

# World War I and Japanese Immigrants' Fight for Citizenship in US and Canada

Hiroko Takamura

## Introduction

All immigrants are foreigners at first, but most of them are gradually assimilated into the host society as “citizens” crossing some borders. In the United States and Canada, where immigrants successfully arrived from various areas in the world and formed the nation, a history of each ethnic group shows hardship of crossing a border between citizen and non-citizen. According to Will Kymlicka, the logic of liberalism requires open borders, but it assumes that each state has the right to determine who can enter its borders<sup>(1)</sup>. Most liberals accept that all individuals have an equal right to enter a state, participate in its political life, and share in its natural resources, but these rights are reserved only for citizens<sup>(2)</sup>. Thus, citizenship is limited to the members of a certain group fulfilling the required conditions. These ideas have been reflected in the policies of immigration and naturalization in US and Canada. Most immigrants who were screened by immigration laws had to face another difficulty to be accepted as “citizens” not only legally but also socially and culturally.

Unlike immigrants from Europe, Asians further experienced hardship because of racism which prevented them from the right to naturalization or to vote. Japanese immigrants on the Pacific Coast suffered discriminating treatment both in US and in Canada. They were barred from the most significant citizenship, eligibility for naturalization in US and for franchise in Canada. Accordingly, both Canadian and American Japanese Issei were obsessed with a strong concern for citizenship represented by these rights. As a result of long struggle, by 1931 in Canada and 1935 in US full citizenship was granted only to Japanese veterans who fought for their host countries in World War I. This paper will trace the history of Japanese immigrants who fought for the right to naturalization in US and the right to vote in Canada in the period between 1900 and 1935, and will consider the ways that help aliens cross the border between citizen and non-citizen in the context of war and citizenship.

## Anti-Japanese Environment on the Pacific Coast

In US, the act of 1906 to establish the Bureau of Immigration and Naturaliza-

tion, and to provide for an identical rule for the naturalization of aliens led to disallowance to file petitions for naturalization from Asians. Section 2169 which authorized the naturalization of “white persons” and persons of African “nativity” or African descent became controversial, when the Bureau of Naturalization printed its manual of instruction to clerks of courts who would handle the petition for naturalization, requiring that the clerks should not file petitions for naturalization from other aliens than white persons and persons of African nativity or African descent<sup>(3)</sup>. This instruction prevented Japanese immigrants from becoming US citizens. In Canada, too, most Asians could not enjoy full citizenship because the provincial election law kept them from voting in British Columbia (BC) where most of them lived, though they were eligible to naturalize according to the Dominion naturalization law.

On the Pacific Coast, where the Asian population concentrated, anti-Asiatic sentiment led to restrictive and discriminating laws against Asian residents, including Japanese. In US, following the instruction of the naturalization law of 1906 which made Asian immigrants ineligible for citizenship, Asian children in San Francisco were ordered to attend a segregated school for Asians by the city board of education in 1906, and immigration from Japan was restricted by the Gentleman’s Agreement of 1907 between US and Japanese Governments. Yet, this did not calm anti-Japanese feeling in California where new campaigns appeared against land ownership of Japanese immigrants and the Japanese picture brides. In Canada, legislation restricting employment of Asian laborers had been repeatedly laid on the table in BC legislature since the late 19th century. Besides, with a rapid growth of Japanese immigrants after Russo-Japanese War, the public in BC increased anti-Japanese feeling and called for the restriction of immigration from Japan. After an anti-Asian riot in Vancouver in 1907, Canada and Japan concluded the Lemieux-Hayashi Agreement which agreed to restrict the number of immigrants from Japan to Canada. Under these circumstances, it became even more difficult to persuade BC legislature to revise the provincial election law. Thus, Japanese immigrants were kept from means to pursue citizenship both in US and in Canada.

In US, the Nisei, the second generation Japanese Americans, had very different citizenship rights from their Issei parents and also from their cousin North of the border. While Issei, first-generation Japanese, had no right to naturalization, American-born Japanese Nisei were recognized as citizens under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. In other words, a border between citizen and non-citizen was drawn exactly between Issei and Nisei in US<sup>(4)</sup>. In Canada, on the other hand, Japanese and other Asians could be naturalized as British subject, if they wanted to be, no matter what their places of birth were. But contrary to normal political rights and privileges they could not vote or accept any of the rights and obligations associated

with their lives such as admission to certain professions or serving as jurors.

### **The Court Battle for Franchise in Canada**

The first step of their fight for citizenship was in the courts. It started with the lawsuit raised by Tomekichi Honma, a naturalized Japanese immigrant in Canada. He brought an action in 1900 against the BC provincial election law which prohibited Asians from voting. Having no right to vote was a question of vital importance for Japanese immigrants not only because they had to put up with the position as second-class citizens but also because few politicians took up their problems including discriminatory working conditions. It was of no benefit for White politicians to work for Japanese on the ground that their efforts would not lead to vote-catching. Moreover, it would antagonize White voters. Among Japanese immigrants in BC fishermen were especially eager for franchise. Since the acquisition of fishery license required being a residential British subject, most of Japanese fishermen sought naturalization as British subjects, though they could not solve their troubles as political issues without franchise<sup>(5)</sup>.

Tomekichi Honma, who arrived in Canada in 1887 and naturalized in 1893, engaged in salmon fishery in BC and organized the Japanese fishermen's union in 1897<sup>(6)</sup>. In 1900 Honma representing Japanese immigrants applied to the registration office in Vancouver to have his name placed on the register of voters, because a naturalized British subject should be eligible to vote according to the Canadian Naturalization Act which recognized that the naturalized aliens were entitled to be equal in rights with natural-born British subjects. However, his application was refused by a collector of voters on the grounds that the Provincial Election Act disallowed Asians including Chinese, Japanese, and Indians as voters. He immediately sued for judgement in the County Court of Vancouver<sup>(7)</sup>. The Japanese community in BC supported this suit by fund raising for the court costs<sup>(8)</sup>. This case also attracted attention of Japanese immigrants on the Pacific Coast and the convention of the Pacific Coast Associations of Japanese immigrants held in Portland in 1900 resolved to support Honma's court battle<sup>(9)</sup>. His claim was approved by the court in 1900, but his case was appealed to a higher court, the Supreme Court of British Columbia. He won the case again and the court ordered his name to be listed on the provincial roll.

However, Honma's victory was not long sustained because the case was appealed to the Privy Council in London, which was then the ultimate court of appeal for Canadian legal cases, where the decision was reversed in 1902. The Privy Council judged that it was the provincial right to enact the electoral law, and it was not within the capacity of the Privy Council to judge whether the policy of such an enactment as excluded a particular race from the franchise was right or not<sup>(10)</sup>. Admitting that a naturalized alien should be "entitled to all political and other rights, pow-

ers, and privileges to which a natural-born British subject was entitled in Canada,” the Privy Council approved the provincial right to determine who should be entitled to vote<sup>11</sup>. It decided that such provincial right was provided by the British North American (BNA) Act, and it respected the BC Provincial Election Act which provided that no Japanese, whether naturalized or not, should be entitled to vote. Thus, the Privy Council regarded the Provincial Election Act as constitutional apart from its contents and as superior to the Naturalization Act of the Dominion. It quoted the example of US and stated that the power of naturalization should be nominally exclusive in the Federal Government, but “its operation in the most important particulars, especially as to the right of suffrage” was made to depend on the local constitution and laws<sup>12</sup>. Consequently, it judged that “the term ‘political rights’ used in the Canadian Naturalization Act [was] ... a very wide phrase,” and it did “not necessarily mean a right to the suffrage in all or any of the provinces<sup>13</sup>.” This judgement reflects British colonialism which was to respect local conditions of each colony and also symbolizes the strength of provincial rights guaranteed by the BNA Act which approves particular provincial legislation.

### **Volunteer Service in World War I**

The second step for Japanese immigrants to claim citizenship was to serve in the military of their own host country. The first world war which broke out in Europe involved Canada in 1914 and US in 1917. In Canada, the Japanese asked Prime Minister for permission to enlist in Canadian Army and Navy, though no definite reply came. At the same time, Yasushi Yamasaki, president of a Japanese language newspaper in Vancouver and president of the Canadian Japanese Association(CJA), decided to organize the Japanese Volunteer Corps and recruited Japanese volunteers in 1915. The purpose was to show their loyalty to Canada by fighting in the war and to be accepted as citizens. The advertisement placed repeatedly in the Japanese language newspaper said: “The time has come when our loyalty to the country of our adoption is to be displayed<sup>14</sup>.” The CJA held a series of speech meetings to promote recruiting. A speaker stressed: “Bearing arms and serving the country are citizens’ obligation, and our ambition for franchise will be realized<sup>15</sup>.” Another speaker argued: “When the Japanese are disqualified to vote even though they are naturalized, this war is a perfect chance for us to gain that right. If we show our loyalty to Canada and win people’s confidence, it will be easier for us to win franchise<sup>16</sup>.” Thus, about 200 Japanese volunteers formed the Japanese Volunteer Corps and started military training early in 1916<sup>17</sup>.

However, no request for this corps came from the Dominion government, and the Japanese Volunteer Corps was disbanded in May, 1916. On the other hand, with an increasing necessity of military build-up, the government enlarged the recruiting

territory and the Japanese volunteers found a way to enlist not as a group but individually in Alberta, where naturalized Japanese could join the army. According to a Japanese volunteer's reminiscence, he used the last of his savings to buy a train ticket for Calgary, Alberta where he found how easy it was to join the army by the officer's word, "naturalized Japanese would be eligible to enlist<sup>18</sup>." Consequently by the end of the war 196 Japanese volunteers joined the Canadian Expeditionary Forces and went to war in France. The casualties were 54 dead and 93 injured<sup>19</sup>.

In US, the Congress enacted the wartime special legislation in 1918 and 1919 which would permit naturalization of any aliens who had served in the US armed forces. This bill encouraged the Japanese to enlist, because they had been interested to join the US military since US entered the war in 1917. The American Japanese Association in Los Angeles even attempted to form the Japanese boys' volunteer corps in May, 1918 and started military drill once a week preparing for future emergency<sup>20</sup>. About 700 Asians, including Japanese, served in the US armed forces during World War I<sup>21</sup>.

### **Veterans' Court Battle for Citizenship in US**

After the war, however, the Japanese American veterans gained no permanent advantage from their military service except in Hawaii, where 366 Japanese veterans were admitted to citizenship<sup>22</sup>. A different interpretation of the wartime act of 1918 caused the Japanese veterans to take the matter of citizenship to court. The cases in which the Japanese Americans claimed citizenship were complex because they were divided into various categories according to each reason. The first case was over the effectiveness in title to naturalization which some Japanese obtained before 1906. Tokuji Yamashita and Heizaburo Kohno, who naturalized in State of Washington in 1902, were refused the right to establish a landowning company in 1921 because the government office regarded them non-citizen because of the naturalization law of 1906, and they raised a law-suit<sup>23</sup>. The second case was essentially over whether the Japanese were entitled to a right of naturalization or not. Takao Ozawa who naturalized in California in 1902 tried to apply to the District Court in Hawaii to be admitted as a US citizen in 1914, but his petition was opposed. The Council of Japanese Associations on the Pacific Coast decided to support cases for Japanese naturalization and took the cases of Yamashita, Kohno, and Ozawa to the federal court in 1921. The purpose was to contest whether the phrase "free white persons" in the Act of 1906 could mean "only a person of what is ...known as the Caucasian race," and could exclude Japanese race<sup>24</sup>. The US Supreme Court ruled in 1922 that the words "white person" were synonymous with the words "a person of the Caucasian race<sup>25</sup>." Consequently, it was concluded that the resident Japanese born in Japan were ineligible for citizenship. The third case was a petition for naturalization filed by Tokie

Slocum (Tokutaro Nishimura), who was born in Japan and grew up in North Dakota. He volunteered for the US Army when US entered the war in 1917, and he was sent to France. In December, 1918, he made a claim for naturalization under the Act of 1918, which provided that any alien serving in US military during the war might file for a petition for naturalization<sup>26</sup>. However, his claim was rejected on the ground that he was inadmissible to citizenship because he was not white<sup>27</sup>. Thus, the wartime law of 1918 failed to overrule the basic law of 1906 which would not admit Japanese to citizenship.

### **Veterans' Campaign for Franchise in Canada**

In Canada, the postwar economic slump revived anti-Japanese agitation in BC which had calmed down during the war. Soon after the Japanese veterans returned from Europe, they began seeking the franchise. Newspapers linked the Japanese franchise issue with the problem of still increasing immigrants from Japan and emphasized the danger of granting the franchise to Japanese Canadians<sup>28</sup>. Even the Great War Veterans' Association which at first supported the Japanese veterans' effort for the franchise withdrew its backing<sup>29</sup>. Under these circumstances, the Dominion Government in Ottawa enacted the Dominion Election Act in 1920, which included a provision to disqualify people who were ineligible to vote in provincial elections because of race<sup>30</sup>. However, the Japanese Canadians including war veterans and CJA members continued their efforts to win the franchise. According to Roy Ito, a second-generation Japanese Canadian, "For all Orientals the denial of voting rights became a symbol of second-class citizenship, and for the Japanese, obtaining that right became almost a crusade<sup>31</sup>." By the mid-1920's CJA changed strategy and focused the goal exclusively on the franchise for Japanese war veterans who once had obtained the right to vote by the wartime election act of 1917, and attempted to gain support from the public.

In August, 1917, like the US Congress, the Canadian Parliament had enfranchised any one who had served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force or other Canadian military forces. After the war, however, the Dominion Election Act of 1920 disfranchised anyone who was not eligible to vote in a provincial election. This meant that most of the Japanese veterans lost their title to franchise. In March, 1920, they petitioned the provincial legislature and the electors of BC for the franchise:

When... we found we could not enlist at the Coast, we paid our own transportation to the nearest point where enlistment was possible, and proceeded overseas with the Canadian Forces. Over one-fourth have been killed, and all but twelve wounded. When we were fighting in France we were invited... to vote with our fellow-soldiers in Dominion elections. Our hearts were touched, and we felt ourselves to be comrades indeed with all the voters in the Canadian Forces....

After our return, it was suggested by friends that any sacrifice on our part... might receive recognition by the right to continue the exercise of the franchise which had been granted to us.... we... believe that our patriotism have been fully tried and tested... we have not expected objections to be made based either upon political reasons... or from a racial stand point<sup>62</sup>....

The Japanese Canadians attempted to gain support from the veterans. In 1925, the Japanese Canadian Veterans formed their own branch of the Royal Canadian Legion (a successor to the Great War Veterans' Association) and sent delegates to the national convention every year so that they might draw the veterans' attention to the issue of the franchise in BC. Finally in 1930, the Royal Canadian Legion unanimously supported the resolution that the right to vote should be granted to the Japanese war veterans who fought under the British flag<sup>63</sup>. It was wise as well as effective that the Japanese Canadians concentrated their appeal to the veterans who were fundamentally conservative and rather racist. The veterans' support encouraged the Japanese Canadians' fight for the franchise. In early 1931, representatives of the Japanese branch of the war veterans' association started a petition to the provincial legislature in Victoria, BC. They claimed: first, BC was the only province which on the basis of race had not granted franchise to the war veterans; second, about 80 of the Japanese veterans who risked their lives in World War I had lived in BC for over 20 years and they could understand English language as well as Canadian ways of life; third, the right to vote would not apply to their descendants<sup>64</sup>. Thus, the legislature by a margin of one vote granted the right to vote to the Japanese war veterans by amending the Election Act of BC<sup>65</sup>. Expecting a narrow margin, the Japanese petitioners had approached to members of the legislature individually with help of the Conservatives who were also veterans. A newspaper commented: "Japanese veterans were considered good enough to fight for Canada, and they should be entitled as Canadian citizens to use franchise<sup>66</sup>." Granting the right to vote to veterans was a great but limited step toward full enfranchisement of the Japanese Canadians in their fight for full citizenship. The second stage was to claim the franchise for second generation Japanese Canadians who were natural-born Canadians, and the campaign was promoted by the second generation, though it was not until 1948 that full enfranchisement for Japanese Canadians in BC was realized.

### **Japanese Americans' Campaign for Citizenship**

In US, in 1935 the Congress passed the Nye-Lea Bill to authorize the naturalization of certain resident alien veterans who served in the US armed forces between April 6, 1917 and November 11, 1918<sup>67</sup>. Under this act, the petition for naturalization should be filed even if it were from any alien veterans of the world war heretofore ineligible to citizenship. Since American-born Nisei had been dissatisfied with

second-class status of their Japanese immigrant parents, they rose up against social discrimination based on race. The first convention of Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the organization of Nisei as the national organization, adopted resolutions to deal with the issue of citizenship for Issei Japanese in August, 1930. The leaders of JACL were especially concerned with the right to naturalization of those who had served in the US armed forces during World War I, because they believed that Japanese veterans should be eligible to petition for citizenship on the premise of the wartime bill. Thus, the following resolution was passed:

Whereas a large number of Japanese residents of the United States of America were induced to join the Army and Navy,... during the World War by promise made that those who received their honorable discharges would be granted citizenship,

And whereas these World War veterans were denied American citizenship, contrary to the promises....,

Be it now resolved that Japanese American Citizens' League... request the attention of Congress to this injustice which has been done to these World War veterans...<sup>38</sup>

The backing from various quarters helped the bill grant citizenship to Asian veterans introduced to the Congress. The Japanese Consuls and Consul Generals as well as Japanese residents on the Pacific Coast also appealed for support to influential patriotic organizations including the American Legion<sup>39</sup>. In 1934, the National Convention of the American Legion resolved to petition the Congress to enact laws making possible the naturalization of veterans of Asian birth who served in the American forces during the war<sup>40</sup>. Similar resolutions were made by other veterans' organizations. The backing of the American Legion was particularly important, because it was "a key in the Japanese Exclusion League," and if the Legion would endorse citizenship for Japanese veterans, the opposition would be weakened<sup>41</sup>. The California and Nevada branch of the US Veterans of Foreign Wars also claimed that to give "favorable support" to "those loyal men" was to express the "true American spirit of fairness and justice<sup>42</sup>." In addition, Japanese veterans' individual approach to veterans' organizations was also effective. Tokie Slocum made an effort to receive support from fellow veterans. A letter of G. Edward Buxton who fought with Slocum in the war evidenced that Slocum was "as good an American as" he was, and Slocum "proved with his own blood<sup>43</sup>."

### **Military Service and Citizenship**

Thus, both in US and Canada, citizenship which the Japanese had claimed was granted only to the Japanese war veterans who fought under the national flag of their adopted country. It must be noted, however, that granting the franchise did

not necessarily mean the removal of people's prejudice against the Japanese Canadians. This was evident from the fact that the amendment of the BC Provincial Election Act did not grant the right to vote to the descendants of the Japanese veterans. It is also evident that some veterans who had supported the Japanese veterans' franchise in BC were generally anti-Japanese in other issues. In US, too, granting the right to naturalization did not show that the Japanese veterans were recognized as equals to the White citizens. Both the American Legion and the California Joint Immigration Committee, which strongly backed the bill, later developed a powerful agitation for anti-Asian legislation under the motto, "Keep California White<sup>(44)</sup>." Congressman Clarens F. Lea from California, who introduced the bill in the House of Representatives stressed that the object of the legislation was to give to alien veterans of Asian birth the same privileges as aliens from other nations, who also served in World War I<sup>(45)</sup>. He also convinced the legislators that the bill would not affect the immigration policy, because it would provide for justice only to those who served in the US forces between April 6, 1917 and November 11, 1918<sup>(46)</sup>.

These facts lead to an assertion that military service could help immigrants cross the border between citizen and non-citizen by obtaining the right to naturalization or the franchise. In fact, in Canada the wartime election act of 1917 granted the franchise to wives, daughters, and sisters of soldiers who were serving in the military, if these women were British subjects. Consequently, though women's suffrage had not yet been realized on the national level in Canada, these women obtained the right to vote earlier. Even Japanese women could vote, if they were naturalized and their husbands or brothers were serving for Canada in the military<sup>(47)</sup>. The Military Voters Act of 1917 also gave the vote to women nurses serving in the war. In US, military service has functioned as a means for immigrants and minorities to cross the border between citizen and non-citizen.

According to Robert C. Brown, Canadian historian, the most "tangible" benefit of citizenship is the right to vote<sup>(48)</sup>. In other words, the franchise was important to differentiate citizens from other British subjects in BC where Asians of British subject were excluded from social and political opportunities. In US, the rules of naturalization were important to establish norms for citizenship. The first law of naturalization of 1790 provided that "any alien" of free white resident might be admitted to US citizenship, and the phrase "free white person" was to exclude slaves from citizenship; it was extended to aliens of African nativity as well as African descent<sup>(49)</sup>. However, with the increase in Asian population the term "free white person" was interpreted in a narrow and exclusive sense and excluded the people of Asian origin from citizens. Thus, only veterans obtained the right to naturalize in US and the right to vote in Canada after a long struggle, but they had to make more effort to obtain full citizenship in legal and societal sense, including free access to occupation

and other social and cultural opportunities both in US and in Canada.

### Conclusion

In US and Canada where people share residence and citizenship without a common history or culture, the only emotion that made for unity is patriotism<sup>50</sup>. According to Will Kymlicka, in most multi-national states such as Switzerland, though a feeling of allegiance to the country is required for national unity, this is not to engender a common national identity but to share patriotism<sup>51</sup>. In US and Canada, too, national unity has been built on shared patriotism, and patriotism is considered as a norm to determine who can cross the border into citizens and acquire citizenship. Military service symbolizes patriotism. Those who are admitted as citizens are expected to bear arms with “special right and obligations not shared by non-citizens<sup>52</sup>.” Linda Kerber of women’s history also stresses that military service has infused the concept of citizenship since its origin in US<sup>53</sup>. In other words, people not recognized as full citizens could improve their social standing by performing military services<sup>54</sup>.

In conclusion, performing military service and shedding blood in a war are regarded as an evidence of loyalty and patriotism as well as citizenship under liberalism. The fact that only veterans obtained full citizenship leads to an assumption that military service may lower or remove a barrier of racism. It is often true that aliens and immigrants volunteer to fight in wars in the society where military service is regarded as a proof of citizenship which is an important value in democracy. On the other hand, racism and sexism have historically limited the possibilities for military service by African Americans and women, and this is related to the reluctance of many in larger society to grant the minority standing as full citizens<sup>55</sup>. It is also assumed that Japanese veterans obtained citizenship, because the border between citizen and non-citizen shifted from a border based on races to a border between those who did fight under the national flag and those who did not fight. Thus, both in US and Canada the military service functioned as a means for immigrants or minorities to cross the border between citizen and non-citizen.

### Notes

- (1) Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 124-25.
- (2) *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- (3) Sidney L. Gulick, *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1918), reprinted (New York: Arno Press, 1978), p. 63.
- (4) The number of Nisei was 69 in 1900, but it increased to 29, 672 in 1920, and 68, 356 in 1930. Bill Hosokawa, *JACL in Quest of Justice* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1982), P. 23.
- (5) Canadian citizenship was a premature concept before 1947, when the Canadian Citizenship Act was enforced.
- (6) The life of Tomekichi Honma is described in detail in Shgeharu Koyama, Honma Tomekichi-Oh no

- Shogai (the life of venerable Mr. Tomekichi Honma), privately printed by the author (1995).
- (7) Similarly, another Japanese immigrant named Yasushi Yamasaki who was also rejected by the registration office in Westminster, BC intended to take an action at the same time. However, the Canadian Japanese Association decided to support only the Honma case for the reason of huge costs of lawsuits, and Yamasaki did not bring a suit. *Nihon Gaiko Bunsho* (Japanese Diplomatic Documents, hereafter NGB), Taisho-4nen, vol.1, pp. 197-98.
  - (8) Ibid.
  - (9) Ibid.
  - (10) House of Lords, Privy Council, "Law Report" (1902), in Japanese Canadian Reserch Collection, University of British Columbia (hereafter UBC). [Microfilm in the Special Collection, Library of Diet, Japan] .
  - (11) Ibid.
  - (12) Ibid.
  - (13) Ibid.
  - (14) *Continental Times*, 1915-1916.
  - (15) Ibid., December 27, 1915.
  - (16) Ibid., January 7, 1916.
  - (17) On the Japanese Volunteer Corps, see Miyoko Kudo, *Kiuroi Heishi-tachi* (Yellow soldiers: Record of Japanese Canadian Volunteers in World War I) Tokyo: Kobun-sha, 1983; Roy Ito, *We Went to War* (S-20 and Nisei Veterans Association, 1984).
  - (18) Sannosuke Kubota, "Reminiscence," 1958, in Kubota Collection, UBC.
  - (19) Ito, p. 70.
  - (20) *L. A. Japanese Daily News*, May 2, 1918.
  - (21) U. S. Cong. House. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Permit Certain Resident Oriental Veterans in Armed Forces of United States During the World War to Apply for Citizenship. 74th Cong. 1st Sess. Hearings. 74-1-6 (April 23, 1935). Washington: GPO, 1935. (hereafter U. S. Cong. H. Hearings).
  - (22) "Kikaken oyobi do-sosho-kankei" (Naturalization and its cases), Documents of Diplomatic Record in Gaikoshiryokan (Archives of Foreign Affairs), (hereafter GK) 3-8-2-339-8, Vol.2; United Japanese Society of Hawaii, *A History of Japanese in Hawaii*, (Honolulu, 1971), p. 242.
  - (23) NGB, Taisho-11nen, Vol.1, pp. 25-26.
  - (24) "Takao Ozawa vs. United States," Supreme Court of United States (November 13, 1922) in NGB, Taisho-11nen, Vol.1, pp. 36-48.
  - (25) Ibid.
  - (26) Hosokawa, p. 51.
  - (27) Ibid. In Hawaii, because of different interpretation of the Act of 1918, citizenship was granted to 366 Japanese and 300 Asians. "Beikoku ni okeru hainichi-mondai zakken," (Miscellaneous matters relating to anti-Japanese issues in US) in GK 3-8-2-339-8.
  - (28) *Victoria Daily Colonist*, March 17, 1920.
  - (29) Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 104; *Victoria Daily Times*, March 12, 1920; *Victoria Daily Colonist*, March 20, 1920.
  - (30) NGB, Taisho-10 nen, Jo-kan, p. 380.
  - (31) Ito, p.8.
  - (32) "To the Member of the Provincial Legislature and To the Electors of British Columbia from Returned Canadian-Japanese Soldiers," (March 22, 1920), filed in GK 3-8-2-346.
  - (33) *The Continental Times*, April 1, 1931.
  - (34) Ibid., March 24, 1931.
  - (35) Ibid., April 1, 1931.
  - (36) *Victoria Times*, April 1, 1931.
  - (37) *US. Congressional Record*, Vol. 79, Part 9, p. 9396.
  - (38) qtd. in Hosokawa, p. 43.
  - (39) "Kakkoku ni okeru gaikokujin kikaken oyobi senkyoken kankei hoki zakken," (laws relating to the right to naturalization and franchise in each country), GK, K1-3.

- (40) US. Cong. H. Hearings. p.7.
- (41) Hosokawa, p. 53.
- (42) US. Cong. H.Hearings, p.7.
- (43) qtd. in Ibid.
- (44) Hosokawa, p. 53.
- (45) US. Cong. H. Hearings, p.4.
- (46) Ibid.
- (47) It was conditioned, however, that the possible voters should not be contrary to the provincial election laws in regard to age and race. Accordingly, Japanese women in BC could not vote even if their husband or brothers served in the Canadian military.
- (48) Robert Craig Brown, "Full Partnership in the Fortunes and in the Future of the Nation," in *Ethnicity and Citizenship: The Canadian Case*, eds. Jean Laponce and William Safran (London: Frank Cass), p. 18.
- (49) Gulick, p. 56.
- (50) Michael Walzer, "Pluralism: A Political Perspective," in *The Right of Minority Cultures*, ed. Will Kymlicka (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 143.
- (51) Kymlicka, p. 13.
- (52) Joseph Carens, "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders," in *The Right of Minority Culture*, p. 346.
- (53) Linda Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies* (New York: Hill and Wing, 1998), p. 236.
- (54) James Burks, "Citizenship Status and Military Service," *Armed Forces and Society*, 21-4 (Summer, 1995), p. 504.
- (55) Ibid.