wood burning stove in the kitchen. To illustrate this, the game explicitly points out the stove at this point in the game.

Sixth Space: Outside, January 2, 1943

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

To fuel the wood burning stoves at Tashme, families were allotted rations of firewood. Teenagers helped to distribute the firewood as part of their chores around camp. This chore was included in the game to help players understand the full experience of teenagers at Tashme.

Taylor, Mary. *A Black Mark: The Japanese-Canadians in World War II* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 2004), 96-97.

The unusual schedule of the high school students at Tashme, where they began at 4:30pm and ended at 9:30pm with a dinner break, was implemented to account for the limited available space in the camp. The chosen space, on the second floor of D building, was used for elementary classes until a grade school building was built, and for Sunday school classes, so the high school had to constantly rearrange their classroom.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

The houses at Tashme were built with ship lap wood and tar paper. Because the ship lap shrank due to poor processing, resulting in gaps in the wall, the inside of the houses were extremely cold. The tar paper on the outside of the house kept the water out, but it also kept condensation in. This combination resulted in houses that were constantly damp and cold. The houses at Tashme were built by the Japanese Canadian internees who were sent up to work on the Hope-Princeton Highway project. Most were not trained in construction or carpentry, resulting in poorly constructed houses. In the game, the Japanese Canadian men are referenced as being responsible for conducting maintenance on the houses. The accuracy of this statement is unclear, but it is intended to demonstrate to players that the internees of Tashme were, in many ways, made responsible for their own care.

“Buildings.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed December 1, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-description/buildings/>.

The poor construction of the houses at Tashme resulted in buildups of ice on blankets and walls which internees would need to chip off.

Seventh and Eighth Spaces: Bedroom and Inside House, Full, Night, January 25, 1943

“Education.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

The official start date for classes in Tashme was January 26, 1943.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

The parents at Tashme worked extremely hard to protect their children from the stress and hardship that the adults experienced. For this reason, during the night scene before class, there are three possible paths. Firstly, if the player chooses to return to bed, they will hear their parents express their stress and emotions because the parents are unaware that the player character is awake. This is contrasted with the second and third options, where the player chooses to enter the kitchen and talk to either of their parents. Since, in the second and third options, the parents are aware that the player character is awake, they downplay their emotions in front of the player.

“1943 BCSC Annual Report on Education (January to June).” Retrieved from “Education.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

The start of classes at Tashme was delayed from the initially planned start date due to an uninstalled heating system.

Evenden, L.J., and Anderson, I.D. “The Presence of a Past Community: Tashme, British Columbia.” In *B.C. Geographical Series, Number 15*, edited by W.G. Hardwick (Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Research Limited, 1972), 47-48.

The adults at Tashme were extremely distressed by the lack of responsibility the government took for the education systems at Tashme. Additionally, the BC Security Commission refused to organize anything for a secondary school, leaving that responsibility in the hands of the internees and the Churches up at Tashme. In this scene, the player learns about their parents thoughts and feelings towards the BC Security Commission’s work to establish schools at Tashme.

Ninth Space: Inside House, Full, January 26, 1943

Findley, Kaitlin, Blomly, Nicholas, and the Landscapes of Injustice Research Collective. "(De)valuation: The State Mismanagement of Japanese Canadian Personal Property in the 1940s." In *Landscapes of injustice: a new perspective on the internment and dispossession of Japanese Canadians*, edited by Jordan Stranger-Ross (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 221.

When the government took possession of Japanese Canadian belongings, they assured internees that additional belongings they wanted would be sent up to the internment camps upon request, at the expense of the internees.

Tenth Space: Classroom, January 26, 1943

McLachlan, May. Interviewed by Reverend R.J. Love for United Church History Seekers. August 2, 1977. <https://pacificmountain.ca/sites/default/files/May-McLachlan-interview.pdf>. 2-3, and 5-6.

May McLachlan was a United Church missionary with the Women's Missionary Society. In early 1943, she went to Tashme to work as a teacher for the high school students. Along with several other teachers, she organized correspondence courses through the BC Correspondence School program for the teenagers at Tashme.

"Our History: Celebrating 100 Years of Learning." Open School BC. Accessed November 25, 2022. <https://www.openschool.bc.ca/100years/>.

The Open School BC program is the organization responsible for BC's correspondence courses, and has been since 1919. Correspondence courses involve schooling material being sent out to students who are unable to attend regular classes, then grading the completed materials when they are sent back, and updating the student's provincial education record. The Open School BC program was the organization through which the students at Tashme, and other internment camps, completed their education.

"Education." Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

Resources for high school students in Tashme were limited, so many materials, including text books, were shared among several students.

Eleventh Space: Inside House, Full, May 1943

Evenden, L.J., and Anderson, I.D. "The Presence of a Past Community: Tashme, British Columbia." In *B.C. Geographical Series, Number 15*, edited by W.G. Hardwick (Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Research Limited, 1972), 54.

The food at Tashme was sufficient to avoid mass hunger, but many internees complained about the monotony of their diets and the lack of their traditional dishes.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

At Tashme, there was a soy sauce and miso factory, however most of the production from that factory was shipped out from Tashme for sale and to supply other internment camps.

Twelfth Space: Outside, May 1943

Nikkei National Museum Archives. *Map of Tashme*. Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada. Image Viewed October 7, 2022.

The baseball field at Tashme was located to the east of the residential area. For this reason, the player must walk to the top of the map, which is the eastern direction within the game.

“Tashme Jr Baseball.” Nikkei Museum Archives. Accessed December 1, 2022.

https://nikkeimuseum.org/www/item_detail.php?art_id=A24771.

Baseball was an immensely popular sport in Tashme, and several leagues were organized for different age groups at Tashme. Notably, the Tashme Junior league was established for the youths at Tashme. However, since the league was established in 1944, there is no mention of any of the official league teams within the game. The baseball game, stretching from this scene to the end of the Eleventh Space, is the only concrete evidence of the gender of the player character and their friend, since baseball was a male only sport at the time of the game. This game deliberately does not mention the gender of the player character, in this scene or any other, to encourage player empathy regardless of player gender identity.

Thirteenth Space: Baseball Field, May 1943

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

Initially, the men at the Hope-Princeton Highway camp had to stay up at the camp and would only come back to Tashme to visit. However, as time went on, some internees decided to return to Japan, which meant that there was space in the camp for the men.

Fourteenth Space: Classroom, September 2, 1943

Letter from Tsuneo Omotani to Ellen Brown, (2, September, 1943), 2012.7.1.1.1.1. Ellen Conway (nee Brown) collection. Nikkei National Museum and Archives, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.

The first paragraph of this letter is reproduced in this game. The letter is to a Miss Brown, a teacher who taught at Tashme for a brief period in 1943.

Fifteenth Space: Outside, September 2, 1943

Nikkei National Museum Archives. *Map of Tashme*. Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada. Image Viewed October 7, 2022.

D building, which was used for the high school classes, was located to the west of the residential area at Tashme. Within the directionality of the game, the player enters the scene from the bottom of the map, which is the west side.

“Canada at War Against Japan 1941-1945.” Canadian War Museum. Accessed November 30, 2022. <https://www.warmuseum.ca/war-against-japan/>.

In August 1943, the Aleutian Islands Campaign began. This consisted of Canadian and American troops landing on one of the Aleutian Islands, near Alaska, which Japan had seized in 1942. No fighting took place on that campaign since the Japanese army had already evacuated secretly.

McLachlan, May. Interviewed by Reverend R.J. Love for United Church History Seekers. August 2, 1977. <https://pacificmountain.ca/sites/default/files/May-McLachlan-interview.pdf>. 6-7.

The high school students in Tashme felt inherently that they were Canadians, not that they were Japanese. Given these feelings, the game presents the Aleutian Islands Campaign as a point of emotional turmoil for the teenagers at Tashme. This particular campaign was chosen because of its relative proximity to Tashme.

Sixteenth Space: Inside House, Full, December 9, 1943

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

When internees wrote to the government to get belongings sent up to them, they learned about the mismanagement of their possessions. Learning about this was, for some internees, the first sign that they would not be returning back to their homes.

“Education.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

A student council was established at the start of the second year of school at Tashme, in 1943. In the game, the timeline is modified to have the establishment of the student council take place around early December 1943. This change was implemented to facilitate the narrative flow of the game.

Seventeenth Space: Classroom, December 9, 1943

Letter from Tsuneo Omotani to Ellen Brown, (9, December, 1943), 2012.7.1.2.1. Ellen Conway (nee Brown) collection. Nikkei National Museum and Archives, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.

The second paragraph of this letter is reproduced in this game. This paragraph highlights the different opinions and ideas about how the Japanese Canadians should be treated after the war.

Eighteenth Space: Inside House, August 1944

“Education.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

One of the extracurricular activities organized by the student council at Tashme high school was a Sadie Hawkin’s dance. The actual date of this dance was not noted, so for the narrative flow of the game the dance was set in August 1944.

Nineteenth Space: Outside, August 1944

The creation of this space was based upon research previously cited.

Twentieth Space: Classroom, Night, August 1944

Taylor, Mary. *A Black Mark: The Japanese-Canadians in World War II* (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 2004), 97.

The Sadie Hawkins dance at Tashme was a very popular event for the time period organized by the student council. In the game, the dance space is noted as having been organized by the students, and is described as a great success, to demonstrate the hard work and reward of the students attending high school at Tashme.

Twenty-first Space: Outside, November 1944

“Education.” Tashme Historical Project. Accessed November 30, 2022. <http://tashme.ca/camp-organization/education/>.

Because of the limited supplies for the school, students utilized common household items for their practical or lab-based classes, such as chemistry.

Twenty-second Space: Inside House, Full, November 1944

McWilliams, Wilbert Roy, interviewed by Marilyn Harrison. February 1970. <http://tashme.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/WR-McWilliams-interview.pdf>. 10.

Throughout their internment, internees at Tashme had a choice between staying at Tashme, moving to eastern Canada, or move to Japan. Many people chose to stay in Tashme, and many chose to move east, but some decided to move to Japan.

Twenty-third Space: Inside House, Full, April 1945, to End of Game

McLachlan, May. Interviewed by Reverend R.J. Love for United Church History Seekers. August 2, 1977. <https://pacificmountain.ca/sites/default/files/May-McLachlan-interview.pdf>. 7.

At the end of April 1945, a notice was posted on a bulletin board in Tashme informing the internees that they needed to choose between moving east or moving to Japan.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

Most internees of Tashme knew that they would not be allowed to go back to their homes. Learning about the fate of their belongings was often a catalyst for this realization.

Findley, Kaitlin, Blomly, Nicholas, and the Landscapes of Injustice Research Collective. "(De)valuation: The State Mismanagement of Japanese Canadian Personal Property in the 1940s." In *Landscapes of injustice: a new perspective on the internment and dispossession of Japanese Canadians*, edited by Jordan Stranger-Ross (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 227, 237.

Given the strict weight limits on bringing belongings up to internment camps, most of the property owned by Japanese Canadians before the war was lost. If it was left in their homes, it was often vandalized or stolen. If it was left in the protection of the government, much of it was sold at auction.

Ellan, Ryan, and Christine Tomlinson. Museum Tour, Personal Communication, October 15, 2022.

The most common decision made by Tashme internees after the final government notice was posted in April 1945 was to move east. One common reason for this choice was because it maintained a sense of stability for the Nisei children, who had only ever lived in Canada.

McLachlan, May. Interviewed by Reverend R.J. Love for United Church History Seekers. August 2, 1977. <https://pacificmountain.ca/sites/default/files/May-McLachlan-interview.pdf>. 7.

The United Church worked with congregations in eastern Canada to help Tashme internees to resettle in eastern Canada.

"A Nisei's Invocation" entry by Victor Kadonaga in the 1945 Nisei Lycee Annual, (1945), 2012.7.2.2.25. Ellen Conway (nee Brown) collection. Nikkei National Museum and Archives, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.

This written piece is reproduced in its entirety at the end of the game. It demonstrates the above cited statement from Miss May McLachlan that the teenagers of Tashme considered themselves fully Canadian citizens, leading to

a series of complex and discordant feelings about the treatment they had received from the Canadian government through the Second World War.

Jackson, Kyle. Class Instruction, Personal Communication. October 15, 2022.

In a similar fashion to how they arrived at Tashme, leaving required the use of an open back truck to carry them down to the train. A recognizable image of a truck is recreated at the end of the game to demonstrate this.

Infographic: Bison Nearly Extinct! *The Colonization Review*

Desmond Tompkins

HIST 2302: Consuming Passions – A Global History of Food

Dr Tracey J. Kinney

Students were asked to create an Infographic that analyzed any one food in relation to one of the central themes of the course: food and colonialism, the industrialization of food production, foodways and culture, food and gender, food as a weapon, or the future of food. The work featured here touches on at least three of these themes: colonialism, foodways, and the weaponization of food.

THE COLONIZATION REVIEW

Vol. 1 No 1 Friday March 24th, 2023 Priceless

BISON NEARLY EXTINCT!



Man poses with a pile of American bison skulls, 1892.

Since time immemorial, the Bison has been central to the traditional foodways of the Plains First Nations, with the animals population offering them a wealth of both consumable and material resources. However, in the 18th and 19th centuries colonial measures aided in the near extinction of the bison. Through excessive hunting, economic expansion, and military expansion the traditional foodways of Plains First Nations communities were permanently damaged.

With colonial expansion came the capital-driven economy which helped to establish an unsustainable Bison hunting culture. Due to the animals' abundance, their byproducts were introduced to the colonial marketplace, generating great profits. As such, higher levels of bison began to be slaughtered to meet these new demands. Alongside this, recreational hunting became a popular activity, drawing sportsmen to the Great Plains. Wealthy hunting parties took pleasure in targeting as many bison as possible, leaving the carcasses to rot, culminating in the slaughter of thousands. With carcasses piling up the bone business was employed, in which the abandoned bones would be sourced and used as fertiliser in agriculture.



Illustration of the slaughter of bison on the Kansas Pacific Railroad, 1889.

As a result of the developing economy, industrialization through the development of the railroad, exacerbated the ongoing exploitation of the bison. This new invention linked the east and the west, enabling those sourcing Bison products to reach herds across the Great Plains. Alongside this, the railway made shipping the fruits of their labour more convenient, allowing them to reach markets faster. Furthermore, those hunting bison for sport were able to engage in a new form of hunting in which they shot at herds from the roof of moving railcars, leaving thousands of dead animals in their wake.

Military intervention by colonial powers served as a further blow to the bison. As European nations sought to bring "civilization" to the Americas they focused on destroying the First Nations population, and harming their foodways was one way to do so. As the government supported the excessive hunting of bison, they aided in causing widespread starvation amongst Plains First Nations groups, killing some of their people. In order to survive the First Nations groups were forced to establish treaties and begin to occupy reservations to receive sustenance from the American government.

Although Plains First Nations communities survived, these manifestations of colonisation were successful in permanently altering the way in which they lived. Without the hunt, these communities lost a significant aspect of their culture, harming their identity. Once on reservations, First Nations people had to adopt the western goods that were being rationed to them, which replaced some of their traditional foods. Furthermore, their loss of territory meant that they could no longer engage in other food sourcing methods, which stripped them of other traditional foodways. These fractures in Plains First Nation foodways exist to this day, with many community members experiencing alienation from their land and culture. Despite this, work is being done to conserve the remaining bison population and reestablish what was lost to colonisation.

"Have the white men become children?
That they should kill meat and not eat?"
- Kiowa Chief, 1867



Conservation officers pose with confiscated bison heads, 1894.

Click [here](#) to view a full-sized PDF of the Infographic

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