DIALOGIC INTERACTIONS: TRAUMATIC NARRATIVES OF FORCED REMOVAL INSCRIBED IN ARCHIVES AND MEMOIRS

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Abstract

Dialogic Interactions: Traumatic Narratives of Forced Removal Inscribed in Archives and Memoirs explores the dialogic interaction that takes place between memoirs and archives during three distinct moments in Canadian history: Indian Residential Schools, Japanese Canadian internment and Jewish Canadian internment. This project pairs Edmund Metatawabin's *Up Ghost River: A Chief's Journey Through the Turbulent Waters of Native History* with the 1999 court transcript of Cree nun, Anna Wesley, Tom Sando's *Wild Daisies in the Sand* with his Japanese diaries (which I commissioned to have translated into English) and Eric Koch's *Otto & Daria: A Wartime Journey Through No Man's Land* with letters from family and friends. Using Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the dialogic and heteroglossia as a foundation, this dissertation proposes a new theoretical framework for reading between memoirs and archives. This framework consists of dialogic citizenship, counternarratives, code switching and/or composition. While the chapters on Metatawabin and Sando engage with dialogic citizenship, counternarratives and code switching, the chapter on Koch introduces dialogic composition. This dissertation also engages with thinkers on national narratives such as Benedict Anderson, James Wertsch and Berber Bevernage. I argue that reading the memoirs and archives in tandem helps readers to challenge engrained national narratives, and also shows ideological shifts that would not be evident simply by engaging with one form.

These close, historically and politically informed readings of the memoirs and the archives reveal the power of rejoinder and response. As this dissertation shows, response does not need to take place between two people, but can take place with one person (at different moments in one's life). Furthermore, the difference in forms (court transcript, diaries, and letters) present vital discussions of memory, time, language, accessibility, citizenship and belonging in

drastically different settings. By engaging with some of the dialogic threads that exist between memoirs and archives, I argue that a generative space exists between them for readers. This critically challenging space not only forces readers to look inward at preconceived biases but also to engage with material that they might be culturally outside.

Dedication

For my parents Margaret and Vilko Umolac – yes, I had enough to eat

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One

Dialogic Interactions of Memoirs and Archives: Imagining Alternative Canadian Futures

'These numbers are your new names, so remember them well,' she said. I tried the number silently in my mouth. It felt flat and far away. *This is unfair,* I thought, *even dogs have real names.*

-Edmund Metatawabin, *Up Ghost River*

Before this we lived peaceful lives in Canada, as respectable Canadian citizens. In all this time we had certainly done nothing to merit such brutality from the people of Canada.

-Tom Sando, *Wild Daisies in the Sand*

'Now, look here,' the colonel said. 'Otto is a terrible name. There's a war on. You can't call yourself Otto in Canada, in wartime. Don't you have another name?'

-Eric Koch, *Otto & Daria*

These three epigraphs exemplify the experience of the authors who are the focus of this dissertation, all forced to navigate their identity in a political climate constructed to exclude them. Speaking from and engaging with three distinct, dark and disturbing periods of Canadian history, Indian Residential Schools, Japanese Canadian Internment and Jewish Canadian internment, these memoirs unpack traumatic moments and the ways in which the authors have come to terms with their experiences of displacement, dislocation and distortion. These memoirs represent only one side of the conversation, the other being earlier archival materials that serve as counterparts that offer corresponding accounts of the same events. Edmund Metatawabin's *Up Ghost River* is placed in conversation with the 1999 court transcript of Cree nun, Anna Wesley.[1] Tom Sando's *Wild Daisies in the Sand* is paired with his translated 1940 Japanese diaries.[2] Eric Koch's *Otto & Daria* is placed in conversation with Koch's own personal letters and letters from family and friends.

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[1] Metatawabin participated in the court transcript as an informational informant.

[2] I commissioned the translation of these diaries which were being held at the Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre.

This dissertation does not attempt to homogenize differences or make the claim that reading another's perspective immediately generates understanding. As Canadian literary scholar Lily Cho provocatively writes in her discussion of diasporic citizenship, "Not all elsewheres are equal and not all dislocations are the same" (100). Paying attention to the ways these "elsewheres" and "dislocations" are navigated between the memoirs and the archives illuminates and resists simple categorizations and easy binaries. The Residential School experience, Japanese Canadian internment and Jewish Canadian internment may have some political parallels (which will be explored later in the introduction), however, they cannot and should not be equated. The value of comparing these incommensurable but overlapping histories helps to articulate the ways that the Canadian state has excluded specific citizens and in the Indigenous context, nations and to better appreciate the specificity of each event.[3] While each of these

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[3] According to Bonita Lawrence, citizenship operates as a way of containing and erasing Indigenous peoples as sovereign peoples. The Gradual Civilization Act (1857), the Indian Act (1876) and the policy of enforced residential schooling were examples where the settler colonial structure of the Canadian nation state restricts and diminishes membership in Indigenous societies. In an interview with Scott Rutherford, Lawrence explains how the Indian Act takes away Indigenous people's Indian status after generations of intermarriage. She adds that the Act "controls their citizenship and it is estimated that, under this legislation, there will cease to be any status Indians in four to seven generations from now" (Rutherford 11). Policies such as the Act have attempted to eliminate "Indigenous peoples as peoples" (16). The 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy attempted to embrace Indigenous peoples as citizen-subjects while eliminating their collective rights and legal status. In response, Harold Cardinal writes how this policy represented "cultural genocide" and was a "thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation" (1). These policies attempt to assimilate Indigenous peoples and show an indifference, ignorance and bigotry towards Indigenous communities.

The Canadian Museum of Immigration reports that the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) sought to "protect the cultural heritage of all Canadians, reduce discrimination, and encourage the implementation of multicultural programs and initiatives within institutions and organizations" ("Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1988"). The term "multiculturalism," however, is generally reserved for those who "originated, or whose ancestors originated, outside our national borders" (Voyageur and Calliou 104). Operating from that definition, Indigenous peoples and their history of colonial subjugation are not recognized within the confines of the Act, says Himani Bannerji, describing it as a "state sanctioned, state organized ideological affair in Canada" (27). She continues the "core community is synthesized into a national we, and it

groups have suffered from ongoing racist policies of the Canadian state (Japanese Canadians were categorized as "enemy aliens" sanctioned through the War Measures Act and Jewish Canadians were treated as "unwanted" immigrants through the anti-Semitic Immigration Act), the confinement of Indigenous people in residential schools relied on genocidal discourses of the "vanishing Indian" and must be recognized as one part of a larger and longer project of Canada's genocide.

Furthermore, Indigenous people have not been excluded from the state in the same ways as Japanese Canadians and Jewish Canadians have, in the sense that the state's power has been extended over Indigenous nations. While the discourse between the government and Japanese Canadians and Jewish Canadians has been one of nation-state to citizen, the discourse between the government and Indigenous nations has been one of nation to nation. Paul Keal writes that

> the state has typically been conceptualized as the container of a single community or nation, which is implicit in the idea of the nation-state. The presence of indigenous [...] peoples within states points to the state as a container of not one but several communities. In Canada in particular, First Nation peoples insist that negotiation with the dominant settler society should be on a *nation* to *nation* basis, signifying in part, 'a special relationship with the state.' (327)

He continues that "The idea of states being multinational leads in turn to that of multiple and overlapping sovereignties" (327). The relationship between the government and First Nations

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decides on the terms of multiculturalism and the degree to which multicultural others should be tolerated and accommodated. This 'we' is an essentialized version of a colonial European turned into Canadian and the subject of the agent of Canadian nationalism [...] The practice is clearly exclusive, not only of third world or non-white ethnic immigrants, but also of the aboriginal population" (42). As Bannerji emphasizes, Canada is constructed on a foundation of "Europeanness as whiteness" that creates categories of otherness that delimit membership of nation and state.

raises questions with respect to Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. Taiaiake Alfred rejects European notions of sovereignty and sees the European language of sovereignty as ignorant to Indigenous concepts of power, authority and connections with land. He writes, "We must deconstruct the notion of state power to allow people to see that the settler has no right to determine indigenous futures" (*Peace, Power, Righteousness* 47).

A key component of this project is recognizing how the terms "nation" and "state" operate. While the terms are often used interchangeably, they carry important distinctions. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "nation" as "A large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people," and the "state" as "The body politic as organized for supreme civil rule and government; the political organization which is the basis of civil government" ("Nation, n."; "State, n."). This dissertation engages with the political actions of the state and how these measures have influenced national narratives. In *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson explores this interaction between the creation of the state and the national imaginary. He writes that "the census, the map, and the museum: together, they profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion – the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry" (163–64). In this dissertation, the intersection of archives and memoirs challenges the colonial state's national imaginary and narrative authority.

The temporal differences between all three events carry important distinctions as well. Indian Residential Schools spanned the period of 1834 to 1996 with the intergenerational effects of this system continuing to impact the present. The internment of Japanese Canadians lasted from 1942 to 1945 and the internment of Jewish Canadians from 1940 to 1943. Recognizing the

ways in which these narratives temporally stand apart and stand with national narratives establishes that dialogic interactions do not just exist between readers and the text, but also within different temporal periods of the authors' lives.

I selected these memoirs not only because of their overlapping relation to Canada's histories of forcible exclusion, but also because they each had corresponding archival sources that featured the authors. These archives not only span three distinct historical chapters but also three distinct genres: court transcripts, letters and diaries. Placing these memoirs in conversation with their corresponding archival material raises questions about memory, national boundaries, belonging, citizenship, identity, language, and constructions and reconstructions of home. How do the authors' ideology and identity change between forms? What do those changes reveal about national constructions of citizenship and belonging? How do they navigate the continuous oscillations of inclusion and exclusion imposed upon them by the nation? How is code-switching used between forms and what do those linguistic choices reveal about institutional structures? Is the conversation that takes place between the memoirs and the archives resisting homogenous national narratives or reinforcing them?

With a marked Bakhtinian focus on the dialogic and heteroglossia, this dissertation will argue that memoirs alone do not reveal drastic shifts in the authors' ideology and language over the course of their lives, which is why the comparison with the primary materials found in the archives is crucial. Metatawabin, Sando and Koch are encapsulated in a moment in time through their archival sources. Contrasting that immediacy of the archives with the careful reflection of the subsequent memoirs shows a continuous transformation of identity. Drawing together these temporal threads shows how individuals adapt and change within a nation markedly trying to exclude them. Surprisingly, having to navigate the states of prisoner and citizen, abused and

advocate, isolated and connected does not leave these authors bitter but instead elicits complex and compassionate responses. In his memoir, for example, Koch writes "Today, more than seventy years since my internment, I find it easier to remember the good things, the friendships, the intellectual stimulation, and, most important, the experience as such – a greatly enriching event in my life" (196). Koch describing his internment experience as a "greatly enriching event" likely raises some eyebrows because most would equate incarceration to a degrading rather than an "enriching" experience, especially considering the restrictive conditions within the camp and the loss of freedom that Koch expresses as "internitis." This quote reveals that knowledge is not always fixed, but rather always subject to re-examination and change. While trauma can be justifiably met with anger and resentment, the retrospective view of that trauma can also be tempered with understanding, compassion, and even forgiveness.[4]

The goal of this study is to chart the continuous oscillations of inclusion and exclusion that occur between memoirs and archives. The borders that exist for Metatawabin, Sando and Koch are not purely located externally, but internally as well. This continuous navigation becomes apparent through an analysis of the politics, memory, language and counter narratives. A secondary goal of this study is to argue that the dialogic interactions that take place between memoirs and archives reveal the intimacies of national and personal belonging. Paying attention to these intimate moments of growth and change provides the ability to imagine alternative futures.

I approach the material under study in this dissertation from the perspective of a cultural outsider, a settler and a Canadian. I come from a background of Croatian and Ukrainian descent.

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[4] While Jews were not considered "white" when they were excluded from Canada, now Jews are considered under liberal multiculturalism as "white" in ways that Japanese Canadians and Indigenous peoples are not.

My paternal grandfather, Toma Umolac immigrated from Croatia, then one of six republics in Yugoslavia, in the 1950s without a passport. He attempted this exit from Croatia on foot twice. The first-time border guards barred my grandparents from leaving their homeland. The second time, only my grandmother was arrested and jailed after guards fired warning shots. My grandfather managed to escape to a refugee work camp in Austria. Years after arriving in Canada in search of a better life, he sent for my grandmother and my father. Their reunion at the Toronto airport was bittersweet because my grandmother did not recognize my grandfather instantly. It was my father who pointed him out in the crowd. Through the stories about their transatlantic experiences that they repeated over the years, I understand the sacrifice and work ethic that accompanies the construction and reconstruction of home; the seeking out and pull of cultural community; the struggles that come with communicating in second languages; and the duelling patriotism. My "Deda" and "Baba" worked several jobs to build a life in Hamilton. My Deda worked as a farmhand before landing a permanent position as a janitor at Dofasco and my Baba worked as a seamstress and a textile worker. My grandfather passed away in 2019, but I will always remember how important it was for him to be perceived as economically secure and successful. He valued being a secure provider for his family and being able to spoil (and overfeed) his granddaughter. Also, keenly interested in politics, my Deda bussed down to Ottawa and to Washington DC, joining fellow Croats, in pleading for recognition of Croatian independence from the communist Yugoslavia. My mother recalls how people would drive by and call the protestors "DPs" (displaced persons). While their experience cannot be equated to the other three case studies (nor do I wish it to be), their experience gestures toward key themes that come through in this study.

Over the course of my research, the concept of "unsettlement" repeatedly arises in response to settler positionality. In *Unsettling the Settler Within,* Paulette Regan identifies the importance of not just theorizing about decolonization, but also experiencing it beginning with ourselves and then as morally and ethically responsible socio-political actors in Canadian society. She writes of the value of existing in the space of a learner, recognizing the tension of learning *from* rather than learning *about* the other: "Settlers as ethical witnesses must assume a posture of alert vulnerability to or recognition of difference, rather than a pose of empathetic understanding that tends to reduce difference to the same" (51). Similarly, in his formulation of "empathic unsettlement," Dominick LaCapra also highlights the importance of the recognition of difference and the need of resisting harmonizing or spiritually uplifting accounts of extreme events: "The role of empathy and empathic unsettlement in the attentive secondary witness [...] involves a kind of virtual experience through which one puts oneself in the other's position while recognizing the difference of that position and hence not taking the other's place" (78). Through my dissertation, I have recognized how my position directly contrasts with the authors in my study. The government has never forcibly taken me from my home and denied my rights to citizenship. I recognize that I work and operate within structures of privilege that are attached to histories of injustice. While recognizing difference and not assuming equality takes precedence, one must not overlook the ability of stories to challenge engrained worldviews. Stó:lō scholar Lee Maracle insists that Indigenous storytelling focuses on transformation and growth, and underscores what is at stake: "Unless we bend the light in the direction of our attitudes, beliefs, and agendas, we will not be able to drop the mask, let go of our original vision, and expand it to 'include' the vision of others in our scope of see" (59). Becoming aware of

one's own blind spots and subconscious positions exposes difference and concurrently helps develop an introspective environment for interrogation.

Recognizing the power of Indigenous literature to serve as a counterforce to hegemonic power constructs, Jo-Ann Episkenew writes, "The narratives implicate settler readers by exposing the structures that sustain White privilege and by compelling them to examine their position of privilege and their complicity in the continued oppression of Indigenous people" (17). This idea of implication has resonance within the field of memory studies. Michael Rothberg views the implicated subject as neither a victim nor a perpetrator but rather in possessesion of multiple "political, economic, and moral linkages to allegedly faraway injustices (as well as those closer to home)" (*The Implicated Subject* 32). They are "morally compromised" and attached to political and economic dynamics. Rothberg calls for the forging of "long distanced solidarity," while at the same time acknowledging that self-reflexivity of implicated subjects is not sufficient for the construction of durable solidarities. This idea of implication holds specific resonance and ongoing relevance in the present as we continue to grapple with the denial of civil liberties and the details of disturbing histories. The discovery of unmarked graves of Indigenous children who died of disease or neglect or had been killed at residential schools has re-educated the public, removing any willful blindness, and cries out for justice. Since the past explicitly invades the present, these events reveal our implication in current political systems that reinscribe colonial frameworks. Unless we challenge these frameworks, we are active participants in their re-inscription.

Intense recent media coverage of the unmarked graves near former residential school sites has forced the public to confront Canada's brutal past and to see the intergenerational impacts that still exist. These discoveries have rightly ignited public outrage, caused profound

sadness, and renewed grieving of familial wounds. The lack of commemoration for the dead speaks to the callous disregard by the government and school authorities. Indigenous communities across the nation are now conducting their own investigations, utilizing ground penetrating radar in their searches for the burial sites of more children. In May 2021, the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc First Nation reported 200 unmarked graves on the grounds of Kamloops Indian Residential School (Lee and Parkhill). In June 2021, the Lower Kootenay band detected the remains of 182 children near the grounds of St. Eugene's Mission School near Cranbrook, British Columbia (Lee and Parkhill). In July 2021, Penelakut Tribe Chief Joan Brown confirmed 160 graves near Kuper Island School on Vancouver Island (Lee and Parkhill). In January 2022, in British Columbia, Williams Lake First Nation reported 93 potential burial sites on the grounds of former residential school, St. Joseph's Mission (Lee and Parkhill). These investigations are ongoing and frequently reporting new discoveries.[5]

While the unmarked graves forced the public to confront a suppressed history, the recent reference to Pearl Harbour in the media compelled the public to make direct connections to patriotism, safety and pride. The memory of Pearl Harbour was strategically invoked by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky while he asked the United States for increased military support.

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[5] In Saskatchewan, 751 unmarked graves were found around the site of Marieval Indian Residential School in June 2021, 72 graves on the grounds at Battleford School in 1974, 38 graves at Regina Indian Industrial School in 2012 and 2014, and 35 graves on the grounds of Muscowequan Residential School in 2018 and 2019 (Lee and Parkhill). In Manitoba, 104 graves have been discovered on the grounds of Brandon Residential School since 2012 (Lee and Parkhill). In Alberta, 34 graves were found at St. Joseph's Residential School in 2001 (Lee and Parkhill). In the Northwest Territories, 300 graves were discovered on the site of Sacred Heart school in the 1990s (Lee and Parkhill).

> Friends, Americans, in your great history, you have pages that allow you to understand Ukrainians now. Remember Pearl Harbour, the terrible morning of December 7, 1941, when your sky was black from the planes attacking you. Just remember it. Remember September 11th, a terrible day in 2001, when evil tried to turn your cities—independent territories—into battlefields [...] Our country experiences the same every day, right now, at this moment—every night for three weeks now. (Wright)

These current events demonstrate that a comfortable distance or ignorance toward uncomfortable histories can no longer be convincingly maintained.

In a world consumed by superficial listening, the interaction between memoirs and archives requires readers to deeply listen. In her research with Indigenous communities in Australia, Dr. Laura Brearley links deep listening with community leadership.

> The Indigenous concept of Deep Listening describes a way of learning, working, and togetherness that is informed by the concepts of community and reciprocity [...] It draws on every sense and every part of our being [...] It also means listening to and observing oneself. (91)

Brearley's ideas about a sensory immersion that functions both internally and externally mirrors the ideas of Indigenous scholars Maracle, Richard Wagamese and Leanne Simpson. They all advocate for storytelling processes that engage all parts of our being.[6] In this study, this sensory immersion surfaces in the meeting between memoirs and archives. We are asked to locate the

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[6] In *Embers,* Wagamese details a conversation that he had with an Old Woman about how she always repeats things three times. The Woman responds "When you listen, you become aware. That's for your head. When you hear, you awaken. That's for your heart. When you feel, it becomes a part of you. That's for your spirit. Three times. It's so you learn to listen with your whole being. That's how you learn" (113). Likewise, Leanne Simpson also believes in the practice of listening with one's open heart.

space "in between" and actively question how the material we are reading affects our worldview and our relationships to our own micro and macro community structures. Yorta Yorta artist Treahna Hamm advocates for multiple voices in the academic arena: "We need to hear many voices in the space 'in between.' Healthy dialogue is the result. This space lies between Indigenous, European and multicultural communities where knowledge, culture and respect can merge and where understanding can be deepened" (Brearley 99). While I agree that having diverse conversations yields incredible learning, I have found the space that Hamm envisions as idealistic, especially when communities are just trying to rebuild. Indigenous communities, in particular, may be extremely guarded about who they let in. Powerfully, occupying the space between archives and memoirs allows for these conversations to begin without placing the emotional burden on Indigenous and minority communities. Indigenous communities are looking to rebuild their communities from the inside (language reacquisition); it is the role of those who exist outside of those communities to be respectful of those initiatives. One way to demonstrate this respect is through self-education (reading and researching on your own) before interacting with those communities.

In the intersection between Indigenous and Western methodologies, both individual and collective responses to stories evoke elements of connectivity. For Indigenous methodologies, importance lies in intentional personal listening and deeply thinking through what has been shared. As Indigenous scholar Jo Ann Archibald writes, "meaning derives from a synergy between the story, the context in which the story is used, the way that the story is told, and how one listens to the story" (84). While the act of sharing what one has learned is of paramount importance, it cannot be done without a holistic depth of understanding. In her explanation of story listening, Archibald writes how "Listening requires the concomitant involvement of the

auditory and visual senses, the emotions, the mind, and patience. The act of story listening occurs in relation to using our other senses" (76). While Western methodologies recognize the connection between the individual and the collective, the listener and storyteller appear fused. Canada 150 Research Chair Wendy Chun explains, "The important task in listening, then, is to feel the victim's victories, defeats, and silences, know them from within, while at the same time acknowledging that one is not the victim, so that the victim can testify, so that the truth can be reached together" (qtd in Miller and Tougaw 162). A sense of distance marks a strong difference between Archibald and Chun's definitions of listening. While for Chun, the storyteller and listener appear fused together, arriving at a shared truth, Archibald's listener allows the story to deeply settle. Chun fails to realize that the listener and storyteller can arrive at different truths through the same story. These truths can be wildly different, highly individualized and contextualized.

In trauma studies, the goal of the listener appears to be empathy, while in Indigenous methodologies a form of deep listening needs to occur. Nancy Miller and Jason Tougaw posit that "Testimony attempts to bridge the gap between suffering individuals and ultimately communities of listeners, whose empathic response can be palliative, if not curative" (11). Similarly, Chun writes "The goal is not to cure either the listener or the speaker but rather to respond and listen so that survival is possible" (qtd in Miller and Tougaw 162). Both statements make great assumptions about the role of the listener and the role of the storyteller. Listeners can have varied responses to stories. Responding with empathy does not guarantee healing or survival for the storyteller. A gap can arise between the sensory immersion of deep listening and the role of empathy. While the terms are intertwined, deep active listening relates to sitting with the story for a longer period of time and putting the energy into understanding the other person.

In aiming to read in the space between memoirs and archives, I hope to engage with full listening: doing so will elicit a greater depth of understanding of the dialogic conversations that take place and continue to take place.

This introduction performs the following tasks: it analyzes the importance of forms (memoir and archive); presents the two foundational theoretical lenses of the dialogic and the construction of national narratives; sets up my theoretical framework of dialogic citizenship, code-switching, counternarratives and composition; compares the historical events from a political perspective; and summarizes the three chapters that constitute my project. The dialogic interactions investigated in this dissertation are pressing as they relate to conversations about nationalism, citizenship, borders, minority rights and the role of archives and memoirs. By placing these memoirs and subsequent archival collections together, and performing in-depth, historically nuanced and theoretically informed close readings of them, I will show how memoirs and archives perform a critical function in showcasing ideological shifts that have been influenced by shifting political and personal purposes.

Importance of Forms

This project directly positions memoir with three distinct sources of primary material housed in archives: a court transcript, diaries and letters. While the primary source changes between chapters, the conception of the memoir does not, raising the crucial question: What exactly is a memoir? Research into the field reveals that memoir linguistically and as a genre lies in a state of constant instability and flux. Linguistically, the etymology of the term memoir is both masculine and feminine. Drawing its roots from Middle French, the masculine "memoire" refers to a written account or "facts in a case which is to be judged," whereas the feminine

"memoire" refers to memory ("Memoir, n."). The changes in gender and associations demonstrate the slipperiness of the term. Especially considering the feminine association of memory, the connection raises questions about the function of "truth" in the memoir. Canadian poet George Fetherling maintains that memoirs are engaged with a "higher, more impressionistic, more fictive type of truth" (viii). "If formal autobiographies display the writers to their best advantage, private journals, if honest, show them at their worst and most human. Memoirs fall somewhere in-between" (Fetherling viii). The memoirs engaged within this study exist in this "in-between." To suggest that a memoir is more "transparent" or "unfiltered" than an archive would be naïve considering the processes of editing and publication—especially given that some memoirs were reshaped years after the fact.

In literary criticism, memoirs are usually contrasted against autobiographies. While autobiographies are conceived as "comprehensive" (Couser), "unitary and continuous" (Quinby), and "formal" (Fetherling), memoirs exist in a constant state of in-between. G. Thomas Couser (2012) explains that if a memoir is situated on a continuum between focusing on the author and focusing on someone else, memoirs generally rest in the middle. As author Lee Quinby provocatively argues, while the autobiographical "I" assumes interiority, the memoir "I" is "externalized and [...] overtly dialogical" (299). Author Julie Rak identifies how memoirs trouble the boundaries between private and public:

> [T]he attraction of memoir must lie in both things: it provides the story of others in a way that creates a private self alongside the self of another, and it is the means of *mobility* from the private to the public. In memoir, lives *go public* as they *become public.* It becomes a way for readers to think publicly, but from the private sphere. It creates the

> possibility of social movement through personal movement. (*Boom!* 33 original emphasis)

For Rak, memoirs are simultaneously public and private, potentially inspiring both personal and social movement. According to Rak's definition, memoirs live in a space of continuous movement. The author's identity at the time of writing, like the reader's experience of reading, is both public and private. Concurrently, the author is heavily influenced by the multiple intersections of temporality that occur: the time period of when the initial events actually took place and the time when they are writing about said events directly collide. Importantly, the personal and historical contexts that are taking place at the time of writing influence this retrospective gaze. Drastic shifts in ideology and language cannot be seen simply by engaging with the memoir, which is why comparison with the primary materials found in the archives is crucial. Drawing together these temporal threads, produced at different moments of proximity to the initial trauma, shows the ways that individuals process and come to terms with traumatic events.[7] Memoirs, however, also evoke a period, not just a person. The "memoir boom" was a period roughly spanning the first decade of the 21st century when the production of American and British memoirs by celebrities and even relatively unknown people sharply increased. This distinction shows how memoirs reflect their production and dissemination.

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[7] There have been many psychological studies conducted on the relationship between the proximity of trauma and the development of posttraumatic stress symptoms (May and Blair 2016, Weinburg and Gil 2016). In their study of 385 students and faculty who were exposed to a university shooting, Wozniak et al (2020) found that physical proximity was associated with posttraumatic stress symptoms, while emotional proximity was associated with the development of posttraumatic growth and posttraumatic stress symptoms. They found that intrusive rumination was associated with physical proximity and deliberate rumination associated with emotional proximity (Wozniak et al.).

Just like memoirs have been conceived as spaces of mobility, so too have archives. The primary materials in each study were accessed through national archives (Library and Archives Canada, the Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre), through university archives (Clara Thomas Archives) or through alternative archives (Sue Enberg's website injesusnamefilm.com). While the specifics of each archive will be explored in subsequent chapters, only recently have archives been conceived as sites of tenuous instability. Historically, archives were approached as stable sources of knowledge. Jacques Derrida emphasizes that the word "archive" has its linguistic roots in the Greek *arkheion*, "initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrate, the *archons,* those who commanded" (2). The *archons* "are first of all the documents' guardians. They do not only ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate. They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives" (2). This initial description of the archives evokes images of limited accessibility. Michel Foucault writes that the role of the document has changed: "The document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said, the events of which only the trace remains; history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations" (7). Both Derrida and Foucault identify the power dynamics at play in the intentional construction of the archive. The implications of these power dynamics will be explored through the different archival sources in this dissertation.

The movement from archives as places of stability to places of continuous movement has been a recent critical shift. Etymologically, the term "memoir" fluctuates between masculine and feminine, while the term "archive" operates as both simultaneously singular and plural. Archives can refer to a place or collection: "For some, archives are places; for others they are bodies,

traces, sounds, or data" (Helton 44). Functioning as both a noun and a verb, the term archive embodies both passive and active associations, refusing to be contained. In *Moving Archives* (2020), Linda Morra, drawing on Sara Ahmed's "affective economies," posits that archives are *moving* and "involved in emotionally engaged, emotionally charged processes, which act upon their subjects and enact specific fields of knowledge and varieties of community" (1–2). Morra adds that affective economies are mutually constitutive and inform "the decisions we make to pursue, to forgo, to concentrate on particular archival material" (5). Building on Morra's view of mobility and affect, the term "archive" can be defined as a "palimpsest of force encounters" (Gregg et al. 2) or an "inventory of shimmers" (Barthes et al. 77). Archives exist in this perpetual state of in-betweenness balancing on a precipice of not only temporal and linguistic instability but also a mutability of identity. In the dialogic reading of memoirs and archives, a *palimpsestic archive* develops whereby scratching the surface of one inevitably reveals traces of the other.

Archives have also been framed as transformative and affective spaces. Eric Ketelaar notes that archives are "spaces of memory-practice, where people can try to put their trauma in context by accessing the documents, not primarily seeking *the* truth or searching *the* history, but transforming their experiences into meaning" (120). Placing lesbian archives at the centre of her study, Ann Cvetkovich writes how an "archive of feeling" can provide the basis for new cultures and counter assumptions that clinical approaches are the only model for responding to trauma. Functioning as a nexus of and for transformation, both archives and memoirs resist static binaries and definitions. Archives have been conceived as places of "aspiration" (Appadurai) and "sites of the expectant and the conjured" (Stoler 1), but also "full-fledged historical actors" (Burton 7) and sites of activism. Archives are not neutral, objective or static sources of information. As the various associations address, archives can exist in the realm of potentiality and active resistance.

Memoirs have been conceived as both "finished and unfinished" and as a "commodity and as a practice of going public" which facilitates people to think through "affective ties of belonging" (Rak "Are Memoirs" 317; Rak *Boom* 213). Both forms slide across a spectrum refusing to be static, intimately connected to formations of communities and nations. Both forms thrive in the grey area and the meanings that exist in the in-between.

Several theorists have explored the intersection of archives and autobiographical texts. Helen Buss (1993) provides a theoretical framework for mapping how female identity is formed by Canadian writers. Carole Gerson (2011) considers how publications by Canadian women intervene in the public sphere of national material print culture. Marlene Kadar et al (2005) explores the relationship between "unlikely documents," such as deportation lists, art exhibits, reality television, chat rooms, and familiar literary genres such as plays, long poems, and short stories. All three scholars look for the "traces of autobiographical self- representation in fragments of document and image" (1). These essays similarly study the boundary of fiction and non-fiction, but the present study emphasizes the idea of the "trace." In the dialogic conversation that takes place between memoir and archive, traces of one can be found in the other. These traces expand, challenge or reinforce the narratives presented.

Memory has been conceived as "multidirectional" (Rothberg), and "travelling" (Erll). Existing in a perpetual state of movement, memory transgresses metaphorical and literal boundaries. Rothberg explains that "the archive of multidirectional memory is irreducibly transversal; it cuts across genres, national contexts, periods, and cultural traditions" (*Multidirectional Memory* 18). Astrid Erll has also conceived memory as inextricably tied with movement. "Such an approach means moving away from site-bound, nation-bound, and in a naive sense, *cultures* bound research and displaying an interest in mnemonic dynamics unfolding

across and beyond boundaries" (15). In both of these approaches, memory transgresses boundaries and borders. The forms of archive and memoir already exist in states of instability; in both of these forms, the fluidity of memory increases exponentially. Therefore, looking at memory in just one form illuminates just one side of the conversation, one pathway of connections. By looking at the way memory works in between forms, how it transgresses borders, showcases changes and temporally shifts and adapts, the conversations become manifold. This polyvocality of lives and shifting responses to experiences proves a more comprehensive history. To think through how national histories have erased minority voices requires a dissension of voices.

Both memoirs and archives can be conceived as individual and communal sites of memory, to use Pierre Nora's term, *lieux de memoire.* The most "fundamental purpose of the *lieu de memoire* is to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial" (19). Both forms function in some way as a block to forgetting. The archives constructed on specific dates take a snapshot of time. While the individual archives can be conceived as a static representation, the ways in which they interact with the memoir and the reader reveal a state of constant movement and fluidity. The memoir also functions as a way to block the work of forgetting; however, the memoir also works as a way to reconstruct and reinterpret the past. Each author casts a retrospective gaze on their past, which clearly has an effect on how they understand their traumatic experiences.

Nora provocatively states that "Modern memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image" (13). He continues, "the archive has become the deliberate and calculated secretion of lost memory" (14). Both archives and memoir fit Nora's conception of modern memory being archival. They

both provide an immediacy of experience (albeit at different times) and function to prevent lost memory. The forms are deliberate secretions of the past that reveal the authors' state of mind and, when read together, reveal shifts over time and context. This is important because the forms do not represent two static narratives of Canadian history: read together, they reveal complex growth and affective dimensions.

Dialogic and National Narratives

The theoretical lenses through which I critically analyze the archival material and memoirs are Mikhail Bakhtin's theories of the dialogic and heteroglossia, and the critical field of nationalism, particularly the construction of narrative belonging. They are also the fields wherein I make my critical interventions, the development of a theoretical framework consisting of dialogic citizenship, code-switching, counternarratives and composition. These interventions are meant to illuminate ways to read and ethically engage with material that readers exist culturally outside. Bakhtin forms the core theoretical structure of my dissertation, so I will start with three influential essays that have provided a theoretical foundation for this project.

The term "dialogic" originates from the French *dialogique* meaning "relating to, or of the nature of dialogue" ("Dialogic, Adj."). It has also been linked with the post-classical Latin *dialogicus* meaning "of or belonging to a dialogue" ("Dialogic, Adj."). In the Bakhtinian sense, the term is "characterized by the interactive nature of dialogue [in fiction], in which multiple voices, discourses, etc., coexist, responding to and engaging with each other" ("Dialogic, Adj."). In "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin contrasts monologic versus dialogic speech. Whereas "Monologue as[should that be "is?"] speech that is addressed to no one and does not presuppose a response," dialogic relations are "relations (semantic) among any utterances in

speech communication. Any two utterances, if juxtaposed on a semantic plane (not as things and not as linguistic examples), end up in a dialogic relationship" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 117). The latter suggests answerability and response. This dissertation sees response in the conversation between archives and memoirs, while at the same time troubling the conception that response must take place between two people.

In connection, the term "heteroglossia" was modelled on the Russian lexical term *raznorečie* (*raznuj* meaning "different" and *reč* meaning "speech"). The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines heteroglossia as,

> the coexistence of multiple language varieties within a notionally unitary national language, literary text, or other form of discourse; the language varieties (regional, social, ethnic, professional, etc.) that coexist within a notionally uniting dominant form. Also in extended use: a plurality of attitudes, beliefs, values, or ideologies within a supposedly unitary culture or community. ("Heteroglossia, n.")

Bakhtin writes that a prime example of heteroglossia takes place within the novel.

> The novel orchestrates all its themes, the totality of the world of objects and ideas depicted and expressed in it, by means of the social diversity of speech types [*raznorečie*] and by the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions. Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia [*raznorečie*] can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships (always more or less dialogized). (Bakhtin 263)

This dissertation applies that same idea to the forms of memoir and archive. Just as a novel permits "a multiplicity of social voices," so too does the memoir and the archive. Metatawabin,

Sando and Koch all make choices about what voices they represent in their memoirs and how those voices are represented. The choices that authors make about what speech types they choose to include, to emphasize and to omit add another layer of complexity to the dialogic interactions that take place. The way in which they weave their text, using these speech types, provides insight into their conscious and subconscious authorial intentions.

This comparative intersection between memoirs and archives has not been extensively explored in the Canadian critical field but some work has been done. Internationally, Marisa Fuentes (2021) and Nicole Aljoe (2020) engage with self-written slave narratives and compare them to archives of Atlantic world slavery. Bringing together memoir and family photographs, Munira, Yasmine and Rola Khayyat (2018) investigate the US-Saudi oil empire. While these studies engage with both memoir and archive they do not employ the dialogic in their theorizations. In the Canadian critical frame, Erica Johnson (2014) studies Dionne Brand's memoir and notes the different types of archives that are used in the construction of her memoir. Johnson's focus on a single author study avoids the complex dialogic conversations that my dissertation emphasizes.

Furthermore, while there have been many studies into heteroglossia and fictional texts (Dakamsih 2022, Kappanyos 2022, Oliver-Hobley 2022, Mandal et al 2020, Salvatierra 2020, Çelikel 2019, Drong 2019, Roos 2018) the same attention has not been given to heteroglossia and non-fiction texts. Christopher Thurley (2022) studies the heteroglossic monologism apparent in the fictional and non-fiction work of Anthony Burgess. Felix Fuchs (2021) explores Arundhati Roy's eyewitness account *Walking with the Comrades* and writes that the heteroglossia employed in the text shows socially constituted reality. Samantha Ortiz (2019) studies the work of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* and Gertrude Stein's *The*

Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas and proposes a new form of feminist heteroglossia. All of these studies do not consider Canada and do not explore the complex interplay that takes place between archives and memoirs nor do they work in a comparative context.

The originality of this dissertation lies both in its dialogic approach to reading memoirs and archives in tandem and in putting these three case studies into conversation with each other. In other examinations of the case studies explored in this dissertation, scholars have tended to focus on memoir or archive rather than both. For Indian Residential Schools, Krista McCracken and Skylee-Storm Hogan (2021, 2017, 2015) explore how the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre community archive supports community healing. Jane Griffith (2018) analyzes how archives were a central part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and in a subsequent article analyzes Bev Sellars' memoir *They Called Me Number One.* In the case of Japanese-Canadian internment scholarship, the emphasis has been mainly on oral testimony (Sugiman 2013) and fictionalized accounts such as Joy Kawaga's popular novel *Obasan* (Kumabe 2021, Cheung 1993) rather than on memoirs. Jewish Canadian internment archival research has placed attention on internment artwork produced within the camps (Bigley 2017). While several historical accounts exist of Indian Residential Schools (Milloy 2017, Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 2016), Japanese-Canadian internment (Stanger-Ross 2020, Stanger-Ross 2017, Sukul 2018) and Jewish Canadian internment (Whitehouse 2016, Zimmermann 2015, Draper 1984), there has not been a project that places these three historical events in conversation with each other.

In his essay, "The Problem with Speech Genres," Bakhtin provides the following definition of speech genres: "Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we

may call speech genres" (60, original emphasis). Primary genres include rejoinders in everyday dialogue, letters, diaries, minutes and everyday stories. Secondary speech genres include novels, dramas, scientific research and major genres of commentary. According to Bakhtin, secondary sources "absorb and digest various primary (simple genres) that have taken form in unmediated speech communion" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 62). Primary and secondary speech genres are integral to the present study. While the archival materials fall under "primary genres," the memoir falls under "secondary speech genre." In my dissertation, secondary genres do not simply absorb primary genres: they actively respond to them.

Bakhtin distinguishes an utterance from a sentence. For Bakhtin, an utterance is a "real unit of speech communication" whose boundaries are "determined by a *change in speaking subjects,* that is a change of speakers" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 71). He continues that "the speaker ends his utterance in order to relinquish the floor to the other or to make room for the other's responsive understanding" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 71). Bakhtin states that this response can be directed at an immediate participant-interlocutor, a differentiated collective of specialists in some particular area or an indefinite, unconcretized other. By contrast, a sentence does not contain this responsive quality. In addition to eliciting a response, Bakhtin emphasizes that another key quality of the utterance is its finalization. In its finalization, the speaker has "said (or written) *everything* he wishes to say at a particular moment or under particular circumstances" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 76 original emphasis). The criterion relates back to the possibility of response. Finally, utterances are expressive and reflective of one another. Bakhtin writes that "each utterance is filled with the echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 91).

Bakhtin does not seem to consider that an utterance does not require a change of speaking subjects in order to be responsive. While Bakhtin does take into consideration rhetorical genres in which a writer raises questions and answers them, he concludes that "these phenomena are nothing other than a conventional playing out of speech communication and primary speech genres" (*Speech Genres & Other Late Essays* 72). In the interaction of archival material and memoirs, however, this interaction does not show just a "conventional playing out of speech genres" (72). The utterance in both of these forms can actively respond to a past self and respond to others.[8]

Sando's 1940 Japanese diaries and 2002 English memoir, with the same speaking subject, respond to each other. Sando's diaries are not simply absorbed and digested into the memoir, they are strategically utilized. As I will further explain in Chapter Two, Sando picks and chooses what elements of his diary entries to emphasize and which to omit. His strong allegiance to Japan is a prominent feature in the diaries but not in his memoir. Similarly, Wesley's 1999 court transcript and Metatawabin's 2014 memoir, which are the focus of Chapter One, both contain completed utterances from Metatawabin. These utterances do not just attempt to elicit responsive understanding from members in the courtroom, nor are they simply echoes of earlier testimonies. Rather, these utterances are actively responding to each other through the ways in which they converge and diverge. Arguably, a key defining feature of an utterance in the interaction of archives and memoir is temporal separation. Metatawabin's memoir was published fifteen years after the court trial. Sando's memoir was published sixty years after his Japanese diaries and

[8] This idea of the utterance actively responding to others has a direct connection to the field of trauma studies. According to psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Dori Laub, the absence of an "empathic listener" or "addressable other, an other who can hear the anguish of one's memories and thus affirm and recognize their realness, annihilates the story" (Felman et al. 68).

Koch's memoir was published seventy years after his family letters. The memoir's response to the archive was impacted by political and personal changes over the years.

In his essay "The Problem of the Text," Bakhtin explores the idea of the text as an utterance. He states that two aspects define the text as an utterance: its plan (intention) and the realization of this plan. Just like his description of the utterance in "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin writes that the "event of the life of the text, that is, its true essence, always develops *on the boundary between two consciousnesses, two subjects*" ("The Problem of the Text" 107). Bakhtin sees a dialogue between the text (the object of study and reflection) and the created framing context (questioning, refuting). Dialogic relations "are possible only between complete utterances of various speaking subjects (dialogue with oneself is secondary, and in the majority of cases, already played through)" ("The Problem of the Text" 117). "Two utterances, separated from one another both in time and in space, *knowing nothing of one another*, when they are compared semantically, reveal dialogic relations if there is any kind of semantic convergence between them (if only partially shared theme, point of view, and so forth)" ("The Problem of the Text" 124 my emphasis). As in "The Problem of Speech Genres," two subjects, two utterances, two voices are required.

Bakhtin sees understanding as "always dialogic." According to Bakhtin:

> The text as[is?] a subjective reflection of the objective world; the text is an expression of consciousness, something that reflects. When the text becomes the object of our cognition, we can speak about the reflection of a reflection. The understanding of the text is a correct reflection of a reflection. Through another's reflection to the reflected object. ("The Problem of the Text" 113)

Each person who participates in this exchange is a part of the utterance. Bakhtin identifies two different types of addresses: a second party or a third party higher "superaddressee." While the second party processes an immediate understanding, the superaddressee responds "either in some metaphysical distance or in a distant historical time" ("The Problem of the Text" 126). This third party does not stop at immediate understanding but presses on more deeply.

There are several parallels and contrasts between my dissertation and Bakhtin's essay. The archives and memoirs in my dissertation are linked by the same subject, but they still engage in a dialogic responsiveness and understanding. If "being heard as such is already a dialogic relation" and "the word wants to be heard, understood, responded to, and again to respond to the response, and so forth *ad infinitum,*" why must that understanding always take place in a third party? Why can understanding not include the original speaker speaking to a past self, learning from a past self, growing from a past self? The dialogic relation between a past and present self serves a primary purpose of identifying ideological and cultural shifts. However, along with Bakhtin, I agree that the "addressee" does occupy a position of importance. The distinction that Bakhtin draws between immediate understanding and a just responsive understanding can be expanded upon. I would add that a "just responsive understanding" includes critically realizing the ways in which archives and memoirs converge and diverge from each other.

In his essay "Discourse in the Novel," Bakhtin investigates the differences between poetic and novelistic discourse. He argues that, while poetry requires the unity of the language system and the unity of the poet's individuality reflected in his language, the novel does not. While the poet accepts the idea of a "sealed off utterance" and "strips the word of others' intentions," the novelist welcomes heteroglossia and language diversity. Bakhtin posits that the key difference between the discourse of poetry and the novel lies with *dialogization:*

> These distinctive links and interrelationships between utterances and languages, this movement of the theme through different languages and speech types, its dispersion into the rivulets and droplets of social heteroglossia, its dialogization - this is the basic distinguishing feature of the stylistics of the novel. (*The Dialogic Imagination* 263)

In Bakhtin's estimation, the novel combines direct authorial literary-artistic narration, and stylized forms of oral everyday narration, semi-literary everyday narration, literary but extra-artistic authorial speech, and the individualized speech of characters. This combination creates a diversity of social speech types and a diversity of individual voices. Bakhtin notes that the utterance of a speaking subject exhibits centrifugal and centripetal forces.[9] He writes that in the socially specific environment in which the utterance lives, the utterance "cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance, it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 276–77). According to Bakhtin, this dialogic orientation finds its deepest expression in the novel. Discourse lives "beyond itself" and each word "tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (293*)*. The word only becomes owned when speakers populates it with their own intention. Prior to this appropriation, the word exists with others, serving others' intentions.

Similarly, I argue that the deepest expression of dialogic orientation takes place between memoirs and archives. While Bakhtin only focused on the ways in which dialogism worked within the novel, bringing in two nonfiction forms exponentially expands the dialogic associations and rejoinders that can occur. The rejoinder to the utterances in the memoir and the

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[9] Centrifugal forces being related to social and historical heteroglossia and centripetal forces relating to concepts of "unitary language." Unitary language relating to linguistic unification and centralization; a system of linguistic norms being an example.

archives constantly changes depending on when readers access the texts – the "rejoinder," that the "answer word" can inspire not only self-introspection, but also concrete activism. Engaging concurrently with the archives and the memoirs pushes against these illusions of comfort that cultural outsiders sustain. Only through shaking the foundation can foundational change occur.

In the meeting of archives and memoir, not only is there a meeting between centrifugal and centripetal forces, but also a meeting of "thousands of living dialogic threads." The archives and memoir are situated in different social contexts and historical periods. The experience of the internment camp in the memoir and archives offer different dialogic threads. Sando's memoir (2002) was influenced by the Japanese Canadian Redress Movement and his diaries (1941-1945) were impacted by the Second World War and the numerous Orders-in-Council. In Metatawabin's chapter, the witnesses in the court transcript each bring their own experiences and worldview into the dialogic and heteroglossic arena of the courtroom. During their direct and cross examination, the dialogic threads are numerous and border on overwhelming, therefore paying attention to key themes, omissions and language provides a starting point for readers. Instead of detachment, a responsive attachment can take place.

Bakhtin states that heteroglossia reflects a greater or lesser proximity to the author and the semantic instantiation. Certain aspects of language directly express the semantic intentions of the author, while others take away from those intentions. The prose writer "does not meld completely with any of these words, but rather accents each of them in a particular way-humorously, ironically, parodically and so forth" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 299). The relationship of the author to language "is always found in a state of movement and oscillation that is more or less alive" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 302). While Bakhtin emphasizes this relationship occurring in fictionalized texts, this dissertation will argue that his ideas can be

applied to non-fiction texts. The constant accenting and refracting in a fictionalized text also occurs in non-fiction. Metatawabin, Sando and Koch all utilize heteroglossia in the ways in which they structure their memoirs and their primary archival material.

Bakhtin writes that if the "semantic nucleus" reflects the author's own personal intentions, then language characterizations/speech mannerisms, seeds of social heteroglossia, and word intentionality all stand at different distances from that nucleus (298). Metatawabin, Sando and Koch all engage in such linguistic planting and categorizations to varying degrees. The way that Metatawabin structures his memoir around scenes of dialogue reveals in close proximity speech mannerism and social heteroglossia, while the court transcript relies heavily on word intentionality in an institutional space. While Sando's diaries reflect social heteroglossia, his memoir with the inclusion of *romanji* speaks to importance of both language characterization and word intentionality.[10] The linguistic characteristics that the authors choose to emphasize and omit reveal intention, especially in terms of how they view memory.

Bakhtin further highlights in his essay that the novelist emphasizes the stratification of language. In the memoir and the archive, the author, editor, translator, and the compiler of the archive all do the same. Readers of archives and memoirs can arguably be considered as Bakhtin's *superaddressee*. While not constructing a new language, readers who mediate on the interaction between these two forms can *critically realize* the interweaving of these dialogic layers. Unconsciously inserting subjective views and judgment into the reading experience further opens up the dialogic connections and observations that can be made. A reader engaging with the memoir and archives in 2021 will attach different meanings compared to a reader in

[10] *Romanji* is the romanization of the Japanese language.

2031. These dialogic layers explore a more comprehensive and polyvocal version of the past and force readers to question unsettling effects.

Nationalism

The second theoretical lens that grounds this project is the critical field of nationalism and, more specifically, the construction of national narratives. As previously explained, my dissertation engages with how the colonial state's racist policies promoted and arguably still promote a national imaginary that restricts Indigenous, Japanese and Jewish communities. The authors push back against the racist and restrictive policies of the colonial state through their memoirs and archives. They make sure that their accounts are heard in both personal and institutional settings. Metatawabin explicitly takes on the state in order to ensure that the victims' voices are heard. Sando rebels against the state through his renouncement of his Canadian citizenship. Koch navigates his internment release against a state unable to categorize him.

In their introduction to *Nations, National Narratives and Communities in the Asia Pacific,* Norman Vasu, Yolanda Chin and Kam-yee Law define national narratives as "the stories that nations convey to connect their past, present and future" (1). These narratives "are powerful and necessary tools in shaping national identity. Within such narratives, the 'nation' as a concept seeks to moderate diversity via the creation of a coherent unity that may sometimes appear to rely heavily on an essentialized narrative while at other times appear to be less so" (1). Director of Middle East Studies, Professor Yaacov Yadgar presents an alternative but similar definition:

> In its simplest sense, the national narrative is the story that a (national) collective tells about itself. It tells the individuals constituting the nation (and anybody else who is interested) who they are, what comprises their past (the national, common one), the

> structure of their characteristics as a collective, and where they are heading- that is, how they should act in the political realm. This story is constructed from a set of secondary narratives, myths, symbols, metaphors and images; it is too complex a tale to be treated as one concise unit. (58)

Both definitions engage with ideas of temporality, presenting a national narrative as one that firmly connects the past, present, and future. These temporal categorizations operate independent of each other. Contrastingly, both definitions comment on the construction of unity. While Vasu and others argue that national narratives strive for a coherent unity, Yadgar speaks to the impossibility of that unity.

Yadgar's comments support Homi K. Bhabha's ideas expressed in his book *Nation and Narration*. Bhabha writes of the particular ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation. Rather than presenting a unity, which Bhabha deems to be impossible, Bhabha explores the ambivalence of language in connection to how it constructs the discourse of a nation. In his conception, the nation lies in a state of in-between:

> The locality of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as 'other' in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the problem of outside/inside must always itself be a process of hybridity, incorporating new 'people' in relation to the body politic, generating other sites of meaning and, inevitably, in the political process, producing unmanned sites of political antagonism and unpredictable forces for political representation. (*Nation and Narration* 4)

Bhabha troubles static binaries of inside and outside that nations attempt to impose. The power of hybridity or the incorporation of new people into the body politic produces resistance to the

state through the development of new sites of meaning. He evokes images of continuous movement and interconnectivity both on a communal and national level. This Janus-faced boundary or this "international dimension both within the margins of the nation-space and in the boundaries in-between nations and peoples" can also be applied to the conversation that takes place between archives and memoir (*Nation and Narration* 4). All the authors in this study are navigating their identity against a nation attempting to exclude them. As Bhabha claims, national constructions are in a state of constant flux. While still designating who is "inside" and "outside" the nation, especially in relation to citizenship, the boundaries of the nation are responsive and reactive to changes in legislation, activist movements and counter narratives thus showing their malleability.

Bhabha outlines an inextricable link between discourse and the nation, especially when considering power relations and imbalances. In *Discourse and Power,* Teun Van Dijk writes that "power not only shows 'in' or 'through' discourse but is relevant as a societal force 'behind' discourse" (31). Van Dijk traces how "symbolic elites" such as directors, artists, and academics set the agenda of public discussion and manage who is publicly portrayed and in what way: "They are the manufacturers of public knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, norms, values, morals, and ideologies. Hence their symbolic power is also a form of ideological power" (32). While less dominant groups can assert counter-power, usually they function only as recipients. The memoirs and archives engaged within this dissertation navigate this complex relationship with power. While the authors do manage how they are publicly portrayed, their positionality does not align with dominant viewpoints and opinions. They assert a counter-power against a national narrative that attempts to highly regulate experience. In other words, the nation strives to present a

homogenous rather than a heterogeneous narrative[11]. In the archives, the form directly comments on power relationships. The highly regulated structure of the courtroom contrasts with the freedom afforded to personal diaries. As Van Dijk highlights, "The stylistic power of highly technical jargon shared by the participating legal representatives may be internally balanced among these professionals, but ultimately further subordinates the defendant" (50). Creating conditions of both inclusion and exclusion, the linguistic barriers in a courtroom setting mimic the barriers in the construction of a nation.

As Percy Hintzen argues, these linguistic barriers are racially motivated. According to Hintzen, the apparatuses of the state,[12] which he defines as "instrumentalities and institutions of power organized for jurisdictional deployment over territory," determine those with legitimate claims to belonging (250):

> It also forms the basis for legitimate exclusion from the materialities of the nation of those who cannot make such claims [...] This politics of inclusion is challenged, rejected, or ignored by the racially excluded in a 'cultural politics of difference, of struggles around difference, of the production of new identities, of the appearance of new subjects on the political and cultural stage.' (250)

This tension of inclusion and exclusion evoking the production of new identities draws distinct parallels with Bhabha's ideas of "third space." As he explains, the act of communication is never

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[11] Even when that heterogeneity attempts to be celebrated, it is celebrated in highly scripted ways. In *Scandalous Bodies,* Smaro Kamboureli writes of "sedative politics," "a politics that attempts to recognize differences, but only in a contained fashion in order to manage them" (82). Kamboureli draws on The Multicultural Act (1988) as a demonstration of sedative politics. She writes that the Multicultural Act is "not an ideal but a political effort to maintain the status quo" (100). The Act "apostrophizes all Canadians whether by birth or by choice" (100). Importantly, Indigenous peoples are set outside of the Multicultural Act.

[12] As previously explained, the state reflects the political powers while the nation reflects a large aggregate of communities united by common factors such as language, culture, history etc.

simply between I and the You. Meaning requires that the two places be mobilized in the passage through a third space. This space produces "an ambivalence in the act of interpretation" (*Location* 53). While the nation attempts to create solidified barriers of belonging and un-belonging, those third spaces create intensely influential hybridized spaces. The ambivalence created in the act of interpretation directly relates to the ambivalence created in the reading space between archives and memoirs.

Bhabha's ideas about the ambivalence haunting the nation connect well with Bevernage's exploration of a haunting or irrevocable past. Both the nation and conceptions of time refuse to be contained in static containers. Both Bhabha and Bevernage trouble the neat temporal categorizations that national narratives strive to operate within. Positioning absolute, empty, and homogenous time against irrevocable time, Bevernage argues that the former can "hardly account for the plurality of 'lived' or 'subjective' notions of time and cannot integrate temporal experiences that are non-linear or 'non-contemporaneous'" (108). In a space constantly in motion, the Janus-faced nation and the irrevocable past collide in recognizing what narratives are integrated into the nation and which are markedly left out. These ideas of national narratives and counter narratives will be further interrogated in connection with James Wertsch later on in this section.

Indigenous scholars have attempted to break from derogatory stereotypes in the essentializing Canadian narrative. E. Pauline Johnson, in "A Strong Race Opinion," notes that the "Indian girl in modern fiction" is not permitted to have a surname, is possessed with a suicidal mania and has a father who always happens to be a chief. She also facilitates the union of white couples. Even though this essay was written in 1892, Indigenous communities are still

attempting to dismantle similar commonly held beliefs about Indigenous people. In *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter,* Cherokee scholar Daniel Heath Justice states,

> Many of the stories about Indigenous peoples are toxic, and to my mind the most corrosive of all is the story of *Indigenous deficiency* [...] According to this story, Indigenous peoples are in a state of constant lack: in morals, laws, culture, restraint, language, ambition, hygiene, desire, love. [...] It insists that we have a lack of responsibility, lack of self-control, lack of dignity; it claims that we can't take care of our children or families or selves because of constitutional absences in our character, or biology, or intellect. (2–3)

Metatawabin's memoir challenges similar derogatory and essentializing concepts. In Metatawabin's memoir and the corresponding court transcript Indigenous communities have considerable self-awareness and resilience in the face of cultural genocide. Rather than absence, Metatawabin establishes a continuous presence after surviving his residential school experiences.

Internationally, scholars have studied the use of national narratives as political instruments. Focusing on Egypt and Algeria, Laurie Brand studies how discourse in these countries was used as an important tool in reinforcing or (re)legitimating political power. She explains how Algeria's second post-independence president Houari Boumedienne and Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat established institutions aimed at controlling research deemed critical to their image and right to rule. Echoing themes presented by Vasu and Yadgar, she emphasizes the importance of official narratives in the creation of unity. The "official narrative must articulate a national identity, generally presented as unity, that is capable of mobilizing 'the people' to confront such threats, whether real or fabricated" (Brand 15).

The three texts I will engage with in this section are Benedict Anderson's foundational work *Imagined Communities,* James Wertch's *How Nations Remember* and Bevernage's *History, Memory and State Sponsored Violence.* Anderson's ideas on the unification of language, Wertch's ideas about narrative dialogism and Bevernage's ideas on irrevocable and irreversible time work together to demonstrate the complicated frames of national narratives.

Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities*

In *Imagined Communities,* Anderson states a political community is imagined as inherently both limited and sovereign. This community must be imagined because members "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). It is limited because the nation has "finite, if elastic, boundaries." Within these boundaries all are seen as part of one community because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). It is sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution "were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" (7). The king is no longer the sovereign. The nation is the sovereign.

In his chapter on "Patriotism and Racism," Anderson describes how nations produce a profoundly self-sacrificing love. This love is documented through poetry, music, prose fiction and the plastic arts: "Something of the nature of this political love can be deciphered from the ways in which languages describe its object: either in the vocabulary of kinship (motherland, *Vaterland, patria*) or that of home (*heimat* or *tenah air* [earth and water, the phrase for the Indonesians' native archipelago]. Both idioms denote something to which one is naturally tied"

(143). Anderson writes that through language, such as national anthems, the nation presents itself as "simultaneously open and closed" (146).

Anderson's references to language as a unifying force relate to Bakhtin's concept of unitary language. Both Anderson's "unisonance" and Bakhtin's "unitary language" act as binding forces. As Bakhtin explains "A unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited- and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 270). If heteroglossia is defined as "the coexistence of multiple language varieties within a notionally unitary national language, literary text, or other form of discourse; the language varieties (regional, social, ethnic, professional, etc.) that coexist within a notionally uniting dominant form," then the unitary language acts in opposition to that realization of differences.

The memoirs and the archives emphasize the key themes of kinship and home that Anderson identifies. While Anderson's focus is the nation, my dissertation explicitly engages with authors directly responding to state policies. This recognizes that the state influences the construction of national narratives through the implementation of their policies. The Cree and Japanese that Metatawabin and Sando utilize throughout their memoirs directly reference intimate constructions of home. The in-text Cree translations that Metatawabin refers to throughout his memoir relate to social and familial structures. Metatawabin describes the Spirit World as unlike the Christian belief system, a "place where ancestors lived, our brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, aunts and uncles, *gookums* and *moshoms*, stretching back until the First People, spirits that became human when they touched foot on this land." These italicized Cree words signal to the reader how Metatawabin constructs home in opposition to the *wemistikoshiw* (white) worldview. The words serve as an anchor to home, but also a

simultaneous distance, especially after his experience at residential school. Similarly, Sando's glossary references Japanese terms relating to social status, creating a space of cultural intimacy with the readers.

The ways in which Cree and Japanese are used in the court transcript and the diaries also resist unification and unitary language. In the court transcript, some Cree words cannot be easily translated. In Cree, no word exists for step-mother and no direct translation exists for "Machastan." These elements show that, even when institutionalized structures attempt to present unitary structures, they fail because they do not recognize difference. In Sando's diaries, Japanese patriotic songs resist Canadian unification and promote Japanese solidarity. Sando embodies Anderson's notion of the nation being both "open and closed" through language. Exploring the double nature of language in the memoir and the archives reveals the ways in which the authors construct themselves with and against the nation.

James Wertsch: *How Nations Remember*

In *How Nations Remember: A Narrative Approach,* Wertsch explains how nations recall past events and how those recollections influence what people think and say. Focusing primarily on how people evoke different historical narratives, Wertsch suggests a Russian and American student would have different ideas on the most pivotal events of the Second World War. Whereas a Russian student would list the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Battle of Moscow and Battle of Stalingrad, Battle of Kursk, Opening the Second Front and the Battle of Berlin, an American student would list Pearl Harbour, D-Day, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Holocaust (15–16). Elaborating on the concept of "symbolic mediation," he argues that narratives mediate "human social and mental functioning, with the result that a crucial part of

mental life is the stories we receive and tell" (12). He states that national memory is revisited and retracted only when it is challenged with an alternative: "We are likely to naively believe that we are simply reporting what really happened, and the power of our unconscious narrative habits may come to light only when we are confronted by those equipped with a different national memory" (xiii).

Specifically, in the chapter "Narrative Dialogism in National Memory," Wertsch writes that national memory as a process is grounded in "narrative dialogism" with narratives interacting and competing to be heard. "Accounts of national memory are invariably responses to what other individuals and groups say- sometimes in some very highly charged ways" (163). Wertsch defines various categories within "narrative dialogism," including hidden dialogism, authoritative and internally persuasive discourse, bivocalism and national narrative projects. In his discussion of hidden dialogism, Wertsch considers how the process of two competing narratives might be called "overt narrative dialogism." He sees that "the 'strange logic' of emplotment makes a narrative a kind of self-enclosed whole that resists the inclusion of contradictory information" (169). Using Donald Trump's rhetoric and Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address as examples, Wertsch sets up an interesting dichotomy between the authoritative status of the national narrative and the internally persuasive discourse of contradictory narratives.[13] He concludes that "narrative tools have a fundamental 'dialogic' function as well in the sense that they respond to or reflect other narratives in their context, and this shapes the form they take and the meaning they have in national memory" (198).

The dichotomy that Wertsch identifies between national and contradictory narratives can be applied to the discussion of the dialogism that takes place between memoirs and archives.

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[13] Wertsch, drawing on the work of Holquist, defines internally persuasive discourse as "recalling a text in one's own words, with one's own words, with one's own accents, gestures, modifications" (172).

Both the memoirs and archives engaged within this study serve as a "braking force" against dominant national narratives. Sando, as a prisoner of war, intimately reflects upon being interned outside the rule of law and explores his resistance to dominant and unjust political structures of the time. Metatawabin's experience pushes against residential school denialism and educates readers about the continuing effects of those schools. Koch's experience resists the conception of Canada as welcoming and inclusive to war refugees even when their case of mistaken identity was resolved. These authors challenge the container of the nation and the stories that serve to uphold its authoritative nature. Engaging with these narratives serves to provide a more nuanced view of Canadian history and constructions of citizenship.

Berber Bevernage: *History, Memory and State Sponsored Violence*

In his text, *History, Memory and State Sponsored Violence,* Bevernage, drawing on the work of Vladimir Jankélévitch, distinguishes between irreversible and irrevocable experiences of the past:

> The irreversible, a having-taken-place (*avoir-eu-lieu*) that should primarily be deciphered as a having-been (*avoir-été*), refers to a transient or fleeting past. The irrevocable, a having-taken-place most often associated with the having-been-done (*avoir-fait*), in contrast, is stubborn and tough. People experience the past as irreversible if they experience it as fragile and as immediately dissolving or fleeting from the present. They experience the past as irrevocable if they experience it as a persistent and massive depository that sticks to the present. (4)

Bevernage uses these contrasting concepts of time to make connections between the politics of time and nation building. He posits that nation building is based on temporal simultaneity and

that this simultaneity is "threatened by the abundant memories of atrocious pasts" (16). These memories are never conducive to the creation of a "nationwide experience of simultaneity." Therefore, "it helps if that past is collectively remembered as remaining at a 'distance' from, or separate from, the present" (16).[14]

This dissertation engages more with irrevocable time than irreversible. The archives are massive depositories of information that are stuck to the present, rather than confined to the past. Bevernage's comments about the distancing of past and present in the construction of nation building relate to the temporal distance that exists between the memoir and the archives. The temporal distance between forms does not exist protect an original or authoritative story. Rather, the temporal distance between forms disrupts that protection, disrupts the idea of a homogeneous narrative even when both texts are from the same author. At the same time, while the memoir and archives are marked by different dates of production, their times cannot be neatly separated when placed in conversation with each other. The author's speaking with and reflecting back on their experiences show that growth after trauma exists. For example, Sando renounces his Canadian citizenship in his diaries, but expresses a pride in his Canadian identity in his memoir.

Bevernage's ideas of overlapping time (the past being stuck in the present) mirrors Vilashini Cooppan's intersection of the national and the global in the construction of national narratives: "We can conceive of that past as national and that present as global, but we can also

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[14] Anderson's concept of "homogenous, empty time" differs from Bevernage. Anderson writes the "idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history. An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240, 000, 000-odd fellow- Americans. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time. But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity" (26). While Anderson's idea points to people living different lives at the same time, Bevernage engages more with how the atrocious acts of the past can disrupt this simultaneity if not kept at a distance.

more fruitfully see both times as marked by both spaces" (8). Both Bevernage and Cooppan present a tension between a nation that wishes to separate time and the reality that true separation between the past and present is an impossibility. The archives and memoirs with their overlapping timelines and retrospective analysis show this intertwining. While separating the forms through their date of production does provide markers, the dialogic conversations that occur cannot be understood if these strict delineations are enforced. Conversations can occur over time and not simply at the same time.

Critical Intervention

In this dissertation, I bring together the Bakhtinian theories of the dialogic and heteroglossia with notions of nationalism and citizenship. This dissertation recognizes the contentious relationship between the term of "citizenship" and Indigenous communities and this will be explored in greater depth in the section on "dialogic citizenship." I propose a framework that moves Bakhtin's ideas of the dialogic and heteroglossia from the realm of fiction to non-fiction. In his discussion of heteroglossia, Bakhtin writes that "there are no words with meanings shared by all, no words 'belonging to no one' " (*The Dialogic Imagination* 401). He also writes that "In the novel, the 'already bespoke quality' of the world is woven together with the 'already uttered' quality of language, into the unitary event of the world's heteroglot becoming, in both social consciousness and language" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 331)**.** At its core, this dissertation framework is premised on the states of "belonging" and "becoming." Metatawabin, Sando and Koch navigate these states both with and against the colonial state.

An interesting intersection occurs between postcolonial theory and Indigenous storytelling in relation to Bakhtin's ideas of linguistic becoming. In terms of postcolonial theory,

and in reference to differential identities, Bhabha emphasizes the concept of continuous becoming. He explains that differential identities are performative and that they "find their agency in a form of the 'future' where the past is not originary, where the present is not simply transitory. It is, if I may stretch a point, an interstitial future, that emerges *in-between* the claims of the past and the needs of the present" (*Location* 313). He continues, "the iterative 'time' of the future as a *becoming 'once again open'* makes available to marginalized or minority identities a mode of performative agency [...] to be established, not *outside* or *beyond* that reinscription or reiteration, but in the very modality and effects of that reinscription" (314). My framework highlights how Metatawabin, Sando and Koch negotiate their own becoming and how they create their own "interstitial future" in between their memoirs and the corresponding archival documents. The authors' becoming never completes itself, as their identities attempt to navigate conflicting personal, political and social spheres. This continuous reinscription of their identities is grounded in a reading of both the forms of and the linguistic organization of the memoirs and archive.

In her essay "Oratory on Oratory," Maracle writes of indigenous storytelling that "For a people whose culture rests on becoming, not becoming is tragic. [...] In seeing ourselves through story, we become part of the journey. Those who turn a blind eye to Canadian First Nations literature will not see the rock upon which the place and privilege of each member of the Diaspora rests" (58-59). Bhabha's and Maracle's formulations of "becoming" build on a desire to be seen. Both formulations operate as generative spaces that re-envision the future and reinscribe the present. These spaces reinforce the idea of not just being seen by others but also re-envisioning themselves. The authors in the present study are struggling with the tension of

belonging and becoming, which can be seen through dialogic citizenship, dialogic code switching, dialogic counter-narratives, and/or dialogic composition.

Dialogic Citizenship

Roy Miki sees the centripetal and centrifugal forces Bakhtin that identifies in language in the process of nation making. By definition, centripetal means "directed toward the centre" and centrifugal means "directed away from the centre" ("Centripetal, Adj.": "Centrifugal, Adj. and n."). The centre for Bakhtin is language and the centre for Miki is nation making. Miki explains that the politics of difference is central to the construction of the Canadian nation: "There has been the tension between the centripetal forces of state actions to manage a diverse population by engineering a coherent Canadianness and the centrifugal forces that have limited the state's sovereignty, initially its colonial ties to the British empire but eventually its mediation of the omnivorous reach of US power" (*Redress* 2). Both Bakhtin and Miki identify the power of inclusion and exclusion. Citizenship is intimately connected to the construction of the nation. In this intersection between language and nation making, I propose *dialogic citizenship.* Dialogic citizenship operates based on continuous oscillations of inclusion and exclusion between forms. The term engages with the ways in which the authors grapple with their identity both inside and outside political formulations of the nation-state. Reading the archives and memoirs in tandem reveals the ways in which their identity and ideologies change in response to political forces.

The terms "dialogic" and "citizenship" highlight the tenuous categories of inclusion and exclusion. Specifically, in critical discourse, citizenship has been tied to concepts of membership and belonging. Political sociologist Nicole Stokes-Dupass argues that citizenship is the state mechanism "relevant for determining the conditions for belonging among the polity" (xvi).

According to Stokes-Dupass the nation-state not only defines inclusion and exclusion but also determines who has "the right to have rights" (xvii). While the term citizenship appears to operate comfortably within binaries, on its own it does not highlight the continuous oscillation that the authors experience. Placing "dialogic" and "citizenship" side by side opens up a space of fluidity otherwise not apparent when evaluated separately. Sando, Metatawabin and Koch are included and excluded from the national narrative and the way in which they dialogically navigate that push and pull, against and with national and personal belonging is where personal transformation can be mapped.

American sociologist Craig Calhoun suggests a more fluid definition of citizenship:

> Citizenship in this sense is metaphorically located between the locally different and the nationally same. It is not a replacement for either, but it is potentially a protection against both – that is, against the demands of extremely dense and binding local networks (say, kin groups) and against calls for cultural conformity on a national scale. (219)

Even though Calhoun's formulation of citizenship as a "protection" against the demands of both local and national communities is not one with which I agree, I appreciate how Calhoun locates citizenship in a liminal space between the "locally different and the nationally same." This sense of simultaneous location and dislocation is one that I see in dialogic citizenship. The authors in my dissertation are geographically located in Canada, but politically dislocated from conceptions of citizenship by the state.

"Citizenship" is not viewed as a gift to Indigenous communities. International human rights lawyer James (Sa'ke'j) Youngblood Henderson presents this idea of "sui generis and treaty citizenship," which he defines as "a distinctive form of imperial alliance that recognizes Indigenous peoples' autonomy and prevents their incorporation into the colonial national

schema" (115). He continues that "put succinctly, 'sui generis and treaty citizenship' affirms that Canadian citizenship is not a gift or even a reparative gesture to be bestowed upon Aboriginal peoples by the state; instead, Canadian citizenship is the product of Aboriginal peoples' conditional permission, through historical treaty processes, to the British sovereign to provide for settlements" (115–16). Henderson's statement highlights how citizenship can be viewed as a form of control by the state.

For Indigenous communities, the topic of consent also complicates discussions of citizenship. Political scientist Joyce Green states,

> For Indigenous peoples, citizenship is imposed against a priori political identities and relationships and incorporates them without consultation or permission into a political state, which is designed to erase Indigenous political significance whilst always functioning within a racist paradigm that denigrates Indigenous people. (179)

Green continues that reconciliation could provide the conditions for postcolonial citizenship whereby Indigenous nations legitimate the state while requiring relationship and relational responsibilities from settler Canadians: "Such an imaginary leads to possibilities of dialogic postcolonial institutional and constitutional reconstruction" (185). While academics and others have proposed different models of citizenship that decentre the state, replacing a Eurocentric state centric citizenship model with a nation-to-nation governance model requires a reimagining of institutional structures. This reimagining is most often met with resistance from individuals who benefit from the current structures of privilege.

Rethinking citizenship requires an understanding of how the paradigm already shifts in a state of fractured allegiances. Sociologist Augie Fleras writes that "citizenship exists in a permanent state of rupture and erasure, redefinition and reconstruction [...] the messy and

interconnected lives of people rarely dovetail with the narrow parameters of a national citizenship, especially when borders move across peoples prompting people to move across borders and redefine citizenship" (17). *Dialogic citizenship* actively engages with the ruptures and messiness apparent in the term citizenship. The term does not endorse the state but recognizes the control that the state exerts.

Sociologist Rachel Busbridge observes that, when minority groups push against the container of the nation or current structures of citizenship and demand "transformation of structures of national belonging," they contest "the lines drawn between an imagined national 'centre' and its margins" highlighting unequal relations of power (8). The authors addressed in this dissertation are engaging with this consistent movement from centre to the margins to determine how they belong in the nation. All the authors' movements can be charted both politically and personally. Metatawabin's movement can be charted from "person" to "citizen" (with the Indian Act) and also "survivor" to "advocate" (between forms). Sando's movement can be mapped from "enemy alien" or prisoner to "citizen" (with the War Measures Act and Redress movement) and also from teenager to grandfather. Koch's movement can be seen between "citizen" to "immigrant" to "enemy alien."

While dialogic citizenship is not a new term, it has been employed differently in various fields, often to push against political conservatism and populist authoritarianism. For example, political scientist Anupama Roy (2020) argues that people displaying political courage by opposing a law against constitutional secularism and the idea of plural national identity have become defining forces of dialogic and transformative citizenship. Indivar Jonnalagadda (2018) uses the term dialogic citizenship to define how citizenship operates as a communicative effect. He explains how emblems of citizenship (such as passports) are foregrounded in larger

communicative chains and entextualized as emblems in the first place. Sociology professor Kenneth Plummer (2011) defines dialogic citizenship as the capacity to discuss reasonably, to talk with "opposing others" (86). In his approach, this ability to discuss reasonably is integral to his conception of being a citizen in the late modern world. While the term "dialogic citizenship" has been broadly interpreted, it has not been applied to the ways Metatawabin, Sando and Koch have been subjected to continual inclusionary and exclusionary practices in both the political and personal sphere. This adaptation only becomes apparent in the dialogic interactions between forms.

Dialogic Code Switching

Code switching is defined as being able "to shift between languages, or between dialects or registers of a language, within a discourse, especially in response to a change in the social context" ("Code-Switch, v."). In Sando's and Metatawabin's memoirs, English is the dominant language used; Japanese and Cree words are respectively italicized. Daniel Weston and Penelope Gardner-Chloros say of the Polish words in Eva Hoffman's autobiographical novel *Lost in Translation*: "the option to italicize is thus a visual clue as to how foreign the writer perceives a given word to be, or how foreign s/he wishes it to be perceived" (197). Sando and Metatawabin italicize words in the assumption that their readers will not understand Japanese or Cree. Sando provides a glossary and Metatawabin includes in-text translations for Cree words.

Code switching happens within one text but dialogic code switching happens between archives and memoirs. Whereas code switching can happen within the confines of one sentence, one conversation or one work, dialogic code switching highlights the linguistic oscillations that happen *between* works. In her study of Chicano theatre, Carla Jonsson observes that the code

switching that occurs within the plays has both local and global functions. Locally, code switching can "mark closeness, familiarity, to emphasize bonds, and to include or, on the contrary, mark distance, break bonds and exclude" (Jonsson 252). Globally, code switching can be used to "resist, challenge and transform power relations and domination" (253). Dialogic code switching between the archives and the memoirs simultaneously marks closeness and distance, and resistance and challenge. As will be explored in chapter one, Metatawabin's memoir and the corresponding court transcript both utilize English and Cree within their respective forms to address power imbalances in situations of abuse and highlight moments of linguistic manipulation. In chapter two, Sando's memoir and his translated Japanese diaries both engage with Japanese and English and similarly the code switching highlights moments of bonding and resistance within the internment camp environment.

While code switching can signal both closeness and distance, it can also emphasize personal and geographic liminality. In her reading of John Steinbeck, Harper Lee and Charlotte Brontë, Natalie Hess argues that code switching operates as "a marker of liminality-the state of creative inbetweenness which serves as an underpinning for unconscious literary designs" (5). Hess says of the servant Calpurnia in *To Kill a Mockingbird,* that "her insider/outsider status makes Calpurnia a classic liminal, and this liminality is underscored through the drama of her code switching" (9). Hess' ideas about liminality can be applied to dialogic code switching. All the authors in this dissertation grapple with their status within the nation, the community and in their family. The shifts between forms confirm that these authors are never completely at ease with one side of the insider/outsider binary or another thus demonstrating the fluidity and transformational capacity of their identity.

Code switching has been associated with spaces of "in-betweenness." In her article, "Power and Resistance: Language Mixing in Three Chicano Plays," Carla Jonsson links the code-switching that takes place in Cherrie Moraga's Chicano plays with Bhabha's conception of "third space" and Anzaldúa's definition of borderlands. Both of these sites operate in sites of liminality and flux. In her thesis, Marcela Ghiglione shows that in Guillermo Verdecchia's play *Fronteras Americanas* code switching is not only a structural strategy for indexing multiple border identities, but also a functional mechanism for recreating a sense of border home. She writes "the traveller, the migrant, the Other, through being and there, is in constant becoming. Border identity is a matter of negotiation as well as maintenance or being" (55). Ghiglione, like Jonsson and Hess, evokes a space of liminality continuously navigating power relations. These authors are also navigating their respective liminal spaces through language.

Dialogic Counternarratives

Political psychology professor Molly Andrews defines counter-narratives as "the stories which people tell and live which offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant cultural narratives" (Bamberg and Andrews 1). In this study counter-narratives in different forms are connected by the same author. These narratives offer resistance to national constructions and also present an alternative viewpoint. Still, each form also shows multidimensional perspectives. In the case of Metatawabin, the perpetrator's perspective is only heard through the court transcript. Similarly, Sando's renouncement of his Canadian citizenship is only heard through his diaries. Koch's relationship with his friend and arguably lover Hambourg is only seen in its entirety through their letters. Recognizing the alternatives shows voices and perspectives that have been ignored and the amount of ideological growth the authors have experienced.

Michelle Fine writes that "master narratives do exist, and their real-life presence/impact is experienced with particular clarity by those for whom they do not speak and about whom they do not speak [...] Master narratives set out guidelines for how stories should be told; how lives should be lived; how blame and merit should be allocated" (Harris et al. 8–9). The dialogic counternarratives presented in this study allow individuals to speak for themselves rather than have others speak for them. In the institutionalized space of the courtroom of Metatawabin's story, Wesley has the opportunity to speak for herself and voice her opinion, albeit in highly strategic ways. In his diaries, Sando's renouncement of nationality and announcement of homoerotic feelings again present a space where Sando speaks for himself. The confines of the diaries serve as a place of safety and resistance.

Tore et al explain "critical stories are always (and at once) in tension with dominant stories, neither fully oppositional nor untouched" (151). The narratives presented in one form provide not just an alternative national story, but also an alternative dimension of the authors themselves. In memoirs, the authors are able to present themselves in highly contained and structured forms, whereas in the archives editing does not take place in the same way. In both forms however, the stories simultaneously work with and resist. The counter stories evident in the memoirs and the archives push against this idea of a carefully constructed nation, shattering illusory conceptions and beliefs.

Cooppan writes that "Nations, like subjects, say what they wish were true (a glorious past, a childhood in which they reigned supreme), not what is or was true" (5). Her comments mirror Laurie Brand's ideas about official stories in Egypt and Algeria: "Whatever its structures and features, the primary goal of the narrative's historical presentation is not accuracy but creating what has been called 'a usable past': a set of heroes, events, and/or story lines that can

be marshalled to serve the needs of the leadership, whether the goal is securing or reconsolidating power or facing down internal or external challenges" (10). Both Cooppan and Brand suggest myths and illusions. While nations and individual subjects alike construct the best possible versions of themselves, a close study of the dialogic relationship between memoir and archive will challenge the "usable pasts" of them both.

Dialogic Composition

In academic discourse, the term "dialogic composition" has mainly been used in the musical and educational fields. Chris Cook investigates the ways that dialogic-sound composition can help people in the early stages of dementia. He argues that the "process of making sound art together draws attention to particular sounds and experiences, creating dialogic solutions of companion listening, discussion and mutual learning" (230). The collection of essays, *Intertextuality in Music: Dialogic Composition,* uses the term "dialogic composition" to explore how intertextual techniques such as parody, paraphrase, collage and dialogues with and between the past and the present appear in musical compositions. Dialogic composition as a collage of musical elements parallels the multiple compositional stylistic unities Bakhtin sees in the novel.

In the classroom, Mark Cuthberton analyzes the ways in which dialogic instruction encourages students to integrate cognitive and behavioural processes. Cuthberton studies responses from "dialogic composition classrooms" that creates a favourable environment for cognitive, behavioural and affective activities (18). Karen Carpenter conceptualizes dialogic composition as "combining word and image" (iv). Within her electronic writing classroom, she finds that "composing, reflecting and collaborating occur repeatedly within the dialogic

composition process as separate and simultaneous processes" (iv). While both music and teaching emphasize a collaboration or collaging, in this dissertation, I am using the term *dialogic composition,* to describe the ways in which compositional-stylistic unities can be combined within and between memoirs and archives. According to Bakhtin, compositional-stylistic unities include direct authorial literary-artistic narration, stylization of oral everyday narration, stylization of semi-literary (written) everyday narration, various forms of literary but extra-artistic authorial speech, and stylistically individualized speech of characters (*The Dialogic Imagination* 262). This matters because Bakhtin conceives of these compositional unities only existing in novels and not within and between memoirs and archives. The strongest demonstration of dialogic composition takes place in Hambourg's letters to Koch. The way she masterfully navigates several different compositional-stylistic unities is indicative of novelistic forms rather than traditional letter conventions. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "composition" means "The forming (*of* anything) by combination of various elements, parts, or ingredients; formation, constitution, construction, making up" ("Composition, n."). The composition of Hambourg's letters fits this definition. She combines, within the confines of one letter, open-ended questions, quotes, direct dialogue, narration.

Historical Context

One way to ensure that we are treating these three case studies as separate and avoiding the assumption that all three events are the same is to address them in their historical specificity. The Indian Act was used in manipulative and destructive ways against Indigenous Canadians and was the primary means to violate Metatawabin's life. The Indian Act sanctioned the forcible

removal of children to residential schools,[15] but even after residential schools began to be phased out in the 1960s, there was another removal of Indigenous children from their families in the "Sixties Scoop." Both the Indian Act and the "sixties scoop" participated in the genocide of Indigenous people. The Genocide Convention (1948) clearly stated that genocide was "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group" (General Assembly of the United Nations 3). In 1951, in an attempt to avoid culpability, Canada added an amendment (Section 88) to the Indian Act. Section 88 stated:

> Subject to the terms of any treaty and any other Act of the Parliament of Canada, all laws of general application from time to time in force in any province are applicable to and in respect of Indians in the province, except to the extent that such laws are inconsistent with this Act or any order, rule, regulation or by law made thereunder, and except to the extent that such laws make provision for any matter for which provision is made by or under this Act. (Hinge 446)

Child welfare laws fall under the jurisdiction of provinces whereas First Nations people fall under the federal Indian Act. The federal government had never passed an Indigenous family or child welfare act. Section 88 provided provinces the legal capacity to administer provincial child and family services outside of their constitutional jurisdiction. The wording of this section extended the control of child welfare onto reserves so that the taking of children could be seen as privatized (provincialized) and not a product of federal state actions. Section 88 allowed the

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[15] Section 118 of the Indian Act (1951) stipulated that "The Minister may appoint persons, to be called truant officers, to enforce the attendance of Indian children at school" (Hinge 351). The truant officer could "enter any place where he believes, on reasonable grounds, that there are Indian children who are between the ages of seven and sixteen years of age or who are required by the Minister to attend school". Furthermore, a truant officer could "take into custody a child whom he believes on reasonable grounds to be absent from school contrary to this Act and may convey the child to school, using as much force as the circumstances require" (Hinge 352).

Superintendent of Family and Child Services to apprehend children considered in need of protection and place the children in homes that were considered to be "in the best interests of the child." In their 1992 report *Liberating Our Children, Liberating Our Nation,* Community Panel members Lavina White and Eva Jacobs reported: "The 'best interests of the child' was, and still is, interpreted as rescuing the children from their Aboriginal condition and placing them in a non-Aboriginal environment where they can learn the dominant cultural values" (19).[16] Rescuing the children from "their Aboriginal condition" meant separating them from their families.

Indigenous children were not just separated from their families but also from their cultural values. Indigenous kinship does not just represent interpersonal connections but also the familial connection to the land. The institutionalisation of this relationship in a colonial context — between the land, Britain and Indigenous peoples — dates back to 1763. The Royal Proclamation of 1763, issued by King George III, stated that Indigenous people reserved all lands not ceded by or purchased from them.

> And whereas it is just and reasonable and essential to our Interest, and Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of

[16] Coined as the "sixties scoop" by Patrick Johnson in 1983, Indigenous children were placed in a range of environments from "caring, well-intentioned individuals, to places of slave labour and physical, emotional and sexual abuse" (White and Jacobs 19). AngloCanadian foster parents were not culturally equipped to create an environment in which a positive Aboriginal self-image could develop. Many children were transferred from home to home enhancing feelings of rejection and damaging their self-image. As a result of residential schools and the placement of children in non-Indigenous homes, children were denied access to their culture and nurturing parenting practices. In British Columbia in 1951, 1 percent of the children in care were Indigenous, by 1960, 40 percent of children were Indigenous. Even though Canada began to phase out residential schools in the 1960s, the sixties scoop perpetuated cultural genocide in a clear violation of the Genocide Convention.

> such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by US, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds. (Canada)

Even though the Royal Proclamation asserted that First Nations land should remain free of European settlement, it also opened the door to an erosion of those same principles. After the proclamation was issued, Sir William Johnson met with 2,000 chiefs, representing approximately 24 First Nations to discuss the Royal Proclamation. "At this gathering a nation to nation relationship between settlers and First Nation peoples was renewed and extended, and the Covenant Chain of Friendship, a multinational alliance in which no member gave up their sovereignty was affirmed" (Borrows 161). The corresponding Treaty of Niagara (1764), where 84 wampum belts were exchanged, emphasized the "friendship and alliance that bind Indigenous nations to the Crown" (Hele). The wampum belts reflected that the First Nation and Crown relationship was founded on friendship, peace and respect, "where each nation will not interfere with the internal affairs of the other" (Hele). According to Borrows the Royal Proclamation and Treaty of Niagara need to be read together, because while the Royal Proclamation was constructed without the input of Indigenous leaders, the Treaty of Niagara demonstrates a marked alliance and understanding between colonial powers and Indigenous populations.

The Royal Proclamation Act was embedded within the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and controls land claims. Section 25 states:

> The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights and freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including:
>
> a. Any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and

b. Any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired. (Government of Canada, "Constitution Act, 1982")

This legislation appears to highlight the importance of Indigenous land claims and sovereignty, but these safeguards have been subject to interpretation. Land has been taken without consultation from the Indigenous people by the Crown.

Another piece of legislation that directly challenged rights was the War Measures Act. The War Measures Act (1914) gave the government control over publications, writing, maps, plans, photographs, communications and means of communication; the power to arrest, detain, exclude and deport; control of the harbours, ports and territorial waters of Canada, including the movement of vessels; control over transportation by land, air, or water of persons and things; control of trading, exportation, importation, production and manufacture; and the power to compel forfeiture and disposition of property. In 1942, after the bombing of Pearl Harbour, Japanese Canadians were subjected to a complete abrogation of human rights through the enforcement of War Measures Act. As Miki suggests, the War Measures Act "provided an opportunity for abuse of power" (Miki et al. 25). Even after the Second World War had ended, the government maintained control over Japanese Canadians through the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act (1945). Initially, the Minister of Justice attempted to insert a special clause into the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act that gave the Cabinet "a year in which to revoke the Canadian nationality of, and to deport, any resident of Canada" (National Association of Japanese Canadians 20). When this clause came to the attention of Parliament, however, a resounding uproar caused it to be deleted. When this Act expired eighteen months later, the government passed a Continuation of Transitional Measures Act to extend its control further: "Ultimately, under the War Measures Act, not only were the rights of individual

Canadians betrayed, but Parliament itself was abused. It was- and still is-perfectly legal for any Cabinet operating under the War Measures Act to victimize innocent Canadians for political purposes" (National Association of Japanese Canadians 21).The War Measures Act was repealed in 1988 and replaced with the Emergencies Act, which limited the powers of the federal government. The Cabinet could no longer act on its own and Cabinet orders and regulations had to be reviewed by Parliament. Furthermore, government actions had to comply with the Canadian Charter of Rights and the Canadian Bill of Rights (*Emergencies Act*).

Sando documents in his memoir the restrictions that were placed on his own family. He details the loss of his father's fishing boat *Hokui No. 1,* which he had owned for more than sixteen years. "He had loved his boat as if she was a dear wife. [...] Two years later he received a cheque for $250.00 from the Canadian government. They had sold the boat without consent" (2). Reflecting on more restrictions, Sando also explains how they were not allowed to travel more than fifty miles without a permit and how a curfew was imposed forbidding them to leave their homes after dark. Canada prohibited Japanese Canadians from returning to the west coast until April 1, 1949. As indicated by Miki this measure "had nothing to do with national security. And they made it even more difficult for people to return by liquidating all their properties, belongings and businesses, to erase their collective presence on the west coast" (Miki, *Redress* 89). As shown through Sando's experience, the disruption of home impacted every aspect of his life.

The state and society attacked Indigenous and Japanese Canadians in highly specific ways, often resulting in silence. As Miki writes,

> Many Japanese Canadians did not have the language to account for the unspeakable monstrosities that manifested themselves internally as shame and guilt for being singled

> out, ostracized and labelled as the 'enemy alien' within the social body of their own country. They reverted to such common phrases as 'blessing in disguise' (that is, the uprooting forced them to leave the limited sphere of their west coast communities and made it possible for them to assimilate) and 'shikata ga nai' (translated as 'it can't be helped- the uprooting was an event that simply had to be endured as an aspect of wartime hysteria) to mediate a past that refused resolution. (Miki, *Redress* 260)

The Japanese Canadians tried to suppress and move forward after the mislabelling. Paralleling a similar response of suppression, Anishinaabe elder and residential school survivor, Garnet Angeconeb explained in *Stolen Lives* how there was "an unwritten code of silence" after he left residential school: "Nobody talked about their negative experiences and bad memoirs at residential school" (qtd in Eshet 169). This silence was all encompassing as he experienced denial from family and community members, silence from the government and reticence from his own leaders. Only through speaking to the spirit of his abuser was he able to find some peace. He concludes that "It is in setting ourselves free from our burdens- whatever they may be- that we must engage in good conversation. As citizens of this country, we must be engaged in meaningful dialogue" (qtd in Eshet 171). Angeconeb's comments reveal the importance of finding words especially when the silence is all consuming. Memoirs and archives make a marked attempt to find words for traumatic experiences. Where the words fail, where silence pervades, where experiences and emotions can be voiced only in profoundly incomplete forms, there is still a space for conversation and dialogue. By bringing together the memoir and the archive, conversation can be inspired not only by what is explicitly shared, but also by the silences, by the gaps.

German-born Jewish author Eric Koch, whose memoir and diaries are the focus of chapter three, may appear from the outset as the outlier in this comparative study. Koch spent less time in state-sanctioned isolation than Metatawabin or Sando. While Metatawabin and Sando were targeted because of their race, Koch was regarded as both an enemy because of his German nationality and a victim because of his Jewish heritage. From his position of economic and educational privilege (which will be explored in greater depth within chapter three), he was able to explore different avenues for release that were not available to Metatawabin or Sando. Even though Koch's internment experience was the shortest, as for Metatawabin and Sando, the state exercised direct control over the amount of mobility he was allowed to have and which parts of his identity he was allowed to display. While completely different from the Indian Act and the War Measures Act, the Canadian immigration laws of the 1930s to 1940s were also fuelled by clear inclusion and exclusion categories. Promoting an agenda of anti-Semitism, the Immigration Law made immigration for Jewish refugees to Canada next to impossible. As indicated by Irving Abella and Harold Troper, between the years 1933 to 1945, Canada admitted fewer than 5,000 Jews (xxii). Koch's story works with and against these boundaries of immigration. When Britain approached Canada to accept a large number of enemy aliens in 1940, Canada was under the impression that these were "potentially dangerous people" (Gillman and Gillman 163). They agreed to take 4,000 internees and 3,000 prisoners of war. In Canada, it was later discovered that these "enemy aliens" were not "dangerous characters" at all, but rather "a large number of schoolboys, college undergraduates, priests, rabbis" (Gillman and Gillman 239). When Canada requested clarification from Britain, Secretary of State for the Dominions, Viscount Caldecote, stated that the "Category A" internees who would have gone to Canada were on the *Arandora Star*, which had sunk. Four boats in total were sent to Canada, the

Duchess of York, the *Arandora Star,* the *Ettrick* and the *Sobieski.* Out of the four boats, only the *Duchess of York*, the *Ettrick* and the *Sobieski* arrived in Canada. On the *Ettrick,* there were 2,600 Germans, Austrians and Italians, 900 were prisoners of war and the remainder were internees. On the *Sobieski,* there were 1,550 Germans and Austrians (1,000 'B' and 'C' internees, 550 prisoners of war) (Gillman and Gillman 204). According to Caldecote, this information could have been learned earlier from the M15 dossiers that were also on the *Arandora Star.* Caldecote apologized for the information not being passed onto Canada and asked for the Canadian government to remove all guards from civilian camps and establish them as "Refugee Republics." This request was denied by the Ministry of Defence.

In terms of deciding what to do with these internees, the Home Office asked if Canada could help the internees enter the United States as 1,000 internees had registered to immigrate to the United States. Canada responded that Britain needed to send an official to sort out the mess themselves. When Alexander Paterson arrived in Canada, he had to balance the competing motivations of the internees: some wanted to reach the United States, some wanted to be released in Canada and others sent back to Britain. Paterson could only really assist those who wanted to be sent back to Britain. When he left in July 1941, he had persuaded the Canadian government to create refugee camps which functioned independently of the non-refugee camps. Only in 1941 were terms of release into Canada opened when American actress Ruth Draper asked Prime Minister Mackenzie King to release her lover's nephew who was being held in a Canadian internment camp. When King allowed this release, it opened the doors for students and schoolboys, who were then followed by several dozen draughtsmen and tool-makers. By September 1943, the last refugee camp was closed.

Throughout his stay in internment camp, Koch explored multiple avenues of release. He explored being released to his sister Margo and Paul in the United States; being released back to Britain to serve in the Pioneer Corps; being released as a student in Canada to complete his studies; and being released as a history teacher in Canada. The multidirectionality of Koch's release attempts show a man in desperation and depression. Continually trying to navigate a framework from within a nation that does not want to keep him and outside a nation that he does not want to return, produces conflicting emotions. His memoir shows a marked preference for going to the States with his sister or staying in Canada, and shows a sustained dislike for military service in the Pioneer Corps. This dislike caused Koch some difficulty in internment release applications. Being able to read Koch's memoir with his family and friends archival letters reveals a totality of experience that is not accessible from just one form. Engaging in similar themes of identity and national narratives as Metatawabin and Sando, Koch navigates a complicated path from civilian to internee to refugee.

All three pieces of legislation (Indian Act, War Measures Act and the Immigration Act) demarcate boundary lines of who is allowed to access the national framework and who is exiled. The terms of "person," "enemy alien," and "refugee" distinctly position an insider/outsider dichotomy. In the Indian Act (1927), an Indian is defined as "any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band," "any child of such person," and "any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person" (Hinge 244). Furthermore, the Indian Act identifies a "person," as "an individual other than an Indian" (Hinge 245). The Orders in Council passed under the War Measures Act created an explicit link between "enemy aliens" and "persons of the Japanese race." The Immigration Act (1923) did not permit independent immigrants and ranked all would-be settlers into three groups: the Preferred class, the Non-Preferred Class and the

Special Permit Class[17]. These restrictions made immigration to Canada next to impossible for Jewish refugees. As will be explored in the following chapters, the authors through their memoirs and the archives navigate this complexity both personally and publicly. Their adaptation and growth through and around these terms show their lack and prove that liminality rather than fixity is what is required in national narratives. In the individual chapters, I will more specifically address the efforts of redress, compensation and reconciliation in more detail.

Chapter One: **'These Are Not Allegations': Dialogic Readership of a Residential School Memoir and Court Transcript**

This chapter explores the dialogic interactions that take place between Metatawabin's memoir, *Up Ghost River*, and the 1999 court transcript of his teacher and abuser Cree nun Anna Wesley. This transcript is only accessible through documentary filmmaker Sue Enberg's website. Is Enberg's website an archive at all? I trace several key themes in both: the treatment of child and adult perceptions of memory, the perspective of the perpetrator and the ways in which Cree and English operate in both forms. In both a continuous conversation challenges Canada's understanding of residential school. The voice of the perpetrator in the court transcript is key to the story. In the conclusion of *The Implicated Subject,* Rothberg calls for an enlarged understanding "of the actors involved in injustices beyond the most often invoked figures of victims, perpetrators and bystanders" (202). What exists in between victims and perpetrators? Wesley as perpetrator questions what national positive representation includes.

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[17] The Preferred Class were made up from northern and western countries including Germany. The Non-Preferred class included Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania and the Baltic States. The Special Permit Class included Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Syria, Turkey and all Jews (irrespective of citizenship or place of birth).

Chapter Two: **'Desperate Cries': Dialogic Readership of a Japanese Canadian Memoir and Diaries**

This chapter explores the dialogic interactions that take place between Tom Sando's memoir *Wild Daisies in the Sand,* which was published in 2002 and his Japanese diaries, which were written between 1940-1945. Sando was interned in Petawawa and Angler internment camps after refusing to go to road camps. Protesting the treatment of the Canadian government, Sando remained captive there for five years. His Japanese diaries were housed in the Nikkei National Museum but had never been translated into English. I had the diaries digitally scanned and independently commissioned the translation. Reading the memoir in tandem with the translated Japanese diaries highlighted key tensions between Japanese and Canadian citizenship, nationality and the ways in which Japanese and English are used in strategic ways in the memoir and the diaries. Mapping the ways in which Sando navigates his identity from citizen to prisoner and then back to citizen shows a man internally grappling with the desires of two nations. Clearly affected by two separate historical moments (War Measures Act and the Redress movement) Sando's changing mindset reveals the conflicts inherent in constructions of citizenship and nationalism. It also shows the way belief systems change over time.

Chapter Three: **Dialogic Readership of a German-Jewish Canadian Memoir and Family Letters**

This chapter explores the dialogic interactions that take place between Eric Koch's *Otto & Daria: A Wartime Journey Through No Man's Land* (2016) and letters from family and friends written between 1938-1943. Since the memoir balances the lives of both Otto and Daria, this chapter focuses on them both. Eric Otto Koch was interned in Sherbrooke, in Canada, after being sent by the British authorities labelled as a dangerous "enemy alien." Daria Hambourg

lived in England throughout the war and kept up a personal correspondence with Koch. The letters consulted were from two different archives: Library and Archives Canada and the Clara Thomas Archives at York University. While this chapter explores the facets of dialogic citizenship and counternarratives, it deviates from the other two chapters in showing the ways in which the theoretical framework can be productively expanded via a consideration of Hambourg's letters an example of *dialogic composition* and the tensions produced by the various identities involved.

Chapter Two

'These Are Not Allegations': Dialogic Readership of Residential School Memoirs

'The wemistikoshiw have built many prisons. Don't let them build one inside your mind.'
'What's that supposed to mean?'
He pointed to his heart. 'You already know, Ed'.
-Edmund Metatawabin, *Up Ghost River*

On November 9, 1992, an investigation into St. Anne's Residential School began after Fort Albany First Nation Chief Edmund Metatawabin presented evidence to police following a healing conference attended by survivors of St. Anne's. Over the course of the next six years, the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) interviewed 700 victims and witnesses and gathered 900 statements about abuse that occurred at St. Anne's between 1941 and 1972. According to CBC reporter Jorge Barrera, investigators identified 74 suspects, charged seven and convicted five (Barrera). The five people convicted included Cree nun Anna Wesley, Ojibway nun Jane Kakaychawan, cook John Moses Rodrique, child-care worker Claude Lambert and kitchen worker Marcel Blais.[18] Wesley was convicted of three counts of common assault, three counts of administering a noxious substance, and one count of assault causing bodily harm and received an eleven-month conditional sentence.

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) of 2006 represents a consensus reached between legal counsel for former students, legal counsel for the churches, the Assembly of First Nations, other Indigenous organizations and the Government of Canada to address vexing issues related to the legacy of residential schools. The IRSSA includes five key

[18] Jane Kakaychawan was convicted of three counts of assault causing bodily harm and was given a six-month conditional sentence. John Moses Rodrique pleaded guilty to five counts of indecent assault and was sentenced to eighteen months in jail. Claude Lambert pleaded guilty to one count of indecent assault and was sentenced to eight months in jail. Marcel Blais pleaded guilty to one count of indecent assault, but did not receive jail time (Barrera).

components: a Common Experience Payment, an Independent Assessment Process (IAP), measures to support healing, commemorative activities and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Government of Canada, "Indian Residential Schools"). The IAP was of crucial importance and envisioned as "a claimant-centred, non-adversarial, out of court process for the resolution of claims of sexual abuse, serious physical abuse, and other wrongful acts suffered at Indian Residential Schools" (Government of Canada, *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*). Applications from former students were accepted only until September 19, 2012. During the IAP, the federal government omitted references to the OPP investigation from St. Anne's school narrative which was being used as a central piece of evidence in compensation cases. The school narrative, which was researched and produced by the Government of Canada, is a document providing an overall history of each residential school in Canada (Government of Canada, *IAP School Narrative*).[19] Independent adjudicators could refer to this file in order to determine the truth of the survivors' statements. For cases concerning St. Anne's, this report stated that there was no record of sexual assaults or student-on-student abuse cases. All that was recorded were four cases of physical abuse.

It was only in 2014 that the Ontario Superior Court forced the Harper government to disclose OPP files and documents to St. Anne's survivors. In that same year, Metatawabin released his memoir depicting his residential school experience at St. Anne's and the abuse that Wesley inflicted upon him. The 1000-page court transcript of Wesley's 1999 trial and Metatawabin's 2014 memoir speak with and against one another. In order to protect the identity of the witnesses in the court transcript, initials will be used.

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[19] The school narrative contains the location, operating dates, religious affiliation, chronological history, education of students, general enrolment statistics over time, special programs, buildings and grounds, school incidents and a list of principals/administrators.

In 2017, Sue Enberg and Edmund Metatawabin produced the documentary film *In Jesus' Name: Shattering the Silence of St. Anne's Residential School.* The film "brings to light how, in this era of truth and reconciliation, the Canadian government continues to try to silence knowledge of abuses that occurred at St. Anne's by withholding evidence from the survivors as they seek compensation for harms done to them when they were just children" (Enberg, *In Jesus' Name*). Since the inception of their film, Enberg's website https://www.injesusnamefilm.com/ has functioned as an alternative archive of St. Anne's Residential School, containing first-hand survivor stories, court documents, court transcripts, photos, media coverage and more. The archival documentation on the website contains the 1000-page court transcript of the trial of Anna Wesley, Metatawabin's teacher at St. Anne's Residential School. The archived court transcripts contain the perpetrators' personal perspectives. Metatawabin attended St. Anne's Residential School in Ontario from 1956 to 1963 and participated in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) hearings in 2013 where he attested to the punishment he was subjected to at the school. Shortly afterwards, in 2014, he published his memoir of his time at St. Anne's *Up Ghost River: A Chief's Journey Through the Turbulent Waters of Native History*. As in the opening epigraph of this chapter, Metatawabin vividly describes the extreme physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual abuse that he endured, and how he attempted to heal from his trauma.

Drawing from Bakhtin, in the meeting between archives and memoir, not only do the words between forms exist in a "dialogically agitated and tension filled environment," but arguably the memoir and the archives each act as a rejoinder to the other, responding to each other by merging or recoiling (*The Dialogic Imagination* 276). The memoir and archives operate

on overlapping timelines and geographic locations, adding further layers to the dialogic interactions that take place.

A comparative reading of the archives and of the memoirs that pays attention to dialogic citizenship, code-switching and counternarratives challenges the institutional constructs of the settler state and promotes moments of Indigenous resurgence. Dialogic citizenship recognizes the ways in which the authors grapple with their identity both with and against the state. Dialogic citizenship is not a form of state endorsement but rather a recognition of resistance. Dialogic code-switching is the linguistic oscillations between works. Dialogic counternarratives are the narratives of resistance.

Both life writing and archives are sites of liminality. In *Auto/biography in Canada* (2005), Rak discusses the widespread use of the slash in the word auto/biography, insisting that the "use of a slash highlights the instability of autobiography as a genre, and expresses a continuum rather than an area of absolute difference between biography and autobiography" (*Auto/Biography in Canada* 16). The term "autobiography" has often been replaced more recently with "life-writing," emphasizing the instability of the genre. Sidonie Smith and Julie Watson (2002) note that in order to understand autobiographical subjectivity, memory, experience, identity, embodiment and agency all need to be taken into account. These categories however are each multifaceted. Leigh Gilmore (2001) argues that autobiography's canonical texts are "formally unstable and decidedly multivoiced" (2). Stephen Spender (1997), Susanna Egan (1999) and Gerhard Richter (2000) comment on the instability of the self in life writing. As Richter (2000) states, "Autobiography is the genre that is the most fully invested with the perpetual shifts of the self" (39). How do life writing and the archives speak with or against one another?

Over the past two decades, residential school memoirs have been written by first, second, and third-generation survivors. Basil Johnson's memoir *Indian School Days* paved the way for other residential school survivors and their families to share their stories. These include Isabelle Knockwood's *Out of the Depths: The Experience of Mi'kmaw Children in the Schubencadie Residential School* (1992); Agnes Grant's *Finding My Talk* (2004); Alice Blondine-Perrin's *My Heart Shook Like a Drum* (2009); Theodore Fontaine's *Broken Circle: The Dark Legacy of Indian Residential Schools* (2010); Ruth Scalp Lock's *My Name is Shield Woman: A Hard Road to Healing, Vision, and Leadership* (2014); Bev Sellars' *They Called Me Number One* (2013); David Carpenter and Joseph Auguste Merasty's *The Education of Augie Merasty* (2015); Wab Kinew's *The Reason You Walk* (2015); Nick Subbeston's *You Will Wear a White Shirt: From the Northern Bush to the Halls of Power* (2015); Terrance Hill's *My Indian Residential Schools Days: The Beginning* (2017); Terese Marie Mailhot's *Heart Berries: A Memoir* (2018); Helen Knott's *In My Own Moccasins* (2019); and Antoine Mountain's *From Bear Rock Mountain* (2019).

Literary critics Deanna Reder and Sam McKegney present different theoretical approaches for engaging with Indigenous memoir and autobiography. Reder proposes an Indigenous methodology that prioritizes Cree intellectual and cultural perspectives and considers identity and position to be central rather than periphery. For Reder, life story is used to question both "epistemological objectivity and the tenets of white supremacy" (9). McKegney presents a theoretical framework for studying how the residential school survivor emerges as a literary voice. He suggests a four-part model of identity: communal identity, institutionalized identity, spectral identity and an imaginative literary identity that corresponds to different periods of the

authors' lives (46). Both of these theorists, in their respective works, place Indigenous authors at the centre. They both highlight the importance of identity in understanding Indigenous texts.

Western institutionalized structures place Indigenous ways of knowing at the periphery, thus creating an opposition between Indigenous oral records and court records. Shauna McRanor writes that

> While the authenticity of oral records has been generally accepted, their reliability and hence weight as evidence, has been substantially undervalued or completely unrecognized by judges schooled in Western juridical thought. In other words, although aboriginal oral traditions may help to demonstrate the abstract *concept* of 'records' as universal, actual oral records are likely to be presumed genuine or truthful only within their own juridical context. (66 original emphasis)

McRanor shows how the validity of oral records have been questioned in Western institutional structures. While oral histories carry validity in Indigenous communities, they do not carry the same weight in court. In *Oral History On Trial,* anthropologist Bruce Granville Miller writes that "oral narratives are routinely said by the Crown to be weak evidence" (11). Miller writes that many "participants in the 2010 Indigenous Bar Association meetings in Manitoba felt that there is no way for elders to give testimony in the current environment" (16). Miller's comments show the direct conflict between oral and textual records in the courtroom. He highlights how, in the current climate, oral history's "weight as evidence" is still questioned by the court.

Further complicating this conversation lies the problematic intersection between archives and Indigenous history and representation. Archivist Laura Millar divides Canadian archival history into three periods: 1800 to 1900; 1900 to 1970; and the 1980s to the present (105–06). She claims the concept of "total archives" is a distinctly Canadian view of the archives, "a view

that perceived the acquisition of both originals and copies of both public and private records as a legitimate and primary archival function" (Millar 111). According to scholar JJ Ghaddar, the problem with Canada's "total archives" is the construction of "archival fictions." Archival fictions are defined as the "process of professional mythmaking and history writing that started in the 1970s reframing these methods and practices explicitly designed to serve the interests of settler colonial state building" (62). When Canada was initially constructing its archive, archivists Douglas Brymner and Sir Arthur Doughty focused on "records and items generated by settlers, military personalities and imperial authorities of European conquest and settlement in what became Canada" (75). The archives as a result privileged "a narrow perspective of the past" and disregarded "the many perspectives of Indigenous nations and arrivants" (Ghaddar 75). As Crystal Fraser and Zoe Todd indicate, we need to recognize archival spaces for their original intent "to create national narratives that seek to legitimize the nation state by excluding Indigenous voices, bodies, economies, histories and socio-political structures" (39). Indigenous literature points to the need to reconstruct a more inclusive national portrait. Canadian literary critics Daniel Heath Justice (2018), Jo-Ann Episkenew (2009) and Jo-Ann Archibald (2008) discuss ways in which Indigenous literature and the act of storytelling critique policies of the Government of Canada but also help cure "colonial contagion" (Episkenew 2). In their eyes, readers/witnesses are expected to inscribe the stories in their hearts and minds and transport what they have learned back to their families and communities. Building upon this work, I offer a conception of reader responsibility that pays attention to a braiding together of dialogic citizenship, code-switching and counternarratives. Bakhtin posits that "the word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented towards a future answer-word" (*The Dialogic*

Imagination 280). If that is true then what should our answer as readers be? How must we reposition ourselves to answer?

Enberg's website stands outside the traditional conception of an archive arguably more of an alternative archive. Existing entirely in a digital space, not guarded by paywalls or exclusive login protocols, Enberg's website breaks away from these definitions of an archive. Everything on her website is accessible to anyone with an internet connection. Existing both inside and outside the confines of narrow archival definitions, Enberg's website raises the question, what type of archive is it or is it even an archive at all?

Enberg's website functioned as the only place where I was able to gain access to the court transcripts. I tried to verify the authenticity of the court transcript through the proper legal channels but with no success. Initially, I contacted the Archives of Ontario (back in March 2020) about access to the original court transcripts and was informed that the "1999 criminal files had not yet been transferred to the Archives of Ontario" and that the files should still be held at the Cochrane courthouse. I called the Cochrane courthouse directly but my voice mail messages were left unanswered. Next, I followed the instructions as outlined by the Ontario Ministry of the Attorney General for requesting a copy of the transcript and placing an order through a verified court transcriptionist. After following these procedures, transcriptionist Connie Monahan told me that the tapes were "no longer available as they are past the retention period." I informed her that I already had access to a copy of the court transcript, and she stated that I needed to contact that original transcriptionist. Unfortunately, the name of the original court transcriptionist was not on the court transcript. All that was listed were the two people who verified that the court transcript was accurate: Carole Brisson and Lynn Shier. I then contacted the National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) and asked if they had access to the court transcript in their archives.

Archivist Karen Ashbury informed me that the majority of the court records related to St. Anne's litigation was from between 2013 to 2015, though they did have some court records from the early 2000s. Ashbury informed me that these records were restricted and that I would need to contact the Ministry of the Attorney General to discuss access to records. Essentially taking me back to my initial starting point. After brainstorming with Access and Privacy Officer Rachelle Ross at the NCTR, she suggested that I try to verify the details of the cases through newspaper articles. While newspapers such as *The Ottawa Citizen, Star Phoenix, Calgary Herald, Edmonton Journal* and the *Timmins Daily Press* did record the incidents of cruelty of which Wesley was accused, they refrained from naming the specific victims. These witnesses were spoken about as a collective group or as children. The *Timmins Daily Press* noted that Wesley "kicked the children and hit them with her fists, a soup ladle and shoes," forced children "to eat vomit off their plates" and that other children were "slapped for coughing at night, wetting their beds or talking" (Martin). From these investigative lines of inquiry, I have decided to take the court transcript at face value. This experience proves, however, the power of the *archons* (document guardians). The court transcript functioning as an archival document remains completely inaccessible through government channels, only being made accessible through Enberg's website.

Looking at Enberg's website from the framework of alternative archives raises some interesting parallels and contradictions. According to Cecily Devereux, an alternative archive is

> a repository in which materials can be found that are otherwise not held institutionally; it has its pitfalls, but it is a record of the material not always in the official cultural memory of a community that persists nonetheless. This material continues to circulate between

> […] people's basements, attics, and public space, and thus continues to be present in the ways in which a community remembers. (35-36)

Enberg's website fulfils some components and resists others. The materials held on her website such as the court transcript are not easily accessible by institutions and circulates. The first-hand testimony from St. Anne's survivors is included on the website and demonstrates the "ways in which a community remembers." The Keykawin conference and the corresponding police investigations are very much a part of the St. Anne community's official cultural memory. The impact of those two events continues to affect the St. Anne's community. In her definition of alternative archives, Jess Baines writes that "alternative archives are not simply repositories of excluded narratives. They contain documents that can bear witness, affirm identities, forge collective memories and new socialities, offering sites for critical engagements with both the past and the present" (18). As Baines indicates, alternative archives are not simply excluded narratives or, I would add, narratives suppressed by the state. The materials housed on Enberg's website "bear witness" and "affirm identities." Enberg's archived materials enable us to reinterpret the past and deepen our understanding of the present.

Enberg's website actively functions as a site of resistance, as St. Anne's residential school survivors currently are fighting to have unredacted access to OPP documentation. While the courts try to silence and discredit their voices, Enberg's website amplifies and validates them. In her study of Edwidge Danticat's *The Farming of Bones*, Jennifer Vargas writes that the "making and maintenance of alternative archives is necessary to offset the power imbalances in traditional histories" (1173). Through the collection of testimony and news reports, Enberg's website challenges and showcases the false narratives that the government perpetuates.

I asked Enberg, “Why do you think that there is a marked silence of perpetrators’ voices so long after the fact?”. She explained that there is “lots of legal documentation where people were accused of child abuse but people were not charged or convicted” (Enberg). She consulted with a lawyer before posting the court case and was given the go-ahead because Wesley was convicted. Enberg stated that a distinction exists between someone who is charged and found guilty, and someone who is charged but not convicted, who could be defamed. Enberg took great care in selecting what she uploaded to her website. She was “actually physically in court with these survivors” and “sat through hours and hours of court proceedings” (Enberg). She does not feel distanced from the material she is uploading and maintains relationships with the survivors. As she explained, “The relationship with a living, breathing source of archive is different from paper archives” (Enberg). In trying to access archival documentation of St. Anne’s Residential School, Enberg asked the Deschâtelets Archives to see records from Father LeGuerrier, Bishop Belleau and Father Lavoie. She received an emailed reply that “religious archives are private, it is the decision of the creator of the records to give access or not to their records. I’ve seen other religious communit[ies] where the records are closed for 100 years and even sometimes forever” (Enberg, *Journals*). This represents just one example of why her alternative archive is of paramount importance to the St. Anne’s community.

If Enberg’s website is conceived as an alternative archive, then both the memoir and the archive exist in a space of instantaneous accessibility. If I go online right now and search for Metatawabin’s memoir, different buying options are immediately available: Chapters, Indigo, Amazon, Ebay. Furthermore, the memoir can be found in university and local libraries’ catalogues. Likewise, as noted before, Enberg’s alternative archive is accessible to anyone with an internet connection. There is a power inherent in that as traditional archives function in a

more guarded capacity. Since both forms exist in an open forum, which form carries the most validity? How do you judge? Is there some safety apparent in being classified as a memoir? Is a memoir "safe" because uncomfortable truths can be dismissed as flaws in memory? Is there something about the archive that resists this safety or fails to be easily dismissible? These are all questions that can be considered.

In order to begin to consider these issues, questions of form need to be addressed. The court transcript discussed in this chapter involves a criminal case. The Department of Justice outlines that a criminal case begins because the state believes that a crime has been perpetrated that is "considered to be an offense against society as a whole" (D. of J. Government of Canada). Any person charged with a criminal offense is always presumed innocent until proven guilty. However, if the accused is found guilty, they may be subjected to a fine, restitution, probation, community service, or imprisonment. Court transcripts record criminal cases. Court transcripts are required if an appeal needs to be made, to confirm facts, to fully document the case, or to support a complaint of lawyer misconduct (Scarrow and MacFarlane 2). In Canada, court transcripts are not required to be made publicly accessible and are typically prepared by private court reporting companies or in-house court reporters. A transcript is defined as "a copy or anything written from an original. It is most commonly used to refer to the official written record of the proceedings of a court, administrative tribunal, or pretrial procedure, such as discovery" (Yogis et al.). Transcripts can be made accessible if there is unrestricted access, if an appeal is made to a higher court, if witness statements or oral testimony are included, or if both parties pay for the transcript making it part of the official court record. As previously explained, in Ontario, in order to access a court transcript you need to contact an Authorized Court transcriptionist and submit a court transcript order form.

The process of acquiring court documentation involves a lengthy and at times tedious process, which emphasizes the difference in the way the settler state and Indigenous communities pursue justice. While the government exercises more retributive justice practices, Indigenous communities practice restorative justice. As identified by Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson, "Restorative processes rely upon the abuser taking full responsibility for his/her actions in a collective setting, amongst the person s/he violated, and amongst the people both the perpetrator and the survivor hold responsibilities to- be that their extended family, clan, or community" (23). Metatawabin further explains:

> There is no concept of justice in Cree culture. The nearest word is *kinotohpatatin,* which loosely translates to 'you've been listened to.' But *kinotohpatatin* is richer than justice- really it means you've been listened to by someone compassionate and fair, and your needs will be taken seriously. We had peacemakers before we had judges, whose responsibility was to listen to all those affected by the crime: the victim, the offender and their relatives. Justice was a matter of coming together to talk about what had happened, how it had affected those involved and to find a form of payment that would smooth the ill feelings and repair harm. (285)

The trial of Anna Wesley, however, presents a disconnection between the courts and the Fort Albany community. The interrogative nature of the trial calls into question if the survivors were actively "listened to" by people who were "compassionate." Professor James Frideres states "crown thinking is embedded in traditional views of how to deal with the 'Indigenous problem.'" These viewpoints, however, are "not visionary or forward looking or interested in holding a dialogue with Indigenous people" (3). Both Simpson and Cree lawyer Harold Johnson point to the importance of "sentencing circles," where the perpetrator is placed in the circle of the

community and all those participating in the circle have a right to share their thoughts and feelings. Even though in 2020, the Government of Canada allocated five million towards restorative justice initiatives across the country, these programs are still in their infancy. The Government of Canada on their "Correctional Services" website notes that circle sentencing has "dangers and limitations" and "potential abuses from power imbalances in the formal and informal relations between members of the community must be watched for all the more carefully in a process that can give the illusion of reassurance that highly democratic principles of participatory decision-making are being respected" (Government of Canada, "Section Two"). The phrasing on the website presents a double narrative endorsing and condemning the initiative in the same space. The reason for this is because the court system is inherently adversarial and the circle is not.

In 2016 the Department of Justice released the "Evaluation of the Aboriginal Justice Strategy." The Aboriginal Justice Strategy (AJS) is a "federally led, cost-shared program that has been supporting Indigenous community based justice programs that use processes grounded in the principles of restorative justice and Indigenous Legal Traditions for 25 years" (Department of Justice Canada i). One of the immediate goals of the AJS is to eliminate the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian justice system; however, one of the main barriers is the process of referrals. As the report indicates, "community based justice programs rely heavily on referrals from police and Crown to enable offenders to take advantage of their programs, and referrals vary greatly from community to community" (Department of Justice Canada iv). There is still limited cohesion between the mainstream justice system and the AJS. In Ontario, it has worked in some communities. The United Chiefs and Council of Mnidoo Mnising has administered over 500 justice circles for youth and adult band members in the Manitoulin

District since 1994. Their victim empathy program incorporates Anishinaabe justice principles and approaches.

In court documentation, individuals become characters. Critical legal scholar Sofia Stolk states that international prosecutors characterize perpetrators with a view to present them as despicable, animal and monstrous (Stolk), while Mark Drumbl notes that the defence "participates in a competing game of essentialization that inflates the innocence, cluelessness, and powerlessness of the perpetrator" (122). These competing performative and persuasive strategies are on display in the opening and closing remarks of the case. In the opening pages of the case, the defence constructs her (in the absence of the jury at this point) as frail and weak. He states "Ms. Wesley is 74 years of age, she walks with the assistance of the cane. As you have noticed, she has extremely bad arthritis in both knees. On top of that, her hearing is not the best, in fact her hearing is downright poor" ("Majesty" 4). This construction compounded with the multiple instances where the defence insisted "she was doing the best she could" show a marked attempt to garner sympathy. The Crown's closing remarks to the judge differ drastically and paint Wesley as ruthless and violent: "All the allegations, Your Honour, go to support a reign of terror" and "her response in every one of these instances was violence. Violence that made every one of these complainants feel worthless. That their needs did not merit attention" (897). This oscillation of competing motivations consistently tracks throughout the court proceedings, demonstrating a marked tension between the weak and the strong.

In the memoir, a tension between performativity and reality exists. Memoirists present stories of their own lives, and we as readers choose to trust or distrust the narratives. After all, there are as many ways of stating the truth as there are of suppressing it. Metatawabin's memoir does not suggest that the reader is misled or manipulated. Author Mary Karr notes that "By

transcribing the mind so its edges show, a writer constantly reminds the reader that he's not watching crisp external events played from a digital archive. It's the speaker's truth alone. In this way, the form constantly disavows the rigors of objective truth" (Karr 16). Metatawabin shows the limits of his memory through the vast number of conversations he recounts in his memoir. As readers, we know that these are not transcribed conversations, but, at the same time, a level of trust is conjured by "recall's fuzzy form" (Karr 15) and the emotional force of what we are being told. While perfect recall is sought after in the trial, in the memoir the "fiction" of a real person telling his own story evokes more trust.

1. Multifaceted Identity - Dialogic Citizenship

As previously explained, dialogic citizenship is about the ways in which the authors grapple with their identity both inside and outside the political formulations of the state. Metatawabin's memoir shows the impact that racist and genocidal policies of the state had on his life both before and after residential school. The process of writing the memoir, however, reflects a retrospective distancing from the state. Contrastingly, the court transcript shows Metatawabin working within state structures, not with the desire for inclusion within the settler state, but in order to make sure that the witnesses of St. Anne's had been heard by the institution that had harmed them. Metatawabin's memoir and the court transcript both make the distinction between adult and child but the terms "adult" and "child" are used differently when employed within state structures and outside of state structures. While Metatawabin's memoir shows an internal struggle with those terms in the after effects of his residential school experience, the court transcript shows explicitly how those terms are used in highly strategic ways by the state.

Metatawabin's memoir demonstrates a perpetual shifting of self between his childhood and adult perspectives, not to recapture his childhood but to reposition himself and make sense of

it. The archives represent a moment captured in time and are not narrated by one author but rather three: the institutional narrator, the archival narrator and in specific cases the witnesses. The archives associated with St. Anne's show a constant movement between all three. Demonstrating dialogic citizenship outside of the institution Metatawabin oscillates between his child and adult perspectives to come to terms with his past. Dialogue creates a traumatic distancing and a simultaneous "working through." Speaking to Dennis about Mike Pasko's assault on him as a child, Metatawabin shifts to third person:

> 'What happened to that part [that wanted to leave]?'
>
> 'He tried and then he gave up'
>
> 'Why did he give up?'
>
> 'He was embarrassed about not having money. Embarrassed that he had let himself be tricked. Embarrassed about what he'd have to say when he got home. And embarrassed that he just lay there and didn't fight for his life.' (Metatawabin and Shimo 241)

Metatawabin navigates his childhood through questions and answers in order to promote healing and combat false narratives. Through the course of this conversation Metatawabin shifts from the distant "he" to the personal and strong "I," and shifts from then to the still lingering effects of now. The "he" in this passage is associated with Metatawabin's childhood self. Most of the verbs that follow the pronoun are in the past tense – "tried," "gave," "was," "had" – suggesting an attempt to root his traumatic experience in the past. Metatawabin appears find safety in creating distance from his childhood trauma. Dennis's responses bring elements of the past into the present. A direct tension exists between Metatawabin's aloofness and Dennis' desire to confront Metatawabin's traumatic past in the present moment. Through the course of the conversation, Dennis begins to break down Metatawabin's distance. After these initial questions, Metatawabin

shifts back to using the pronoun "I," stating " I could have fought, I could have strangled him. I could have killed him." The repetition of "I" heightens a sense of agency and identity.

Episkenew states that "Converting the residual pain of traumatic events first into language and subsequently into text enables us to distance ourselves from the trauma. We can then examine the text of the traumatic event to understand the emotions it triggers, a process that allows us to diminish its negative effects" (70). There are three separate but connected processes: the dialogue of the actual event, the writing down of that dialogue and the subsequent reflection on that dialogue both prewriting and post writing. Through these processes, Metatawabin rewrites his younger self. In his conversation with Dennis, Metatawabin judges his passive younger self. Concurrently, Dennis guides him to reflect on the root of this inaction and ask himself "why." Why did he not fight? Why does he not talk to Amocheesh about his experience with Mike in Montreal? He tells Mike, "'Maybe I like being weak. Maybe that's why I gave up. Give up,' I corrected myself " (Metatawabin and Shimo 241). In this statement, Metatawabin identifies that the experience is not disconnected from the present moment. They painfully exist side by side. As Metatawabin shows, working through his trauma takes considerable energy and a tremendous mental toll. As Dr. Bessel van der Kolk states,

> Trauma, by definition, is unbearable and intolerable. Most rape victims, combat soldiers, and children who have been molested become so upset when they think about what they experienced that they try to push it out of their minds, trying to act as if nothing happened, and move on. It takes tremendous energy to keep functioning while carrying the memory of terror, and the shame of utter weakness and vulnerability. (1)

Through the raising of these uncomfortable questions, Metatawabin realizes the power that Mike held over him, and that he is not ready to talk to potential other victims yet. Only through these difficult conversations can Metatawabin begin to heal and break through his silence and shame.

The court transcripts associated with St. Anne's Residential School are emotionally charged and show dialogic citizenship at work within state structures. Like Metatawabin's memoir, the court transcripts of R V Anna Wesley construct this dialogic citizenship by highlighting the contrast between adult and child perspectives. The witnesses in the court transcripts are cross-examined. The crown asks witness TT for his "perspective as a child," whereas the defence asks for his "perspective as an adult." TT accused Wesley of hitting him over the head with a metal soup ladle, slapping him with shoes, punching him in the eyes with fists full of dirt, and making him jump over a ditch with a sprained ankle. The Crown questioned TT about the rules at the residential school: "Did you know whether those were Wesley's rules or whether they were Mother Superior's rules, from your *perspective as a child*, did you know?" ("Majesty" 281 emphasis added). In re-examination, he is interrogated about Wesley's treatment of him: "Can you tell me [Mr. TT], from a *child's point of view*, what it seemed to you at the time?" (320 emphasis added). The defence takes a different approach asking TT in cross-examination: "Do you agree [Mr. TT], today from your *perspective as an adult,* that that was a very, very large and onerous responsibility for one person?" and "And would you agree that again, from your *perspective as an adult*, that the only way one person could keep order and discipline over a group of 100 boys ranging in ages from about five or six to 18 was by being tough? " (313-314, emphasis added). Like Metatawabin's memoir, the witnesses are being asked to balance their perspectives as children with their perspectives as adults. While in his memoir Metatawabin works through his traumatic experiences self-reflexively without time constraints,

the witnesses in the court transcripts are interrogated and challenged about their own experiences.

The defence cross-examination repeatedly highlights moments of dialogic code switching. More specifically, comments made at the preliminary hearing and/or in their 1993 and 1994 police statements differ from what was said later at the trial. The time span between the preliminary hearing and the trial was one year; the time span between police statements and the trial was five to six years. In the cross-examination of TT, the defence stated that there were some discrepancies between his preliminary hearing and the trial. The defence revealed that in the preliminary hearing he had left out the incident about being forced to jump over a ditch with a sprained ankle. When asked why he left out these details, he responded:

> Well, you must remember that all this evidence I'm giving or trying to give goes back 40 years, sometimes more than 40 years and I can't remember everything. These are things I've tried to forget about over 40 years. These aren't very happy moments in my life and I spent 40 years trying to forget about them and there are many other incidents, stuff I never mentioned that happened to me because I just thought they were too minor, that after the preliminary trial, I started remembering and stuff but I was in no way trying to mislead the court of whatever. ("Majesty" 307-308)

Similarly, the cross-examination of JEPM revealed some inconsistencies between the Moosonee preliminary hearing and the trial. In court, JEPM testified to being forced to kneel, held down by two boys and beaten by Wesley after he ran away from school. In the preliminary hearing, however, JEPM admitted that he did not actually see who was hitting him. The defence asked him:

> Q. And you were supposed to tell the truth...you had to tell the truth in Moosonee also, didn't you?
>
> A. I know...I know that I have...I know that I have...I have to tell the truth because it is very hard sometimes to try to remember everything what had happened to you as a young child because it happened so many years ago, and it's so hard to try to remember everything. ("Majesty" 634)

In court, JEPM also confessed that he did not remember the names of the boys who had held him down. When asked by the defence why he did not remember the names of the two boys, he responded, "I must have been very scared because it was so frightening then because when I'm frightened I don't think I could have remember[ed] everybody...or who they were" ("Majesty" 635). JEPM's lapses in memory show that each witness has a different relationship with the trauma they experienced in residential school. The defence refuses to acknowledge that this relationship shifts and morphs. For some witnesses, their past will be unreachable and for others, new details from their past will reveal themselves over time. Reder writes, "In Cree understandings of identity, the capacity to change in response to the constantly changing environment is valued. As we live in this state of flux, the 'same' stories may mean different things to us. As we learn some things, we can also forget others" (18). The court transcripts reveal an intersection of multiple temporalities: the time periods between childhood and adulthood, between preliminary hearing and trial, and between police statement and trial, and day-to-day changes. While memoirs can be forgiving of memory lapses and developing details, but trials are critical of inconsistency.

Each form has a different relationship to truth and persuasion. A memoir navigates "autobiographical truth" between the narrator and the reader. As Smith and Watson argue,

autobiographical truth "is an intersubjective exchange between narrator and reader aimed at producing a shared understanding of the meaning of a life" (13). Framed in those terms, the interaction between narrator and reader is conceived as intimate. This relationship depends on persuasion "since the autobiographical relationship depends on the narrator's winning and keeping the reader's trust in the plausibility of the narrated experience and the credibility of the narrator" (Smith and Watson 29). Metatawabin's memoir leaves no doubt that these incidents happened to him. His vulnerability convinces the reader. A strong bond of trust forms between Metatawabin and the reader because of the details he provides about his experience.

An important legal principle is the presumption of innocence until proven guilty. As a result, persuasion lies with two parties instead of one: the Crown and the defence. Providing a clear framework for the Crown and the defence to operate in, the Canadian Charter of Rights states in Section 7 that "Any person charged with an offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal" (Canadian Government). Both the memoir and the court documentation engage in relationships of trust. While Metatawabin's memoir builds trust, the Crown effectively destroys trust in Wesley through the witnesses. The witnesses' testimonies firmly position the reader to be skeptical of Wesley even before she speaks. Even when the witnesses were being challenged by the defence about the validity of their stories, as a reader, I wished to protect them rather than mistrust their testimonies. The inconsistencies between retellings spoke more to their humanity than would facts. The number of witnesses added to their credibility because of the similarities between testimonies.

In the court transcripts, the past is simultaneously removed and present. Drawing on Bevernage, Rothberg argues "there is neither strict continuity between past and present nor a

clean break between these two temporal dimensions" (Rothberg 9). Instead of a clear line, traumatic memory is haphazard. This temporal dimension is mirrored in the witnesses' dual construction of self. Witnesses' childhood identities are at once being forced to be present and at a distance. During the cross-examination of several of the witnesses, the defence posed several questions regarding the clarity of their memory using a terminology of absolutes. Witness ET, for example, was asked during cross-examination:

> Q. Now is the fact that some of the food and vomit was spooned into your mouth and that you vomited again? Is that something that always stayed in your head?
>
> A. Yes all the time
>
> Q. That's something you never forgot about in all those years, right?
>
> A. I never, it's always there. ("Majesty" 567)

The terms "always" and "never" suggest a stability not there in memory, and as the defense went on to demonstrate, ET left out some details in his 1994 police statement that he raised in court. In his police statement, ET stated that after peeing in his bed during the night, Wesley proceeded to kick him "all over for about five minutes" ("Majesty" 516). However, at the trial, ET added that he had also been thrown to the floor and slapped. The defence kept emphasizing the new details that were not included in the police statement and suggested that he had exaggerated the abuse.

The cross-examination of witness GW followed the same trajectory. GW was asked, "Is that an event that always stayed in your mind Mr [GW]?" and "That's an event that you never forgot about sir?" ("Majesty" 411). This emphasis of "always" and "never," especially with respect to childhood traumatic memories, depicts memory as static. The problem is that memory alters constantly and the witness's relationship to their trauma changes.Wesley uses the same

absolutist terminology when responding to questions about the incident with EM during the direct examination:

> Q. Would you sometimes warn the boys not to touch the snow or play with the snow or make snowballs?
>
> A. Never. I know that was a big pleasure and great pleasure for them to play with the snow. Just like me, I was like that too. ("Majesty" 759)

This was followed up with the question, "Throwing a snowball?," to which she again responded with the word "Never." Wesley's answers display an interesting contrast between the events that the witnesses "always" remembered and her assertion of events that "never" happened. Especially in this instance, we need to be critical and weigh the testimony of ten witnesses, eleven including the memoir, against the voice of the perpetrator.[20] In the court transcripts, Wesley's protestations of innocence oppose the witnesses testimonies of abuse. Even though the memory of the witnesses fluctuates between leaving out and adding details, the common thread is that they were subjected to absolute cruelty as children by this woman.

The archived court transcripts record Wesley's perspective, but in the memoir she is recalled by Metatawabin:

> In the dining hall, everyone stared at me. I ignored them and went to get a bowl of porridge. I managed two bites before I threw up, I stared at the grey-tinged oats mixed with pieces of carrot on top of my bowl. Suddenly Sister Wesley was next to me. She took the bowl from my hands and put it on the floor.

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[20] In the trial there were fifteen witnesses. There were ten witnesses who testified to their experience at the school, Edmund Metatawabin who was a reply witness, Anna Wesley, a police officer who collected the police statements and two doctors who testified on whether eating vomit was considered psychological abuse.

> ‘Eat it,’ she said. I reached down to pick up the bowl. ‘No. Eat like a dog.’ I stared at her, and then she slowly pushed me onto all fours. (Metatawabin and Shimo 91–92)

The inhumane treatment that Metatawabin suffered is shown in the court documents through the witness statements of LM and ET. LM testified about an incident when he was younger than ten years old, at which time the cod liver oil administered by Wesley made him sick and caused him to throw up in his bowl. LM was asked why he threw up into his bowl instead of on the floor and he replied that he was afraid of being hit by Wesley if he threw up on the floor. The Crown asked:

> Q. What did you do when she [Sister Wesley] told you, when she hit you and told you to eat your vomit and called you names [bastard and wild dog], what did you do?
>
> A. I, I, I eat.
>
> [...]
>
> Q. How did this make you feel as a person forced to eat your vomit in front of the others in the dining room?
>
> A. I was, I, I didn’t like myself. (“Majesty” 156)

ET testified Wesley used a spoon and forced him to eat his vomit. The Crown asked:

> Q. All right and can you tell me, sir, how did that make you feel about yourself as a person, to be forced to eat your vomit in the dining room in front of your schoolmates?
>
> A. Like as if I was nothing, as if I was nothing, that’s how I looked at myself.
>
> (“Majesty” 501-502)

The children felt degraded and worthless. In *The Ethics of Memory,* Avishai Margalit notes that “The political witness may be more effective in uncovering factual truth, in telling it like it was. But the moral witness is more valuable at telling it like it felt, that is, telling what it was like to

be subjected to such evil" (168). The facts are important but the impact is created by how these boys *felt*. Regardless of variations in memory all the children were made to feel as if they were inconsequential, voiceless and alone. The memoirs and the archives speak together and strengthen each other. However, Metatawabin memoir is not subjected to Wesley's direct refusals. When asked directly about the allegations against her by LM and ET, Wesley paints herself as a compassionate and caring individual. When asked about LM throwing up, she replied "Well, I...I asked him if he would like to eat something else after, and he said 'no'" ("Majesty" 732). When questioned if she punished LM for defecating his pants, she responded "No. I sent him to--yes, I asked him if ...if he would like to go and rest, and he said 'yes' and I sent him to bed before supper, and I asked one of the boys to go and give him something in a tray, as we usually do when..when..when one of the boys is in bed sick" ("Majesty" 735). When asked about ET, she stated that:

> As I said this morning, he spitted the cod liver oil, just...not all...on...on his plate, it was still a good part of it that he didn't...that the..the spit it did not touch, that the thing I asked him I tried to ask him to eat it...to try to...to feed him because he was not eating and I saw him going down sick, and I wanted to help him, but after that he said he started to feel...vomiting again, so I stopped it and I never tried to make him eat his vomit. ("Majesty" 761)

Wesley's testimony is very different from LM's and ET's. Her testimony creates a dialogic dissonance, a moment of contradiction between the witnesses' testimonies and her own. During Wesley's cross-examination, the Crown asked "What did you say or do that would cause the boys to be frightened of throwing up on the floor and getting punished for it," to which Wesley responded, "They were not really frightened as much as they say" ("Majesty" 797). Wesley's

rebuttal can be interpreted in several different ways. Was she trying to present herself in the best light in order to avoid prosecution? Was this how she actually felt about the situation? Were her responses strategic or were they sincere? Is she self-presenting in this manner because she feels guilty and is trying to hide what she did? The difference between the memoirs and the archives forces a reader to reassess the evidence.

While the memoirs demonstrate this perpetual shifting of self, the archives serve either as a direct counter or a mirror. The legal documentation associated with St. Anne's Residential School shows this perpetual shifting of self, not just for the witnesses but for the perpetrator. By placing the memoir and the court transcript side by side, readers can see three distinct narratives. Through the memoir readers can see Metatawabin's narrative and through the court transcript readers can see the witnesses' and Wesley's testimonies. Only by balancing the memoirs and the archives and by listening to the polyphony of voices can a critical analysis begin.

In an interview with CBC News in 2014, Metatawabin stated:

> You, the Canadian person can only imagine your six-year-old child be it male or female, your nephew that's seven years old. And what would you feel if your child was made to eat their vomit or being put on the electric chair and for entertainment and all kinds of atrocities committed in the privacy of that institution. And I ask the public what would you feel today and what would you try to do to repair that? ("Final Truth")

Metatawabin raises poignant questions that highlight the importance of connecting to what is being said. As a certified teacher and as a soccer coach for girls younger than ten years old, I found reading about the violence inflicted on these children difficult especially since I view both of my positions as being guardians. I believe that anyone who reads from a emotionally detached position when reading about the abuse and violation of children re-commits the

violence inflicted on them. These children were deprived of emotional connection in residential schools and I believe it is important to emotionally connect in order to feel the immediacy. Both Metatawabin and the witnesses are mediating albeit in different forms between their childhood and adult perspectives.

2. Perpetrator Perspective: Dialogic Counternarratives

Dialogic counternarratives are narratives of resistance that exist in just one form. It is only in the court transcript in which Wesley provides her side of the story. In the memoir, we see Wesley through Metatawabin's eyes. During the court proceedings, Wesley constructs a dialogic illusion of herself and the school, which directly counters witness testimony. Wesley attended St. Anne's as a student from September 1934 to June 1941 and worked there from August 1951 to 1962. During her direct examination, she was asked about her job looking after the boys.

> Well…I was there to look after them, and their health, clothes, everything. I was not able to be…mother for them all the time, where there's so many…or father for them all the time because so many. But I was responsible for their health, when they are sick or.. till the nurse and so on. And having good behavior. And they are not good, I have to go and report to the mother superior and her report to the principal. ("Majesty" 708-709)

Wesley frames herself in familial terms, even though the witnesses' testimony indicates she was far from the role of "mother" or "father."[21] She attempts to humanize and portray herself as a beneficent caretaker. Wesley describes St. Anne's as a place where students had no language

[21] Residential school survivor Isabelle Knockwood who attended residential school in Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia states how she felt betrayed when she was older "and discovered that the people whom I feared the most in the whole world as a child were being called 'father' and 'sister' and even 'mother superior'- the very words used for those dearest to me" (37).

restriction and did not have to ask for permission to go to the bathroom. Both of these answers contrast to the testimonies of GW and ET, who said they were punished for these types of infractions. The witnesses' testimony and Wesley's testimony share no middle ground in the "intense struggle and interanimation" of their words (Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* 77).

Wesley paints a different atmosphere of the school in her cross-examination compared to her direct examination. In the direct examination, she implies that students were able to speak the language of their choice. However, in the cross-examination, the school seems, in contrast, to be a place of coldness and isolation. What is emphasized in both the direct and cross-examination is whether the rules held at the school were "Anne's rules" or Mother Superior's rules. While the witnesses testified to the enforcement of Wesley's invisible rules, Wesley attests that the rules were posted in big "type-writer letters" on the wall for everyone to see. In her cross-examination, Wesley denied the existence of any written rules prohibiting children from wetting their beds or speaking at mealtime. In contrast, TT testified, "There were so many rules at Ste-Anne's ... Rules that we didn't know about, that were, whatever Anne's rules were and we always seemed to be, I was especially constantly picked on" ("Majesty" 310). A discrepancy exists between the school of the witnesses' recollection and the school of Wesley's construction. What becomes apparent is the extent of control that Wesley had over these children.

Both the witnesses and Wesley are interrogated, but, while the witnesses were questioned about remembering additional details, Wesley was questioned about remembering singular experiences. During her direct examination, she kept referring to the instances happening to the witnesses "just once." She remembered LM throwing up in his bowl "just once" ("Majesty" 731) and defecating in his pants "just once" (734). Asked about DW getting sick and throwing up at mealtime, she remarked that it happened "Not very often, maybe once" (748) and when asked

about GW getting injured during skating, she replied that the accident happened "just once" (755). These incidents recalled in the witnesses' testimonies are categorized by Wesley as isolated instances. During her cross-examination, the Crown asked if a child throwing up or coughing during the night was an "unremarkable event" considering her eleven-year tenure of taking care of children. The Crown asked in connection with LM's testimony:

> Q. And whether because they took cod liver oil or because they weren't feeling well, it's still an unremarkable event for a child to throw up…
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. ...correct? But...you remember that it was just once that it happened, and he was probably in his second year, and that you saw him, and that you were serving him, and that you were three tables down, and that you asked him if he was sick, and that he said 'yes', and you asked him if he would like to eat something, you remember all those things?
>
> A. Not really. ("Majesty" 812)

Even though Wesley denied giving all those details, she admits being "three tables away from him" and asking if he "would like to have something else." This backtracking from what she said earlier in the trial raises flags about the reliability of her testimony. She changes details, perhaps trying to balance precariously between what she should and should not admit.

This balancing act between her public and private persona presents itself in Wesley's interrogation about specific witnesses. In her direct examination of TT, Wesley depicts him as a "troublemaker" who was "marked with violence from… from his family" ("Majesty" 736). Asked about hitting TT for coughing, she explained that his nose was already bleeding from a fever and that she had approached his bed "Because I wanted to give him some more cough

drops...cough medicine...cough syrup" (737). In this questioning, Wesley removes herself from the accusations of violence. She overcompensates in her re-interpretation of the events positioning them on the side of fantasized fiction rather than fact. Queried about the incident with TT's sprained ankle, she states "I...I asked him...if...to come to the hospital with me. He did not want to, he said 'I don't want to stay in the hospital' so I put..in the evening I put wet towels on his ankle. And the following morning he was not too bad. It was during summer, there was no school" ("Majesty" 743). Again, she constructs herself as a caretaker only looking out for TT's best interests. While she does admit to slapping TT on a separate occasion, she maintains that she did it because he was a "troublemaker" and was starting fights with the other boys.

Wesley repeatedly downplays the violence that she inflicted on the witnesses, possibly to avoid self-incrimination. At the beginning of her cross-examination, Wesley was asked

> Q. I suggest, Anna Wesley, that you slapped the children for vomiting the same way that you slapped the children for wetting their beds.
>
> A. Not real…
>
> Q. Isn't that true?
>
> A. Not really slapped and slapped and slapped, sometimes just pushed them like this.
>
> Q. A little slap.
>
> A. A little slap. ("Majesty" 799-800)

When questioned about hitting TT over the head with a soup ladle, she responded "I did not really hit him on his head. I just brushed him like that…'what you're doing' I said 'stop' because the other boy was complaining" ("Majesty" 827-828). Using the words "little" and "brushed" undermines the violence she inflicted. This contrasts with the depictions of violence given by the witnesses. The Crown suggested that "the reason you say you didn't make any children kneel is

because they say you did" (846). To each suggestion, Wesley either denied the accusation altogether or modified her answer. As the Crown pointed out, Wesley's answers appear like she is trying to fabricate the "correct response" or to downplay her actual response.

Throughout the trial, Wesley tries to align herself with the witnesses. While this could be read as a strategic move, it also shows how Wesley herself was interpellated into this system of abuse. Wesley herself was a student at St. Anne's before she was a nun at the school. In her cross-examination, she brings up her experience at the school to emphasize this connection. She was asked by the Crown about making children kneel on the floor and she responded, "It's what they said, but I never did it. As I said, I had the experience on my...on myself when I was a border [sic]" ("Majesty" 846). Furthermore, she was asked, "And you knew that for the first couple of years there with a different way of life and a different language to learn, away from their parents, it was going to be very hard for them" ("Majesty" 860). To which she responded, "I know that because I...I had that experience myself" (860). Jonathan Dunnage observes that "'perpetrator' nations or groups in dealing with the past have often emphasized common suffering (through conflict), thereby erasing distinctions between themselves and their victims, to the advantage of the nation/ group and to the detriment of the latter" (92). In these particular responses, Wesley aligns herself with the witnesses to position herself more empathetically. Even though Wesley admits to having first-hand knowledge of the experience at residential school, she appears to have inflicted the same violence to which she was subjected. In the trial, even though she tries to separate her experience as a student and a teacher, they are interwoven. She admits that she knew the children were completely dependent on her, that they had no one else to turn to when they were sick and that the parents were for the most part "poor, and

uneducated, and powerless" ("Majesty" 860). She acknowledges these conditions but refuses to admit how she participated in the repetition of them.

Metatawabin's memoir does not display a sense of active misleading, but rather a sense of active omission. Remembering going home for the summer to see his family he writes:

> I hadn't said much to anyone since being electrocuted and then snubbed by Tony. The words would rise up inside of me, but they always came out wrong. Or they came out and they sounded different, like someone had flown inside my body and taken my place. There was another Ed who had taken over my body. He carried on like nothing had happened. (96)

While Wesley appears to create a barrier between herself and the jury through evasive tactics, Metatawabin creates an active barrier between himself and his family. In this passage, he attempts to distance himself from his trauma with the creation of this other "Ed." A stark dichotomy presents itself between the "Ed" who is subjected to traumatic pain and the one who avoids it. In other words, a split occurs between Metatawabin's private and public persona. While Wesley reconstructs her public and private persona to make her actions look socially acceptable, Metatawabin transforms himself to survive and cope with the extreme cruelty to which he was subjected. This complete separation presents itself again at Metatawabin's graduation. He explains:

> I looked at my hand on the black cloth. *I'm still here,* I thought. *I didn't die.* For a long time, I had watched my body, as if everything was happening to someone else. I had listened to conversations as if I was in another room, and everything was happening from far away. As I stared at my fingers, I thought, *This is me. I'm here again.* I didn't quite believe it. (103)

On leaving school, Metatawabin acknowledges the division that allowed him to survive his residential school experience. The internal dialogue which is indicated by the italics serves to ground him and there appears a brief fusion of the two as Metatawabin believes that the pain and suffering have ended. In both passages, what does not change is the silence that surrounds him. He does not confide in his parents about residential school or Mike Pasko's assault. He appears to keep his two selves completely separate.

Wesley and Metatawabin are both navigating their private and public selves for survival. Metatawabin is trying to survive his traumatic past and Wesley is trying to survive her present. When Mike Pasko sexually assaults Metatawabin, Metatawabin indicates that "Sometimes, it seemed to be happening to someone else. I floated above the bedroom and I watched him moving closer, heard him grunting, and I waited until it was over" (127). As before, Metatawabin immediately tries to separate himself from the trauma in order to cope with the experience. Pairing his violation with the predatory and animalistic nature of his abuser creates a heartbreaking juxtaposition that communicates the powerlessness of his situation. He engages in an internal dialogue trying to will himself to action during the summer of assault. He states:

> Other days, the panic prickling my throat and chest woke me up. *Not now,* I thought. *Please not now. Please. Please.* I lay very still and screwed up my eyes and waited as he woke up, brushed his teeth, ate breakfast and left. Then I stayed in bed, as if paralyzed. *Get up. Get up, you idiot.* (127)

Metatawabin's inner dialogue attempts to ground him and provide an agency that has been lacking in his life. At this moment, the silence holds Metatawabin together but the suppression of his trauma separates him from his family, him from his wife and him from his healing journey. Only after the initial breakdown of his marriage due to alcoholism and infidelity does

Metatawabin open up to his wife. In a conversation with her, he reveals: "'Well, I didn't want to go to St. Anne's but I had to. It was what all the kids did. And then when I was there I felt that I had to hollow myself out. To be the face that watched but felt and said nothing'" (215). Highlighting the dissociation between his public and private selves, Metatawabin demonstrates how he coped with his traumatic experiences. We understand that for him to survive in residential school, his public "mask" needed to be securely fashioned in order for his private experiences not to overwhelm him.

The use of dissociation or "splitting" as a coping mechanism for child sexual abuse and rape victims is not a new phenomenon. Spokeswoman for the National Sexual Violence Resource Centre, Laura Palumbo stated in an interview with *Good Morning America*

> We also know that for many survivors, in addition to the feeling of being frozen, there is an experience of detachment, trying to detach from the trauma and violation that the body is experiencing. Some would describe it as an out-of-body experience, some describe it as their mind is in another room. (qtd in Kindelan)

Psychologist Jim Hopper calls dissociation a "survival reflex" whereby "awareness is automatically disconnected from disturbing and painful sensations and emotions arising in one's body" (Hopper). Disconnection can be seen in the above passages in varying degrees. During the abuse, Metatawabin indicates having an out-of-body experience through his description of "floating" above the bedroom and "watching" the abuse take place from a distance. As Hopper indicates, Metatawabin mentally detaches from the pain and the trauma that he is experiencing. Furthermore, the immobility that Metatawabin experiences is quite common for victims of sexual assault. In 2017, in Sweden, 298 women who had visited the emergency clinic after having been raped were assessed using the Tonic Immobility Scale. Tonic immobility has been

described as “an involuntary, temporary state of motor inhibition in response to situations involving intense fear” (Möller et al. 932). The Tonic Immobility Scale is a twelve item questionnaire designed to assess features of tonic immobility. The questions are answered on a seven-point scale and include questions about “feeling frozen or paralyzed, the inability to move although not restrained, the inability to call our or scream, numbness, feeling cold, fearing for one’s life, and feeling detached from self” (Möller et al. 934). Of the 298 women, 70 percent reported “significant tonic immobility” and 48 percent reported “extreme tonic immobility” during the assault (Möller et al. 932). Metatawabin’s inaction during and after his assault might thus be read as his mind protecting him from trauma. Arguably for Metatawabin, the mental dissociation he experienced during the abuse transforms, after his graduation, to linguistic dissociation. In other words, the distance he metaphysically created during the abuse became a linguistic distance after.

Like the metaphysical impacts of trauma that Metatawabin experienced, in 2019, scholars Angi Jacobs-Kayam and Rachel Lev-Wiesel analyzed fifty adult female child sexual abuse (CSA) survivors’ open-ended life story interviews and found that

> Sexual abuse is a life experience that leaves a residue on survivors’ psyches. The experience cannot be erased or forgotten at will and survivors find their way, often subconsciously, to deal with the negative effect abuse has on them by compartmentalizing it in a manner that allows them to function. They are constantly chained to the traumatic events against their will, much like Prometheus in Greek mythology – Prometheus was a titan who defied the gods and was punished with eternal torment. (6)

The abuse that Metatawabin tries to compartmentalize infiltrates personal moments in his life. Getting married to Joan at Holy Angels Catholic Church (a "stone's throw from St. Anne's"), he has a panic attack while getting ready.

> I walked around the building and opened the side door a crack, peering at the expectant faces. *Where's Ma? Is Joan here? Is Mike coming? Oh God, that's him. Oh no, it's not. Is he here? Maybe he'd gotten word of my wedding and had flown in from Montreal.* My hands shook. [...] My mind filled with a dense flurry of voices. The floor and ceiling uneven, and swerving to meet each other. Too much was happening in that church. (154)

In this passage, the abuse that Metatawabin experienced at residential school and the abuse he suffered at the hands of Mike collide. Mike is the third person Metatawabin thinks about at his wedding and he dominates his thoughts. At this moment, there are several layers of proximity at play: physical and geographic proximity to St. Anne's, the institutional proximity of getting married in a Catholic church and the mental fixation on the abuse. Everything about his marriage environment is triggering and the only way he can calm down is by going into the forest and breathing with the trees. Only by detaching from the triggering physical environment is he able to calm his mental state.

While the memoir demonstrates this oscillation between public and private self, the court transcripts only allow a public self. In the court transcript, Metatawabin was called to give "reply evidence." According to lawyer Bevan Brooksbank:

> Reply evidence is admissible only when defendant, respondent, or responding party has raised a new matter that could not be reasonably anticipated by the plaintiff, applicant, or moving party or where the reply evidence is in response to an issue enlarged by the opponent in a manner that could not have been reasonably foreseen. (Brooksbank)

As a reply witness, Metatawabin is expected to give succinct and direct answers. For example, the Crown asked him "And I understand that you were instrumental in an investigation being launched into the residential school allegations of abuse, is that correct?" ("Majesty" 916). Metatawabin responded with "Can I expand on that?" and was immediately met with "No" by both the Crown and the Court. The space that the court carves out for Metatawabin is limited. Unable to move outside of the role laid out for him, Metatawabin does demonstrate moments of agency through refutation. In his cross-examination, the defence asked him what year he was born:

> A: In '47, I was told
>
> Q: In 1947, you were told?
>
> A: By my mother. ("Majesty" 918)

Metatawabin's reply challenges a court that values exact dates and facts reflecting the difference between Indigenous intellectual traditions and Western traditions. Subsequently, further in the questioning when the defence is trying to establish when Metatawabin was at the school, the defence asked:

> Q: Well, would you then agree with me that...although you are sure of the date of birth, that you're unsure of the exact years you arrived at Ste. Anne?
>
> A: Even the date of birth is under question because the records were burnt and there was a lot of guessing. ("Majesty" 920)

Through his answers Metatawabin maintains that his parents inform him of his date of birth due to the absence of records. Interestingly, in his memoir, Metatawabin says he was not used as a witness due to "memory lapses due to repeated trauma and alcoholism" (282). Since he was called upon to testify at the trial, it raises the question: If he had already been ruled out as an

uncredible witness then what immediately classified him as a credible fact-checker? While Metatawabin's memoir demonstrates this complex duality and oscillation of identity, the court transcripts attempt to refuse this movement. For Wesley, the court transcripts do the opposite and demonstrate a constant fluctuation between public and private selves.

Through Metatawabin's and Wesley's oscillations we can see that the atmosphere we bring into the reading experience is never "ethically neutral." Athabascan scholar Dian Million outlines how human rights and humanitarianism create these spaces "where there are multiple agendas performed, none of them totally neutral and never merely allied with the 'powerless'" (12). In the court transcripts, we can see the navigation of multiple agendas: the Crown wanting to advocate for the witnesses by emphasizing emotions, the defence wanting to invalidate the witnesses' testimony and the defence wanting to present Wesley in the best possible light. In the memoir, we can also surmise that Metatawabin's agenda was to bring awareness to the violence that occurred at St. Anne's, but also more broadly residential school history.

I believe as readers we need to recognize these competing motivations, but also be aware of our own. With respect to reading narratives, philosopher Paul Ricoeur states that "the strategy of persuasion undertaken by the narrator is aimed at imposing on the reader a vision of the world that is never ethically neutral, but that rather implicitly or explicitly induces a new evaluation of the world and of the reader as well" (249). We should reposition ourselves and confront foundational systemic problems when we read the court transcripts and the memoir in conversation with each other. We cannot do that if we come into the reading with a ready-made conclusion. Justice states we become good ancestors by "imagining beyond the wounding now into a better tomorrow, working, writing and dreaming a future into being" (156). Ignoring the wounding does not contribute to a better future, but rather takes away from it. As Hanna

Meretoja notes, "we are always entangled in webs of narratives" and "narratives both expand and diminish our *sense of the possible*" (2). Not only do we need to recognize how the archives and the memoir are entangled, but also how we are entangled in their histories within them. It is only through this recognition of interdependency that a "sense of the possible" can occur.

3. Language: Dialogic Code Switching

Linguistically, both the memoir and the archives engage with both Cree and English and explore different forms of mediated communication. In the court transcripts, six witnesses – LM, GW, EM, ET, GK, and JM – testified with the assistance of a Cree-English interpreter. Showing this complex dialogic movement from speaker to listener, Bakhtin states that "The speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his own utterance on alien territory, against his, the listener's, apperceptive background" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 282). He continues by stating that the "subjective belief system of the listener" serves as the "arena of encounter" (*The Dialogic Imagination* 282). In Bakhtin, the dialogic conception of the speaker and the listener as conceived in a novelistic form appears as a fluid process, an uninterrupted process. In the court transcripts, this process of transmission constantly stops and starts. Furthermore, there are not just two subjects, there are three parties: the speaker, the listeners (jury, lawyers, judge, perpetrator), and the interpreter. In the trial, the interpreter mediates the utterance before it reaches the ears of the listeners. Even if some listeners understand Cree, the witness encounters the subjective belief systems of more than thirteen people in the transmission of his testimony. Even though the speaker and the interpreter attempt to create a unified utterance, in this attempted creation there are linguistic gaps and constant interruptions.

What is obvious in the court transcripts are instances of untranslatability between Cree and English. During GW's cross-examination he was asked:

> Q. And do you remember roughly how many years your step-mother worked there or would you prefer we called her your mother or your step-mother, whatever is preferable for you?
>
> A. Well in my native language, I would call her an aunt, the same thing applied to my siblings.
>
> Q. Did you say aunt?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. Now I want to be respectful of how you want her addressed.
>
> A. Yes that's what we would call her, we would call her aunt.
>
> Q. Okay so let's call her your aunt okay.
>
> A. Because there is no word for step-mother in Cree. ("Majesty" 397)

This passage demonstrates a cultural gap and a collision of worldviews. In this white-dominated courtroom, white familial norms and heteronormative terms are enforced. The options the defence presented for GW's aunt were "mother" and "step-mother." When the term "aunt" is presented there appears this moment of incredulousness with the question "Did you say aunt?" Even when the defence uses the term properly, they goes out of their way to emphasize that GW wants to "be respectful of how *you* want her addressed" (emphasis added). This emphasis on "you" makes it appear as if only GW uses his native language this way when his culture does. GW is frustratingly presented in this questioning as an outlier. He spells out for the defence that in Cree no word for "step-mother" exists; therefore, aunt is the appropriate term.

As another example, in GW's direct examination, he testified about being struck by Wesley after saying the word "Machastan" at lunch.

Q. And what is the expression for the breaking up of the river in Cree?

A. The only way I can describe it is in English terms is when the ice breaks up, that's the only description I can give.

Q. What is the word in Cree for that, when the ice breaks up?

A. Machastan. ("Majesty" 376)

Like the term "aunt," no direct translation for "Machastan" exists. Again, a linguistic and transmission gap is presented between Cree and English. These linguistic gaps emphasize that the dialogic process between the speaker and the listener, especially in a courtroom, is not fluid and is subject to interruption. During the cross-examination, the defence demonstrated difficulty saying the word, to which GW kept correcting his pronunciation. Importantly, the judge later on in GW's examination states, "I would prefer though that you would use the English word as translated by the translator and then I think we would all be in the same playing field" ("Majesty" 402-403). This statement given by the court reflects the power dynamic of language in the courtroom. What the court fails to recognize is that this white-dominated environment that the witnesses have entered into has never been an equal "playing field." Using the English language is not easier for the witnesses, just easier for the institutional body. While the witnesses had access to a Cree-English translator, the court transcripts contain a notable omission. They do not reveal which answers were given in Cree and which were given in English.

In LM's testimony, similar linguistic interruptions and collisions take place. Where GW's testimony demonstrates one of linguistic absence, LM's demonstrates a moment of dual linguistic presence. During his cross-examination, LM was asked about the abuse that Wesley

inflicted upon him. What the defence wanted to know was whether he was "hit" or "slapped." During his questioning, the interpreter interrupted, stating that "Because that's what I asked him to differentiate between hitting and slapping because in Cree slap and hitting is the same" ("Majesty" 172). Further in the cross-examination, this is reinforced when the defence asked him:

> Q. Now as I understand what you said before the break, you almost fell asleep one or two times and when you did, according to your evidence, Sister Anna would hit you. Do you remember telling us that?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. And by hit, you mean slapped again.
>
> A. Slapping. To me slapping and hitting is the same.
>
> Q. But just so we're clear for this jury these were slaps and not punches, right?
>
> A. Slap, a very hard one. She use to, she use to slap really hard. ("Majesty" 175)

This passage shows a moment where language differentiation does not work. Testifying to the abuse inflicted upon him, the defence focused more on the differentiation between slapping, hitting and punching rather than on how traumatic the abuse was. This production of grey areas where translation fails attests to how sometimes there are no words for traumatic events. Trauma interrupts the dialogic process between speaker and listeners. What transcends these gaps is pain. This dialogic interaction is both a transmission of information and affect.

Moments of dialogic code switching were also highlighted through temporal translation. In ET's cross-examination, the defence highlighted that the 1994 statement that he gave to police was given in Cree. When ET initially gave his statement in 1994, the native constable Peter Paul

Martin translated what ET said to Constable Deguidice who wrote it down in English. The defence trying to establish that this was ET's statement asked:

> Q. Okay and she was reading in English and was somebody translating that into Cree or were you understanding what she was reading?
>
> A. She was reading it and it was translated. ("Majesty" 503)
>
> The defence getting exasperated asked the judge
>
> Q. I'm just at a loss to try and figure out how to go about getting Mr. [ET] to identify the statement because the Crown just whispered to me that he doesn't read English so and the statement is in English. I was trying to find the best and quickest way to get him to identify the document as being his, short of reading the whole thing and the whole thing translated. Would your Honour perhaps have a suggestion? ("Majesty" 503)

In order to validate the statement, ET was asked to identify that the signature on the document was his. Later on in the examination when sections of his statement are read to him, ET remarked that the statement "sounds so different" ("Majesty" 515) and that "some of the statements I didn't, some of the statements, the way it's written, I didn't" ("Majesty" 515). This moment in the court transcript highlights several layers of linguistic and temporal interruption. When the initial 1994 police statement was taken, the statement was facilitated through translation, and in the courtroom when the statement needed to be validated by ET, his signature on the document was taken as validation. Again, this dialogic encounter is interrupted not only through the method of translation but also through the change in medium: verbal to written.

The testimony and cross-examination of JEPM followed a similar trajectory. It was revealed that the five-page 1993 police statement that JEPM gave was in English because there

was no Cree interpreter. Furthermore, like ET he was asked to identify that the signature at the bottom of the statement was his. The defence asked him:

> Q. I believe something like, were you able to speak to the police in English that day, or something like that.
>
> A. Huh, barely.
>
> Q. Well, do you understand English, sir?
>
> A. I can talk to a white man when they talk to me. ("Majesty" 642)

This interaction again highlights linguistic and institutional power dynamics. Interestingly, before these questions were posed, JEPM was interrogated about whether or not he informed his parents about the abuse he was being subjected to at school. He explained that when he ran away from the school, he told his parents immediately about his mistreatment before Father Lavoie came to collect him.

> Q. What did you parents do when Father Lavoie got there?
>
> A. They just let me go.
>
> Q. Did you parents, in your presence, question Father Lavoie about what you had told them?
>
> A. They were talking alright, but I don't..I don't...but I didn't know what they were talking about. ("Majesty" 641)

Both of these interactions demonstrate the pressure of power dynamics and how JEPM and his parents were subjected to institutional bullying both in the past and the present. JEPM's parents, most likely, did not believe they had a choice and the framing by the defence that they willingly sent their son back into an abusive situation borders on cruel. Both exchanges show a system attempting to enforce an alternative narrative despite the actual truth.

English, Cree and Latin were not the only languages used at the school. French was also spoken. During Wesley's cross examination, she revealed that at St. Anne's the language that the nuns spoke amongst themselves was French. She elaborated that, even when she "was a border [sic] myself in the old school in 1934 to 1941, most of the sisters were always speaking in French" ("Majesty" 776). During JEPM's testimony, he remarked that Wesley called him "espèce de sauvage," which translated means a savage or barbaric species. Strangely, the last question during the defence's cross-examination of JEPM that was dismissed by the court was "Do you agree Mr. [JEPM] that it would be unusual for a Native person to call another Native person those words?" ("Majesty" 651). The assumption undergirding this question appears to be that, since Wesley is Cree, she would not insult another Native person derogatively in French. The comment disregards the cyclical nature of abuse and how Wesley could be repeating the names that she was called when attending St. Anne's.

During her court appearances, Wesley's fluency with the French language was challenged. In the direct examination, she claimed that she "Never" spoke French to the boys and only spoke Cree and some English ("Majesty" 752-753). She stated in her direct examination that her grasp of the French language was "not very good." In the cross-examination, however, it was revealed that Wesley trained with the French order of nuns and that the language used among the nuns themselves was French. Wesley responded that "I speak French but I never speak French to the children ... to the boys" ("Majesty" 775). This change in response from having "not a very good" fluency with the language to being fluent in the language reveals not only a large discrepancy in the testimony but also clear evasion.

At the beginning of GW's testimony, he was told by the prosecutor that "you can give all of your evidence or some of your evidence in Cree, whatever you feel comfortable with and if

you want to give some evidence in English you're allowed to do that as well" ("Majesty" 375). What transpires is that when things get difficult, the use of "Machastan" is completely discarded. While GW testifies about being abused for speaking his language, the court simultaneously casts aside the use of his language. An obvious power struggle takes place between what language is used and who is allowed to speak in which language. While there appears to be a facade of support at the onset, the witnesses are repeatedly questioned about their use and facility with the English language. During cross-examination, GW was asked, "Do you agree with me Mr [GW] and you can testify in the language of your choice sir, but do you agree with me that you speak English fluently" ("Majesty" 394-395). EM was asked, "And can we agree that you understand and speak the language fluently?" ("Majesty" 475). ET was also asked "Do you understand or speak English Mr. [ET]?" ("Majesty" 503). The tone of the questions appears to be hostile, even as it is a tactic that undermines the credibility of ET. Especially given that residential schools tried to eradicate their native language, this constant insistence on their "fluent" facility with English appears completely insensitive. When Wesley was asked about her understanding of the English language, the defence responded that "Her understanding of the English language is excellent" ("Majesty" 10). The trial creates an immediate hierarchy with fluent English speakers situated at the top.

Due to this atmosphere of linguistic hierarchy, it is not a stretch to imagine how isolated the witnesses would feel after having their language relegated. Jill Stauffer defines "ethical loneliness" as "the experience of being abandoned by humanity compounded by the experience of not being heard" (24). Based on the questions being asked by the defence the witnesses are not being truly heard. The questions create an isolating and alienating atmosphere. The questioning of the witnesses' facility with the English language and the dwelling on English semantics takes

away from the central issue of abuse. Instead of residing in this dialogic code switching, we need to bridge the gaps and see through systemic illusions of respect. Stauffer through her case studies posits that the victims "needed to have the wrongness of what befell them confirmed and denounced, not mainly by legal institutions or perpetrators but by the surrounding society in which they would have to live henceforth. They all needed help rebuilding a destroyed world" (44). The witnesses in this trial are rebuilding their destroyed childhood, which is why there is pain when their testimonies are not believed. In ET's cross-examination, the defence broached details that ET included in his testimony that were not included in the police report. The defence asked:

> Q. I know there's nothing written, what I'm suggesting to you is that it's not written, you didn't tell the police that because you did not vomit again after having the spoonfuls.
>
> A. Oh my goodness, you don't believe me. I know what I went through. ("Majesty" 571)

By ending denial and becoming better informed of injustices, readers become better equipped to challenge conflicting mindsets and potentially to promote allyship with these survivors. By residing in the gap between the archives and the memoir, readers can begin to decipher and deconstruct detrimental institutional systems. Existing in an observational capacity in both the courtroom and Metatawabin's life, readers can see the foundational influences and overlap between them. Through these realizations societal structural rebuilding can occur instead of the reinforcement of violent systemic structures.

In both the court transcripts and the memoir, Cree and English are both sites of connectivity and pain. In the memoir, when Metatawabin meets Mike Pasco for the first time, he depicts this duality.

> 'Kummin!' Sister Thérèse said.

> Mr. Pasko walked in.
>
> 'Dississmistapasko,' Sister Thérèse said. 'Heehasastoreintoun.' We looked at her blankly.
>
> 'Hello boys,' Mike said to us in Cree. 'My name is Mike Pasko, I run the Hudson's Bay store.'
>
> '*Tanisi,*' we replied. (Metatawabin and Shimo 51)

What is evident in this passage is the meeting of English and Cree. English is posited as nonsensical, with the words all running together. English is represented almost like a language of chaos with only key phonetics emphasized. For example, "This is Mr. Pasko" is represented as "Dississmistapasko" with the "s" sounds emphasized. "He has a store in town" is represented as "Heehasastoreintoun" with the "e" and "a" sounds emphasized. Connection, understanding and clarity present itself as soon as Mike begins speaking in Cree. Metatawabin effectively demonstrates this linguistic collision, moving from chaos to peace. As in the courtroom, this dialogic interaction is interrupted. As indicated by Metatawabin, English produces this at times untranslatable and unknowable gap. Only when Mike begins speaking Cree are those gaps filled. Importantly, Metatawabin does not provide translation and leaves the work to the reader. Problematically, Mike uses Cree to connect with the boys who he sexually abuses. While Cree is used as a language of connection and understanding, Mike appears to weaponize it. When Metatawabin meets Mike again, the following interaction ensues:

> I noticed Mike Pasko out in the yard. He was throwing his hands in the air and laughing as boys ran around him. I remembered him asking everyone their names and it made me feel warm inside, like I used to feel before St. Anne's. He waved at me.
>
> 'Hi,' I said, walking over.
>
> 'Hi, Ed,' Mike said in Cree.

> ‘You remembered my name,’ I said, and blushed. (68)

What is poignant about this incident is that Mike says his name in Cree. This interaction is immediately followed with Mike mentioning taking boys away to “special places.” In both of these passages, Metatawabin indicates a language shift by specifying in English that a linguistic transition is happening to Cree. In his memoir, Metatawabin indicates dialogue exchanges that are spoken in Cree, but he does not write dialogue scenes in Cree. These conversations are located mainly in Metatawabin’s childhood and adolescent years. While he does emphasize certain Cree words, with entire Cree conversations, Metatawabin produces the translation much like the interpreter or court reporter in the court transcripts.

This interaction is mimicked earlier when the boys are hearing the Latin words Father Lavois speaks during church service at residential school.

> Once we were seated in the pews, I looked up and saw Father Lavois standing at the lectern.
>
> ‘What’s he doing here?’ I asked an older boy.
>
> ‘He likes doing service here. He’s here a lot,’ the boy said.
>
> ‘Innomineepatrisatefillyatespirtussanctee,’ he said.
>
> ‘Gratiadomineenostreejesukristeeeatecarrotsassday,’ We all stared at him, trying to follow. He sounded the same as the stinky man as Rita’s funeral, but I couldn’t be sure. (43)

Much like the display of English, the Latin the boys hear is a language of chaos and sounds. Looking at how the words are strung together, the words “ate,” “eat” and “carrots” are presented as being the closest phonetic equivalent to what was heard. What they were actually hearing was “In nomine patri et fili spiritu sancte,” which means “In the name of the Father and the Son and

the Holy Spirit," and "Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi," which means "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ." In both of these passages, English and Latin are used by people in positions of authority, yet conveying the language of the school and the church as being incomprehensible. The languages of power, English and Latin, used by authority figures hold no meaning for Metatawabin. They are strings of phonetic lines without pauses or breaks. This connects to how the inconsistency of the school rules or Anna's rules held no meaning for the witnesses in the court testimony.

The students' incomprehensibility of English and Latin used in the memoir and the ways in which the witnesses had their Cree language relegated raises questions of voice and platform. While the freedom of expression represents an individual right in the political and legal sense, Bhabha insists that "the right to narrate is an enunciative right - the dialogic right to address and be addressed, to signify and be interpreted, to speak and be heard, to make a sign and know that it will receive respectful attention" ("The Right to Narrate"). Bhabha further explains that an enunciative right includes the right of reply and the responsibility of replay, response and revision. The interesting part of Bhabha's statement is that it applies both to memoirs and the legal documentation found in the archives. While in the memoir the "right to narrate" falls with the author, in the archives the "right to address and be addressed, to signify and be interpreted" falls with the multiple witnesses and perpetrators. The main distinction being that in the archives this idea of "respectful attention" is questioned. In the St. Anne's court transcripts, the voices of the witnesses are uncomfortably and at times unfairly questioned. This shows the power of white-dominated institutions of power on Indigenous populations. A real question posed by this dichotomy is where do we go from here? How do we challenge and change such entrenched foundations of power? Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson

emphasizes that the Nishnaabeg political system "begin[s] in individuals and our relationships to the implicate order or the spiritual world" (24). Their ethical intelligence is ongoing and "a series of complex, interconnected cycling processes that make up a nonlinear, overlapping emergent and responsive network of relationships of deep reciprocity, intimate and global interconnection and interdependence, that spirals across time and space" (L. B. Simpson 24). I believe we must attempt to mediate the shaky boundaries of memoirs and archives in order to have a chance of taking a step into this space. Institutions and the languages used in these institutions derive power from being static and unquestionable spaces of authority. The ethical space that Simpson points to, however, is one of fluidity that requires constant introspection and retrospection. However, only through pushing against institutionalized thinking from the inside can change be facilitated from the outside. We need to be comfortable with being, in Paulette Regan's terms, "unsettled," with thinking deeply and challenging our own colonial assumptions.

Conclusion

On May 28, 2021, CBC reported the discovery of 215 unmarked graves of children at the former Kamloops Indian Residential School. Ground penetrating radar revealed that some remains were of children as young as three years old. This news story was followed with more discoveries of unmarked graves at subsequent former residential schools in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.[22] The largest discovery to date involved the 751 unmarked graves of adults and children at the former Marieval Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan. While

[22] On June 4th, 2021, 104 unmarked graves were found at the former Brandon Indian Residential School; On June 30th, 182 unmarked graves were found at St. Eugene's Mission Residential School; On July 12, 2021, 160 unmarked graves were found at Kuper Island Indian Residential School.

the TRC did acknowledge in its final report that Canada was filled with forgotten graves of children who died at residential schools, these recent news stories destroy safe distancing and comfortable ignorance. In an interview with Global News, Chief Cadmus Delorme of the Cowessess First Nation stated "All we ask of all of you listening is that you stand by us as we heal and we get stronger. And that we all put down our ignorance and accidental racism of not addressing the truth that this country has with Indigenous people. We are not asking for pity but we are asking for understanding" (*751 Estimated Unmarked Graves).* Active silencing and resistance to residential school denialism countered with the need of understanding holds direct connections to the court transcripts and the memoir. Both forms are pushing against silencing structures and institutions in the past and the present in order for their voices and their truth to be heard and understood. Both modes are advocating for listeners to "stand by us" or "sit with them" as they recount these traumatic childhood incidents.

This idea of truth countering problematic untruths reverberates through the memoir and the court transcript. TRC Commissioner Murray Sinclair stated that burying residential school stories impacts survivors. Survivors, "accepted the church's version or society's version of who they were. They felt that they were not validated, they didn't come from a peoples that were valid" ("Residential School Survivors"). He continues that the most basic untruth being "that people of the European stock are superior to everybody." Metatawabin's memoir explores grappling with uncomfortable truths that stem from his residential school past. After reading a newspaper editorial by Cree writer Harold Cardinal on assimilation and residential schools, Metatawabin describes how "The concept made me feel trapped. It was like our future had already been written, that we were following a script that was out of our hands" (173). This collision between *wemistikoshiw* and Native concepts repeats throughout the memoir

and speaks back to Sinclair's comments regarding the foundational belief in untruths that were engrained at the school. In connection, the court transcripts also engage with the element of truth. Apart from the structural differences that accompany a Western court of law and a Native court of law, the witnesses in the trial are presenting their truth. Through their testimony, they are rebelling against harmful messages that were violently repeated to them by the church and society. The act of giving their story speaks back to a past that tried to erase them and against a society that attempts to deny their experiences.

Memoirs and the archives cannot be read in isolation. Read together they reveal an archival palimpsest whereby scratching the surface of one reveals textual and temporal traces of the other. Metatawabin's 2014 memoir and the 1999 court transcript create their own dialogic archive. As a result, readers enter into this in-between space of competing temporality, vocality, and discourse that they must weave together. Dialogic citizenship, code switching and counternarratives allows us to understand the tensions in reading the archives and the memoirs together and the ways in which they challenge and amplify each other. Entering into this generative space of identity, institutionality and positionality requires readers to be emotive, deep listeners and approach the material with a critical eye. The intention should not be to provoke disinterest and/or ignorance as such responses facilitate the perpetuation of colonial attitudes instead of their eradication, but rather we need to be participating in the material and considering the structures that restrict and allow both forms to function. The literary structure of a memoir holds more freedom compared to the legal structure of a courtroom and the subsequent court transcript. If we are in Regan's words "unsettled" or in my conception critically engaged, we are more likely to challenge our own mindsets, reposition ourselves and teach others.

In October 2020, when I spoke to Metatawabin, he said that COVID is putting everyone in residential school. He highlighted the isolation, the lack of communication and the idea of contamination and staying away. While the pandemic has placed readers in a unique position to understand some aspects of the residential school experience, a majority of us will never fully understand the extent of that experience. That is why I believe that reading the memoirs and the archives is so crucial. The voices in the archives are meant to be heard, and the role of the reader remains to listen deeply. Feeling shaken and questioning the world we live in has reverberation power. Justice stated in a book talk that people need to be "willing to be critiqued. Being willing to be told that, you know, there are really hard and difficult issues and you're actually contributing to them" (Hanson et al.). In reading the archives and the memoirs together, we need to resist the defensive impulse and embrace this element of fear and this feeling of being overwhelmed. Simpson, Alfred, Maracle and Knott refuse to believe that the job of Indigenous scholars is to educate the Canadian public. Rather they insist the public must educate itself. The position of the reader between the archives and the memoir is not an easy space to inhabit readers are challenged to hold and weigh multiple narratives. Holding several stories, however, proves more powerful than simply listening to one.

After Wesley was sentenced, *Timmins Press* reported her as observing, "All I can say is that I am remorseful of what I'm charged with. I didn't do it on purpose. It happened when I was frustrated and tired and especially after I asked for help from the authorities" (Martin). Her lawyer Gilles Charlebois added, "She should not be made a scapegoat for a system which the government now recognizes is fraught with pitfalls. Anna Wesley was but one cog in the system, not the system itself" (Martin). Even at the end of the trial, Wesley still does not take responsibility for her actions. She blames her inhumane actions on frustration and tiredness

rather than on the cyclical nature of trauma. Even her lawyer attempts to downplay the abuse by stating that she was "one cog in the system, not the system itself." Even if Wesley was just "one cog," she was a cog that facilitated the running of the system instead of disrupting it. She was a cog that was physically and emotionally abusive to the children who were under her care. By reading her court case, we can see the detrimental power of institutional frameworks both in the past and the present. The residential school system that Wesley operated in abused young children and her defence in the court system tried to downplay and discredit this abuse.

At the end of his memoir, Metatawabin lists ways that Canadians can get involved. He advocates for abolishing the Indian Act; supporting native sovereignty through campaigns such as Idle No more; advocating for political change by writing to local Members of Parliament; targeting youth suicide; and supporting Indigenous artists. The court transcript also resists state structures and paradigms through the witnesses. The witnesses in the trial were not only fighting against the active silencing that occurred when they were in residential school, but the silencing that took place through the cross examination of their testimony. Métis author Cherie Dimaline remarked in a book talk that residential schools "were places where there were graveyards instead of playgrounds and that was purposeful. That was part of the architecture, that was the intent" (*The Giller Master Panel*). By speaking their truth, both Metatawabin and the witnesses in the court case challenged an atmosphere of invalidation in the hope of achieving understanding and justice. They purposefully dismantled the architecture that attempted to destroy them.

Chapter Three

'Desperate Cries': Dialogic Readership of a Japanese Canadian Memoir and Diaries

'I awoke this morning feeling bewildered, like a bird in a familiar cage, afraid to fly from the door that had been left open. For four years we fought hard for justice, but no one heard our desperate cries'.

-Tom Sando, *Wild Daisies in the Sand*

In Canada, on August 25, 1939, the federal War Measures Act was invoked giving the government "full authority during wartime to censor and suppress communications; to arrest, detain and deport people without charges of trials; to control transportation, trade, manufacturing; and to seize private property" (Smith). The Act was used to implement the Defence of Canada Regulations and the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.[23] The regulations gave the authorities the exceptional ability to censor 325 newspapers and periodicals and to ban more than 30 cultural, religious and political organizations. It enabled the Minister of Justice to detain anyone who acted in any manner deemed prejudicial to public safety or the safety of the state. Anyone critical of government positions could be charged and held without trial. As a result, the internment and deportation of Japanese Canadians was made possible under this Act.

After the attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941 multiple Orders-in-Council were passed specifically targeting "persons of Japanese race."[24] Orders-in-Council were drafted by the

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[23] The Wartime Prices and Trade Board was established in order to establish wage and price controls and set limits on rental and housing costs.

[24] P.C. 9391, December 7, 1941 and P.C. 9760, December 16, 1941 required "compulsory registration of all persons of Japanese race"; P.C., December 16, 1941 provided "for control of vessels used or operated by persons of Japanese race"; P.C., January 13, 1942 prohibited "the issuance of fishing licenses to persons of Japanese race, and prohibiting such persons from serving on fishing vessels"; P.C. 1348, February 19, 1942, authorized "the establishment of work camps for male enemy aliens including Japanese nationals, on projects outside protected areas". P.C. 1365, February 19, 1942 prohibited "the possession of fire-arms or explosives by persons of Japanese race"; P.C. 1457, February 24, 1942 regulated "the acquisition of land or any interest

Cabinet and formally approved by the Governor General, without the involvement of Parliament. Within days of that attack the Canadian Pacific Railways fired all of its Japanese workers; the federal government ordered all Japanese fishing boats to port, seizing 1200 of them; Japanese schools and newspapers were closed and Japanese aliens were ordered to re-register. Even though the RCMP and Canadian military officials did not view Japanese Canadians as a threat, the war had provided an excuse to act upon entrenched anti-Asian attitudes and decades of anti-Asian sentiment.[25] Ian Mackenzie, member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre and the British Columbia representative in Canada's wartime cabinet, was a strong advocate for the dispossession of Japanese Canadians. "It is the government's plan to get these people out of B.C. as fast as possible," he said. "It is my personal intention, as long as I remain in public life, to see that they never come back here. Let our slogan be for British Columbia: No Japs from the Rockies to the seas" (*Japanese Canadian*). According to history professor Jordan Stanger-Ross, Mackenzie operated with significant public support. "Citizens wrote to their representatives urging the complete and permanent erasure of the Japanese community from the province" (4).

Author Tom Sando (Tamio Kuwabara) was born in 1922 in northern British Columbia (BC). After his mother passed away when he was four, he was sent to Japan to be raised by relatives, returning to Canada in 1938 at the age of sixteen. After the attack on Pearl Harbour, Sando's family was subjected to restrictions placed on Japanese Canadians. His family

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therein, or the growing of crops in Canada by persons of Japanese race and by Japanese controlled companies" (Parliament of Canada).

[25] In 1902, the British Privy Council confirmed that Asians in British Columbia were barred from voting on racial grounds. In 1907, a violent riot erupted in Vancouver where whites marched through Japanese and Chinese neighbourhoods breaking windows and assaulting residents. Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier negotiated a "gentlemen's agreement" with Japanese officials that limited immigration from Japan to 400 per year. In 1928, this amount was reduced to 150 (Robinson and McIntosh).

consisting of his younger brother Shig, his father and his stepmother received a notice to remove their fishing boat to an impound yard near New Westminster. They had their travel and movements restricted to fifty miles and were subjected to a curfew. In March 1942, all Japanese Canadians were removed from their homes in the "protected area," a one-hundred-mile-wide coastal area of British Columbia and moved to Hastings Park in Vancouver.[26] Approximately 22,000 men, women and children of Japanese descent were relocated even though seventy-five percent of them were Canadian born or naturalized citizens. Men aged eighteen to forty-five were separated from their family and moved to road camps in British Columbia and Ontario.

Japanese Canadians who protested against the treatment of the Canadian government and refused to be sent to internment camps were held in prisoner-of-war camps or in Sando's words "concentration camps." The Nisei Mass Evacuation Group (NMEG) consisted mainly of Canadian citizens who "protested the federal government's policy of breaking up the family unit" (Miki, *Redress* 58). The Geneva Convention forbade the government from interning their own citizens so the government detained protestors "at the pleasure of the Minister of Justice." As legal scholar Ann Sunahara demonstrates:

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[26] In Hastings Park, women and children were housed in livestock buildings. The uprooted Japanese Canadians were held for months before being moved to ghost towns in the Kootenays or forced to work in the sugar beet fields in Alberta and Manitoba. This forced removal that the British Columbian government named an "evacuation" so as to fall under the Geneva Convention was to eliminate Japanese presence from the West Coast. All land and property was held under the Custodian of Enemy Property in trust however, in 1943, the Canadian government authorized the sale of all the properties seized from Japanese Canadians without the owners' consent. Their personal possessions were sold for next to nothing. "Once Japanese Canadians were uprooted— and even sometimes before— neighbours rushed into their homes, stealing everything of value and often destroying much of the rest. After officials seized the assets, thousands bid on Japanese Canadian owned real estate and clamoured for deals at auctions of their personal effects" (Stanger-Ross 4). The dispossession of Japanese Canadians acted as a precursor to deportation.

> the *Nisei* were legally never interned, but 'detained at the pleasure of the Minister of Justice,' Louis St. Laurent. Their legal status was equivalent to that of a criminal under psychiatric care. None of them, however, were aware of their unusual legal status. Nor were any aware that legally they had thirty days in which to appeal their detention. (66)

Protestors could have invoked the right of habeas corpus against unlawful detention, but they were not aware of this right because no legal counsel was provided and the officials did not inform them of their right to counsel. Miki notes that protestors were placed in a complicated bind. "[C]ooperation signified loyalty to Canada but also complicity with their identity as 'enemy alien'; resistance signified the right— and the responsibility— of citizens to protest the abuse of democratic principles but also confirmed the public perception of their allegiance to Japan" (*Redress* 61–62). Sando and his brother were among the men who refused. At twenty years old, Sando was imprisoned in Petawawa and Angler Concentration Camp in Ontario and remained there until the end of the war. His memoir *Wild Dairies in the Sand* was published in 2002 and based on his Japanese diaries which were written between 1941 to 1947. His diaries are currently held at the Nikkei National Museum in British Columbia. Reading the diaries with the memoir reveals how tenuous familial and nationalist bonds operate and how dialogic interactions can showcase identity shifts and expand engrained national narratives.

Sando's protest against the Canadian government provides an additional perspective to the growing literature on Japanese Canadian internment. Listed under the genre of memoir are Shizuye Takashima's *A Child in Prison Camp* (1971), Takeo Nakano's *Within the Barbed Wire* (1980), Tom Sando's *Wild Daisies in the Sand* (2002), Mark Sakamoto's *Forgiveness* (2014) and Grace Thomson's *Falling Cherry Blossoms* (2021). Listed under the genre of fiction are foundationally, Joy Kogawa's touchstone novel *Obasan* (1981) and *Naomi's Road* (1986),

alongside Sheila Garrigue's *The Eternal Spring of Mr. Ito* (1985), Kerri Sakamoto's *The Electrical Field* (1998), Eric Walter's *Caged Eagles* (2000) and Susan Aihoshi's *Torn Apart: The Internment Diary of Mary Kobayashi* (2012). His experience as communicated through his diaries and his memoir reveal a man grappling with his identity against a Canadian nation trying to exclude him. Sando's experience also reveals the importance of the "multiplicity of stories." Pamela Sugiman writes that

> when we think about the ways in which different narratives weave in and out of one another, we begin to see the complexity of the internment experience. The conditions of their creation — the different sources from which they stem and the social processes of their communication —- lead us to reflect on the significance of time and memory in the construction of these narratives. ("Passing Time" 77)

Sando's memoir and diaries engage with the "the significance of time and memory" and reveal a new layer of complexity to the internment experience. The interplay between his memoir and diaries reveals a man struggling with nationality, racism and separation from family.

Japanese Canadian icons Joy Kogawa (*Nisei*), Maryka Omatsu (*Nisei*) and David Suzuki (*Sansei*) all experience a marked conflict between navigating their Japanese identity and Canadian identity in the face of their families' internment camp history. Kogawa explains "Well I can't really remember at what point the identity of being the unwanted and the unwashed entered me. I think it was by slow degrees and by incidents here and there all along the way, probably from very early days" (*Joy Kogawa's Internment Experience*). Omatsu describes seeing "the world as if through bifocals, with my Japanese lenses overlaid by my Canadian ones- or is it the other way around?" (34); and Suzuki identifies "a period of self-hate and spending a lot of time fantasizing about how I could escape and assume a white skin" (*David Suzuki Recalls His*

Internment Experience). Sando does not demonstrate this same conflict. While some debate surrounds whether his family should remain in Canada or go back to Japan, Sando firmly positions himself on either side of the binary in the memoir and the diaries. In the diaries, no doubt exists about the pride he has in his Japanese nationalism. In the memoir, he places the impetus on his Canadian identity. Only by reading the memoir and the diary together can it be argued that Sando exists in a space of liminality. While conflict between the two sides can be deduced from reading the two forms together, Sando does not contemplate his own split identity or change in allegiance in either form.

While the previous chapter focuses on the complexities of the court transcript, this chapter studies diary writing. The form of the diary marks an explicit change from a public to a more private forum. Rachel Cottam defines the diary as boundary defying. "On the one hand [...] It is an artless presentation of the self, a text that can be looked through, to catch a glimpse of undistorted life. On the other hand, it is an unfinished art form that engenders (but is subordinated to) the polished 'work of art' " (268). She continues "Often, the diary is written in an attempt to master experience, and to contain the self- as a closed book. As both forward planner and retrospective chronicle, the diary becomes a balance sheet, auditing the days lived and administering those remaining, sometimes in a sparse, but obsessive manner" (268). The distinctions that Cottom makes of the diary embodying both "forward planner and retrospective chronicle" and a balance sheet of days lived and days remaining allows the form to enter into the liminal space with memoirs. Since both diaries and memoirs exist in an in-between state, this creates a rich dialogic space.

Both the memoir and diaries deal with Sando's experience in Angler and Petawawa. Both the diary entries and the memoir begin on April 22, 1941, but the memoir ends on April 29,

1946, and the diary entries continue until January 1, 1947. The diary expands the narrative, whereas the memoir marks a strategic ending point. In the diary entries a gap exists between the end of Diary 3 and the beginning of Diary 4. Diary 3 ends on August 28, 1944 and Diary 4 begins on July 14th, 1945. Even after double checking with the archive, no pages were recorded as missing thus demonstrating a period of ten months of silence. A temporal gap also appears between the writing of the diaries and the writing of the memoir. The diaries were written in the 1940s whereas the memoir was written over sixty years later in 2002.

The literary field pays attention to the connection between silence and residual trauma arising from Japanese Canadian internment. Both Donna Nagata and Mona Oikawa challenge the hegemonic notion of a collective silence about the Internment among Japanese Canadian survivors. Nagata surveyed more than 700 Sansei from across the United States and conducted in-depth interviews with more than 40 Sansei. She revealed that close to half of both Two-Parent [interned] and One-Parent [interned] Sansei reported "first learning of the internment by talking with their parents" (77). Building on Nagata's findings, Oikawa writes that situating the responsibility for remembering and forgetting the internment solely in the parent child relationship ignores the processes of forgetting in the violence of nation building.

> If speaking is relegated merely to choice, then one need not examine the relations of power that impeded speech in the service of producing dominant narratives. Silence and speech, and the variations in between, therefore, should not be relegated to the siting of the survivor alone, but recognized as a spatially and socially constructed process negotiated multi directionally between survivors, their families, their communities, and other social spaces. (264)

Oikawa's comments highlight integral power dynamics and complicate simple binaries. While I can only speculate why Sando chose to write his memoir more than sixty years later, he may not have believed it was safe to do so earlier. Even after the war, Japanese Canadians were banned politically and geographically. They only received the right to federally vote in June 1948 and were prohibited from returning to British Columbia until April 1, 1949. Post-war society did not promote inclusion or offer a platform where Sando felt that his voice could be taken seriously.

As Oikawa writes, the transmission of memory exists through familial and communal spaces. In his memoir, Sando is not just transmitting his memories to his family but to a public national community. As a result, a multitude of factors influence what he chooses to showcase in his memoir. Importantly, he publishes his memoir under the name Tom Sando and not Tamio Kuwabara. Perhaps this move is a safety mechanism or done to signify the ideological shift that takes place over the years. While Sando associates the identity of twenty-year-old Tamio Kuwabara with strong Japanese ideals and patriotism, he connects the identity of eighty-year-old Tom Sando with Canadian core values and nationality. This move appears to be one of distinct separation rather than fusion.

The internment of Japanese Canadians has significant cultural and psychological impacts for survivors and their children. A child of an internment survivor, Omatsu writes of the annihilation of culture and language that occurred because of internment. Omatsu speculates that her father did not share his language and culture with the hope "that by not evoking the past [he] could somehow shield us" (39). She writes shielding produced divisions within her own cultural community, especially with the high rates of intermarriage.

> Now I argue with my Japanese Canadian friends about whether or not we have a community and, if so, whether it will continue to exist despite our propensity to marry

> outside of our own people [...] Blocked from access to that proud and rich culture because I no longer share the religion and, more importantly, the language of my ancestors, I seem to have more in common with white Canadians than with my distant relatives in Japan whose facial features resemble my own. (172)

The theme of parents distancing their children from their language and culture for fear of persecution raises distinct parallels to the residential school experience. While both events should not be equated, there are distinct comparisons between cultural and linguistic loss. Nagata shares Omatsu's beliefs that some Sansei "are sad and angry about the injustice and attribute a number of negative consequences in their own lives to their parents' internment. These include [...] the pressure to assimilate, an accelerated loss of the Japanese culture and language" (208–09). This pressure to assimilate echoes within Sando's own experience, but more notably his diaries demonstrate an active resistance towards assimilation.

In terms of my own positionality, I recognize that I am culturally outside the material I am studying. In an interview with the *International Web Journal*, Kirsten Emiko McAllister explains how her current research steps away from Japanese Canadian internment and toward asylum seekers seeking refuge in Glasgow. She notes that in this project that is not based on family ties,

> I am aware that I can easily misrepresent and in fact misconstrue them in ways that have damaging effects. [...] Yet at the same time, research that looks at how to move across cultural and political interfaces where there are power differentials, which is challenging, I believe is a necessity in this new era of globalisation." (Sules and Premat 9–10)

Like McAllister I recognize my work requires immense sensitivity and care. I am constantly thinking about the impact of my work and my own subconsciously held biases and assumptions.

Sando's memoir and diaries are both translated texts. Though both forms are written in different genres, they both engage in processes of collaboration. The space of translation meets the space of the archive which results in an interweaving of voices. Sando's voice is filtered through translator Sachiko Feldheger and son-in-law J.P. Desgagne. The choices that both Feldheger and Desgagne make reveal different interpretations. The interest lies in the ways that the informal translation of the memoir coincides and diverges from the formal translation of the diaries. Paying attention to the dialogic interactions that occur between forms reveal the complexities embedded in national histories and how one comes to terms with their past. Since Sando had difficulty with English, his memoir was a collaborative process with his son-in-law Desgagne. Neither Sando's daughter Annette nor Desgagne speak Japanese. Nonetheless, Sando and Desgagne spent months going through his Japanese diaries and Desgagne translated Sando's thoughts as best as he could. The memoir, with the inclusion of select diary entries, was the finished product. This informal translation process contrasts directly with the formal translation process that I took with the Japanese diaries. I commissioned Sachiko Feldheger, a Japanese to English translator from *Upwork* to translate the diaries into English. Desgagne and Feldheger, to use Basil Hatim's terms, navigate the "semiotic interaction" and take into account how cultural symbols transferred from the source language to the target language. This transference sometimes resulted in untranslatability, modifications or omissions.

In discussions surrounding translation there lies the concept of untranslatability. According to Large et al (2018) "all that is usually means to describe a word as 'untranslatable' is that English (or whichever target language is intended) does not have a single-word equivalent which can be agreed to cover all the senses of the source-language word" (2). An apt example of this lies in the glossary that Sando provides at the end of his memoir. The one-word Japanese

terms have more than a one-word English equivalent. As will be explored later in the chapter, in Sando's memoir specific Japanese expressions resist simplistic translation. For example, the expressions "*ganbare,*" and "*ganbari-ya,*" translate to "don't give up" and "die-harder." The way in which they function and are utilized in the memoir differ according to context. They also reveal the ways in which Sando attempts to construct his own identity. Highlighting language as being irreducible to static binaries, Barbara Cassin (2014) emphasizes the concept of multiplicity not only among languages but within languages. Using a philosophic lens, she argues that "each language is a vision of the world that catches another world in its net" (xix). The importance of translation, therefore, lies in "making clear on every occasion the meaning and the interest of the differences" (xvii). Sando's memoir and diaries in their respective forms do catch another world in their net. The diaries and memoir are heavily influenced by the historical context in which they are written, which makes the dialogic interactions that occur between them rich in significance. On another level, however, the translators are bringing their own world into the translation. Feldheger's associations to Japanese words hold different connections based on her personal experiences than Sando's associations do. For the memoir, arguably, the collaboration that takes place between Desgagne and Sando is also a conversation about what should not be included.

Linguist John Catford (1965) identifies that untranslatability occurs at two levels: the linguistic and the cultural. In linguistic untranslatability "failure to find a TL [target language] equivalent is due entirely to the differences between the source language and the target language" (98). In cultural untranslatability, a "situational feature, functionally relevant for the SL text, is completely absent from the culture of which the TL is a part" (99). While Catford attempts to make the distinction between linguistic and cultural untranslatability, Slovak

translator Anton Popovič (1976) does not. Popovič outlines two *situations* of untranslatability. The first situation describes when "the linguistic elements of the original cannot be replaced adequately in structural, linear, functional, or semantic terms in consequence of a lack of denotation or connotation" (24). The second situation outlines "where the relation of expressing the meaning, i.e. the relation between the creative subject and its linguistic expression in the original does not find an adequate linguistic expression in the translation" (24). In Feldheger's translation there are times where she is unable to decipher Sando's writing because the text is too faded or the characters are unclear. The instances of untranslatability are restricted more to linguistic untranslatability.

An interesting nexus exists between memory and translation studies. In the memory studies stream both Rothberg and Sue Campbell reference telling historical pasts with a sense of "fidelity." Rothberg reveals that an "ethics of multidirectional memory involves creating fidelity (in the sense given the term by Alan Badiou's *Ethics*) with the multiple events and historical legacies that define any situation" (*Multidirectional Memory* 22). Likewise, Campbell argues that "good remembering," is "memory [that] must be faithful to the past" (31). These terms of fidelity and faithfulness inherent in memory studies hold a connection to notions of equivalence evident in translation. American linguist Eugene Nida, identifies two different types of equivalence in response to translation: formal and dynamic. While formal equivalence is "attention on the messages itself in both form and content," dynamic equivalence is about the relationship between the receptor and the message (144). The "message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message" (144) . Both fidelity and equivalence are about finding balance. Memory and translation navigate both a

temporal and cultural balance between past and present, present and future, conception and production, production and reception.

Interestingly, archives are also described in terms of equivalence. Photographer and theorist Allan Sekula views the archive as "both a paradigmatic entity and a concrete institution" (17). In both senses, the archive "is a vast substitution set, providing for a relation of general *equivalence* between images" (17 my emphasis). The similarity in the use of language between these three streams raises pertinent questions about the representations of history. Should equivalence or fidelity be the ultimate goal when it comes to representations of the past? Does not equivalence or fidelity change depending on who and when is interacting with the material? Is this ever fluctuating balance even attainable? If not, what is our collective responsibility as readers?

Initially, I came across Sando's diaries by searching through the Nikkei National Museum's online archival collection. I typed in "Tom Sando" into the collection window and his fonds were listed as the third search result. His fonds included four series: Internment Camp Diaries, Angler Internment Camp Illustrations, a Misty Skeena River Manuscript, and a Kuwabara Japanese-English Dictionary. All that was shown of the internment camp diaries on the website was the cover of the "Golden West" composition notebook in which Sando wrote. The contents were in "handwritten Japanese text." Since the core tenant of my dissertation relies on the conversation that takes place between archives and memoir, having access to the diaries was key. Before even inquiring into the acquisition and the translation of Sando's diaries, I reached out to his daughter Annette Sando on Facebook and asked for her permission to translate the diaries. This action was done out of courtesy as she had already given the diaries to the Nikkei National Museum in British Columbia. After she gave me her permission, I proceeded to

contact the museum where the diaries were kept. In the midst of the COVID pandemic, the process of acquiring the diaries and having them translated was a multi-tiered process. The diaries had never been digitized and since travel was restricted, I could not access them in person. In order to have access to the diaries, they were going to have to be accessible via a digital medium. Luckily, Research Archivist Linda Reid offered to scan and send the diaries for a cost. She scanned all five diaries (one of which was a copy of a Judo manual) and digitally labelled them for my use.

I hired a Japanese to English translator, Sachiko Feldheger who grew up in both Japan and the United States. Feldheger provided the translation for four of Sando's diaries. I did not have the Judo manual translated as there were no diary entries included. The translations began in November 2020 and concluded in May 2021.[27] In this project, I relied on Feldheger extensively in order to understand the document. I do not speak Japanese and, while I am picking up some vocabulary through my research, I am not fluent. Without a translator, I would not have had access to Sando's diaries. The position that I occupy of a cultural outsider, however, is a key question that I constantly contemplate in my research. How does one ethically and respectfully engage with material that resides outside of cultural boundaries? While inevitable cultural gaps reside, what can be learned from sustained engagement? How do cultural outsiders fill the gaps? For his memoir, Sando orally translated his Japanese diaries to Desgagne, who could not speak Japanese. Translation thus took place on two levels, orally and textually. As David Damrosch

[27] Initially, I thought that finding a translator to work on the project would be relatively easy. I soon discovered, however, that while finding a translator was not difficult, finding a translator on a graduate student budget was another task. The initial quotes that I received from independent translators ranged from 10,000 to 25,000 dollars, amounts that were not feasible considering my student status. After numerous emails and inquiries, I was able to hire a freelance translator through the website *Upwork*.

argues, "To use translations means to accept the reality that texts come to us mediated by existing frameworks of reception and interpretation" (204). By using Feldheger's translation, I am accepting her mediated version of the text.

Throughout this chapter, the following terminology will be used. *Issei* refers to the first generation of Japanese people who immigrated to Canada, *Nisei* refers to the second generation, usually the children who were born in Canada to Japanese immigrants, *Sansei* refers to the third generation, *Yonsei* the fourth generation and *Gosei* the fifth. I will argue in this chapter that through a comparative reading of the diaries and of the memoir that an attention to dialogic citizenship, code switching and counternarratives challenges the institutional constructs of the settler state and pushes against the container of national narratives.

Dialogic Citizenship

Between the memoir and the translated Japanese diaries, a collision between Canadian and Japanese citizenship emerges. In the diaries, Sando emphasizes a hierarchy of Japan over Canada, linguistically showing this through the use of phrases such as "home country" and "enemy country," "foreign brethren," and "Japanese spirit." In the memoir, Sando interrogates his Canadian identity through a language of equivalence. As previously stated, a sixty-year gap exists between the diaries written in the 1940s and the memoir written in the 2000s. The worldview that Sando espouses in the diaries understandably differs from his worldview in his memoir. In this section, while both the memoir and the diaries engage with the theme of Canadian versus Japanese nationality, studying the oscillations between forms reveals a marked navigation and re-configuration of Sando's identity that would not be evident by just studying one.

In the diaries, Sando consistently refers to Japan as his "home country," and Canada the "enemy country," but in the memoir this linguistic dichotomy does not present itself. Sando occupies a split position with respect to his national identity. While he was born in Canada, he spent much of his formative and adolescent years between four and sixteen in Japan where he was raised by his paternal aunt. In Japan,

> nationality transmission is governed by parentage (*jus sanguinis*) and not by birth on Japanese soil (*jus solis*). The children of immigrants thus do not automatically become citizens and must either apply to do so through naturalization later in life or remain foreigners. (Gottlieb 1)

Sando straddles both Canadian and Japanese nationalities and readers can see the implications of choosing one or the other by reading the memoir and his diaries together. Sando's duality does not mask the inequality of power it references. In May 1942, Sando was being held in the Immigration Building in Vancouver after refusing to go to the road camps. The Immigration Building acted as a holding tank for those who resisted, before they were sent to internment camps. In the diary, on May 9, 1942, he writes, "I don't mind dying for my home country, but there is no honour in dying for the enemy country [...] We don't need to listen to the news of this country because we believe in the victory of our home country" (*Diary One Translation* 19). Sando's expectation of a Japanese victory permeates throughout the diaries reflecting the dominant ideology from Japan at this time. This ideology will be further explained in the next section. In this entry, Sando shifts from the individual to the collective. "I don't mind dying for my home country" transitions into "We believe in the victory of our home country." While Sando links the action of dying to himself, his mindset reflects a collective pride in Japanese identity. This collectivity becomes evident again when Sando is held at Angler Internment camp

close to a year later. In the diaries, on November 3, 1943, he notes, "Even if our bodies are imprisoned in an enemy country, our minds should always be with our brethren back in our home country" (*Diary Three Translation* 12). Throughout the diaries, Sando associates the "enemy country" with Canada. This passage shows an insistent unity with the use of the words "our bodies," "our minds," "our brethren," and "our home country." While in the diaries, Sando unites the individual and nation in reference to Japanese nationality, with Canadian nationality there exists an evident separation between the individual and the nation. As I will later argue, the Canadian government relegates him to the position of "homo sacer."

Consistently, Sando associates himself with the "foreign brethren" in his diaries, accentuating his strong resolve towards Japan. Importantly, all references to the "foreign brethren" appear only in the diaries. Three months after being transferred to Angler Concentration Camp, on November 18, 1942, Sando summarizes the "Instruction to Foreign Brethren" and documents the "Oath of the Foreign Brethren." He explains that both the instruction and the oath were broadcasted by radio from Japan. Sando summarizes the Instruction to the Foreign Brethren as follows.

> " 'We are ruled over by the unbroken Imperial line, and we are to be obedient to the Imperial command which is to work towards the founding of a 'New Order in East Asia.' All foreign brethren must follow this policy and hold your ground, proclaiming the Imperial Way to all countries. To do that, enhance the doctrine to be dutiful to both the sovereign and your father, and show your support to Imperial work.' " (*Diary One Translation* 76)

During the war, Japanese Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro proposed the creation of a new order in East Asia. Since Japan's modern revolution in 1868, "Japanese leaders worked to transform

their nation into an equal with the 'civilized' nations of the West" (Yellen 3); however by the late 1930s this approach was being directly challenged by the viewpoint of a "regional political-economic bloc over which Japan reigned supreme" (4). This new order culminated in the creation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Hypothetically, once the war had been won, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere "was to become self-sufficient, be freed from the suppression of the White race, and form a realm where all the countries and peoples within would co-exist in co-prosperity under the aegis of Japan" (Swan 139). Sando's detailed diary entries about the Instruction and Oath to the Foreign Brethren show support for these ideals. In the Oath to the Foreign Brethren, Sando lists all the statements as number one. He does not explain why in his entry, however, it can be assumed that each statement does not take precedence over the last. The fact that Sando takes the time to quote the Oath directly in his diaries reveals a care, attention, and belief in these ideologies.

> One: We are all children of the Emperor. I swear to repay the Imperial favor in all sincerity.
>
> One: Each of us represents Japan. I swear to clearly keep this spirit.
>
> One: We are the pioneers of our brethren. I swear to promote and practice the Japanese Imperial Way and duty to both the sovereign and father. I will be an example to the people of the new government.
>
> One: We shall not forget the doctrine of the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, and I swear to cooperate with my home country to lead each tribe of East Asia countries. (*Diary One Translation* 76)

This oath of allegiance calls for individual action. The oath posits the instrumentality of each individual in the political fabric of Japan. Lines such as "Each of us represent Japan," "I swear to promote and practice the Japanese Imperial Way" and "I swear to cooperate with my home country" connote a sense of nationalistic pride and loyalty. The individual in each of these statements links to a part of the nation: a belief in Japanese growth and leadership. Sando derives a sense of safety and strength from his "foreign brethren." Four months later, after hearing a radio broadcast from Japan, calling for the foreign brethren to trust Japan, on March 12, 1943, Sando writes "I wanted to cry after knowing how much the brethren in my home country are worried about us and care about us" (*Diary Two Translation* 24). The compassion that Sando interprets from Japan strengthens his resolve to keep up his protest against Canada and support Japan. As will be shown later, the memoir shows a direct change from supporting Japan to showing pride for his Canadian identity.

Another phrase that Sando consistently highlights in his diaries and not in the memoir is the "Japanese spirit." Again, this term like the term "brethren" is attributed to the collective. Speaking about Japan's current military results of the "Greater East Asian War," Sando writes on December 7th, 1942**,** "We observe this meaningful day here as members of Imperial Japan, overcoming hardship and doing our best. We cannot hold back our joy of our proud bloodline. We shall continue to keep this spirit and follow our country's Imperial commands" (*Diary Two Translation* 1). This continued insistence of "we" and "our" distances and displaces the "I". Henri Tajfel, a pioneer of social identity theory states that

> acting in terms of group rather than in terms of self cannot be expected to play a predominant part in an individual's behaviour unless there is present a clear cognitive

> structure of 'us' and 'them' and unless this structure is not perceived as capable of being easily shifted in a variety of social and psychological conditions. (89)

This dichotomy of "us" versus "them" is very pronounced throughout the diaries leaving little doubt about Sando's support of Japan.

Evoking similar themes of membership and belonging, Anderson argues that nations are "imagined communities." Intimately connected to the construction of the nation is the effect of language in developing nationalism. Pointing to Russia, London and Japan, he argues that linguistic-nationalisms were responses by dynastic and aristocratic power groups. He writes that nations inspire "a profoundly self-sacrificing love" (141): a love rooted in language.

> What the eye is to the love- that particular ordinary eye he or she is born with- language- whatever language history has made his or her mother-tongue- is to the patriot. Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed. (154)

Sando demonstrates through the Oath and through terms such as "brethren" and "Japanese spirit" the power of national connection through language. Sando associates a powerful collective behind those terms and derives strength from the emotions those words conjure. An evident pride exists in the passages where Sando references the Japanese "brethren" and how he finds comfort and strength from this clear "imagined community."

In the memoir, however, Sando shifts and challenges this hierarchy of Japan over Canada insisting on an acknowledgement of equality at both Angler and Petawawa concentration camps. Sando reflects on a shooting incident at Petawawa on July 1, 1942 when two Japanese groups (young Nisei and members of the Mass Evacuation Movement group) were meeting in the dining hall at 2 am. While Japanese members were walking to attend this meeting, watchtower guards

fired shots. The bullets hit adjacent barracks. The camp commander insisted these were "warning shots" and they were justified because the inmates were not following curfew regulations. The Japanese delegates in the camp maintained that these were not "warning shots" and as a response the Japanese internees refused to line up for roll call. Three days after refusing to line up, the military stated that "They would begin by arresting all of our leaders and prosecuting them in a military court of law. Further consequences would follow, even executions if necessary" (*Wild Daisies in the Sand* 57). The Japanese internees were given a five-minute deadline to line up for roll call. Sando remembers,

> A cold sweat ran down my underarms when I realized that this was really getting serious. Canadian soldiers shooting Canadians? I never believed it would ever happen, but in that moments I feared that these veteran soldiers would not hesitate to gun down their appointed enemy. They might be thinking that we were war prisoners from the Pacific; some of them might even have resented or hated the Japs. Everyone was pale and frightened. One wrong move from either side would start something unforgettably bloody. (58)

Similarly, at Angler he questions, "What if even when we refuse to work, would they receive a new compulsory order to shoot us, one by one? Canadians shooting Canadians- I cannot bear the thought (166). The phrases "Canadian soldiers shooting Canadians" and "Canadians shooting Canadians" promotes a terminology of equality rather than hierarchy. While Sando is aware of how Japanese Canadians in the camps are perceived as the "appointed enemy" or "war prisoners," he resists those labels. Unlike the diaries where he proudly asserts his Japanese identity, in the memoir he defines himself first as a Canadian. The labels that follow such as

"war prisoners" and "Japs" are based on public and government perceptions. Individual identification and public perception come to a frightening collision.

Thematically, the diaries and the memoir highlight the navigation of nationalistic borders while the memoir transitions to focusing more on an analysis of Canadian identity. In the preface of the memoir, Sando reflects,

> I was a young Canadian and felt loyal to my country. I looked upon my Canadian flag with pride. It was good that I had been born in the greatest democratic country in the world. All of my life I had felt blessed with great honour and dignity. Now, in a very short time, I had been left bewildered, wondering where I really was and what happened to my land of freedom. (6)

In this passage, Sando takes ownership of his Canadian identity and nation. He speaks about "my country," "my Canadian flag," and "my land of freedom." The active possession he uses to describe Japan in the diaries now flips to describe Canada. Even though Sando has clearly been betrayed by his country, this past remembrance encompasses feelings of pride. He states that he has "felt blessed with great honour and dignity" to live in Canada, feelings that in his diary he associates with Japan. The memoir deconstructs this hierarchy further when the Issei ask the Spanish Consul to issue a formal request to Japan for more support for Japanese nationals and their families living in Canada. The Consul responds that they were doing their best to protect Japanese nationals, but Canadian-born Nisei were outside of their jurisdiction (71) . Sando reflects "Upon hearing this final statement, I felt at a loss. Betrayed by motherland Canada and abandoned by fatherland Japan, I had nowhere to turn" (72). Importantly, in these sentences both nations are cast in familial terms. Canada is cast in the role of the betraying mother, while Japan is painted as an abandoning father. Both Canada and Japan fail to re-affirm and protect his

identity. Just like his personal family is being pulled apart, his metaphorical national family reflects the same tensions.

In the memoir, Sando highlights the implications of living inside Canada's racialized borders whereas the diaries show an anger and direct refusal of these same boundaries. As Miki relates, "While we [Japanese Canadians] often perceived ourselves, and were perceived, as outsiders in the Canadian nation, we were always in the process of negotiation with its racialized boundaries" (*Redress* 11). Before being sent to internment camps, on April 23, 1942, while walking down Powell Street with his brother, Sando reflects on the impact of Canadian racism.

> I thought how sad it was that we had endured a life of repressed discrimination among the Canadian majority, while wishing merely to be accepted as equals. We were now forced to walk away from all of our residential and business property that had taken so many years of toil and labour to build. All lost to those who called us inferior because of the colour of our skin. (13)

In the passage, Sando describes how Japanese Canadians were stripped of their identity through the removal of their residential and business property due to racialized attitudes. Stanger-Ross argues that "Japanese Canadians were victims of 'domicide,' " a term he borrows from geographers Douglas Porteous and Sandra Smith, which means the "deliberate killing of home"; home being conceived not as real estate but rather "familiar objects, structures and environments" (19). In the above excerpt domicide occurs through the vehicle of real estate, but also the eradication of familiar environments. As Sando emphasizes, these homes and businesses are taken after "many years of toil and labour," and being separated from them in effect forces Japanese Canadians to abandon a part of their identity. Sando also shows how the societal

dynamic has never been "equal" and how the "repressed discrimination" evident under the surface had the opportunity to flourish.

In the diaries, on the exact same day, Sando voices a more antagonistic opinion compared with the more retrospective tone of his memoir.

> I cannot obey government policy when they insulted and mistreated us, first class citizens, as such. That is too spineless as Japanese. What a shame to our home country [Japan]. If the opportunity presents itself, we must act against the government. [...] It took our brethren 30 years to build this town, and now we are sent deep inland. I was so sad and regretful to leave this town in the hands of white people, who will trample this town and destroy it. (*Diary One Translation* 5)

While both pieces of textual evidence comment on domicide, Sando's diary entry encapsulates justified anger toward a government using racialized policy to remove Japanese people from the West Coast. The diary and memoir emphasize key distinctions. The memoir comments on perceptions of inferiority. In the diary, Sando calls the Japanese people "first class citizens" and rejects any lowering of societal position. Almost acting as a foreshadowing mechanism, Sando accurately predicts how the "hands of the white people" will destroy the town.

As evidenced earlier in the diaries, Sando contrasts "home country" and "enemy country" while he remains held in the Immigration building. In the memoir, while being held in the Immigration building, he reflects on coming there under different circumstances.

> Back then I had eagerly presented my Canadian birth certificate to a customs officer and explained that my father had sent me to Japan when I was only four years old. I had lived there until the age of sixteen, when I decided to come back home to Canada to

> live with my father. It seemed like only yesterday that my heart was filled with such hopes and dreams for my country.
>
> Today was a different day. I felt despondent. I was a prisoner in my own land because of the crime of my skin color. (19)

In the diaries Sando does not recount this detailed experience at all. He briefly writes that this was the first place he went when he came to Canada five years earlier. In this passage, the national pride of his earlier recollection, shown in the preface of the memoir, contrasts with the racism that he currently experiences. Sando remembers being "filled with such hopes and dreams for my country" to transitioning into "a prisoner in my own land because of the crime of my skin colour." Sando demonstrates an explicit change from someone with Canadian citizenship to someone forced outside of political representation. During the war even when the *Nisei* try to advocate for their citizenship, they realize the government is making no distinction between alien Japanese and Canadian citizens of Japanese descent. "[I]n effect, every person of Japanese origin had been branded as untrustworthy, if not disloyal and traitorous" (Adachi 227). The transition that Sando maps from citizen to prisoner similarly is mapped by philosopher Hannah Arendt. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism* she writes,

> The paradox involved in the loss of human rights is that such loss coincides with the instant when a person becomes a human being in general- without a profession, without a citizenship, without an opinion, without a deed by which to identify and specify himself- *and* different in general, representing nothing but his own absolutely unique individuality which, deprived expression within and action upon a common world, loses all significance. (Arendt 302)

Just as Arendt signals the loss of profession, citizenship, opinion and individuality, Sando experiences it. Sando recognizes that his movement from citizen to prisoner reflects a dehumanizing exile from the political arena and as a result tries to exert his autonomy by resisting going to the road camps.

Giorgio Agamben also maps this movement from citizen to prisoner through his idea of *homo sacer*. He defines the life of the *homo sacer* as:

> his entire existence is reduced to a bare life stripped of every right by virtue of the fact that anyone can kill him without committing homicide; he can save himself only in perpetual flight or a foreign land. And yet he is in a continuous relationship with the power that banished him precisely insofar as he is at every instant exposed to an unconditioned threat of death. He is pure *zoē,* but his *zoē* is as such caught in the sovereign ban and must reckon with it at every moment, finding the best way to elude or deceive it. (183)

When Sando enters the internment camp, he embodies the characteristics that Agamben outlines. Sando throughout his memoir and diaries is navigating "a continuous relationship with the power that banished him." That "power" is the Canadian government. While the way in which he negotiates that relationship differs between forms, there are marked instances when Sando explicitly expresses fear about being executed. A direct example is the shooting at Petawawa where the guards reference "execution" if the internees do not comply.

In Agamben's text, he argues that the Nazi concentration camps were not born out of "ordinary law" but out of a "state of exception and martial law." A state of exception is produced by the sovereign's ability to transcend law for the public good and martial law is connected to a state of emergency. In a state of exception, biology (state of nature) and politics (state of law) are

placed inside one another. Agamben argues that the concentration camp demonstrates a space where the state of exception has now become the rule. In other words, this space is no longer temporary but has become the norm. This biopolitical space demonstrates "a new, hidden regulator of the inscription of life in the order" (175). Agamben explains that it was no accident that the Nazi concentration camps appeared with new laws on citizenship and denationalization of citizens. "The growing dissociation of birth (bare life) and the nation-state is the new fact of politics in our day, and what we call *camp* is this disjunction" (175).

The connections to Sando's experience cannot go unnoticed. The Canadian War Measures Act is a direct example of "martial law." During the war, the Canadian government enacted the Act to reportedly protect the Canadian people. Intended to be temporary, the lasting impacts of the Act continued well after the war ended. The Orders-in-Council specifically targeting "persons of Japanese race," combined biology and politics. The creation of this "state of exception" produced the internment camps, which allowed the Canadian government to create their own categories of inclusion and exclusion. Sando throughout his memoir and diaries grapples with his Canadian and Japanese identity in opposition to the Canadian government. As will be demonstrated, Sando's Canadian citizenship has different implications depending on whether one reads his memoir or his diaries.

Agamben believed that no return exists from the camps to classical politics:

> In the camps, city and house became indistinguishable, and the possibility of differentiating between our biological body and our political body- between what is incommunicable and mute and what is communicable and sayable- was taken from us forever. And we are not only, in Foucault's words, animals whose life as living beings is

> at issue in their politics, but also- inversely- citizens whose very politics is at issue in their natural body. (188)

Contrary to Agamben, I argue that for Sando, there does exist a return to "classical politics." While I agree that the renegotiation of identity after the camps does take time, the diaries and the memoirs do translate an incommunicable, traumatic experience into something communicable. Sando's negotiation with his identity between the diaries and the memoir demonstrates a citizen whose politics do change.

A key moment of citizenship is captured in both the memoir and the diaries. It is when Sando changes from his internment uniform back into his civilian clothing on leaving the camp. In the memoir he recounts this pivotal moment.

> I removed my red-patched uniform and changed into my old and wrinkled civilian clothes. My suit felt damp and smelled musty. My suitcase had been piled among hundreds of other suitcases in a dark corner of the storage warehouse for more than four years.
>
> It feels uncomfortable to be in civilian clothing. Shig remarked that our uniforms seem to have fit us much better. [...] All I could do was sigh as I smoothed out the wrinkles in my suit and tried to shape my stretched-out hat. (223)

This experience remains in a constant state of flux. The past and present collide through the description of his uniform and his "old and wrinkled" civilian clothes. The idea of forgetting and remembering presents itself through the description of his suitcase stored in a dark corner of the warehouse and the uncertainty regarding his change of status, from imprisoned to public, comes through in his affective description of discomfort. The diaries treat this event with a similar brush.

> I found the same bag and suitcase that I used when I came here 4 years ago. I took off the internment uniform that I was accustomed to and wore my suit. It doesn't fit me well anymore and is rather tight. Other people too were saying that they looked better in their internment uniform with the red circle and were still looking at the uniforms. We awkwardly complimented each other's clothes, smoothed out the wrinkles from our coats and pants, and tried to fix the shape of our hats. I'm wearing the clothes that I wore 5 years ago and don't feel happy at all. (*Diary Four Translation* 38–39)

Both the diary and the memoir highlight images of identity reformation. Both passages accentuate the movements of smoothing out the wrinkles and trying to re-shape their hats. Sando makes a point, in both forms, to note that the internment camp uniforms appear to have fit him and the other internees much better. They feel comfortable in their uniforms because it offers them solidity of identity. The roles and responsibilities of that uniform are clearly defined, whereas now at the end of the war they are not.

Sando's comfort with the uniform at the end of the war contrasts directly with his impression of the uniform at the beginning of the war. In the diaries he describes them as reminding him of " '*Chindon-ya'* (traditional sandwich board advertisers)" (*Diary One Translation* 28) and in the memoir he describes them as looking "like clowns waiting for the circus to begin" (41). These comical remarks at the beginning change by the end as Sando ascribes more weight to his identity in those clothes. Putting on his original clothing symbolically showcases how Sando's identity needs to be redefined. The clothes do not fit, smell musty and are wrinkled, they have changed just like Sando's worldview has. Finally having access to his pre-internment identity again, he feels estranged from them because of his experiences. Quite poetically in the memoir, Sando describes leaving the camp as looking back

on an "old picture weathered by time" (222). The clothing functions in the same way, weathered by time and a snapshot into the past. This metaphor permeates through multiple layers of the passage, infusing the importance and impact of time into each sentence.

In the memoir, as a result of these experiences, Sando lives in a perpetual liminal space, physically and nationally de-centred. In "Introduction: Citizenship and Cultural Belonging", David Chariandy and Sophie McCall commenting directly on the Japanese Canadian experience point out that "race overrode nationality in determining who counts as a citizen" (6). Japanese Canadians were "excluded from the 'imagined community' of the nation" (Sarkowsky 36). Close to the end of the memoir Sando highlights his dilemma

> For us Japanese Canadians, however, dark clouds continue to hover ominously over us, as our future is undetermined. We are in a dilemma as to what direction we should take. If we remain in Canada, we will endure still more judgments by Canadians and have to begin our lives all over again. If we leave Canada, we will be faced with the sadness and fear of a broken Japan. (211)

Sando presents both options as undesirable. Canada holds "judgments by Canadians" and the task of rebuilding an entirely new life, while Japan holds "sadness" and "fear." In the diary entries, however, this liminality and indecision are challenged. On August 24th, 1943, a passage not included in the memoir, Sando writes about receiving a notification from the Ottawa Prisoner's Bureau.

> If naturalized citizens and Nisei try to have a meeting with the Spain consul, their Canadian citizenship may be stripped. For those of us who want our Canadian nationality taken away, this is great news. [...] I think this is a perfect opportunity for people like us-

> not Japanese but not Canadian either to clear up our situation. (*Diary Three Translation* 3)

The tone of this diary entry directly contrasts with the above memoir excerpt. While both passages describe states of liminality, the diary entry shows evidence of joy. Sando appears to cherish the opportunity to clear up any vagueness regarding the assertion of his nationality and makes his preference for his Japanese citizenship clear. While the context in which this preference is articulated cannot be ignored, the fact remains that without the diary entries readers would not be able to completely see the way that Sando's identity shifts. The contrast between indecision and joy in the two forms also reflects a change in belief systems. The memoir reflects more anxiety over questions of identity, while the diaries present more solidity.

Through government policies Japanese Canadians were excluded from the public sphere and "racialized as external to the nation's identity" (Miki, *Redress* 18). Oikawa emphasizes "The term [Japanese Canadian] is another effect of the Internment, linked as it is to the identity used by the Canadian state to describe those who were allowed to remain in Canada and those who were dispersed" (297). While this represents a strong claim, Oikawa shows the complexity embedded within discussions of identity. The tenuousness and intersection of the term in personal, public, and political spheres create a heightened awareness of linguistics and the way it operates in the inclusionary and exclusionary notions of nation formation. Historically, the transition from "of the Japanese race," to "Japanese Canadians," to "Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry" show the Japanese subject redressed "in metaphorical terms, dressed anew- in the garment of reconciliation and resolution- in the garment of citizenship" (Miki, *Broken* 197). While negotiations of identity are continuous, resisting boundaries and concurrently functioning outside them, Sando demonstrates the complexity associated with his own and how it changed

over time. While the memoir and diaries both comment on Japanese versus Canadian identity, the memoir details the constant navigation and indecision associated with his Canadian identity, while the diary highlights a firm sense of belief in the Japanese identity. Only by reading the memoir and diaries together can readers see a temporal interchange where identity is changing and being challenged.

In her own research, investigating wartime narratives of Japanese Canadian women, Sugiman finds "If we turn to documents written in the midst of war, we read one set of stories. When we ask women to remember the past in the present time, we hear different tales" ("Passing Time" 77). Sugiman's comments allude to similar observations shown in the meeting between Sando's diaries and memoir. Through these two temporal moments (1940s and 2000s), contained in different forms, readers see a man perpetually growing, actively being influenced by historical, political and personal factors. This change would not be evident by just reading one form. In the memoir, Sando chooses which diary entries to include, which details to exclude and which details to revise. He participates in a revision of his own history, understandably influenced by reflection and the passage of time. What he chooses to omit holds key insight into how drastically his belief systems changed.

Dialogic Counternarratives

A notable omission from the memoir that reveals itself in the diaries is Sando's renouncement of his Canadian citizenship. While Sando's memoir gestures toward the importance of being recognized as a Canadian citizen, Sando's diaries blatantly challenge this importance. His defiant refusal of Canada and Canadianness deny traditional images of assimilation and a desire for national belonging. As previously indicated, Sando's diaries

position Canada as the "enemy country" and espouse through the Oath of the Foreign Brethren his loyalty to Japanese ideologies. As will be further explained in this section, Sando's formal renouncement of Canadian citizenship builds on these nationalistic foundations. His renouncement must be understood in the context of the politics at play within the internment camp environment. Since the diaries were written between 1941 to 1947 and the memoir was published in 2002, this section takes into consideration that Sando's perspective on nationality may have changed. Being able to map those variations between forms showcases a continuous mobility of identity.

In the memoir, Sando describes the opposition between two groups the Canadian Citizenship Renouncement Group (CCR) and the Mass Evacuation Movement Group (MEM). The CCR

> were determined to renounce their Canadian citizenship immediately and become Japanese citizens exclusively. They would be better off, they claimed, as true Japanese nationals, rather than being pseudo-Canadians. They argued that even if they were to remain in Canada after the war and became model Canadian citizens, the government would still look down at them as yellow-faced Japs and treat them like second class citizens, just as it had done before the war. (76-77)

The MEM group's "immediate objective [was] to secure the Japanese community's welfare [...] As long as the Japanese Nisei retain their citizenship they will have the right to voice their protests against the government's atrocious policies" (77). Sando's constant use of "they" separates him from an involvement in either group. In the diaries, however, it becomes clear that Sando aligns himself with the CCR.

> So far, we are divided into three groups: Us the hardliners, the people against us, and people in the middle who can't decide [...] Also, I cannot understand people who want to stay in this country after the war. Even if you swear to be obedient to this country, as long as it exists under the British and the US., Japs will be treated as Japs. That is a fact. (*Diary One Translation* 61)

In the diaries, the passive language apparent in the memoir shifts to a more active one. In the above passage the use of the words "us" and "I" firmly situate Sando in the conversation. From the description, readers can deduce that "the hardliners" are members of the CCR, "the people against us" are members of the MEM, and the people in the middle are those who do not belong to either group. While historically, much has been written about the MEM, limited information can be found about the CCR. In their historical accounts, Miki and Sunahara both reference the Nisei Mass Evacuation Group (NMEG). The NMEG consisted of Canadian citizens who protested the federal government's policy of breaking apart the family unit. They were portrayed "by government authorities as militant 'resisters' (the 'gambari' — or resistance — group) who, it was feared, threatened peaceful relocation, they also came to be perceived by many in their own community as 'disruptors,' and for this they were criticized and shunned" (Miki, *Redress* 59). As previously mentioned, the NMEG that were detained at Angler and Petawawa were detained at the pleasure of the Minister of Justice. This detention demonstrated a violation of democratic values. In contrast, no group publicly advocated for the renouncement of Canadian citizenship. This group appeared to live exclusively within Sando's camp environment, and provided an alternative lens to internment camp classifications. Concurrently, Sando's memoir and diaries fill a historical gap and the gaps that occur between forms.

Frequently, Sando fluctuates from a distanced perspective in the memoir to a more immediate one in the diaries. A month before being transferred to Angler, on June 15, 1942, in the memoir, Sando describes, "A meeting was called by some Nisei to discuss a plan to renounce their Canadian citizenship. These men have decided that they have had enough of the Canadian government" (49). In the diary, on that same day, Sando writes,

> Group 1 says renounce Canadian nationality and go back to Japanese nationality immediately, group 2 says renounce Canadian nationality when the right time comes since we can do it anytime and premature renouncement can affect the movement in Vancouver city, and group 3 says keep Canadian nationality and stay as we are. My tent is supporting the second opinion. (*Diary One Translation* 36)

In the memoir, Sando operates as almost an omniscient narrator, reporting from a distance, whereas in the diaries his own voice dominates. In the memoir, Sando reports about "these men," but in the diaries he states, "My tent is supporting the second opinion." Only through the diary entries are readers able to situate Sando in the political narrative.

Three months after being transferred to Angler, on November 24, 1942, Sando writes in his diary:

> I received a letter from Ottawa regarding the Renouncement of Nationality. The reply said we cannot renounce it since we are born in Canada. I typed up a reply in the space of the letter:
>
> Dear Mr. Coderre, let me clearly state my motive to your notification. Whether renouncing nationality is possible or not, it is a fact that I had and have been discriminated and treated unfairly as an enemy in this country. I am greatly distressed and feel insulted when I have to call myself Canadian, my home country's enemy, when I am

> truly Japanese. I am here to declare that ideologically, racially, and in the actuality of my dual citizenship, I am Japanese. (*Diary One Translation* 79)

In the above passage, Sando rejects his Canadian identity and endorses his Japanese identity. Again, Sando positions Canada as "my home country's enemy" and himself "as an enemy of this country." This letter presents a powerful counter narrative in Japanese Canadian history as the renouncement of Canadian citizenship is not spoken about in historical accounts.[28] Sando demonstrates not being concerned with nationalist constructs of citizenship and identity. He does not wait to be included in a national narrative of assimilation, he creates his own narrative counter to national discourses and expectations. Agamben states that "citizenship names the new status of life as origin and ground of sovereignty and, therefore, literally identifies [...] the members of the sovereign" (129). He continues that when citizenship is removed from individuals they exist in a "state of exception" where they are looked upon as *zoe* (biological body) rather than *bios* (political body). Even though Sando lives in this state of exception, he still demonstrates *bios.* His continued resistance toward the Canadian government in the camp, ideologically and physically, show an impact on sovereign powers.

Sando demonstrates resistance to the state and towards being "blended into the amorphous Canadian background" (Omatsu 39). He does not allow his voice to be silenced, even when silence appears the easiest option. In relation to her own experience, Omatsu writes that "We are Canadians in fact, if not by choice" (42). Contrastingly, however, Sando's diaries and memoir show that it was a choice for him and that it changed over time. Sugiman identifies a similar theme of defiance in her own research. She writes "The contents of old letters housed in

[28] This letter was included as the last entry in Diary 1. It was initially written in Japanese and the passage provided is the translation.

archives revealed intense emotion, notably anger and despair. Upon reading them, I learned that many *Nisei* women had indeed displayed a strong spirit of resistance, contained by a structural powerlessness" ("Passing Time" 78). Despite the gender differences and differences in form between Sugiman's research and my own, it can be argued that Sando also demonstrates a "a strong spirit of resistance, contained by a structural powerlessness." In his diaries, he expresses an opposition to the Canadian government, but his subjection to racist policies and ideologies represents a containment through powerful societal structures.

Three years before being released from Angler, on September 20, 1943 he writes in his memoir:

> Many of us in Angler believe that even though we have lost everything, we still retain our rights as Canadian citizens. We feel violated by the government's actions and do not intend to comply with the government's demands. We are determined to remain in Angler until the government recognizes our rights. We believe that the more we demonstrate our opposition, the more likely it is that the government will realize that we are justified in standing up for our rights. (136)

Similarly, on November 25 he notes:

> Since the beginning of the war, the Canadian government has stripped us of our rights as Canadian citizens. The government had removed us from our homes and corralled us like cattle, permitting us only those few possessions that we could carry. All of our businesses, houses, farms, automobiles, boats, and furniture had been seized and sold without our consent. We were social outcasts. [29] (148)

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[29] The rhetoric of "Canadian citizenship" did not enter Canada until the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947. Before 1947, individuals who were born in Canada or naturalized immigrants were classified as British subjects rather than Canadian citizens. The Act defined Canadian Citizens "a

In both of these passages Sando highlights "our rights as Canadians citizens," emphasizing a connection between "citizenship" and "rights." The assertion of the importance and acknowledgement of Canadian citizenship evident in the passages holds deep ties with the Redress movement of the 1980s. Led by the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), the Redress movement called into question the War Measures Act and relevant sections of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In their brief entitled "Democracy Betrayed: The Case for Redress," they state:

> As a visible minority that has experienced legalized repression under the War Measures Act, we urge the Government of Canada to take such steps as are necessary to ensure that Canadians are never again subjected to such injustices. In particular, we urge that the fundamental human rights and freedoms set forth in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms be considered sacrosanct, non-negotiable and beyond the reach of any arbitrary legislation such as the War Measures Act. (National Association of Japanese Canadians 24)

Throughout the war, Japanese Canadians were looked upon as "enemy aliens" and not treated as Canadian citizens. Through the Redress movement, the " 'Japanese Canadian' identity that was forged in its negotiations with the Canadian nation, an un-redressed identity that was so intimately connected to the conditions of 'enemy alien,' was released from its historical boundaries" (Miki, *Redress* 325). The signing of the Redress movement by "Canadians of

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person, born before the commencement of this Act, is a natural born- Canadian citizen: if he was born in Canada or on a Canadian ship and [had] not become an alien at the commencement of this act" (Government of Canada, *Statutes of Canada. An Act Respecting Citizenship, Nationality, Naturalization and Status of Aliens* 68–69). The Canadian Citizenship Act in 1977 removed the distinction between British subjects and aliens and also allowed Canadians to hold dual citizenship. Before this, Canadians would lose their citizenship if they acquired the citizenship of another country

Japanese ancestry" represented an important step away from this language of "enemy alien." This active renegotiation of identity that took place in the 1980s parallelled Sando's negotiation from his diary to his memoir.

Sando's motivation for staying in Canada at the end of the war presents a discrepancy between the memoir and the diaries. In both the memoir and diaries, Sando frames staying in Canada around the wishes of his parents; however, while in the memoir that resolution brings Sando a sense of calm, in the diaries the decision causes Sando frustration, anger, resentment and despair. In the memoir, Sando presents the dilemma of whether to stay in Canada or go to Japan in an atmosphere of indecision; the final choice not being made until he receives a letter from his parents. Sando writes, "Shig and I have made up our minds to remain in Canada. We received a letter from our parents stating their decision to stay in Canada until Japan is more stable. My mind is finally at ease. We will honour our parents by remaining with them in Canada" (214). In this passage, Sando relinquishes all decision making, resting the entire onus of the decision on his parents. The only personal thoughts that Sando shares about the decision is that his mind "is finally at ease" with some trepidation of what is to come. He states "Even though I have finally made my decision to remain in Canada, my future is still uncertain. It is as if I am floating on a ship through impenetrable fog, and must wait until I finally land ashore" (214). The framing of this memoir entry is confusing because it does not appear that Sando made any decision at all. In the lead up, he states that "As for my brother and me, our future depends entirely on the actions of our parents. If they decide to return to Japan, we will honour their decision and return with them" (206). Sando's family dictates the decision and his response appears one of acceptance and calm.

Contrastingly, in the diaries, Sando's preference appears to be to return to Japan. Finally making the decision to stay in Canada because of his parents, he writes:

> I finally made up my mind and went to the office to cancel the application for going back to Japan. [...] I was just delaying a decision. I really wanted us to go back to Japan. At one point, I thought about going back by myself, have everything ready there, and then bring back my parents. I was thinking about going back one day, so why not take this opportunity? My parents are saying that they are going to wait a couple of years and see how things are at that point and decide. But my thought was that once you stay here for a couple of years, it's likely that you will never go back [...] I cannot tolerate spending the rest of my life in this hopeless Canada. All the more when I think about the future of my offspring. (*Diary Four Translation* 34)

The inner turmoil apparent in this passage contradicts the calm and accepting nature of the memoir. Sando appears at war with himself and the implications for his future family. His longing for Japan and resentment for staying in Canada simultaneously clash against each other. He contemplates going back to Japan and establishing himself before bringing his parents. At the same time, his resentment is palpable when he states "I cannot tolerate spending the rest of my life in this hopeless Canada." Clearly, Sando, at the end of the war in March 1946, does not want to raise his family in Canada. He continues that "Because of this war, everything that my brethren have built for these 40 years has been deprived. The anti-Japanese movement is getting worse. There is no present or future for Japanese here. The 4 years I spent in the internment camp was to prepare for the day to go back to Japan" (*Diary Four Translation* 35). Sando presents the future as bleak and counter to everything he worked for in the internment camp. He sees no hope in what is to come. He concludes, "When I came back from the office, I was calmly

thinking ‘I finally did it,’ but at the same time I could not but feel the misery that I had made a decision that changed my life” (35). Sando makes the decision to stay based on his parent's wishes, but that choice fills him with misery as it runs counter to his individual desires.

Both the memoir and the diaries document feelings of sadness on the day before being released from internment camp. In the memoir, these emotions are attributed to loss of friendships whereas in the diaries they are attached with not being able to go back to Japan. In the memoir he writes,

> One more day left inside the barbed wire fences. I will be a free man tomorrow. No more dreary buildings. No more roll calls. No more bleached uniforms. I should be jumping for joy. Instead, I am filled with sadness. I am leaving the people whom I cherish and love, who have given me great support and friendship. Tomorrow I will enter a foreign world that I fear will be coldly different. (219)

This passage juxtaposes the regimented life of the camp with the affective culture that grew within it. Institutions, roll calls and bleached uniforms contrasts with interpersonal connections, support and love. The loss that Sando demonstrates is linked with the separation of people whom he cherishes and loves. He mentions missing their support and friendship, emphasizing a culture of solidarity. In the diaries, however, Sando documents that

> Even though the day is set to leave here, anxiety towards the future and sadness of leaving my friends of the past 4 years come to me and I don’t feel any joy of getting out of here. If I were to go back to my home country, I wouldn’t know where to walk because I would be overjoyed. If I were to go back to my home country, I would have hope however hard it would be… All we have in front of us is darkness and anxiety now. (*Diary Four Translation* 37–38)

The diary is tonally darker than the memoir and references the desire to go back to his "home country." In the diaries, Sando associates his home country with "joy" and "hope," similar affective terms to how Sando describes his friendships in the memoir. The repetition of "If I were to go back to my home country" emphasizes Sando's adamant desire to go back to Japan and the use of "would be" and "would have" show him envisioning an alternative future. While historical accounts highlight that Japan's economy and infrastructure struggled immensely after the war, Sando sees Japan at this time as a beacon of hope. In contrast, he associates Canada with darkness and anxiety.

Existing only in the diaries, Sando's exploration of his sexuality adds to rare evidence of homosexual attraction in Japanese Canadian internment camps. This evidence expands on the current national history about the social dynamics existing within the camps. While Sando explores these romantic feelings in the diaries, these emotions are completely left out of the memoir. Sando first describes experiencing these feelings toward "Y" during the summer of 1944. At this time, Sando was approaching two years at Angler.

> Why do I feel this way when we are both men? It's nothing different from when I liked a female. A throbbing heart, sweet loneliness...It may not be appropriate to be in love here at the Internment camp. There was a book that mentioned homosexuality but it's nothing different from boys' and girls' first love. (*Diary Three Translation* 54)

Sando rationalizes his feelings and draws contradictory boundary lines. He realizes that his feelings "may not be appropriate," but then casts his feelings as "nothing different from boys' and girls' first love." Putting his feelings in a heteronormative framework allows them not to be dangerous. In Canada, sexual deviance has been linked with political deviance since World War I. "Homosexuality came to be regarded as disloyal in and of itself, and homosexuals were

thought to be easily turned against their own nation" (Belshaw). Due to the stigma surrounding homosexuality, the justification and separation of Sando's feelings comes as no surprise. The fact that he chooses to represent their names as letters in his personal diary rather than write their full names shows his sense of caution. A juxtaposition between wanting to express his feelings, but at the same time keeping them private demonstrates a clash of the private and public realms.[30]

At the beginning of his relationship with "M," which he explores one year after his relationship with "Y" Sando describes his feelings,

> I've been very happy these days. Of course, it's because of M. He gives me strength to do whatever I need to do. I feel so lonely when I don't see him. I want someone to love me sincerely, and I want someone to love. I see him in my dreams almost every day. Perhaps I really do love him. (*Diary Four Translation* 18)

While "M" like "Y" appears in a space of anonymity, Sando demonstrates an intense desire to love and be loved. On another day, Sando writes "When our eyes meet, he shyly looks away. My longing for him just increases. I could be more friendly with him but that will make my feelings

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[30] A large gap in research remains between Japanese Canadians and expressions of homosexuality. While some research exists on Japanese American homosexuality during World War II, the Japanese Canadian experience still fails to be represented. In *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow,* professor John Howard writes how concentration camps "opened up possibilities of same-sex intimacy" (Howard 116). American concentration camps were organized "by family unit, housing up to six members of an extended family in a single partitioned barracks space" (Takemoto, "Queer Meditation" 245). According to filmmaker Tina Takemoto, the familial and cogendered organization may have been experienced as "rigid and restrictive" for those with queer desires (Takemoto, "Queer Meditation" 246). Both Howard and filmmaker Tina Takemoto explore the story of Jiro Onuma, a gay immigrant imprisoned in Topaz Concentration Camp in Utah during World War II. In Canada, the men were separated from their families and forced to do roadwork and other physical labor. Those who refused were sent to prisoner of war camps, making the population of these camps all male.

change to sentimental. Rather, I would like to keep this distant and maintain this love-like feeling forever" (*Diary Four Translation* 19). While Sando shows an intense longing for "M," he does not appear to act upon his feelings. Describing his feelings as "love-like," Sando creates a boundary that conforms to traditional societal expectations, even though all evidence points to otherwise. Describing the Japanese American experience, Tina Takemoto states that the "pressure to conform to dominant codes of heterosexuality was heightened especially among Nisei (second generation) men, who sought to prove their masculinity and American citizenship by policing sexual behaviour, disavowing homosexuality, and/or enlisting in the U.S. military" ("Looking" 21). While Sando does not disavow homosexuality or enlist in the army, he does police his sexual behaviour. He does not pursue his sexual interests and draws lines that he does not cross. Sando's relationships function as counternarratives in two ways. Not only do they provide rare evidence of Japanese Canadians and expressions of homosexuality, but they also contribute to a historical gap regarding expressions of homosexuality in internment camps in Canada.

The language that Sando uses to describe his friendships in the memoir contrasts with the language that Sando uses to express his romantic interests in the diaries. While the romantic realm is explored in the diaries, the memoir is firmly rooted in friendship. In the memoir, describing saying goodbye to his friend Okazaki-kun at the end of war, he states "We have been so close over the past four years. He is a good friend and a fellow brother. Regardless of destiny and providence, I still felt it was unfair to part from my good friend" (221). In the above passage, their relationship is grounded in words such as "brother" and "friend". Additionally, when saying goodbye to his mentor Ishibashi-sensei he recounts, "We have lived together for almost four years. He has been like a father to me, at times like a brother [...] I feel as if my older brother is

going far away, and I will not see him perhaps for a long time [...] Parting from a close friend is to me the worst experience in my life" (213). Sando only explores his friendships with Okazaki-kun and Ishibashi-sensei in the memoir, grounding those relationships in familial terminology, separating them completely from the romantic realm of "Y" and "M." This demonstrates a conscious choice of what relationships he wants on display and which he still chooses to keep separate.

In the diary pages that follow Sando's internment camp experience, a feeling of unsettlement and adaptation is pervasive. Sando uses Camp Angler as a point of contrast and comparison with his life after being released. Travelling to Winnipeg to work in a papermill, Sando writes "8 am. I would have been taking morning roll-call at this time...the thought filled me with deep emotion. At 9:30am, we arrived at Winnipeg. The train that carried us internee graduates for 16 hours dumped us in the noisy world and left" (*Diary Four Translation* 39). Sando's past and present operate in tandem as he contemplates his present with his past camp agenda. At the camp, a sense of structure prevailed, but now being released from that world, Sando's fixed timelines are interrupted. Sando in this passage has to re-navigate this post-internment world. Even though Sando describes his group as "internee graduates," significant distance has not been established between the past and the present. Sando has not graduated or moved on, but has been abandoned in a "noisy world." On a lighter note, Sando does indicate improvement. At lunch he details "Unlike Angler, the food was all-you-can-eat, and sugar and butter were left on the table. We ate like it was nobody's business, as if to take back all the food we missed during these four years" (*Diary Four Translation* 40). After the war, Angler remains for Sando as a point of stability and chaos indicating what binds him and what he is more than

happy to leave behind. He is bound by the regimented structure of the camp, but also traumatized by the events that transpired within the camp.

Miki notes the “unspoken constraints” of the post war years, “the social and familial pressures to assimilate, to remain invisible, to be model citizens” (*Broken* 31). For Sando the social pressure to assimilate takes the form of trying to learn English. He mentions the “need to study English" and how “because I don’t understand English well, the crabby cook is always grumbling” (*Diary Four Translation* 56). While these linguistic moments are subtle and mentioned in passing, they indicate an underlying expectation to assimilate. Furthermore, Sando’s intention to buy new clothes further solidifies this expectation. After buying a hat, shoes, neck warmers and a suit, he states “Buying new clothes has been my plan since we left the Internment camp and it has finally been accomplished” (59). The idea of wanting to cast off and re-present himself, again, shows a desire to integrate with society. Even with these actions, Sando still clings to the possibility of going back to Japan. The last diary entry on January 1, 1947 ends with “This is an important year for our family to decide whether we go back to Japan, stay in this country, go to the east, or stay here in BC” (62) . Even though three out of the four options are associated with staying in Canada, the first option that Sando presents is going back to Japan.

Commenting on this idea of belonging in both personal and national spheres, Trinh T. Minh-ha notes that boundaries “expose the extent to which cultures are products of the continuing struggle between official and unofficial narratives,” that living at the borders “means that one constantly threads the fine line between positioning and de-positioning” (1). Until the last diary entry, Sando appears to live at the borders between Canada and Japan. Though Sando decides to stay in Canada, Sando’s longing gaze casts itself in the direction of Japan. Sando is

both internally and externally positioned and de-positioned. Positioned geographically in Canada, but internally de-positioned regarding his wants and desires to go back to Japan. While Sando's diaries do not show an aversion to discussing his experiences, the editing and publication of his memoir show a demarcation of boundary lines and a marked change in perspective. While the diaries exist in a more private self-contained sphere, the memoir exists in a public sphere. The meeting of these two spheres show an insistent dialogic conversation that speak through and with gaps and chasms. In her study, Oikawa concludes that children of survivors of internment have gaps in their knowledge of internment. "The need to fill in these gaps, to know the Internment history, I would argue is resistance to the effects of the Internment" (266). Through reading Sando's diaries and memoir, I would argue readers can trouble and analyze the gaps.

Dialogic Code Switching

Between the memoir and the diaries, dialogic interactions occur linguistically through moments of untranslatability. Especially with the addition of a Japanese glossary, Sando makes conscious choices about what Japanese words are presented within the English memoir. Importantly, the Japanese words are presented in *romanji,* which is the romanization of the Japanese language. The Japanese words are written out using the letters of the Latin alphabet and appeals to people just learning Japanese. While patriotic song titles and judo techniques remain entirely in Japanese in both the memoir and the diaries, words such as "*ganbari-ya"* appear exclusively in the memoir. Furthermore, existing solely in the memoir, is the inclusion of Japanese poetry presented alongside the English translation. The poetry serves to emphasize key moments within the text and acts as an anchoring mechanism for Sando.

According to Sando's glossary, *ganbari-ya* means "die-harder" and according to Languages and Dialects of Japan "a person who works hard and persists, refusing to lose or give up regardless of the circumstances"[31] (*Wild Daisies in the Sand* 226). As the varying definitions indicate, the term can be used as both a noun and a verb. In the memoir, Sando uses the term to describe himself and his position within the internment camp. At Angler he remarks "The only men remaining in the camp will be those from the Citizenship Renouncement Group, judo members, older Isseis and *ganbari ya* such as myself" (*Wild Daisies in the Sand* 118). Sando creates his own category separate from the other groups within the camp, even though in the diaries his motives appear to align with the Citizenship Renouncement Group. At the end of the war, discussing staying in Canada with O-kun, Sando writes "He told me that the letter spoke the truth and that he would remain in Canada to care for his family. I placed my hand on his shoulder and looked firmly into his eyes. We had shared many words together in this bunkhouse, but never before this day had I felt like a true *ganbari ya*" (*Wild Daisies in the Sand* 216). Sando through this conversation with O-kun displays a sense of unity and familial obligation.

The image that Sando creates of the *ganbari ya* from the inside goes directly against the perception of them from the outside. Author Takeo Ujo Nakano, who was also interned at Angler, describes the *gambariya* "as rebels against the treatment they were receiving in time of war. The Nisei *gambariya* were protesting such unjust treatment of Canadian citizens as they were experiences; the Issei *gambariya* firmly believed in Japan's eventual victory and looked forward to the Canadian government's enforced compensation to them" (64–65). This pride in Japanese nationalism is evident as Nakano claims "No one was to leave the camp until the day

[31] *Ganbari ya* is sometimes spelt *gambariya, Ganbari,* and *Ganbaru.* I have chosen to use the spelling *ganbari ya* as to coincide with Sando's use of the term.

when a victorious Japan would force the Canadian government to make full restitution for the ill-treated Japanese Canadian civilians" (115). Nakano through his description paints the *ganbari ya* as an intimidating mob who looked down upon those who left the camp before the end of the war. In a "Letter to the Editor" in the *New Canadian*, Japanese Canadian C. Clay writes that the *ganbari ya* "may be false prophets [...] shun them as you would the plague" (2). Clay continues "There are many enemies of the Japanese community. But when a small group within it acts as the community's worst enemy, we have a situation that is truly tragic" (2). Both comments from Nakano and Clay indicate a clash between individual motives and perceptions. When Nakano leaves Angler in 1943 to work for Canada Packers he is met with intense animosity from the *ganbari ya* group. Clay expresses through his letter that the group would bring more hatred towards the Japanese community. By looking through both lenses from inside and outside the social circles, the deconstruction of a homogenized group becomes readily apparent. Importantly, this observation highlights the resistance of labels and narrow categorizations and complicates the narrative.

In Sando's glossary at the back of the memoir, he takes the time to translate certain Japanese expressions. One of the expressions that Sando uses in the memoir but not in the diaries is *Shikata ga nai* which he translates as "it cannot be helped." In the memoir, this expression makes an appearance in the first entry at Hastings Park. At the Commissioner's Office he recounts "I could see the loss that they felt, unable to protect their families and powerless to show their anger at being forced to leave them behind. Most of the men had submitted quietly, bowing obedience to the government's orders. As the Japanese say, '*Shikata ga nai,'* 'It cannot be helped' " (Sando 9). In this passage Sando demonstrates the traditional usage of the expression and how the Japanese attributed current events as being beyond their control. Miki

points out that the term *shikata ga nai* holds immediate connotations to internment. "To many the event was so awesome in its fury that it appeared to be governed by the stranger, 'Fate,' a force that mercilessly rules over one's life and against which one was so helpless that resignation was the only pragmatic means of survival. 'Shikata ga nai' " (*Broken* 29). While Sando's first use of the expression shows submission and acceptance, his second use of the expression demonstrates rebellion and contrast. After resisting going to the roadcamp and being held in the Immigration building Sando states "I was proud that we Nisei had the will to fight for our rights. We were Japanese Canadians and deserved our proper share of rights and freedom. [...] To sit back and say '*Shikata ga nai,'* that it could not be helped, now seemed like a total shame. Today we could make a show and stand for our rights" (Sando 22). Sando's attitude demonstrates a push back against ingrained cultural attitudes. Instead of accepting the government's treatment, Sando shows a will to establish his position and be heard. He clearly situates himself in this conversation as a Japanese Canadian and advocates for his rights. This positioning stands in direct contrast with his positioning in the diaries.

Another expression used in the memoir but not in the diaries is *Ganbare* and *Ganbarun da zo.* Sando translates *Ganbare* to mean "Don't give up!" and *Ganbarun da zo* "Let's not give up". The use of these two expressions stands in direct contrast from the term *Shikata ga nai.* The expression *Ganbarun da zo* opens and closes the memoir. After making the decision to resist the government road camp orders, Sando remarks "We were going against all of Canada. We looked at each other and declared, *'Ganbarun dazo!'* We would stick together no matter what and fight for our rights and freedom" (16). This moment is paralleled at the end of the war when Sando is saying goodbye to his friend Gune-chan. "The wooden gate began to open. Kawahira-kun came up to me and patted my shoulder with a big hand. In a trembling voice, he said, '*Ganbarun da*

zo, don't give up! Take care of yourself!' I replied, '*Sayonara*, you will always be my good friend, Gune-chan" (221). While the first use of the term demonstrates group resistance and unity against the government, the second use of the term demonstrates a continued individual resistance. Dr. Parissa Haghirian explains "*Ganbaru* is an active process, meaning one has to try as hard as possible to try to reach a certain goal. [...] People following *ganbaru* try to achieve a goal or fulfill a difficult task even if it might be very painful" (79). At the end of the memoir, however, Sando's goals appear ambiguous, as they are not stated. As he says goodbye to his fellow internees, Sando does not share what his goals are. Will he continue to advocate for his rights? Will he continue to protest against the government? The ending presents an uncomfortable silence. As the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter notes, "For four years we have fought hard for justice and no one heard our desperate cries" (220).

Sando describes an atmosphere of escapism in his memoir through the inclusion of his Japanese and English poetry. The poetry does not make an appearance in the diaries. Intermittently, throughout the memoir, Sando includes his poetry on specific dates. Placing the English and Japanese version side by side, Sando primarily focuses on the environment: a prevailing theme of loneliness dominates. In the diaries, inspired by visiting the burial site of German POWs, Sando replies with nationalistic intent. "Your home country Germany is winning with Russia and Britain, and together with Japan, they are striving to make a New Order in the world. Britain is a step away from collapsing. So rest in peace" (*Diary One Translation* 56). In the memoir, however, Sando responds to the burial site with the following poem: "Four crosses stand,/ Among the wildflowers/ On the evening-shadowed,/ Lonely hillside" (Sando, *Wild Daisies in the Sand* 73). Sando remarks in the lead up to this poem that "We prayed for these young men who are buried within this remote wilderness, so many thousands of miles away from

their homeland" (72-73). Through the poem and the context in which it is written, we see how Sando identifies with the experience of dispossession. His image of this burial site standing in the shadows creates a feeling of being forgotten, but the process of writing the poem resists that impulse. Importantly, in the memoir, Sando explains how three of the crosses were dedicated to the German POW's and how all three "had been twenty-one years old" (72). Sando never explains to whom the fourth cross belongs. Even though Sando's narrative response to visiting the burial site differs between forms, the poetry emphasizes the feelings of loneliness.

Another poem that displays Sando's solitary position is the poem written on New Year's Day about his parents. "A lonely New Year,/ My parents smile/ lonely/ In their picture on the desk,/ Where I write my diaries" (*Wild Daisies in the Sand* 92). The repetition of "lonely" functions on multiple planes in this poem. Sando experiences emotional loneliness, even though he is not physically alone. The separation from his parents temporally, physically and emotionally comes through with the image of the photograph on the desk. This photograph remains in the past and therefore is estranged from Sando's present. At the same time, Sando by positioning them in the same place where he writes his diaries, could be trying to write them into his literary existence. In the memoir, Sando remembers that "I had no way to arrange a *kagezen* (a meal for an absent person) in this concentration camp, but I offered a small plate of cookies to my parents' picture and prayed for their good health. They looked so very lonely together, as they smiled at me from the picture" (91). The poem alludes to the impact of his parent's absence. Sando attempts to fill this absence with writing and poetry, but literary presence does not replace his parent's physical absence. While the memoir displays this moment of vulnerability, in the diary this same event is looked upon by Sando with disgust. He writes "I can't set a meal for absent people here. Instead, I put up a picture of my parents smiling...Shame on myself to be

thinking this. I feel ashamed for the brethren in my home country" (*Diary Two Translation* 6–7). Sando appears to view his actions as weakness and this memory of his parents to be distracting. With the words "shame" and "ashamed," Sando casts his familial softness as an undesirable feeling. Again, the memoir and the diary diverge in their responses. While the memoir presents a moment of vulnerability, the diary's commentary presents a moment of shame.

Between the memoir and the diary the use of patriotic songs remains consistent though the weight of attention placed on them is different. Sando recalls in both singing *Kimigayo* and *Aikoku koshin kyoku. Kimigayo* is the Japanese national anthem and *Aikoku koshin kyoku* is the patriotic march. While *Kimigayo* is translated as "national anthem" in the diaries, *Aikoku koshin kyoku* resists translation. Sando sings *Kimigayo* at specific times throughout his internment camp experience; on Japan's Navy Day (May 27, 1942); on *Meiji Setsu* (Emperor Meiji's birthday) (November 3, 1942); on New Year's Day (January 1, 1944). In the diaries on Japan's Navy Day, Sando remarks "The air was filled with a refreshing breeze. 300 of us, internees, gathered in the open space and sang our national anthem and bowed in the direction of the Imperial Palace" (*Diary One Translation* 32). In the memoir, Sando describes the same day "We gathered on the grounds facing the eastern sky and sang "*Kimiga Yo*" before the morning roll call" (45). While the diary translation is entirely in English, Sando makes a point in the memoir to highlight the Japanese name of the national anthem. According to *The Japan Times* reporter Jun Hongo, the anthem translates to "May your life (reign) continue for thousands of years until pebbles by age become a mighty rock and moss forms on its surface" (Hongo). Evident in the lyrics, the words hold strong indications of patriotism. In the memoir, the fact that Sando uses the Japanese word for national anthem forces the reader to either do some investigation or gloss over the explicit connotation.

The second song *Aikoku koshin kyoku,* which Sando classifies as a "popular Japanese marching song," also emphasizes strong feelings of patriotism. *Aikoku koshin kyoku* translates to be the "Patriotic March" and features lines such as "The highness of Fuji mountain/ Fair of form without a blot, nobly doth is stand/ This is our Japan, be proud of it" (Maulia et al. 3). Both the national anthem and the patriotic march exude an unbreakable Japan and it is not a mistake that Sando includes these songs in his texts. In his diary on New Year's Day he writes

> Is there anything more joyous than praying together with the people of our home country for the everlasting honour of the Emperor? We can perform this ceremony and sing '*Kimigayo'* without hesitation because we are inside the barbwire. The solemn song eventually became heart-wrenching and sobbing occurred [...] then the song '*Aikoku koshin kyoku'* ending with the closing ceremony." (*Diary Three Translation* 22)

In the memoir, he briefly writes how "We sang '*Kimi ga yo'* at the opening of the ceremony [...] We ended the ceremony at 11:00 AM by singing '*Aikoku koshin kyoku'* " (159). This contrast is significant because in the memoir these song associations are briefly glossed over, while in the diaries they are given a more marked attention, signalling a conscious editing between forms. In the diaries, Sando shows how emotionally moved he and the group were and gestures toward the dichotomy of home country versus enemy country. Scholar Junko Oba notes how "following the emperor worship rituals and the principal's unimpressive exhortation to patriotic virtues, a typical day at school began with a marching drill always accompanied by 'Patriotic March'" (234). Evidently, the musical compositions of Japan affected Sando, so much so, that he highlighted their importance in both forms. While the memoir does downplay the implications of the inclusion of these songs as they are not followed by Sando's nationalistic commentary, the diary amplifies them.

Conclusion

Reading Sando's diaries in tandem with his memoir reveals the complex nature of citizenship and nationalism. Katja Sarkowsky writes that citizenship is both about "political membership and affective belonging" (5). For Sando, however, this membership and belonging are found both within and beyond national borders. In the diaries, Sando finds solace with the goals of Japan, while in the memoir he appears more tied to his Canadian identity. This shift between forms does not reveal static binaries but rather marked explorations of identity. Aloys Fleischmann and Nancy Stevendale suggest that "national citizenship relies on a liminal zone between the incorporation and disincorporation of the often racialized, internal other [...] Citizenship both alienates and assimilates, ostracizes and 'equalizes'" (xx). The space between incorporation and disincorporation, alienation and assimilation, ostracization and equalization resembles the dialogic space that occurs between Sando's diaries and memoir. Operating on multiple levels of temporality, vocality and linguistics, Sando demonstrates he exists not as either or, but as simultaneously both. Through the diaries he shows that his incorporation into Japanese ideals is disincorporation to Canada, his alienation from Canada is assimilation to Japan, his ostracization from Canada is equalization in the eyes of foreign brethren. Importantly, through the memoir these same associations are flipped, at times intertwining around each other. The difference in positioning between diaries and the memoir should not be looked upon as unreliable or inconsistent. To expect a person to hold the same belief system for sixty years without wavering is unrealistic.

Reading Sando's diaries through the lens of Agamben reveals a man coming to terms with his movement from citizen to prisoner and then back to citizen. This forced negotiation of

identity both personally and politically causes mixed responses from Sando. In the diaries, a strong belief exists that Japan will win and his allegiance to Japan will be validated. In the memoir, a more distanced and careful navigation takes place as Sando casts a retrospective gaze on this traumatic transition. Riding on a train away from Angler at the end of the war, Sando describes his surroundings.

> Looking outside, I saw the barren hills that had crested the place that had been my home for the last four years. I caught myself glancing back for an official or guard, but there was none. I remained seated beside my brother and fell asleep dreaming of what tomorrow would bring. Goodbye wild daisies (*Wild Daisies in the Sand* 223).

Even in the final moments of the memoir, Sando is adjusting to his newfound position of citizen after being cast for the last four years into the role of a prisoner. He recounts looking for officials and guards and his eyes fixating on the barren hills that framed the internment camp. Even with these observations, Sando creates hope in his final sentence. His phrase about "dreaming of what tomorrow would bring" paints an idealistic and optimistic image. As commented on before, in direct contrast, the final lines in the diary however, end with indecision.

> Staying in this remote mountain area will not bring any recent news, I have no idea when we can go back to the coastal area, and I need a permit to move more than 100 miles. It is impossible to make a decision or a plan unless I move to the east. This is an important year for our family to decide whether we go back to Japan, stay in this country, go to the east, or stay here in BC" (*Diary Four Translation* 61–62).

Sando's movement from prisoner to citizen in the diaries positions him more in a state of being lost. As shown, his liminal position takes into consideration his political and geographical

position. He does not know which path to take and his movements are clearly limited and contained.

The past and the present in the diaries and the memoir overlap and intertwine to such an extent that they cannot be neatly separated. This overlap can dominantly be seen in reference to the geographic, temporal and personal places that Sando occupies between forms. Geographically, while Sando is situated within Canada in both the memoir and the diaries, Sando treats his forcible displacement differently in his respective forms. Memory Studies scholar Julia Creet argues that "place matters with respect to memory [...] because displacement is more likely to produce immobile memories and radical forgetting" (10). The displacement and anger that Sando feels and records in his diaries arguably diminishes by the time he writes his memoir. The memoir reframes the forcible displacement as reconceptualization of home and identity.

Building from a history of domicide, Sando shows through this memoir a reconstruction of home. Vijay Agnew elucidates that an "individual living in the diaspora experiences a dynamic tension between living 'here' and remembering 'there,' between memories of places of origin and entanglements with places of residence, and between the metaphorical and the physical home" (4). While this tension cannot be seen in just the memoir or the archive, reading them together does reveal this tenuous duality. Temporally, Sando writes in different moments of the present but these presents merge and recoil between forms. The diaries were written between 1941-1947 and the memoir was published in 2002. Professor Deborah McDowell writes "what we call the past is merely a function and production of a continuous present and its discourses" (147). The memoir and the diaries work within the unbounded confines of this "continuous present." The diary entries that Sando chooses to select and integrate into his memoir reveal a manipulation of temporality. The diary entries do not show this manipulation in the same way.

While there are temporal gaps in the diary entries, readers can only speculate why Sando did not write on certain day or for a period of months.

Sando occupies different positionality in the memoir and the diaries. In the diaries, Sando is an eighteen-year-old teenage boy, forced into an internment camp by the government of Canada. His anger towards Canada and allegiance towards Japan appears justified given everything that he has endured. Sando published his memoir when he was eighty years old. Not only impacted by the Redress movement in the 1980s, Sando also became a father and a grandfather. John Hawley explains the crisis that many immigrants and children of immigrants face in a nation. "Who, they must ask, are they expected to be, who are they allowed to be, who do they choose to be?" (183). Sando's diaries and memoir engage with these questions; however, they arrive at different answers. In the diaries, Sando chooses to be proudly and patriotically Japanese, resisting Canadian definitions of identity. In the memoir, Sando explores his Canadian identity and how that identity was violated and reconstructed.

In an interview with *Prospect Magazine*, Bhabha states that "cleanly delineated rhetoric of rights, after all, so often fails to capture the complex, intimate experiences of those on the ground [...] opening up this emotive space, allows us to think differently, consider counterfactuals" (Liu). Sando's diaries and memoir do capture his complex experiences in the internment camp atmosphere. His texts open different lines of narrative inquiry that are not talked about in the history of Japanese Canadian internment. His passion for Japan, his active renouncement of nationality, his development of close male friendships are all narrative threads that shatter silences and begin important conversations. His diaries are a counterfactual standing both at an opposition and parallel to other historical accounts. Paralleling Indigenous concepts touched upon in chapter one, the importance of highlighting counterfactuals and

counternarratives in opposition to national narratives cannot go unnoticed. In her analysis of *Obasan,* Bev Curran points to the "dialogic interpreter" in the text: "a composite figure operating under linguistic and social constraints and amid the 'intolerable confusion of finding the citizen and the alien in the same body' " (133). Importantly, this interpreter redirects the story of internment and redraws "the map of what constitutes 'Canadian' identity" (133). Similarly, Sando redirects and redraws his own story. Through the difference in forms, readers can see how Sando reframes and recasts certain experiences. In his memoir, Sando adds poetic expressions and omits some Japanese patriotism.

The above conversations of citizenship point to liminality and relate to what Minh- ha states about linguistic formations. "From one category, one label, to another, the only way to survive is to refuse. Refuse to become an integratable element. Refuse to allow names arrived at transitionally to become stabilized" (6). Minh-ha's comments apply politically and personally. Not only are her comments applicable to the names that were given to Japanese Canadians during the war, but also to the names which Sando uses to describe himself. In the memoir, he highlights the importance of his *ganbari- ya* status and in the diaries the importance of the "foreign brethren" and "Japanese spirit". At the same time, Sando's integration of Japanese words into his memoir prevents a smooth and continuous reading experience. Even though he does provide a glossary and at times an immediate translation, the words are italicized and remain in *romanji* in the text. This decision interrupts the normative reading experience and forces readers to do their own research. This act of engagement allows readers to construct the literary atmosphere further and begin to learn some basic Japanese. Sando evokes the parallel nature of this language construction through his poetry, patriotic songs and key expressions.

In an interview with the Nikkei National Museum, Sando and his brother were asked what they learned from their internment camp experience. Sando responded "First, I learned how to cope with loneliness away from family. Another thing I learned, how to cope in a harsher culture" (*Tom Sando & Shig Kuwabara*). He also learned the value of friendship and how to treat other people. Strikingly, the first two lessons focus on the idea of "coping" in less than optimal conditions. Maryka Omatsu, speaking about her own family's internment experience, notes "We are Canadians in fact, if not by choice [...] Heartlessly Canada has jealously demanded that we renounce everything that we hold dear. Still we have our secret rebellious acts" (42). At Petawawa and Angler, in his diaries Sando occupies the position of Canadian by "fact" if not by "choice". The government forces him to separate from his family and implores him to submit to work at the road camps. Sando's rebellion appears not only in his physical active protest but through his language usage in the memoir.

Identifying the tensions inherent in language, Albrecht Neubert and Gregory Shreve (1992) observe that "Translations 'straddle' the two language communities. They project communicative activities from one interaction locus to another" (42). Through their dialogic conversation, Sando's memoir and diaries highlight this nexus of interaction through the ways in which they parallel and diverge. The diaries hold within them moments which did not travel over to the memoir. Similarly, the memoir presents marked boundaries in terms of reading experience. The archives and the memoir facilitate each other's movement and travelling capacity. As Astrid Erll suggests, memories "seem to be constituted first by movement" (11) however, in transcultural travels "elements may get lost, become repressed, silenced" (14). The archive or the memoir has the power to address these lost or commonly silenced elements. They add expansions and contradictions to Sando's narrative and national narratives. The dialogic

conversation that takes place between these two forms in a constant state of flux has the potential to challenge static and binary structures of thinking. Only through entering into this dynamic space of instability can new perspectives be understood and commonly silenced histories addressed.

Chapter Four

Dialogic Encounters of a German-Jewish Internee's Memoir and Family Letters

'Of course, I thought that the idea of changing my name from Otto to Eric was absurd. But somehow it stuck. No Canadian knew me as Otto. And after a few months even my mother and my two siblings accepted it. That was truly extraordinary and can only be explained by our family's determination to leave the old world behind us.'

-Otto Koch, *Otto & Daria*

Otto Koch was 18 and Daria Hambourg was 17 when they first met in August of 1938 at a resort in the Swiss Alps. "She had lovely blue eyes, brown hair, a superb complexion, and was wearing a dark gray blouse," he recalls (E. Koch 2). "She seemed perfectly happy reading a book" (2). Having completed his first year studying economics at the University of Cambridge, the Jewish man from an affluent family of jewellers in Frankfurt, Germany was enjoying a summer break. Articulate, intelligent, and talkative Daria, the youngest of four daughters of celebrated Russian-born pianist Mark Hambourg, was a London girl with "a bohemian temperament." From this chance meeting of Daria and Otto grew a strong relationship and produced a collection of letters detailing how their comfortable lives and promising futures were redirected in the turbulent decade that was to follow.

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 prompted the British government to resort to a series of tribunals to determine which German and Austrian nationals posed a threat to national security. The intention was to decide which "enemy aliens" should be interned, which should be exempt from internment but have their activities restricted, and which should remain free of any restrictions. The tribunals heard 73,000 cases and deemed 569 "Category A" (of significant risk), 6,700 "Category B" (friendly enemy aliens), and 66,000 "Category C" (judged to pose no risk to national security) (Vancouver Holocaust Education

Centre). In this latter group, 55,000 to 60,000 were Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi oppression (Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre).

In May 1940, the British government, fearing a German invasion was imminent, began detaining all "enemy aliens" regardless of classification. In just two months, 30,000 Germans, Austrians, and Italians were swiftly arrested and sent to temporary holding camps. In a parliamentary debate on August 22, 1940, Secretary of State for the Home Department Sir John Anderson explained that the internment was a "matter of military necessity" after Norway, Holland and Belgium succumbed to German forces (*Internees*). His military advisors insisted it was "of the utmost importance that every male enemy alien between sixteen and seventy should be removed forthwith from the coastal strip which in their view was the part of the country likely, if invasion took place, to be affected" (*Internees*). The Cabinet ordered the internment of all male enemy aliens between sixteen and sixty in the designated area. The "coastal strip" appeared to grow considerably. "No fewer than thirty-one counties, in whole or in part, were included in the definition, from Hampshire in southern England, to Nairn in north-east Scotland" (Gillman and Gillman 95). On May 12, the number of "enemy aliens" arrested from the coastal region was just more than 2,000. Four days later, that number had risen to 5,000.

The rapid escalation led to Canada's participation. This material matters because the Jewish internment in Canada during the Second World War is not widely known. This "little known saga of Jewish internees in Canada" highlights the anti-Semitism that was festering in Canada in both political and public spheres (Solyom). This history shows how Canada accepts these "deemed suspects" from England, albeit reluctantly, and incarcerates them within our borders. Koch's memoir and letters offer opportunities to contradict, correct and censor sanctioned narratives of the collective. If a memoir is the "literature of testimony," as Ruth

Whelan attests, then personal letters add evidence, experience and emotional impact to the dialogic conversations that take place between archives and memoirs (139). Relating back to the broader thesis of this dissertation, the Jewish internment experience resists comfortable national containers and shines an uncomfortable spotlight on Canada's institutional perpetuation of anti-Semitic attitudes.

Using Bakhtin as a theoretical foundation, I will argue in this chapter that through a comparative reading of the letters and the memoir and by paying attention to dialogic citizenship, counternarratives and composition, the power of the state emerges in constructions of identity and entangles national and transnational mobility. This chapter highlights the "dialogic exchange" that takes place between the memoir and the family letters. This means paying attention to the ways that the letters and the memoirs complement and challenge each other.

Since the memoir *Otto & Daria* is an amalgamation of the experiences of both Otto Koch and Daria Hambourg, this chapter focuses on both Koch and Hambourg. Through Koch's navigation of the conflicting states of "internee," "refugee" and "prisoner of war," and his multiple applications for release from internment camp, readers can see how Koch's transnational identity confuses the state and restricts his mobility. Hambourg's experience presents a counter narrative to Koch, showcasing an entirely new (and at times humorous) perspective that challenges and expands Koch's narrative. While the internment camp constricts Koch's physical mobility, Hambourg's imaginative mobility opens up safe and emotive spaces for Koch. The juxtaposition of Koch's confinement and Hambourg's freedom shows the effect of contrasting worldviews.

Eric [née Otto] Koch was born on August 31, 1919 in Frankfurt, Germany. Koch was the third child in his family, preceded by his brother Robert and his sister Margo. Koch's Jewish

father became an officer in the German Army in World War I in 1915 (which was a rare event so early in the war). He died of sepsis in 1919 after a surgery to treat a dislocated shoulder went awry. Consequently, Koch grew up never knowing his father. During the tribunals in 1939, Koch was classified as "Category C." Despite this "no risk" categorization, on May 12, 1940 Koch was arrested as an "enemy alien." According to Koch, the official reason given to internees for their detention was that "we were interned for our own protection" (E. Koch 133). Between May and June 1940, Koch spent time in three camps in England, at Bury St. Edmunds, Huyton and the Isle of Man before being shipped to Canada.

Daria Hambourg was born in 1920 and grew up in London's St. John's Wood. Her father was Mark Hambourg, a celebrated concert pianist and her mother was a violinist known as "Dolly" who studied with the renowned Eugéne Ysaÿe in Belgium. Hambourg's oldest sister Michal described their home life as "'full of music and musicians. In the evenings, after dinner, everyone played chamber music and I have only to close my eyes to feel the experience of intense life and energy in that musical scene'" (E. Koch 18). Despite coming from an established and impressive musical family background, only Hambourg's oldest sister Michal became a pianist. Her other two sisters, Nadine (1911) and Sonia (1908) followed quite contrasting paths. Nadine married social scientist Thomas Humphrey Marshall and Sonia, during the Nazi occupation, became a member of the Russian Orthodox sisterhood and assumed the name "Mere Marie." As her letters show, Hambourg spent the war in London, struggling to hold down a job and attempting to learn German from Koch's mother. In a letter on August 7, 1941, Hambourg writes how she has now "changed jobs for the tenth or is it eighth time in one year, and am working much to my own astonishment, as a translator on the 'Zeitung' newspaper" (Hambourg,

Letter to Otto Koch). In addition, Hambourg worked at an aircraft factory and at the Times Book Club for brief stints.

On May 30, 1940, Viscount Caldecote, Secretary of State for the Dominions, asked Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for the Canadian Government in London if Canada could accept some of Britain's internees. On June 5, the Canadian Cabinet met to consider the request and the response was less than enthusiastic. Edouard Panet, Canada's Director of Internment Operations, was asked to "report on the possibility of accepting 'limited numbers' of internees" (Gillman and Gillman 162). On June 10, Massey asked Caldecote for particulars on the numbers and prisoners that would be sent to Canada. That same day, hastily assembling a high-powered delegation, representatives from the Dominions, War and Cabinet Offices met with Charles Ritchie, Second Secretary at the Canadian High Commission. They explained that

> Britain had 'the most urgent need' to dispose of more than 6,000 internees and prisoners of war. They comprised 2,633 German internees in Category 'A', including those arrested at the start of the war, those detained by tribunals, merchant seamen, and 350 'Nazi leaders' who were to be segregated from the rest; 1,823 German prisoners of war; and as war with Italy was expected by the hour — 1,500 members of the Italian Fascist Party. (Gillman and Gillman 164)

After Massey cabled these details to Canada, the Cabinet agreed to take 4,000 internees and 3,000 prisoners of war. As Canada would soon learn, the men sent over were not the most dangerous, but were " 'of the refugee type, and included a large number of schoolboys, college undergraduates, priests, rabbis' " (quoted in Gillman and Gillman 239).

At the beginning of July, Koch was placed on the S.S. *Ettrick* bound for Canada. During his journey over "[w]e slept below deck in hammocks like sardines, without ventilation. During

the first few days we were not allowed on deck. If a torpedo struck, our chances would have been nil" (E. Koch 143). Arriving in Canada, weakened and thirsty, the internees were confused about why they were being vigorously guarded. They were told that "this was the treatment deserved by parachutists, spies and saboteurs" (E. Koch 239). After explaining who they were to camp commanders, Panet sent a cable to Canada's Secretary of State explaining that the internees were not the "dangerous characters" that Britain had led them to believe. Massey reached out to Caldecote for an explanation about the misinformation. Caldecote stated that the *Arandora Star* (a ship bound for Canada that had been torpedoed) contained the 1,200 Category 'A' internees and Italian fascists that Canada had been expecting. Canada could have learned the truth earlier from their MI5 dossiers, but these too were on the *Arandora Star.* "This was the most remarkable assertion of all, and supposed that the War Office and MI5 had managed to gather all 7,950 dossiers on the men on the four boats in question, including the *Ettrick* and *Sobieski* which had not yet sailed" (Gillman and Gillman 240).[32] After having his belongings discarded, Koch was then moved to Camp L, on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec City. After spending a year at Camp L, Koch was moved to Camp N, in Sherbrooke.

Waves of anti-Semitism existed before the start of World War II. In 1931, with more than 60,000 Jewish residents, Montreal had the largest Jewish community in the country, constituting

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[32] Four boats in total were sent over to Canada, the *Duchess of York,* the *Arandora Star,* the *Ettrick* and the *Sobieski.* Out of the four boats, only the Duchess of York, the Ettrick and the Sobieski arrived in Canada. On the *Ettrick,* there were 2,600 Germans, Austrians and Italians, 900 were prisoners of war and the remainder were internees. On the *Sobieski,* there were 1,550 Germans and Austrians (1,000 'B' and 'C' internees, 550 prisoners of war) (Gillman and Gillman 204). The numbers given to Canada by Britain and the reality did not line up. While Ritchie was told that they were being sent "2,633 internees of Category 'A', 1,500 Italians, 1,823 prisoners of war" (Gillman and Gillman 205). In reality, Canada was sent " 1,700 merchant seamen in Category 'A', 2,700 of Category 'B' and 'C', 400 Italians and 1,950 prisoners of war" (Gillman and Gillman 205). The British government again attributed this evident discrepancy to the sinking of the *Arandora Star* and needing to send another ship in its wake.

six percent of the city's population and two percent of the population of Quebec. "Beliefs of a Jewish-led conspiracy proliferated in Quebec during the 1930s, with fears that Jews were out to dismantle the leadership of the Catholic church of the province" (Montreal Holocaust Museum 13). Furthermore, Quebec "was devastated by the Great Depression, and Jews were an easy target. Consequently, they were often scapegoated and accused of controlling finances and dominating the fragile job market" (Montreal Holocaust Museum 13). These anti-Jewish sentiments were reflected in the political sphere with the election of Maurice Duplessis in 1936. Leader of the Union Nationale Party, Duplessis openly accused Jews of being communists. His party remained in power from 1936 to 1939 and then again from 1944 to 1960. Reflecting similar anti-Semitic attitudes, Adrian Arcand, leader of the National Unity Party, advocated for a fascist Canadian state. Calling himself "the Canadian Führer," Arcand was arrested in 1940 under the War Measures Act for claiming that his National Unity Party would take over the country.

Anti-Semitic attitudes were a regular feature in Canadian publications such as *Le Devoir* and *L'Action catholique.* Georges Pelletier, editor of *Le Devoir,* expressed how Jews were a distinct race and incapable of assimilating into Quebec society. On December 3, 1938 (one month after *Kristallnacht*), Pelletier wrote "Whatever compassion one may have for the German Jews, dispossessed and brutalized, Canada cannot forget that the Jewish presence in Europe constitutes a very serious problem, but that is not a valid reason to impose this problem upon a new country in the form of massive immigration" (Montreal Holocaust Museum 25).[33] As will

[33] Kristallnacht, the "Night of Broken Glass" refers to the waves of violent Anti Jewish pogroms which took place on November 9 and 10, 1938 (*Kristallnacht*).

be shown, Pelletier's comments suggesting that the Jews could be a "problem" were sentiments shared by Prime Minister Mackenzie King with respect to immigration.

Historically, Canada's immigration policies encouraged white immigration and were explicitly anti-Semitic. The government of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett passed Order in Council P.C. 695 on March 21, 1931 which implemented the strictest immigration admissions policy in all of Canadian history. The only immigrant permitted to land in Canada was:

> Any British subject entering Canada directly or indirectly from Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, the United States of America, New Zealand, Australia, of the Union of South Africa, who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured; Provided that the only persons admissible under the authority of this clause are British subjects by reason of birth or naturalization in Great Britain or Northern Ireland, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, or the Union of South Africa. (Bennett)

Immigrants of all other classes and occupations were prohibited from entering Canada. In 1939, this policy was used to justify the government's refusal to permit entry to Jewish refugees aboard the *St. Louis.* The government claimed that they did not qualify as "admissible immigrants under immigration law" ("Order-in-Council"). After being turned away, the ship returned to Europe where it is estimated that 254 of the 907 passengers died in the Holocaust. The director of the Immigration Branch during the Second World War was Frederick Charles Blair. According to Irving Abella and Harold Trooper, "For Blair the term 'refugee' was a code word for Jew. Unless 'safeguards' were adopted, he warned Thomas Crerar, Canada was in danger of being 'flooded with Jewish people,' and his task, as he saw it, was to make sure that the safeguards did not fail" (8).

During World War II, Canada remained committed to its policy of exclusion in denying entrance to immigrants and refugees. The Évian conference in July 1938, spearheaded by Roosevelt, was convened to address the issue of German and Austrian Jewish refugees fleeing persecution from the Nazi regime. Canadian prime minister Mackenzie King was reluctant to attend the conference due to anti-Semitism. In his diary, on March 29, 1938, he writes,

> A very difficult question has presented itself in Roosevelt's appeal to different countries to unite with the United States in admitting refugees from Austria, Germany, etc. That means, in a word, admitting numbers of Jews. My own feeling is that nothing is to be gained by creating an internal problem in an effort to meet an international one. [...] We must nevertheless seek to keep this part of the Continent free from unrest and from too great an intermixture of foreign strains of blood, as much the same thing as lies at the basis of the Oriental problem. (Mackenzie King)

King's comments reveal the entrenched anti-Jewish and anti-Asian sentiments and actions that infiltrated both the private, public, and political spheres.[34]

While the other two chapters focused on court transcripts and translated diaries, this chapter focuses on the distinct archival source of letters. According to J.A Cuddon, three types of letters exist: the private letter (*personalis*), the letter of affairs (*negotialis*) and an open or general

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[34] After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the federal government passed the Chinese Immigration Act (1885) which stated that every person of Chinese origin immigrating to Canada had to pay a fee of 50 dollars, called a head tax. In 1900, this head tax was raised to 100 dollars per person and in 1903, it was raised to 500 dollars per person. "Between 1885 and 1923, approximately 81,000 Chinese immigrants paid the head tax" ("The Chinese Head Tax and the Chinese Exclusion Act"). In 1923, the government passed a new Chinese Immigration Act which came to be known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. This Act prohibited all Chinese immigration to Canada and was kept in place until 1947. In June 2006, prime minister Stephen Harper apologized in the House of Commons and 20,000 in redress was offered by the government to all surviving individuals who had paid the head tax.

letter addressed to an individual or newspaper editor intended for publication. This study focuses on correspondence that tends to oscillate between the private letter and the letter of affairs. This oscillation can be seen especially when Koch tries to negotiate his conditions for release. Taking a more general approach, Smith and Watson define letters as,

> a mode of directed, and dated, correspondence with a specific addressee and signatory, letters seem to be private writings, but in the late eighteenth century they began to be understood as both private correspondence expressing the inner feelings of the writing subject and as public documents to be shared within a literary circle [...] Letters become vehicles through which information is circulated, social roles enacted, relationships secured, often in a paradoxical mix of intimacy and formality. (196)

Smith and Watson identify in their definition the liminal space that letters inhabit. Letters are both public and private, external and internal, intimate and formal. Straddling boundary lines within its definition, letters enter quite easily into the liminal space of memoirs, archives, memory and dialogism.

The letters accessed for this chapter were taken from two archives: Library and Archives Canada and the Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections. The Koch fonds from Library and Archives Canada spanned from January 1940 to July 1941 and contained 374 documents. The Clara Thomas Archives contained pre- and post-war correspondence that allowed for an expansion of the timeline. Their collection contained 488 documents. These letters were archived in two archives because Koch gave some letters to Library and Archives Canada in 1981 and some letters to Clara Thomas Archives in 2004. While the letters in Library and Archives Canada primarily consisted of letters to Otto from family and friends, only the Clara Thomas Archives contained Otto's personal correspondence and the complete collection of Hambourg's

letters, which he claims to have found in his desk in 1995. I had both of these collections digitized and sent to me during the pandemic. Combined, these letters spanned from August 10, 1938 to November 11, 1943. It was imperative to utilize both archival collections in order to ensure the most complete archival narrative could be constructed. Dominating the familial correspondence were letters from his sister Margo, his brother-in-law Paul and his mother. Not all of the letters had Otto's direct reply, so reading between the lines became imperative. In *Otto & Daria,* Koch included direct excerpts of letters from family and friends.

Letters may be read as part of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism quite naturally due to their innate quality of response. With letters, an ongoing exchange between speakers and listeners shape the social circumstances. Koch's letters speak directly to the addressees, and also indirectly speaks to archivists and to contemporary readers of different ages, generations and professions. In his book *Artificial Respiration,* Argentine author Ricardo Piglia suggests that

> To write a letter is to send a message to the future; to speak of the present with an addressee who is not there, knowing nothing about how that person is (in what spirits, with whom) *while* we write and, above all, *later*: while reading over what we have written. Correspondence is the utopian form of conversation because it annihilates the present and turns the future into the only possible place for dialogue. (83)

Piglia's comments highlight how letters are always oriented toward a future answer word. While the answer always orients itself in the future, the content of the letter permanently encapsulates a snapshot of the past. Letters therefore simultaneously hold the past and future together within its form. The malleability of the letter lies in the types of responses that the letter garners.

These statements about time are part of a larger discussion in archival studies. In her study of the love letters between Australian writers Marjorie Barnard and Frank Davison, Mary-

Ann Dever writes that when dealing with collections of letters we are met with a "fissured archive" (119). She explains how readers and critics are left "too often with an archive that resembles a fishing net: the few threads (an occasional judicious mending) held taut over pockets of nothingness" (120). While Dever places the reader and critic into the role of the "proverbial eavesdropper," I place the reader into the role of the critical analyst.

Piglia explains that "letter writing is a perverse genre: it requires distance and absence to prosper" (31). The idea of distance and absence operates in complex ways throughout Koch's memoir. While the letters were written between the years of 1938 and 1943, the memoir was published in 2016. The temporal gap separating the two texts is 73 years. In the intervening years, Koch had an abundance of time to ponder what letters and what segments of letters to include in his memoir. Just as Sando strategically thought through what diary entries to include and exclude in his memoir, Koch enters into the same process with the construction of his memoir. Interestingly, in *Otto & Daria,* Koch includes excerpts from Hambourg's letters but does not include any of his own. Even though Koch claims that his responses to Hambourg are missing and does not want them to be found, it is telling that he also chooses to not include any of his other personal letters throughout *Otto & Daria*. Taking the theme of distance and absence a little further, Koch and Hambourg have been estranged from each other for 73 years. Koch mentions in his memoir how Hambourg's family did not welcome interactions with him after the war. Her family believed that Koch strung her along and took advantage of her feelings.

Letters inextricably convey feelings of closeness. In *Epistolary Practices,* William Decker writes that "letters are inevitably associated with intimacy. Perhaps the most fundamental fiction of letter writing is that the epistolary utterance, despite the absence of addresser to addressee, if not precisely because of that absence, speaks with an immediacy and intimacy

unavailable in the face-to-face conversation that letter writing typically takes as its model" (5). In a similar vein, author Bruce Redford notes that the familiar letter is a form of "intimate conversation" (217). As highlighted by Decker, what separates a normal conversation from the intimate conversation of the letter is the paused response. Due to the nature of the postal service, letter recipients cannot respond immediately. Their response is determinant upon when they receive the letter and what is happening in their lives at that moment in time. A letter response given after a week will differ from a reply a month later.[35] The resonance that Koch ascribes to a letter in the 1940s, will hold different resonance in the 2000s.

Theories of transnationalism are somewhat useful for understanding Koch's experience. Sarah Wayland writes that transnationalism

> usually refers to the experiences of individuals whose identities and relations span national borders. Researchers focus on persons, mostly migrants, whose lives subsume two or more languages and cultures and who have frequent contact with ethnic kindred ("coethnics") in other locations. Transnationalism involves the creation of new identities that incorporate cultural references from both the place of origin and the place of residence. (18)

Drawing on this dichotomy between the place of origin and place of residence, sociologists Lloyd Wong and Vic Satzewich, argue that the transnational perspective "conceptualized many contemporary immigrants not as 'uprooted' or as having completely left behind their 'old' countries but as maintaining multiple links and networks with their homelands" (3). Koch's

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[35] In her letters, Hambourg addresses this key theme of delayed response. On October 20, 1941, she writes to Otto, "Your answers to my letters correspond to forgotten moods, and mine to yours no doubt do the same [...] By Christmas I shall become intimate with the kind of person you were in July, and in the spring of next year you will know exactly how I felt in the late autumn" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*).

experience does not fit neatly into either scenario. "Uprooted" from Germany and removed from England Koch is transported to Canada. Despite the relocation, Koch still maintains connections with his dual "homeland[s]," through his mother, sister and brother (all of whom reside in different geographical locations). Throughout the war, his mother is located in England and his brother Robert and sister Margo in various communities in the United States. Additionally, Koch maintains practical connections to his homeland to help ensure the processing of his release applications. As will be further explored in the section on dialogic citizenship, Koch needed to submit character statements from his law professors in Britain to the Immigration Board to advocate for his release.

Within the internment camp, Koch is forced to create transnational social spaces. Thomas Faist defines a "transnational social space" as "these ties and unfolding strong and dense circular flows of persons, goods, ideas, and symbols within a migration system" (2). In Koch's case, this transnational social space is created in a forced migration system. The circular images that Faist evokes with his description connects well with Bakhtin's dialogic ideas of rejoinder and responses. Both transnational social space and the dialogic, exists in a continuous feedback loop of give and take. Even though Koch is physically confined to the internment camp the circular flow of ideas reveals itself through the archival letters. Continuing with these ideas of mobility, Faist continues that "Migration entails departure as well as arrival- exit from the old and adaptation in the new country. The presence abroad implies a poignant absence from the former home" (3). Koch continually struggles with the dichotomy of presence and absence within the internment camp atmosphere. As I will explore in my discussion of dialogic citizenship, Koch is forced to understand and navigate what political labels demand presence and which evoke absence. This is significant because Koch's transnational identity cannot be contained both in

institutional spaces and personal spaces relating back to the main thesis of this dissertation which elucidates how these stories (and by connection identities) push against comfortable national containers and legal definitions.

Koch's navigation through state sanctioned labels represents an example of "transnationalism from below." Just as Wertsch writes that archives can provide a "braking force"[36] to comfortable national narratives, the concept of "transnational from below" describes the ways "everyday people can generate creole identities and agencies that challenge multiple levels of structural control: local, regional, national, and global" (Mahler 68). Examples of this would include people who thwart the powers of assimilation, build ethnic identities that were impossible to sustain within the nation- state and challenge the power of states to control movements and interests (Mahler 67). Through Koch's multiple applications for release from internment camp, readers can see how Koch's transnational identity confuses the state. Subconsciously, Koch's narrative challenges the institutional structures of the time as the Immigration Board is forced to examine a multi-faceted cultural identity. Even though Koch's main priority is getting released from internment camp and not challenging the state's sense of responsibility for the displaced, his story brings up questions of "roots" and "routes." "The weaker the roots in the nation-state of settlement, the stronger the incentives to form a transnational community [...] the greater the tendency on the part of natives to question the allegiance of the newcomers, and, finally, the weaker the inclination of immigrants to adapt in

[36] In *How Nations Remember,* Wertsch writes how mental habits involved in national memory both reflect and support the social and political forces in society. These mental habits provide a sort of "braking force that thwarts or otherwise shapes top-down efforts [state efforts] to rewrite the past" (72). He continues "my point is that taking mental processes and other bottom up [cultural and psychological] forces into account does not displace but complements other efforts to understand struggles over national truth" (72).

the country of destination" (Faist 242). While Koch adapts to Canadian culture, through the process of Anglicizing his name and becoming a Canadian citizen his experience shows the ways in which pluralistic identities are threatened instead of accepted.[37]

Koch's transnational navigation connects to Sando's experience. In her article, Sugiman writes of the more nefarious side of transnationalism related to the Japanese Canadian experience. She shows how transnationalism during the war was intertwined with discussions of citizenship.

> Government wartime policy was legitimated by the belief that, despite time spent in this country, those of the 'Japanese race' were fundamentally loyal to the emperor of Japan and, by virtue of their phenotypical traits and kinship ties, disloyal to Canada. Most of the measures directed at Japanese Canadians during these years were guided by the notion that transnational loyalties cross generations, override current citizenship, and eclipse fluid perceptions of homeland. ("Unmaking" 53)

Patricia Roy states that the *Issei* (first generation Japanese Canadians) had not become citizens of Canada because they had not been permitted to do so. Japanese Canadians were denied the right to seek citizenship until four years after the war in 1949. In their respective experiences, both Koch and Sando struggle against static conceptions of citizenship by the state.

An important distinction between Koch's and Sando's positionality is that Japanese Canadians (and Jews) were racialized, while Germans were enemies because of nationality. As a German Jew, Koch had to consider shifting state priorities and policies. In 1941, the interned

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[37] The policing of pluralistic identities distinctly parallels, but in no way equates, the policing of Indigenous identity in Canada which is still occurring in Canada. Bonita Lawrence writes "how colonial regulation of Native identity has shaped self-definition as Native people —between those whose Indianness is assured by federal regulation and those whose Indianness is not" (15). Lawrence argues that these legal parameters have a primary goal of eliminating Indigenousness.

refugees had a choice to return to England and either serve in the Pioneer Corps or await release into a range of education or employment options. By 1942, internees could apply for release to attend schools, work in a variety of occupations or labour on Canadian farms. As Paula Draper explains, the release procedure was straightforward.

> Actual release procedures, whether for students or skilled workers and farmers, or granted under special consideration were consistent and deceptively simple. Firstly, British Home Office approval had to be obtained. This was no problem. Then it was left to Blair. No one else could ever be certain what problems were holding up a particular release since Blair, who controlled all documentation, was not averse to claiming the Home Office had refused permission even if this was a lie. (316)

As previously shown, Blair was not only anti-Semitic but was against admitting any refugees in the first place. He made sure that the legal status of released refugees was clouded with confusion and ambiguity and that there was no guarantee that released refugees would be allowed to remain in Canada. Applying for release as a student bypassed Blair's sustained attention because of the assumption that they would not "run afoul of immigration authorities" (Draper 347). [38] Despite being twenty-two-years old (one year over the student age limit), Koch applied for release as a student. To qualify Koch needed to secure sponsorship and acquire acceptance by a Canadian educational institution. No American or British sponsors would be acceptable and unsurprisingly, Blair reserved the right to approve each prospective sponsor.

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[38] The student that set the precedent for student releases was Vivante. On May 13, 1941, Vivante's release was approved on condition that other schoolboys be treated similarly. In the same year, a survey undertaken in the camps showed 296 prospective students all under the age of twenty-one. Blair was not happy and cautioned Alexander Paterson [His Majesty's commissioner of prisons] that he doubted that the government would release "the lot". Blair ended up conceding that 100 students might be released if they were able to meet the release requirements (Draper 347).

Koch met both criteria for release as a student as he was sponsored by family friends, Colonel Birks and Mrs. Birks, and was accepted as a law student at the University of Toronto.[39] Koch existed in a position of privilege with his financial backing giving him the privilege of mobility not afforded to other internees who were not students.

Historically, German Jews have often had to navigate the mimetic and narcissistic demands of ruling powers due to entrenched anti-Semitism. "Elite" German Jews, however, have been shown more tolerance and preferential treatment by the ruling German class at times. Until 1699 Jews were prohibited from living in or near Berlin but, in 1699, Duke Frederich I, who soon crowned himself king, decided to welcome the fifty richest of the Viennese Jews expelled by Austria. These "Protected Jews" agreed not to build synagogues, to pay the King 2,000 tallers (about $90,000 in today's currency) and to establish certain industries to bolster the flagging Prussian economy. "When the Jewish population grew, the King called it 'the plague of locusts' and decreed that only 120 families, 'the richest and finest', would be allowed to remain in the city" (ANU Museum of the Jewish People). The hostility towards the German Jewish population festered. In 1819, riots broke out in the city of Wurzburg due to the cancellation of Napoleon's emancipation edicts and increased anti-Semitism of the German aristocracy. Yet rioters damaged Jewish homes and shops and avoided affluent Jewish areas, even though 90 percent of German Jews were very poor. "The rate of conversion in these communities grew and many [...] hoped that if they shed their home given language and dress, the historical hatred towards them would vanish" (ANU Museum of the Jewish People). As can be shown, historically, German Jews had

[39] The University of Toronto proved to be the least hospitable to interned refugees. Sixteen internee students were admitted to the university in the spring and summer of 1941; however, in November 1941, the Board of Governors rejected a resolution calling for continued admission of released refugees and "students of Japanese extraction" (Draper 359).

to downplay the Jewish part of their identity in order to adapt to German society. In a double navigation, Koch distanced himself from both his Jewish identity and his German nationality in order to assimilate into Canadian society. Even though Blair would have known that Koch was Jewish, Koch probably did not emphasize this part of his identity due to systemic anti-Semitism in Canada.

Dialogic Citizenship

In his letters, Koch identifies himself as a refugee (Anglo-refugee), an internee (civilian internee, friendly internee) and a prisoner of war. All of these labels highlight parallel and contrasting states of citizenship. Koch oscillates between these different states in both the archives and the memoir to reveal a man in a constant state of liminality. The state forces Koch to reconcile these conflicting perceptions on a national, familial and personal level.

Both Koch's letters and his memoir engage with his political status in subtle and explicit ways, and exposes the shared indignities and inequalities of institutional discrimination he faces. In his memoir, Koch explains the case of mistaken status that occurs on his arrival to Canada in July 1940.

> Our complaints were all variations on one theme, the inability of the Canadian military to grasp who we were. It did not matter how often we stated the obvious: it would not sink in [...] No doubt they thought they were doing their job conscientiously, looking after us to help the government of the mother country, which, at a time of great danger, wanted to unburden itself of enemy nationals on its soil. But it took them a long time to understand that we were not what they had been told we were, prisoners of war. (E. Koch 149–50)

According to the Geneva Convention (1929), prisoners of war fall under multiple provisions. Article 1 defines prisoners of war as "militia and volunteer corps fulfilling the following conditions: to be commanded, by a person responsible for his subordinates; to have a fixed distinctive emblem recognizable at a distance; to carry arms openly and to conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war" (*Geneva Convention 1929*). Article 2 defines them as "the inhabitants of a territory which has not been occupied, who, on the approach of the enemy, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having had time to organize themselves in accordance with Article 1, shall be regarded as belligerents if they carry arms openly and if they respect the laws and customs of war" (*Geneva Convention 1929*). Article 3 defines them as "the armed forces of the belligerent parties may consist of combatants and non-combatants, In the case of capture by the enemy, both have a right to be treated as prisoners of war" (*Geneva Convention 1929*). All of the descriptions of "prisoner of war" mention the "carry[ing of] arms" or being "armed." These definitions stand at a far distance from Koch's initial "Category C" designation.

Koch's first archived letter dated August 3, 1940 raises these issues of citizenship and status. Addressed to his sister Margo and her husband Paul, from Camp "L" in Canada, Koch writes,

> Internees are not allowed to wire [...] Please don't attach undue importance to the note paper: We haven't …got the same status that we had in England but we hope to get it back soon. Do people in the U.S. know about us? Sometime in the future we will go to a Labour-Camp-Pioneer Corps, it is all very vague. (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*)

This letter is followed by another to Margo on August 14, 1940 indicating "Although I am a civilian internee and a refugee I have to use this notepaper [...] As for usefulness to the country:

it is now possible to do very rough, dull and manual work once a week or so for 20 cents for 4 hours to improve the camp" (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Meyer*). The terms "refugee" and "civilian internee" work as simultaneous contrasting and parallel states of being. The Government of Canada defines refugees as "people who have fled their countries because of a well-founded fear of persecution. They are not able to return home. They have seen or experienced many horrors" (Immigration). The government does not provide a definition of "civilian internee" or "internee." In *Civilian Internment In Canada,* Rhonda Hinther and Jim Mochorok writes that "In a dictionary sense, internment can be simply defined as the state of being confined as a prisoner without formal charge and conviction, with persons typically incarcerated for political or military reasons" (2). They admit, however, that "such a strict definition is too limited for what transpired in Canada" even if the government was operating from a motive of national security (2).[40] In the international context, "civilian internee" refers to persons interned and protected in accordance with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 12 August 1949 (United States Department of Defense 68). While both terms address the idea of protection, a refugee protects himself from the country he/she leaves, but a country protects itself from civilian internees. By identifying as both a refugee and a civilian internee, Koch exists in a liminal space, at once trying to protect himself and striving for protection from Canada or England.

This liminality can be seen in both the letters and Koch's memoir. In his letters, Koch describes how he celebrated his 21st birthday and his 22nd birthday within the internment camp.

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[40] Relating to the theme of transnationalism, Hinther and Mochoruk write "Canada's wartime internment operations were transnational from the outset, receiving as they did civilian internees from Great Britain—many of whom were German antifascists or German-Jewish refugees—and merchant seamen who had been captured in ports around the world as well as on the high seas" (6).

> I got your v. nice birthday letter of the 10th two days ago with 5 dollars, thanks ever so much. It appears that according to regulations, all food, except chocolate and crackers and all writing materials had to be taken out of that parcel [...]
>
> We celebrated too: they decorated my breakfast "couvert" with grass and twigs, and in the evening I had a terrific party. They all sat round my bed and we laughed and told Varsity Limericks and smoked. And now I am an adult "friendly internee," wish I could defend a few breach of promise actions. (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer* [4 Sept])

Koch provides a mixed review of his birthday celebration. Even though a joyfulness accompanies his recollection of telling limericks and smoking, a sombreness underscores the censorship and restriction of his birthday parcels. A contrast between the freedom that should accompany growing older and the imprisonment of the internment camp meet within this letter.

Koch's letter to his brother, dated on the eve of his 22 birthday, also engages with themes of time and imprisonment.

> This is the eve of my birthday and I am in an elegiac (it's correct, don't worry, I just looked it up) mood. There is one school of thought which teaches that - as all notions of time have been turned topsy-turvy in internment - one does not grow older at all in internment. And they point out as a proof that time FLIES which, indeed, it does: it only seems a few months ago that you wrote your letter on the momentous occasion of my 21st. The opposite school of thought insists that you grow old and very wise, and that, when you are again free you are able to drink fuller out of the cup of life, like a man who has had a glance at immortality [...] Actually, I found that the Law of Diminishing Returns [...] applies as well to the circumstances of internment and, that after a year and a half, the returns are practically nil. (O. Koch, *Letter to Robert Koch* [30 Aug])

Between the two birthday letters, Koch's mindset shows a marked shift. He goes from an almost jovial attitude to a man in a paradoxical stasis. Koch's comments on the "topsy-turvy" nature of time within the internment camp atmosphere reflects how prisoners have a "dual sense of time passing and standing still" (Wahidin 106).

After conducting ninety interviews with both male and female prison inmates aged fifty and above, Azrini Wahidin finds

> Time passes and stands still as the prisoners become temporally and spatially isolated from wider society. Their normal patterns of life are both materially and ideologically severed. This time of incarceration, time standing still yet passing away, permeates the self and through the severance of life threads to the outside world, creates a new temporal order. (107)

Koch's thoughts on internment show how his sense of self has been ideologically challenged by restrictions on his movements. His comparison of his internment camp experience to the "Law of Diminishing Returns" show the effect of his forced isolation. While time neatly divides into past, present and future for individuals living outside the internment camp, for Koch time becomes an unending "continuous present." Author Roger Matthew observes, "For some long term prisoners for whom the future is an unthinkable and terrifying prospect, time is reduced to a continuous present and therefore lacks any proper chronology" (39). The fear for Koch lies in the unknowability of an ending and also the indeterminacy of his position within the camp. In his memoir, Koch highlights the difference between a prison sentence and an internment order. "A fundamental distinction has to be made between two kinds of incarceration: our kind and prison sentences. Our kind was open-ended. Prison sentences have a predetermined conclusion" (173). Between the two birthday letters, the effect of Koch's "open-ended" internment experience

challenges his sense of self and highlights his simultaneous position of temporal stasis and mobility.

Koch's identity does not fluctuate just linguistically but also physically. Koch explains how Major L.C.W. Wiggs, the commandant of the internment camp, gives the internees three regulations: to wear the POW uniform provided (a blue denim jacket with a large red patch on the black and blue pants with a red stripe down each side), to write our weekly one page letters or postcards on POW paper and to accept the good offices of the International Red Cross of the Swiss consul who reported to the German government. To the regulations, the internees initially refuse all three demands but then agree to the uniform and the use of paper. The description that Koch gives of the POW uniform reflects Sando's evaluation as both authors ascribe a weight to the identity attached to the uniform. In *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression*, Jennifer Craik writes that "Uniforms are all about control not only of the social self but also of the inner self and its formation" (4). Donning uniforms for both Koch and Sando, represents a submission to a preconceived identity and not one that they personally assume. Despite their initial resistance, they eventually submit to the identity the uniform ascribes. Donning his uniform for the last time, Koch writes

> On the morning of November 10, the morning after the interview with the immigration officer, I exchanged my POW uniform for the clothes I had worn in Cambridge eighteen months earlier. A guard took me by truck to the Sherbrooke station with two others, whom I hardly knew. It was the first time we had left the camp since our dramatic arrival. (214)

Sando and Koch describe leaving their internment camps quite differently. While Sando paints an emotional picture of saying goodbye to his friends and pondering what his next steps will be,

Koch in his memoir, writes more objectively with a detachment of emotion. These choices might reflect the amount of distance that they wanted to establish with the reader. Koch's retrospective view is captured in a 1980 CBC interview for television news show *Take 30*. "We have a different perspective now. We became Canadian citizens. We didn't want to see one another after 1945. We never had any reunions. There was no association, no old boys club [...] We didn't want to be called refugees," states Koch, who after the war completed his law degree at the University of Toronto and became a broadcaster, a prolific writer and a professor (*German Jewish Internee*). The diary entries that Sando chooses to include in his memoir are more intimate in nature, inviting the reader closer, whereas the objectivity apparent in Koch's memoir keeps the reader more at bay.

In the letters prior to his release from internment, there lies a direct tension between the potential of leaving for the United States and settling with Margo and Paul, and the possibility of returning to England and serving in the Pioneer Corps. This tension is significant because it shows how Koch's transnational identity offers him minimal mobility in the eyes of the Canadian government. Koch personally struggles with the prospect of working beyond the borders of state, saddled with the negative connotations of terms describing him. The different applications for release show the direct impact these labels have on his choices. Initially the Pioneer Corps were used to dig fortifications, siege works and other earthworks. During the Second World War, they were pressed into use as combat troops. The Pioneer Corps recruited Jewish and anti-Nazi refugees who had fled from Austria, Germany and Eastern Europe (National Army Museum)**.** While Koch appears to lean toward emigrating to the United States, the idea of going back to England holds apparent tension for him. In the letters he exchanges with Margo and Paul, Koch describes himself as an "Anglo-Refugee." This identification for

Koch has a bearing on his decision-making process. On August 28, 1940, Koch opens his letter saying "I am an Anglo-Refugee who has gone through the hard school of Kentish [...] and the Dorothy café, and I would like to do something for it" (O.Koch, *Letter to Margaret and Paul*). He continues,

> There is a lot of talk about reshipment to England, and treatment as friends, not as enemies etc, Secretaries of State in England wrote mysterious statements, very obscure if reported in French particularly! I am dreading a dilemma between England and the U.S. No doubt they were extremely muddled and stupid about us, but <u>if</u> I chose England (I can't really think that the issue will arise) I would do it not because of a duty I owe England (of course I don't- now) but because, damn it, I am an Anglo-Refugee. (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret and Paul*)

Contrasting political dualities fill this passage: England versus the States, friends versus enemies, citizens versus refugees. These dualities reveal that Koch's allegiance to England appears forced. His underlining of the word "if" and his comments in parenthesis reinforce a state of resistance. Koch exists in a tense liminal state both in terms of his positionality and the effect that positionality has on his choices.

On September 8, 1940, not two weeks after the above letters, Koch addresses the choice between England and the United States again.

> Some have been released from other camps and shipped back. It is quite possible that I may get the choice between continued internment and U.S. prospects, and the English Pioneer Corps. In the many applications for release, I have always backed the English horse, have done everything short of actual application to enlist in the P.C. Have also done everything for emigration to which perhaps I incline, but attach great weight to

> Paul's judgment. Very interested in "Free Numbers." (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*).[41]

Based on the short amount of time between the two letters, Koch's desperation for release naturally becomes apparent. While hope is reflected in the line about getting a "choice," the number of applications that Koch makes undercuts that hope. Exploring all avenues for possible freedom, Koch still battles the fear of internment in the United States. He signs off his letter "If the U.S. forms in the war, do you think there is again danger of internment? Can I say that I could support myself here for the time being? Steps are also taken about Canadian universities. Wish I was well off!" (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*).

While Koch appears to favour the route to the United States, his brother-in-law Paul staunchly advocates for the England option. Interestingly, Paul's opinions are usually handwritten at the bottom or top of Margaret's letters, only occasionally being typewritten. The format of Paul's delivery reveals both an intimacy and haste of conveying his advice to Koch. On September 29, 1940, Paul explains his position.

> For pure reason of instinct, I am in favour of the British horse. I cannot help liking English people and English surroundings better than American, no matter whether you are treated fair or not. Perhaps the way in which you and other friends of England are treated is not even unfair but just stupid and one mistake in a chain of numerous others. (P. Mayer, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

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[41] In a letter dated August 16, 1940, Paul explains that "I had a discussion yesterday at the Refugee Committee. There <u>might</u> be a chance of you being admitted here in the near future! The Canadian Consulates (Ottawa) have a limited amount of so called "free numbers", that means immigrants with German [...] members don't have to wait so long" (M. Mayer).

In this letter, Paul appears to recycle Koch's language, equating the choices to "horses." This metaphor comparing decision making to racing evokes the image of one option being able to finish the race (or in this case provide release of internment) quicker. Unfortunately, for Koch at this time, there appears the illusion of choice but no agency actually exists for him. Koch as an internee lacks mobility. However, rationalizing the choices he has provides a modicum of security. It is important to note that an uneducated person or someone with a much smaller support network would have had far fewer options. As will be later explained, the way that Koch and Paul utilize the word "horses" in the personal arena holds a direct contrast to how England, the United States and Canada utilize the term in the political arena.

> In an anonymous letter, dated October 20, 1940, the writer backs the English option. But, if I were you, I should try as hard as possible to get to England. And even if your oldest English friends show themselves so stupid and so narrow minded that you cannot possibly believe it, and even if they tell you the story how Hitler sends his spies over to England in the mask of 'Jewish refugees'- refrain from arguing, do not tell them that the traitors are paid British born 'aryans' or known fascists who went to the Nazi party rally in Nuremberg in recent years. [...] Staying side would be criminal- American neutrality is not right in my eyes- and the only thing I could say for myself is I wish I got the call to join the British colours. (Anonymous)

The above letter's reference to spies in the "mask of 'Jewish refugees'" reflects the fomented fears of "fifth column" activity in England, the United States and Canada during the 1940s. The term was coined during the 1936 Spanish civil war as a shorthand for traitors poised to support an enemy invasion from within. In England, attitudes toward internment were fuelled by the mass hysteria of "fifth columnists." Hilde Marchant, reporter for the *Daily Express*, published an

article on May 13, 1940 entitled “Germans dropped women parachutists as decoys” (Parkin). A day after Marchant’s story ran, British envoy to the Dutch government, Sir Nevile Bland published an eyewitness report entitled “Fifth Column Menace” in which he wrote

> we cannot conclude from the experiences of the last war that ‘the enemy in our midst’ is no less dangerous than it was then. I have not the least doubt that, when the signal is given, as it will scarcely fail to be when Hitler so decides, there will be satellites of the monster all over the country who will at once embark on widespread sabotage and attacks on civilians and the military indiscriminately. (Govan 113)

According to newspaper reporter Simon Parkin, “Before May 1940, not a single person interviewed by the polling group Mass Observation suspected refugees of British espionage, or suggested that they should be interned” (Parkin). After a preponderance of media reports which contained xenophobic political statements, the image of the double-crossing immigrant had firmly taken hold in the minds of the English public.

On June 4, 1940, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill reinforces this leitmotif in his speech in the House Commons regarding the internment of enemy aliens.

> We have found it necessary to take measures of increasing stringency, not only against enemy aliens and suspicious characters of other nationalities, but also against British subjects who may become a danger or a nuisance should the war be transported to the United Kingdom. I know there are a great many people affected by the orders which we have made who are the passionate enemies of Nazi Germany. I am very sorry for them, but we cannot, at the present time and under the present stress, draw distinctions which we should like to do [...] Parliament has given us the powers to put down the Fifth Column with a strong hand, and we shall use those powers subject to the supervision and

> correction of the House, without the slightest hesitation until we are satisfied, more than satisfied, that this malignancy in our midst has been effectively stamped out. (UK Parliament)

Even though evidence exists of Churchill reconsidering his initial attitude, Churchill's word choice associating the "fifth column" with a "malignancy" evokes images of disease. Churchill consciously or not places these people into the category of "homo sacer." Agamben defines homo sacer the following way.

> [H]is entire existence is reduced to bare life stripped of every right by virtue of the fact that anyone can kill him without committing homicide; he can save himself only in perpetual flight or a foreign land. And yet he is in a continuous relationship with the power that banished him precisely insofar as he is at every instant exposed to an unconditioned threat of death. (183)

In Churchill's speech, fifth columnists are not seen as human beings but as a disease that needs to be violently eradicated. They are intimately connected with the "power that banished them" as the government holds their lives and mobility in their hands.

The fears of embedded spies were not just confined to England but emerged in Senate discussions in the United States too. In a Congress meeting on May 24, 1940, both Texan Senator Tom Connally and North Carolina Senator Robert Rice Reynolds pressed the issue. Reynolds insisted that "an alien is a noncitizen," and added, "thank Heaven above, that at last the American people are awakening to the fact that the 'fifth column is here and the Trojan horses in great herds are grazing upon the green, tender grasses of the pastures of America" (United States Senate 6775). Similarly, Connally reported, "I have before me a dispatch from London which mentions the 'fifth columnists" in England […] The Trojan horses, the alien enemies and the

'fifth columnists' were already in England" (United States Senate 6780). This association of fifth columnists with the Greek mythology of Trojan horses reinforced rather than dismantled the detrimental associations and the fear mongering of the time. Refugees and "non citizens" were continually associated both publicly and politically with espionage and sabotage. While Mr. Clark of Missouri made the point that there could be American-born fifth columnists, Reynolds of North Carolina contended that all "subversive organizations allied with foreign powers" should be investigated and proposed that the only way to take care of fifth columnists is to enact a registration and fingerprinting law (United States Senate 6772).

In Canada, May and June of 1940 marked a peak of hysteria for suspected "fifth columnists." As reported by Larry Hannant, "Mass meetings throughout Canada called for sweeping action against 'enemy aliens' and suspected fifth columnists" (25). In Vancouver, on May 26 and 28, rallies of 7,000 and 5,000 protesters respectively demanded that the government bar aliens of enemy birth from employment in government or municipal services and discharge those that were presently employed. The RCMP were overwhelmed by telephone calls from the public concerned about suspected fifth columnists and appealed to people to write letters instead. Even though the RCMP also urged the people to stop spreading hate and denouncing foreign nationals as fifth columnists in their homes and in public, some Canadians decided to take the law into their own hands. *The Toronto Star* reported that a vigilante gang had formed in the city which was "sworn to attack, harass, and smash the alien enemy danger in our midst" (Hannant 26). The RCMP labelled these groups as menacing "sixth columns."[42]

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[42] The United States Senate also referenced Canada's "sixth column," Mr. Reynolds states "I stated that we had the Trojan horses and members of the 'fifth column' to the north of us, to the south of us, to the east and west of us, and right here with us; but there is today a 'sixth column,' not only in Canada but a 'sixth column' has been created right here in the United States- in the

In the House of Commons, parliamentarians energetically debated proposed action plans against the 'fifth column.' On May 23, 1940, new Member of Parliament (MP) George White proposed "immediate internment of all aliens and enemy sympathizers. That a local tribunal be set up in each county or district under the local county judge to deal with internment, so that this can be carried out with speed and efficiency" (House of Commons 163). He also suggested "that the government consider the passing of measures to provide the death penalty for espionage, sabotage or 'fifth column' activities" (163). While these suggestions were not put into place, on June 3, 1940, Minister of Justice, Ernest Lapointe explained how all enemy aliens in Canada had been registered, examined and fingerprinted. Lapointe's rhetoric walked a fine line between a zero-forgiveness defence strategy and managing hysteria. In one breath, Lapointe said "No punishment is too severe for those who, living within our shores, seek to give comfort to the enemy. But let us be careful not to mistake for pro-Germans, persons who have German names and German descent" (House of Commons 443). He added "If any citizen has evidence of what he thinks are enemy activities he should report it at once to the police, but he should not mention it to his neighbour" and "We must, all of us, try to help, but not spread suspicions which are unwarranted and which can only handicap the progress of our war work" (443). Lapointe appeared to diminish hysteria and promote it at the same time.

South, in the State of Georgia, and yonder in the great State of Texas" (United States Senate 6776).

In 1933, the Jewish Harbord Playground baseball team played against local rivals St Peter's at Christie Pits field. People unassociated with either team took the field waving a swastika banner and painted "Heil Hilter" on the roof of the clubhouse. Two days after this incident, at a series' follow up game, fights erupted in stands. The brawl continued after the game with Jews battling Anglo Canadians and members of the Swastika club. The fight drew over 10,000 people. The *Toronto Star* reported "Heads were opened, eyes blackened and bodies thumped and battered as literally dozens of persons, young or old, many of them nono-combatant spectators, were injured more or less seriously by a variety of ugly weapons in the hands of wild-eyed and irresponsible young hoodlums, both Jewish and Gentile" (Michaels).

The political conversations targeting persons of German descent evoke an eerily similar tone to the discrimination faced by Japanese Canadians. Letters to editors in British Columbia captured the public's fear about local Japanese acting as fifth columnists, and the punishment they should face, observes Roy. "A few British Columbians proposed repatriating all Japanese who were registered with the Japanese consulate; others proposed interning all Japanese or at least strictly supervising their activities or shipping them to Ontario and Quebec for the duration of the conflict" (20). While the experiences of Koch and Sando are completely distinct events, the similarities between the racist commentary used to describe them in the public and political spheres are noteworthy.

Koch's release from internment camp is jeopardized after a letter he writes to Margo and Paul on July 12, 1941 is intercepted by a censor and sent to Colonel Fordham, Commissioner of Refugee Camps. In the letter (which is not included in the memoir), Koch writes,

> As for the A.M.P.C [Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps], <u>I am as reluctant to join as I ever was</u>; more so in fact. I hope (probably on [...] grounds) that there may be a chance to get out for agricultural work or something of that sort. I know there is a considerable risk of lengthy internment in England<u>, and the possibility that in the end I'll have to yield to the Recruiting Officers after all</u>. Being terrible civilian at heart I know I shan't like the army [...] Anyway, I shall do all I can to be released <u>under some civilian category</u>. (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer,* original emphasis)

Fordham sends the underlined letter to Margo and Paul cautioning Koch to be more vigilant about what he writes in the future. The censor underlines the sections of this letter that calls Koch's allegiance to Canada directly into question. In response to the above underlined letter, Paul reprimands Koch. "Much as I would like to assist you against unsound reproaches, here you

cannot be justified but only excused (and apparently Col. F. feels the same way) for suffering for an 'acute attack of internment psychosis' after 15 months of unnecessary confinement" (P. Mayer, *Letter to Otto Koch*). He continues "what you write about being reluctant and being a civilian at heart must create the impression (with persons who do not know about your repeated offers of service having been rejected on account of your German descent) as if you were defiant" (P. Mayer, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Advising Koch to write a letter directly to Colonel Fordham, he cautions Koch to "Be more careful about what you put on paper. Do not hide your thoughts but avoid to create misapprehensions" (P. Mayer, *Letter to Otto Koch*). In Koch's direct letter to Fordham he explains "I had written in that letter that I was reluctant to join the A.M.P.C. and I had expressed fears of possibly unfavourable consequences of the change of status. I am sincerely sorry I wrote that letter which was written rashly and in undue haste". He continues

> At the time I wrote that letter various rumours were circulating in this camp to the effect that the change of status might be accompanied by other changes which might lead to a curtailment of my spare time [...] Despite my internment I am still clinging to the hope of putting one day into practice what I was taught. I therefore consider it imperative that I should spend as much time as possible under the circumstances on my studies. (O. Koch, *Letter to Fordham*)

This dialogic exchange between Koch, Paul and Fordham exists only within the archives and not in the memoir. In the memoir, Koch frames the above scenario thinking that "the possibility of release in Canada appeared to be non-existent" (192). Koch paraphrases the event and does not include the above letters. The letters reveal a key component of dialogic citizenship and the ways in which the state heavily regulates their citizens. There appears a clear indication of what thoughts are allowed to exist in the public realm and which need to be suppressed. While letters

as a genre allude to the importance of balance between public and private interests, letters that circulate in wartime tend never to be completely private from the eyes of the government. The censorship of Koch's letters shows his abjection and lack of agency by disclosing what roles he is allowed to accept and which ones he is not. While a life in the army tends to be glorified by both the Canadian and British government, the life of an intellectual does not carry the same weight.[43]

Writing to his brother, a month later after the incident, Koch writes,

> Your brotherly advice, forgive me oh brother, is beside the point. Which is, of course, my fault, for it was me who wrote letters, which read by a person UNFAMILIAR with the FACTS might easily induce the reader to believe that I am DEFIANT, BITTER, SELFISH. To deny that view alone is perhaps not convincing. It is, of course, quite true that there are various opinions which I have recently changed but my inherent faith in the good intentions of men, my belief in the ultimate victory of good over evil, of the Democracies over the Nazis, my optimism, in fact my detestation of all the evil aspects of nationalism, is unshaken. I feel more disgusted than I used to be by the careless words such as justice, liberty, civilisation, truth. As for the "selfish" part of the fallacy into

[43] In a letter on August 22, 1941, Koch writes out an entire conversation that he has with Colonel Fordham. He writes that Fordham says "Lawyers during wartime are an unnecessary evil. What you should do is learn something useful [...] It just doesn't matter whether you are a First Class Man or a third class man, we just have no use for lawyers" (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*). Despite Fordham's adamant stance, Koch admits that "As a matter of fact, I have no intention of giving up law [...] One thing is clear: I shall be interned for years, literally, unless I find someone in Canada who pulls so hard that Col. F will forget about my present lack of skill" (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*). The conservation that Koch pens between himself and Colonel Fordham positions the intellectual and the military against each other. Fordham's comments are interesting considering it is the law which keeps Koch in his present position. This conversation also raises connections about the immobility and surveillance of the state and how the state would rather have people simply follow the law than knowingly contest unjust practices.

> which readers have unfortunately fallen, I must insist that my attitude does not differ from yours: to try to be useful as a civilian, and, if that doesn't work, to join the Army, if possible, but not under a stigma or pressure (changed to undue pressure). Everyone would agree with that attitude. (O. Koch, *Letter to Robert Koch*)

This lengthy excerpt shows Koch trying to navigate and to advocate for personal autonomy in an environment which only allows for a limited amount. His capitalization of the words "defiant," "bitter" and "selfish" address the accusations imposed on him and at the same time challenge the foundation of them. Koch notices how the "evil aspects of nationalism" have been shrouded by the meaningless words of "justice," "liberty," "civilisation" and "truth." Just as the Immigration Office accuses Koch of operating from selfish motivations, Koch notices the nation's selfish motives as well. Koch envisions only two paths "to be useful as a civilian" or "join the Army." Both options do not offer the intellectual stimulation that Koch finds in law.[44] He would have found serving in the army or performing manual labour difficult activities to undertake. Also, for a Jew to fight in the Second World War and risk imprisonment in Europe would have been much more dangerous than for a non-Jew.

The above letters interweave themes of allegiance, citizenship and loyalty. According to Randall Hansen a citizen is defined as

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[44] In a letter on October 18, 1941, Koch explains how he actually served as a judge within internment camp. "You asked about my activities as a judge. We have about 7 judges- out of more than 600 people- whose Salomon's wisdom is supposed to solve many of the quarrels which inevitably arise in a community like ours. Or more usual punishment in camp fatigue, but it isn't always necessary to punish. There are any number of libel suits, cases of unjustified loss of employment, little financial quarrels, a number of minor disciplinary offences etc. - it is excellent practice for me, but often embarrassing to judge persons twice or three times my age" (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*). Koch continues to explain how all his fellow judges are older than he and how they all were elected by the camp.

> one who enjoys the full panoply of rights —civil, social, economic, and political — accorded by a nation state; a citizen can call on his or her nation state, and only that nation state, to claim diplomatic protection; and the nation state can in turn demand the ultimate loyalty of its citizens, including the obligation to fight and die. (253)

Even though Koch is not a Canadian citizen during his internment, his application to reside in Canada and eventually become a citizen is taken seriously by the Immigration Department. In his letter to Margo and Paul, Koch shows an aversion towards serving in the British army and demonstrating such national loyalty. Likewise, Koch's letters imply he would not be willing to serve in the Canadian army either. Commenting on this idea of patriotism and the expectations of nation-states, Rogers Brubaker writes that "All states regard their citizens as bound to them by obligations of loyalty and service—even when they do not routinely demand service or invoke loyalty. These core obligations of citizenship are too important to the state to permit individuals to opt into or out of them at will" (32). These core obligations of loyalty and service that Brubaker emphasizes can be seen in the dialogue with Koch.[45] The reason why his letter alarms authorities is that those core tenants are called into question. While in later letters, Koch does entertain the possibility of serving in the military, his heart does not seem entirely in it. On October 28, 1941, Koch writes,

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[45] Agamben writes how the "camp is the new, hidden regulator of the inscription of life in the order — or, rather, the sign of the system's inability to function without being transformed into a lethal machine. It is significant that the camps appear together with new laws on citizenship and denationalization of citizens [...] The state of exception, which was essentially a temporary suspension of juridico-political order, now becomes a new and stable spatial arrangement inhabited by the bare life that more and more can no longer be inscribed in that order" (175). Koch exists in this tenuous state in between "enemy alien" and wanting to become a Canadians citizen. His applications for release reveal the complete stasis of his position in internment camp and how he exists in a "temporary suspension of juridico-political order".

> If it should be possible to get into the Canadian Army under acceptable conditions, certainly. There is no possible ground for refusing. The Army certainly is a more reasonable proposition than the LL.B [Bachelor of Law] at Toronto [...] Apart from the financial aspect, —and apart from the moral aspect, which we need not discuss—it is the most reasonable thing to do from the career aspect. Everything speaks for it. (O. Koch, *Letter to Margaret Mayer*)

As the passage shows, the continuous underlining of "certainly" and the constant repetition of "reasonable" call into question the entire sincerity of Koch's endorsement. A parallel of validity exists between Koch submitting character references to the Immigration Board and Metatawabin's court proceedings.[46] In distinctive ways, the state in both instances challenges the individuals. For the witnesses, their memory is challenged and for Koch, his character is called into question.

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[46] On January 28, 1941, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Stanley J. Bailey, wrote a letter of reference to support Otto's application of admission to the United States. He glowingly writes,

> Mr. Koch studied Law under my supervision during the years 1938-1940. I knew him also, as his College Tutor, rom 1939-1940. I have never had, nor have I heard expressed, any doubts as to his loyalty to this country. Indeed he was registered as a Friendly Alie by the Aliens' Tribunal in Cambridge in November 1939. As a member of this University he was a popular figure among his contemporaries and I regarded him as an exceptionally good type of student, both socially and intellectually. He would have had a very fair chance, I think, of obtaining a First Class in his final examination for the Law Tripos, had he not been interned with all other aliens of enemy origin shortly before his examination was due to begin. (Bailey)

Furthermore, On April 7, 1941, Margo writes that "We are also expecting your sponsorship affidavit which Victor is signing for you, testifying to the fact that he has known you several years and that you have always been a loyal resident to the country where you resided e.t.c" (M. Mayer, *Letter to Otto Koch*). This is followed by a letter on April 10, 1941 where Margo writes "I think I already wrote to you that Victor G. certified your integrity" (M. Mayer, *Letter to Otto Koch*). On May 6, 1941, Koch's mother submits an application for her son where she provides a summary of Koch's education and categorization. Koch's headmaster C.H.C Osbourne also writes to Koch on September 16th, 1941 stating that Koch can use him as a reference.

Citizenship and loyalty complicate discussions of borders. “For most people and in most cases, the limits of the borders are the limits of citizenship” (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. 255). In the internment camp, Koch exists in a liminal space. Constantly fluctuating between the terms of “refugee” and “internee,” Koch struggles to get a clear grasp on where he fits in this national imaginary. On August 8th 1941, in a letter to Mr. Osborne, Koch charts the continuous changes of status.

> We were received in Canada as Prisoners of War, Class B, and were then turned into Civilian Internees. We have now at last been officially recognized as Refugees i.e. we are no longer considered as potentially dangerous.We are told that students under 21, and later those over 21, (I am almost 22), and persone who are considered useful for the war industries have a good chance for release in Canada. I am under the impression, moreover, that, if the authorities are convinced of my integrity and possible usefulness, and if some pressure from outside the barbed wire is exercised on them, they might disregard the rather vague categories. (O. Koch, *Letter to Osborne*)

The changes that Koch maps in the above letter shows the indeterminacy of his identity within the internment camp. His self-reflection shows how he attempts to chart the political ramifications of each change. It is not until he exits the internment camp that he is able to construct his identity solidly.

An important milestone demonstrating dialogic citizenship in the memoir stems from Koch changing his name after the war. This action is significant because it shows Koch attempting to assimilate into Canadian culture and avoid anti-German sentiment. Up until this point, Koch, a German Jew, has been trapped by competing dual identities and by state sanctioned classifications that restrict his mobility and agency. This turning point shows Koch

exerting some agency into the reconstruction of his identity inside and outside the power structure. This reconstruction still exists within the legal confines of the Canadian government but the effect of changing his name offers Koch a liberation that he has not experienced. The reconfiguration of identity moves out of the political labels of "refugee", "internee," and "prisoner of war" and into personal self-conception. In the memoir, after being released from Sherbrooke, Koch writes of the conversation he has with Colonel Birks and Mrs. Birks to change his name.

> 'Now look here,' the colonel said. 'Otto is a terrible name. There's a war on. You can't call yourself Otto in Canada, in wartime. Don't you have another name?'
>
> I explained that when I was born I was named Erich. When I was three months old, my father died. His name was Otto. So I was named Otto after him.
>
> [...] 'I imagine it's spelled the German way. We'll drop the 'h' and launch you as Eric Koch. That's all there is to it.'
>
> 'Goodbye Otto,' Mrs. Birks beamed. 'Hello, Eric.' (215)

This passage details Koch's navigation of identity. This navigation starts linguistically through the changing of his name. The decision to drop the "h" of Erich, in order for his name to sound less German, comments on the tense atmosphere in Canada and the need to manage perceptions. Directly commenting on the need to manage assumptions, in his article on German inter-ethnic encounters in Canada after the war, Alexander Freund writes,

> These encounters harboured conflict because the nations and families of those involved had fought on opposing sides in the war. They held assumptions (for example, all German speakers were Nazis; only some/few/other Germans were Nazis) that were informed by personal experiences of loss and hardship as well as national interpretations

> of the war: the Allies had fought a good war against an evil empire; Germans had been deceived by a madman. Allied narratives about the war cast the participants in antagonistic roles of good-evil and victim-perpetrator, creating a gulf between German speaking immigrants and other Canadians. (132)

By changing his name, Koch strategically takes himself out of this contentious dichotomy and away from the immediate negative associations that would follow hearing the German name "Otto." The choice for Koch to abandon his German linguistic badge reflects a desire for safety. As the opening epigraph to this chapter emphasizes and Koch acknowledges,

> Of course, I thought that the idea of changing my name from Otto to Eric was absurd. But somehow it stuck. No Canadian knew me as Otto. And after a few months even my mother and two siblings accepted it. That was truly extraordinary and can only be explained by our family's firm determination to leave the old world behind us. (217)

Koch does not just leave the "old world" behind him, but distances himself from his German identity. As Freund shows, Koch navigates both national and familial dynamics and begins to create a new narrative for his life. Even though Koch changes his name to Eric, Hambourg still proceeds to call him Otto after the war.

Through Koch's letters, readers are able to chart distinct changes of identity personally, politically and geographically. These political changes from "prisoner of war," "refugee," and "internee," are distinctly connected to perceptions of mobility. Navigating a static government system that produces monolithic identities with a transnational identity proves incredibly problematic for Koch. In an interview with CBC News, Koch describes how when they first arrived in Canada,

> The Canadian government was not very well equipped psychologically, nor was public opinion, to make distinctions between various kinds of Germans. Here we were, some of us still had terrible accents, and I have an accent still, after forty years here and five years in England and you see the poor Canadians who faced us said, these are Germans. Are they Germans? They talk German. And we said, we are not really. You have to make a distinction. We were anti-Nazi. (*German Jewish Internee*)

As Koch explains, identity distinctions were not made based on tracing familial lineage but rather on superficial linguistic impressions. As a result, Jews and Nazis were housed in the same internment camp. This situation highlights the ethical dilemma. As Koch observes "This mix was just right for many exquisite exercises in applied political theory" (151). Posing a series of rhetorical questions, Koch considers if the Nazis in the camp should be given a voice and to what extent they should be allowed to participate within the camp.

> Should there be proportional representation in the senior meetings, with Nazis represented in accordance to their numbers, as 'innocent' Piggy Wiggy required? Should the Nazis be allowed to participate in the activities of the Popular University[47] if they promised not to talk about politics? [...] Should we give a hearing to a Nazi who wanted to follow Adolf Hitler's example when he wrote *Mein Kampf* —in his opinion the greatest book of the century —-without any access to a library when he was incarcerated? (151-152)

[47] Popular University was set up by the internees within the internment camps. Here they would conduct democratic debates at their hut meetings.

The forced shifts reveal the ways in which the state attempts to control but fails to accommodate for pluralistic identities.[48]

Dialogic Counternarrative

Koch describes Hambourg's letters as a "parallel story" and as a "counterpoint;" however, her letters do not always harmonize with Koch's memoir. Since Koch's letters to Hambourg are lost, Hambourg's letters extend Koch's narrative and provide a pre- and post-internment view of their relationship. Hambourg's letters not only shed light on her fluctuating political views but also reflect aspects of Koch's personality that are not evident in his memoir. Hambourg's letters are peppered with rhetorical questions that traverse the boundary of confrontation or comedy revealing interactions with Koch. In the summer of 1938, Koch had received a phone call to report to the German army. Flying from Knokke to Frankfurt, Koch went to request a change of domicile so that he would not have to serve in the army. In his memoir, he writes that he "left things [with Hambourg] deliberately vague. It was therefore no surprise that she was thoroughly confused" (67). The following two letters from Hambourg are not included in the memoir. On August 15, 1938, she opens her letter with

[48] While in Canada there was marked confusion about simultaneously holding German citizenship and Jewish culture, in Germany the Nuremberg Race Laws (1935) prohibited this duality. The Reich Citizenship Law and the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour provided a legal framework for Jewish persecution. The Reich Citizenship Law stated that only people of "German or related blood" could be classified as citizens (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). Jews were defined as a race by birth and by blood. People with three or more grandparents born into the Jewish religious community were considered Jews by law. "German Jews were stripped of their citizenship reducing them to mere 'subjects' of the state" (Onion et al., "Nuremberg Race Laws Imposed"). The Law for the Protection of German Blood prohibited marriages and extramarital relations between Jews and other German citizens. Shortly after the Nuremberg Laws, Koch's sister Margo emigrated to the United States in 1936 with her husband Paul and Koch's brother Robert left in 1937 for New Orleans. In February of 1939, Koch's mother emigrated to London.

> SIR!
>
> How touchy you are. Was I intended to weep at your concluding phrase? To strew my hair wildly upon the floor and to mutter in hoarse, broken tones 'Come back, come back, all all is lost.' Could I know whether it would be more gratifying to you to be addressed as Koch, Otto Koch, Otto, or simply, ironical and significant alternative as OK? Is this irritation just I ask you? (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Even though Koch's actual letter to Hambourg is missing, there is much to be inferred from her response. The passage shows a preoccupation with identity and how Koch would like to be addressed. After framing the list of possibilities, Hambourg proceeds throughout the rest of her letter to list all the things that irritate her about Koch. She lists his "infuriating and unnecessary cult of sophistication," and how Koch supposes her "unselfish or, as you once said, innocent." Her list of Koch's flaws breaks down the polished version that Koch presents of himself in the memoir. Koch and Hambourg both have ideas about how the other perceives or should perceive the other, but since their correspondence dwindles in 1943 (two years after Koch's release), their relationship appears to exist solely in the realm of potentiality rather than reality.

On August 27 1938, Hambourg's questions intensify. She asks,

> Do I detect a faint note of irony in your letter? I do. Are you in a state of unjustifiable irritation? You are. It grieves, nay more, it pains me deeply to think that I have forfeited your good opinion forever, that I have now sunk in your estimation to the status of a hysterical female. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

While her previous letter left the questions open ended, this time Hambourg answers the questions herself. This shows a contrast between an open and closed dialogic conversation. While the questions on August 15 prompt an answer, her questions on August 27 already close

the conversation. In this eight-page letter, Hambourg makes comments about Koch's "habitual independence and general superiority," and how Koch has "uttered the most provoking and blood-boiling heresies [on the subjects of Roman Catholicism and unselfishness], by announcing 'This is inarguable'" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Despite these slight jabs, she also writes with vulnerability admitting that "I fear that you must have left an impression upon me, as I sometimes remember your words when trying to cope with my own, and once even, to my horror and annoyance, I found myself quoting one of your opinions." She continues, "I forgive you for your faults because I like your virtues, if this is not magnanimous the word does not exist" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). The Koch of Hambourg's letters appears headstrong, stubborn, opinionated, and sensitive. Whereas the first letter demonstrates Koch's sensitivity about his identity, the second letter emphasizes Hambourg's sensitivity. She does not want to be cast into the role of the "hysterical female" and goes out of her way to address this perception. Koch's persona in the memoir is filtered and presents a highly structured version, whereas Hambourg's letters show the unpolished version of Koch or at least her impression of him. Just from this letter, readers can make their own assumptions about Koch's confidence, sensitivity and tactlessness at times.

In the next month, Hambourg shifts her focus towards more political matters attempting to understand the issues from Koch's perspective. On September 11, 1938, she writes "The senseless and revolting persecution of Jews, which I do not often think upon as there is nothing I can do much to prevent it, must enrage and sadden you even more than it does me, as so many of your immediate friends are involved" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). She follows these comments on September 14, 1938 with

> How vile, and narrow, and bigoted, and selfish, and petty, and intolerant, of anybody to care whether you are a Jew, a German, a negro, a half-caste or a Congo pigmy. [...] You do not speak to a Russian because you are conservative, or a German because you sympathize with Jews, or to a Jew because he is a black, or to an Indian because he is brown. Atheists refuse to hobnob with the even mildly religious-inclined because religion to them must be inseparable from hypocrisy or ignorance. Socialists and conservatives are gradually becoming beings of a different order [...] Each party is convinced that the other has neither eyes, ears, tongues, brains or hearts. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

While the former entry appears in only the letters, the latter entry appears in both the letter and the memoir. Koch does not keep Hambourg's letter intact in the memoir and splices sections of the same letter throughout it. In the memoir, the latter entry comes after Koch explains how in early December 1938, hundreds of synagogues were being burned throughout Germany and Austria and the mass arrest of the Jews was beginning. By placing Hambourg's letter (which was written before these events) directly after these historical recollections, Koch strategically highlights the atmosphere of intolerance that was brewing. Hambourg's passionate statement about "Each party [being] convinced that the other has neither eyes, ears, tongues, brains or hearts," foreshadows the dehumanization that was to come. Funnily enough (or perhaps not funny at all), Hambourg's above letter is framed in banality. She opens the letter informing Koch that she is tidying her room, writes her own obituary and attributes the aggressiveness of the letter to having to write wedding invitations for her sister and try on clothes. The difference in terms of structure is important. While Koch uses parts of the letter at different moments

throughout the memoir to emphasize key themes, Hambourg's letter traverses the political and personal over her seven-page response.[49]

Another section from the same letter (September 14, 1938) that Koch takes and transposes to a different section of the memoir is Hambourg's self-written obituary. While Koch inserts the above section into the middle of the memoir, he includes the following passage right at the end.

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[49] Hambourg's political stance appears to shift over the years between Socialism and Communism. On November 1, 1938, she writes,

> I am now a very unprominent member of the Socialist party [...] However, I find myself most of the time in total disagreement with what they say, and partly owing to my dread of speaking in public, and partly owing to the fact that I can never think in a verbal argument, preferring to do so on paper, and am obliged to keep in silence. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Only a year later in February 1939, Hambourg writes how "I have managed to remain outside the Communist party" signing off to Koch as "Your fellow victim and disillusioned sympathizer. Misanthrope. Cynic. Bolshevist. Bigot. Pretender to the Dictatorship". A month later on March 5 1939 she announces,

> I have renounced Communism temporarily perhaps only because I find it impossible to make a decision ever about anything, perhaps because since I cannot embrace it blindly as a panacea to all human ills, I would rather not embrace it at all. At present I belong to the International World Wide Flotsam and Jetsam Movement. The ideals of this movement, briefly explained, are that its members, while recognizing the fact that willy nilly they are blown where the wind listeth should pretend that the direction in which the wind blows them is precisely the only way they would have taken if left to themselves. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Hambourg's satirical comments about how she belongs to the "International World Wide Flotsam and Jetsam Movement" demonstrate how confusing the political climate for an 18 year old girl was at the time. In her early letters, she does not seem completely attached to one political stance over the other. She calls herself an "unprominent member" of the Socialist party and temporarily renounced Communism.This fluctuating attitude continues in later years. On July 3, 1943, she writes "There is one road- communism. All others lead to the abyss. Alas, Otto, I am still ¼ communist and ¾ Daria Hambourg I am, only imagine, a delegate to the London Trades Council" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). While the three above sections are not included in the memoir, her last letter is included. In her last letter to Koch on November 11, 1943, Hambourg writes "My humanitarian ideals are that too much suffering should be reduced to suffering. Poverty and unthinking tyranny are two huge factors in too much suffering which could be dispensed with by socialism" (240). By Koch including segments of some letters and not others, he creates a highly structured picture of Hambourg consciously or unconsciously.

> Obituary on D.H. (Sunday Times)
>
> She rushed through life in great agitation, pursuing her elusive ideals, oblivious to all else, prim in her determination to preserve them intact. On her deathbed, the possessive instinct which had been so strongly transmitted to her through her ancestors overwhelmed her at last. In front of astonished spectators assembled to benefit from her will (1 ½-d stamp, a bunch of feathers and two or three seashells), she staggered to her feet, triumphantly brandished in their faces a cardboard receptacle inscribed 'Ideals & Principles,' and, with a wild shriek —They are mine, I will take them with me!' — fell back and expired. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Koch places Hambourg's self-written obituary (composed when she was 18) right at the end of the memoir. In the structure of the memoir, this section comes after Koch's attempts to find her after the war. Both investigator Helmut Blume (1947) and Father Benedict Ramsden (2014) witness her deteriorating physical and mental health. In 1947, Koch pays Blume for an update on Hambourg. After meeting with her, Blume reports "Her face untouched by sunshine, her teeth yellowish, long, somewhat dirty fingernails, pretty blue eyes, her voice *very* English– for some mysterious reason I expected her to speak *refugese*" (E. Koch 261). In the last years of her life, Hambourg spends her time in Devonshire presided over by Ramsden, a priest and a psychiatrist. According to Ramsden, Hambourg "lived in the expectation of disappearing herself when Hitler, [...] conquered England" (E. Koch 268). Even though these events did not transpire, "In her periods of depression, she sank into an expectation of her own being taken away to a concentration camp and the horrors she would meet there" (E. Koch 268). Suffering from bouts

of near ecstatic mania and subjected to electroconvulsive therapy, Hambourg suffered further from memory damage and lack of concentration. Hambourg died in 1992.[50]

The reports of Hambourg later in her life stand in contrast with the 18-year-old girl who wrote her own obituary. Whereas a *joie de vivre* and passion inform her obituary, the grim reports from Blume and Ramsden emphasize deterioration and pain. Her will of a "stamp," "feathers," and "seashells" showcases Hambourg's freedom and privilege. She feels no fear to brandish her opinions or ideals. Contrastingly, the Hambourg of Blume's and Ramsden's reports shows a woman tortured by memories of war and imagining alternative fates for herself. Interestingly, a main critique that I had about Hambourg's letters to Koch throughout the war was that she maintained a philosophical distance from the war; however, the reports after the war arguably show that this distance was necessary for her survival.

Between September 1940 and May 1941, British towns and cities were subjected to a sustained campaign of aerial bombing by the German Air Force in an attempt to terrorize and demoralize the population. More than 43,500 civilians were killed and thousands of houses rendered uninhabitable during "the Blitz," a term first used by the British press for the intense attack and a term stemming from the German word Blitzkrieg meaning "lightning war." Bombing continued throughout the war. According to Alan Brooks, more than 900 [V1 rockets

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[50] Hambourg's biography reflects Dr. William Niederland's definition of "survivor's guilt", which is a key descriptor of survivor syndrome. He writes "in the great majority it is the survival itself that stands at the core of the inner conflict. The holocaust survivor identifies himself with the beloved dead whom he feels he should join in death, so much so that the phenomenological attitude in a number of my patients [...] often is that of being walking corpses themselves" (421). While Hambourg appears to become a "walking corpse" later in her life, Koch does not suffer from the same afflictions. Interestingly, Hambourg seems to demonstrate a form of Allison Landsberg's "prosthetic memory" in the sense that she takes on the experience of others and assumes it as her own. These memories "feel real" to Daria, generate empathy and articulate an ethical relation to the other (149). Unfortunately, Hambourg cannot separate reality from her imagination and this appears to torment her.

also called "doodlebugs" or buzzbombs"] fell on London between June 13 and September 1, 1944 (one every two hours for 81 consecutive days) (51). In total, 20,000 tons of bombs were dropped on the city, claiming 20,000 lives and injuring another 25,000.

The Home Office asked the authorities to dig trenches in densely populated areas that could accommodate ten percent of the population. "By the end of September [1940] a million feet of trench had been dug; within a few weeks most had several inches of water in the bottom and were crumbling at the edges" (Ziegler 16). The government initially wanted to discourage civilians using the London Underground as an air raid shelter because of the potential transport disruption and to avoid the development of a "deep shelter mentality" (Brooks 59). It was only when people started amassing in the London Underground during air raids that the authorities accepted the use and installed adequate facilities (toilets). Surprisingly, only a minority of citizens actually took refuge in shelters of any sort during air raids, preferring to sleep in their own beds (Brooks 62).

Throughout the war, British citizens also were subjected to blackouts, food and clothing rationing, and transport restriction.[51] Understandably, public morale was fraught with anger and anxiety. Analyzing the reports from the Ministry of Information, Ian McLaine states that the intense bombing took a psychological toll evidenced in people's "despair about the future of the bombed town allied with personal fear and anti-war feeling, the fastening of hostility on to popular scapegoats, and especially Jews, and grumbling about the performance of the local

[51] These restrictions were set in place before the Blitz attack. The blackout restrictions were introduced on September 1, 1939, two days before the war was actually declared. Food rationing was introduced in January, 1940. Citizens were given ration books, which allowed them to buy limited quantities of meat, cheese, sugar, and fats (Imperial War Museums).

authority in the discharge of emergency functions" (115).[52] He reports "hysteria, trekking, and action, such as looting, threatened to erode that sense of community" (115).[53] Hambourg would have been subjected to six years of this trauma, needing to be vigilant about her own safety. It is not surprising after being in such a high stress environment, surrounded by bombed buildings and a high casualty count that her mental health suffered.

In her letters, Hambourg often pairs her comments about the war alongside philosophical musings. In the lead-up to the war, on September 16, 1938, Hambourg informs Koch,

> Firstly: I learn from most reliable sources that Jews, in the event of a war, will suffer if anything less than they now do. [...]
>
> We are now like trees upon the brinks of precipices and must grow, oblivious of the abyss growing beneath which may or may not engulf us. Men have always said 'This war will be the end of the world' and no war ever has been. The coming upheaval may prove the end of a decadent civilisation but I cannot believe that it will be the end of the whole earth, such a thought is absurd as well as presumptuous. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

While in retrospect Hambourg's comments about the Jews were grossly inaccurate, this passage reveals a mixture of fatalism and optimism. Hambourg's simile about the potential of being engulfed by the abyss reveals not only the uncertainty of the world, but also the uncertainty of life. Her ideas connect well to themes of inevitably but also the potential for rejuvenation and rebirth. A year later, on February 24, 1939, she espouses again how "It must be hell to live perpetually on the brink of a precipice. [...] One: while you are able to and since the

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[52] The Ministry of Information was a department in the United Kingdom Government in charge of publicity and propaganda. During the Second World War, it was also responsible for censorship and monitoring public opinion. The ministry was dissolved in March 1946.
[53] The social unrest has distinct parallels to the scapegoating and looting that Japanese Canadians experienced in Canada.

determination of the future really lies outside your powers, reap the full benefit of the present. I know you do think but not to the full, because the future haunts you like an evil ghost" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*).[54] Both of these passages reveal the haunting nature of the inevitable and the need to make the best of the present. These ideologies that Hambourg presents speak directly back to a position of privilege.

In memory studies, while much attention has been dedicated to the haunting past, not the same level of attention has been granted to the tormenting future. In her article exploring haunting and futurity in relation to prison inmates, Avery Gordon writes,

> This particular approach to or definition of haunting —again limited in many important ways—had then at its core a contest over the future, over what's to come next or later. That's to say, to the extent that a something-to-be-done is characteristic of haunting, one can say that futurity is imbricated or interwoven into the very scene of haunting itself. (3)

Speaking about prisoners and serving prison time, she continues that "Perhaps the most obvious or seemingly definitive is the way in which the law renders punishment in units of life-time, giving time to be done in the presenting and taking away a life with a future, with the right to a future time, or futurity" (Gordon 13) . While Hambourg is not a prisoner, her passages show a partial understanding of the uncertainty that Koch experiences in internment camp. Her

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[54] Interestingly, in her letters Hambourg compares "the future" and "citizenship" to ghosts. On May 12, 1942, Hambourg writes "Don't forget me. That would be a true insult. But don't forget that I am, to all intents and purposes a shadow, or at best a voice from the opposite side of the ocean and that just as a ghost cannot claim the rights of citizenship, so I cannot claim a substantial share of your mind and hear, as under other better circumstances, I might feel justified in doing" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Avery Gordon writes that prisoners suffer a "social death" which she defines as "the process by which a person is socially negated or made a human non-person as the terms of their incorporation into a society: living, they nonetheless appear as if and are treated as if they were dead" (10). Hambourg's connection between citizenship and ghosts connects well to Gordon's comments about how prisoners essentially become "human non-person" or by extension ghosts through their social negation.

comments about the future haunting Koch like an "evil ghost" connect well to Gordon's comments of life-time and how Koch's life-time within the internment camp has no foreseeable end. The effect of Koch's "open-ended" incarceration can be seen through his letters as explored below.

Hambourg attempts to understand how time functions within the internment camp but fails to completely empathize. On July 12, 1941, she admits,

> It is so difficult to look upon oneself in an impersonal way and to realize the temporariness of any experience, pleasant or unpleasant, particularly the latter! At the time everything seems so real and eternal, even a short nightmare which lasts only a few minutes is terrible and inescapable until it has passed away. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

In this letter, Hambourg's relationship with time as both inescapable and temporary speaks to how she tries to empathize with Koch's situation. Her attempt falls short of true understanding because she can only imagine what Koch is experiencing. She continues, "You see, you are not the only one who is dissatisfied with the inadequate person within rather than the overwhelmingly diverse world outside" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Hambourg's comments comparing Koch's internment experience to a nightmare fails to grasp the totality of Koch's experience. While a nightmare lasts a few minutes, Koch's internment lasts more than a year. In this passage, Hambourg attempts to offer reassurance, but their parallel experiences are not as similar as Hambourg would like to believe. On August 12, 1941, Hambourg attempts again to understand Koch's experience.

> Please, I can see you objectively, the past was not glorious, the future is not empty, it is your mood. The future on the contrary will be full of those problems which I heard you

> plead for only a few weeks ago. [...] Remember that you do owe your life, by which I particularly mean your spiritual life to the absolute refusal to give way to any kind of despair, melancholy, inward or external barrier, obstacle, opposition, suffering of innumerable scientists, artists, philosophers, to quote only one, Beethoven. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

From this passage, the distance between their experiences becomes apparent. While Hambourg has the freedom to interact with society, Koch remains isolated and censored. Listing how Koch must also guard against any sadness or depression, Hambourg does not understand that these "moods" are not passing but daily occurrences that cannot be solved with her recommendations of "exercise" and "not sleeping too much" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*).

Hambourg makes constant comparisons between Koch and the experiences of "the flat land" in order to set up moments of connection. On September 11, 1941, she writes, "I think we understand each other's 'mental process' rather well. What a pity we did not meet often in the 'flat land.' As for that big fish-pond, so long as our thoughts can float across it, we need not let it depress us unduly" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). In this passage, Hambourg appears to contrast mental with face-to-face connection. Hambourg points out the physical distance that separates them and the mental connection that binds them. In this same letter, she goes out of her way to tell Koch

> You know you always speak to me and of me as if I were English and describe yourself as 'a foreigner.' I am not English and I never will be. I have a profound respect and love for the country in which I was born and brought up, but I never feel myself truly to be one of them or at one with them. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

In both passages, Hambourg sets up binaries between she and Koch, only to dismantle them. The "flat land" and the English, are contrasted with "the big pond" and foreignness. Hambourg's comments show the lack apparent in self-ascribed labels and how they do not encompass a person's total identity. Additionally, on October 14, 1941, Hambourg addresses Koch's depression.

> And there are many many people in the 'flat-land' who wake, as you do, every morning to the most heroic struggle with loneliness and despair. Forgive me please, but the more you have to endure these, the more human you become, the more you share in the universal struggle, which is not a struggle for bread and butter, but for love and understanding and peace of soul. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Hambourg positions the binary of "the flat land" people and Koch's internment experience, to attempt to give Koch some reprieve from his moments of depression. While her intentions are admirable, saying that many people struggle with loneliness and despair does not truly validate Koch's experience.

Building on their mental connection, Hambourg attempts to link her and Koch by their similar belief in romanticism. On September 19, 1941, she writes,

> I don't misunderstand you. You are as you are, strong and weak, good and bad, coarse and the very antithesis of coarseness, no better than myself, I couldn't bear that, and no worse, I couldn't bear that either. I accept my dear perverted romantic, your perverted romanticism which I cap with my own. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Hambourg follows these comments on September 27, 1941 with

> Let us both throw off our impeding cloak of romanticism and be our natural selves and continue this correspondence, which has so much to offer us both, and not pretend about

> anything, even sincerely. Then I won't apologize for answering your 'bad taste' letters in equally 'bad taste' and you need have no qualms about having written them. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Michael Ferber defines Romanticism as a "set of kindred movements, which found in a symbolic and internalized romance plot a vehicle for exploring one's self and its relationship to others and to nature, which privileged the imagination as a faculty higher and more inclusive than reason, which sought solace in or reconciliation with the natural world" (10).[55] These passages show not only Hambourg's uncontainable imagination but also how Hambourg and Koch explore themselves through the other. Hambourg measures her moral compass as being no better or worse than Koch and Koch's perverted romanticism with being equally met with her own. Hambourg positions herself and Koch on an equal scale, reflecting and complimenting the other. Hambourg reflects on the doubleness of identity that exists between she and Koch. Not only does she show the duality in terms of personality (strong/weak and good/bad) but also the social aspect of identity (public/private). While romanticism seems to be cast into private realm, their "natural selves" are cast into the public realm.

Hambourg does provide emotional support for Koch, the extent of which Koch leaves out of the memoir. On September 6, 1941, Hambourg writes, "I am very very glad that I can help you to bear all the horror and misery and depression, and you need only imagine me and naturally I will be there and will not leave you to the 'halfness' or the 'disease.' It will not be so long now before it ends" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Hambourg adds "I beg you to look

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[55] Ferber continues "which 'detranscendentalized' religion by taking God or the divine as inherent in nature or in the soul and replaced theological doctrine with metaphor and feeling, which honored poetry and all the arts as the highest human creations, and which rebelled against the established canons of neoclassical aethetics and against both aristocratic and bourgeois social and political norms in favor of values more individual, inward, and emotional" (10–11).

upon this as a spiritual experience and to make yourself stony in every possible way for what may come" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). These passages reveal the depth of Koch's torment in internment camp and his feelings of living in a "halfness" or "disease." Even six months after Hambourg's September letter, Koch still battles with feelings of depression.

On March 28, 1942, Hambourg writes,

> Otto, I am worried about you and hope your letter was written in a mood of passing depression. I assure you that the feeling you have of social unusefulness is not peculiar to your circumstances. It is hard not to give way to the prevalent feeling of the purposelessness of life. [...] We must weather this storm, we must not allow ourselves to be sheltered by the wind. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

While other segments of the letter are included in the memoir, this excerpt was left out. Since these passages only exist in the letters and not in the memoir, the extent of Hambourg's support is not fully acknowledged. In her letters, Hambourg writes of the two of them as a "we" and asserts the importance of not leaving each other to thoughts of depression.

In the memoir, Koch writes of his reluctance to publish Hambourg's letters because of "acute discomfort about the romantic phase of our correspondence. I believed I had allowed feelings that were natural in camp after a year and a half behind barbed wire to last far too long. I could not understand why this happened" (265). Koch tells her he loves her, asks for a picture of her, and attempts to build a life with her. On September 6, 1941, Hambourg writes,

> You say that you love me but perhaps you will change your mind. Also there is so much against it, and so many things may happen. And for my part I am certainly very fond of you and eagerly wait news of you and have much in common with you, but more than that I cannot say now. [...] Please don't fear to be honest with yourself and see me as I

> really am, not umpteen miles away. I mean remember such things as I am often untidy and forget to have my shoes mended, that my nose shines when it is hot and is red in summer, that I am not always scrupulously truthful, that I am stubborn and egoistic and rather opinionated, and many other defects which are human but not very romantic. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Koch frames the above passage by explaining that his affection toward Hambourg was a particular aspect of his internitis. He writes that he developed a distorted view of their relationship and she became "in a peculiar and somewhat blurred sense, a love object" (198). While the first part of the passage is included in the memoir, the second part beginning from "Please don't fear" is tellingly left out. Koch's retrospective gaze of their friendship tends to collide with what is contained within the letters. The letters showcase an intimacy that Koch retrospectively wants to cast in the realm of illusion rather than reality. This may be a protecting mechanism for Koch but it comes across as insensitive.

Hambourg and Koch attempt to visualize or solidify perceptions of each other by requesting each other's photograph. Hambourg responds on September 19, 1941 to a request from Koch for her picture:

> You make such expensive requests and I'm out of work at present. I haven't a likeness of myself, as although inordinately vain and self-conscious, I always evade being 'snapshotted' and my parents have so many photographs that they've not bothered to add one of me to the collection. [...] I am really rather flattered and will have one taken, but it can't cost much, so you mustn't criticize the result. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Literary critic Ann Cvetkovich writes that "the photograph's power derives much from its affective magic as from its realist claims, and ultimately from the powerful combination of the

two" ("Photographing Objects" 276). In Hambourg's correspondence, we can see again how "affective magic" and "realist claims" come to a collision. In the first passage, Koch espouses love for Hambourg, while Hambourg tries to remind him to "see me as I really am." Similarly, postmemory theorist Marianne Hirsch writes of the collision between myth and reality in the family photograph. "As photography immobilizes the flow of family life into a series of snapshots, it perpetuates familial myths while seeming merely to record actual moments in family history" (7). She continues "the structure of looking is reciprocal: photographer and viewer collaborate on the reproduction of an ideology" (7). This request from Koch for Hambourg to send a picture of herself reflects a collision between myth and reality.

While this is the first time that Koch requests her photo, Hambourg requests his on February 28,1941 and May 12, 1942. Both requests are left out of the memoir.

> By now you must be so much older than I in every possible way. I feel that you would talk down to me were we to meet. Have you a beard? Is your hair long and thick? Do send me a photograph of yourself when you are once more a free man. A very bourgeois suggestion but prompted by very real curiosity. In my next lodgings I could hang you in a silver frame, put you on my mantlepiece and explain you as my husband. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

> No, truly, if I am to cherish an image of you it is not with a fatuous smile, standing by a sink in a white apron. Your eye looks like a shrivelled raisin, I can faintly discern your nose, the rest is pipe and teeth. No, it is not good enough. I will send you an impression of me, it will probably cost at least 3/ E, but then I insist on having a proper decent one of you in return. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

These passages demonstrate that the construction of the relationship was consistent throughout Koch and Hambourg's correspondence. An intimacy pervades in Hambourg's visual construction of Koch. Hambourg casts Koch as her "husband" already positioning him in a personal role. She sees him as a man with a beard, pipe, long and thick hair and small eyes. This image that Daria constructs of Koch is not an image of a young man. Rather the image she creates appears aged and more futuristic. She envisions the man and father that Koch could become. These passages in Hambourg's letter connect well with Sando's description of leaving internment camp. Sando writes that "I glanced back with emotion to the camp I was leaving. It seemed faded to me, as though an old picture weathered by time" (222). Both Hambourg and Sando grapple with the interplay between affect and reality, and also past and present. While the past for both of them is romanticized and remote, reality proves uncomfortable.

The accumulation of Koch and Hambourg's relationship comes to head on March 28, 1942. Daria writes,

> Certainly, I will marry you. Could you not cultivate the healthy practice of going barefoot as I rather shirk the idea of the socks. As for the curtains, I would like them to be poppy-coloured, we could then have cushions and chair covers to match and a very expensive wallpaper with Chinese horses on it. [...] I would really like very much to be married to you and think we should probably be content, as for one can hope for contentment [...] Personally I would like to have children as I see myself being a centre of importance as the matriarch of a vast family, all brought up a le Freud and highly eccentric. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

While the above passage is included in the memoir, Koch frames the diary entry by saying that "Surprisingly, my romantic feelings towards her had continued. In a letter to her I even played

with the idea of marriage" (220). While Koch portrays the relationship between Hambourg and himself as "surprising" and "playing" with ideas of marriage, Hambourg's letter shows a much greater depth of emotion. Throughout the memoir, Koch downplays their relationship. He refers to Hambourg as worrying about her "as I worried about my mother" and being concerned about her "the way one smiles about the trials and tribulations of a kid sister" (179). While Koch does admit that her letters were a "lifeline" to the outside world, he appears adamant in rooting their relationship in the platonic realm when their letters appear to convey more than just a friendship. As the above passages demonstrate, Hambourg discloses a detailed picture of their potential future together. Hambourg maps out a future from the expensive Chinese wallpaper to her role as a mother. Based on Hambourg's responses, their relationship does not come across as non-committal as Koch would like readers to believe.

Even after the war, Hambourg still writes Koch of their potential life together. On July 3, 1943, she reveals an image of their future.

> I had a brilliant idea that you and I should buy a ranch in Canada. (50 post war credits are due to me if I ever see them). I would write, cook, ride and flirt with the local cowpunchers. You would farm and play the violin. We should invite all the natives to heated philosophical arguments on Saturday afternoons. Our children (four) would be that mixture of artistic toughness which produces Hemingways and Diego Rivera's. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Even though Hambourg's comments may be said to lack sincerity, the amount of time which she dedicates to imagining a life with Koch shows a deeper investment than just friendship. The above musings with the "Chinese wallpaper" and the above passage are temporally separated by a year, meaning that Hambourg has sustained these thoughts about Koch for an extended period.

Through Hambourg's letters, we can see the "unedited" version of Koch as a friend, lover and despondent correspondent. Working together with the memoir, the letters therefore challenge the narrative of their relationship that Koch tries to cast off as "internitis." Also, only through the letters, are readers able to see the complete picture of Hambourg rather than a carefully constructed one. There was much in Hambourg's letters that I could not explore within the confines of this chapter, but would be fruitful for future inquiry. The way that Hambourg utilizes similes and the potency of her sign offs are just a few potential routes for future exploration.

Dialogic Composition

Hambourg theatrically constructs her everyday world and invites Koch into it through continuous rhetorical questioning, presenting a fluid dialogic composition. Hambourg shifts between different dialogic components within the confines of her letters, simulating an intimate and personal dialogic arena that always includes Koch. Hambourg fuses their worlds together in an attempt at connection and comfort. Her rhetorical questioning and theatrical portrayals construct spaces of escapism for Koch, especially after he enters internment camp. Even in letters sent after Koch's release, Hambourg writes how she enjoys hearing from Koch "particularly when you are disconsolate and need my moral support" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch* [Oct 2]). Serving as lifelines for each other, Hambourg's freedom paired with Koch's isolation reveals a pair strongly interwoven into each other's life.

Throughout Hambourg's letters, she considers Koch's perspective and opinion. In a letter written on August 27, 1938, Hambourg writes,

> After this triumph of self-hypnotism, twenty five minutes elapsed, in which I was able to hear your voice in every stage of righteous and bellicose fury, ranging from 'What on

> earth is the matter' to 'How dare you presume to meddle with my affairs and disturb me from my early morning peace for no purpose whatsoever, unless it is for the pleasure of hearing yourself speak' (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Hambourg's insertion of her expected responses from Koch imply Koch is judgmental and humourously temperamental. The oscillation between semi-literary narration and everyday narration illustrates how Bakhtin's dialogism works not just in novels, but in letters as well. Furthermore, Hambourg invites Koch into the conversation with open-ended questioning. Hambourg asks Koch "Do you think cow hypnotism might prove a useful or profitable talent?". She follows this question with "On my arrival here I indulged in a slight and totally unpardonable attack of madness and broke two window panes with a knife. Are you horrified?" and "Is it true that you do not like walking alone, or merely another and equally unkind attack upon my gullibility?" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). While these questions are comedic, they also present an open-ended dialogue between Hambourg and Koch. As readers, we never get to know Koch's responses and therefore can only imagine the possible rejoinders that he might have written. In the memoir, Koch includes this letter but only Hambourg's description of the dinner party that she attends in Paris, rather than any of the passages above. While the dinner party sections show Hambourg feeling out of place and "stupid and inexperienced," the above excerpts that are left out of the memoir show more of her vibrancy and personality. They also show a more negative view of Koch, which perhaps he wanted to avoid or suppress.

Hambourg's letters animate and bring to life the environment and people she encounters, demonstrating a dramatic semi-literary narration not apparent in the other two chapters. Hambourg treats her world as a stage and the people she encounters as interesting characters. On September 11, 1938, she describes the village, (presumably Aylesbury) she is visiting through

vivid character descriptions. She begins with her friend Jeanne: "Jeanne is fifteen, has brilliant red hair and green eyes, would appear very shy to you, knows nothing about so-called 'life' but much about other things, and paints unusually well, a fact of which she is ignorant" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Hambourg continues that Jeanne "knows nothing about so called 'life'" when Hambourg is only three years older, providing a funny moment for the reader. Her following description of Trimmer and Mrs. Betts contains a similar mixture of explicit critiques and subtle endorsements.

> Also in the village, of interest to me and, I do sincerely hope, to you, one Trimmer: a drunken half breed gipsy, but very amusing and original and nice, and Mrs Betts, wife of the grocer, a remarkable woman of noble proportions, smelling deliciously of dough, with a fine face, a latent for acting, an interesting mind, a sense of humour and a great contempt for the pettiness of village life. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

In her letters, Hambourg considers Koch and what he would think of the people that she encounters. Her repetitions of "to you" show that Hambourg takes into consideration what Koch's impressions of these people would be. Hambourg's descriptions appeal to all the senses. She creates a complete image that Koch can imagine and into which he can temporarily escape. At the same time, it also arguably creates an escape for Hambourg, as she would have just started to be subjected to war restrictions by the government.

Hambourg continues her character descriptions with Lord William.

> Far down the Bicester road lives Lord William, self styled in palatial dwelling composed of poles, hay and old tattered overcoats. He thinks that there is gold beneath his potatoe bed and that he married the Queen of Spain, who afterwards turned into a mermaid and disappeared. Jeanne and I once brought him cheese and sausages, and were forced in

> return to share his unutterable evening meal of corned beef on bread. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Her description of Lord William oscillates between two societal extremes: poverty and excessive wealth. She describes his dwelling as "palatial" but juxtaposes the construction with the description of "old tattered overcoats"; she describes his belief of "gold" being beneath a "potatoe bed" and how he believes he married the "Queen of Spain" but she disappeared. Hambourg appears acutely aware of the dramatic societal divide and imbues her description with imagination in order to elevate his person. Hambourg's reference to "Lord William" forces the reader to modify their perception of him before understanding his story.

Of all the people that Hambourg chooses to name, a stranger that she meets on the road remains anonymous.

> Of all the unsuitable spectacles: I met a turbaned Indian in this lane yesterday, riding a bicycle in long trousers and endeavouring to sell braces. He bowed and smiled politely to me and I bowed and smiled politely back, but he did not, much to my relief as I have a great respect for his race, offer to sell me anything. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Out of all the character descriptions that Hambourg presents, this reading of the "turbaned Indian" appears the most racialized. At a time when Hambourg condemns the actions of the Germans towards the Jewish population, this passage shows her own biases and stereotypes. She appears to present a test for the stranger, which he passes when he does not attempt to sell her anything. It would have been interesting to have read Hambourg's reaction if this man had played into her expectations.

In *Otto & Daria,* Koch leaves these character descriptions out of the memoir. On September 11, 1938, Koch chooses to highlight the sections in Hambourg's letter that details "reactions of men to women."

> I am grateful to you for describing, not always consciously, your attitude towards and progress with the female species, as I had long wanted to discover the reactions of men to women [...] I gather that most girls are anxious to 'catch' boys no less than boys- I here rely on your evidence- are anxious to 'catch' them. The extraordinary illusion appears to be that when caught both parties consider themselves, and not the other, successful. (E. Koch 77–78)

In a letter rich with character portrayals, contemplating "mushroom fever," and war commentary, this fragment seems self-indulgent. While reflecting teenage concerns and interests, and perhaps some indications of adolescent feelings, the passage does not carry the same impact or reveal Hambourg's worldview. While Koch may be attempting to emphasize their connection, it comes across as superficial.

On another occasion, Hambourg draws Koch's attention to a moment she witnessed on Tottenham Court Road on October 14, 1941.

> Scene. Tottenham Court Rd. A prim spinsterish sour faced woman with large flat feet walking along with a huge bunch of mismatched daisies. A very poor family of French refugees pass her, among them a delightful little girl with black hair and huge eyes and a thin white face. From the bunch of daisies, a stray drops onto the pavement. The little girl darts back and snatches it up. No one sees her, least of all the woman, who has accidently given a moment of radiant joy to a being she could learn from with an expression of

> distaste. I don't know why it seemed to me that this slight incident was so prophetic. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Again, Hambourg elevates a seemingly everyday moment to one that appears to her "prophetic." She imbues the interaction with her imagination from the first word "Scene." Her description of this scene takes the context out of the everyday and into the world of the theatrical. The "prim spinsterish sour-faced woman" against the "poor family of French refugees" paints the story as a fairy-tale rather than a documented moment. In both scenes, a beauty in the little joys comes through. For Lord William, his beliefs sustain him and for the little girl, the daisy brings a moment of happiness. Hambourg's above account appears to be an attempt to distract Koch from his depression. She writes earlier in the letter how "I fear that perhaps you might be suffering a period of depression and cannot write" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). Hambourg's description therefore provides Koch a momentary imaginative escape from the isolation of the internment camp. Commenting on the power of storytelling to act as an escape, in *The Storytelling Animal,* Dr. Jonathan Gottschall writes that we are "the primate homo fictus (fiction man), the great ape with the storytelling mind" (xiv). In his TedTalk he elaborates that "what we are doing all the time, every day in our lives, we are trying to impose story structure on the chaos of existence" (*The Storytelling Animal*). Arguably, Hambourg's letters complete the same task. Her letters appear a way for her to structure not only the chaos of her own existence, but also the chaos apparent in Koch's experience.

Hambourg's letter of October 14, 1941, does not make an appearance in the memoir, further showcasing and proving that Koch did not want to show the extent of his emotional reliance on Hambourg and her letters. Rather Koch includes a segment from Hambourg's letter

on October 20, 1941, where she advises him on what to do after the state releases him from internment camp.

> Go — my dear young sir — and assume your peruke and put on your horn-rimmed spectacles and wag your legal finger at the world. And in your spare time, please don't have too many serious love affairs with those fast young Canadian women, ostensibly because it will distract you from your work but in reality because I am jealous. (E. Koch 201)

Again, Koch chooses to insert a section from Hambourg's letters that depicts him as desirable and paints him as a veritable Casanova. While this might have been done for comedic effect, the fact that Koch repeatedly emphasizes these sections suggests an egotistical move. In his discussion on memoirists, Gottschall writes, "We arrange ourselves in the mirror until it tells a flattering lie. This is a good metaphor for what we are doing all the time: building a self-image that improves on the real deal" (172). Koch's selections appear to exaggerate qualities that perhaps he did not truly possess.[56]

Hambourg's rhetorical questioning resumes on October 22, 1938, when she asks Koch "Have you ever felt, your worship, as though your magisterial brain were about to burst from your head and explode with a loud bang on the floor? Because if you have not, you cannot possibly imagine why I find it so difficult to write to you at the moment," and "Do you think it is more painful to be boiled in water or in oil? I am reminded of this by the recent correspondence

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[56] Gottschall's comments connect well to Cree lawyer Harold Johnson's ideas on story. "We choose what we leave out. Like a carver, we share off bits and pieces until we have the image we are looking for. While the image might be the best that we can create, it is still something that we created, and a created story is the very definition of fiction" (40) . While I think it is going too far to classify all stories as fiction, what both Gottschall and Johnson point out is the strategic use of construction, which Koch employs in his memoir.

on lobsters in the Times" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). These questions are contained in a running narrative in which Hambourg informs Koch about how her finances have dwindled due to some book shopping and how she does not like her work. Following this theme of sarcasm and inquisition through her questioning, Hambourg creates pockets of safety and escape for Koch. She pokes fun at Koch by calling him "your worship" and invites him into silly modes of deliberation through her question about the lobster. There is something complicated about the dialogic threads that Hambourg produces through her questions that are left unanswered.[57] The complication lies in the fact that her questions live in the realm of potentiality. Even though Koch responded to her letters, those responses are lost. The questions are therefore, simultaneously answered and unanswered. They are answered by Koch but his answers cannot be confirmed by readers. Readers can speculate and read between the lines but the unanswered questions provoke more questions.

In later years, while Hambourg's theatricality remains the same, her questioning becomes more philosophical. On September 19, 1941, she paints dramatic portraits for Koch: meeting her cousin, a truck driver and an opera singer. She writes,

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[57] On July 12, 1941, Hambourg asks Koch,

> Do you think there can be any meaning in all this Otto? The crowds one sees in the streets in all their shapes and sizes, all having, or so it seems from their expressions, the same desperate struggle, so that one feels at any moment they might fix their sticks and umbrellas and charge down Piccadilly Circus after some unknown for. Is it weak to demand a meaning? And if one becomes liberated from the self does one cease to demand a meaning and look on with an impervious eye, content to witness suffering and to suffer oneself. And anyhow why does it seem imperative that there should be a meaning, why should that justify all that happens to us here. (I enclose a stamped addressed envelope for your immediate reply). (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

Hambourg's comments demonstrate how both she and Koch exist in a "no man's land." Both demonstrate moments where they feel lost and restless about the state of their lives and the state of the world at war. Hambourg mentions how her hope for the end of the war is that "we shall both have grown tolerant. I notice that few people are tolerant, especially under thirty-five" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*).

> The other day I met my cousin. I like her enormously and so would you. She is so delightfully unstable and reckless and generous, altho' married to a dull Englishman and having two dull children. We were discussing happiness and she said: 'I only began to be happy when I accepted myself as a failure and realized that it didn't matter.' Do you mind knowing a failure?
>
> [...]
>
> About a week ago I had to do some hitch hiking. I met a lorry-driver who was really a kindred spirit. Like me perpetually 'on the move' and hating his jobs. His father bossed a hat factory. He went into it at fourteen and shortly after ran away to Australia. There, for some reason or other, he found himself in a gang of youthful toughs who licked him so often in three weeks that he didn't care anymore what happened. Then he became a boundary rider, riding three days and three nights on end without meeting a human soul. This, he said, he'd loved most of anything he'd done. He forgot how to 'make conversation' and could only say 'yes' or 'no' or be silent when he met people.
>
> [...]
>
> A friend of the family I was staying with in Berkshire was a Hungarian opera singer. Enormous. Abundant. Overflowing. But delightful. With a large head swaddled in chestnut hair and vivid blue eyes and a kind face. Too much charm. Too much vitality. Too much conceit. But o'how very congenial such people are. (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

In the first passage, Hambourg takes Koch's perspective into consideration with the phrase "and so would you." Combining semi-literary narration with the individualized speech of her cousin and oral everyday narration, Hambourg embraces multiple perspectives simultaneously. She

creates a dialogic area that includes: her cousin, Koch and herself. In the second passage, these dialogic elements overlap, however, the second passage does not demonstrate individualized speech. While Hambourg oscillates between semi literary narration and oral everyday narration, less voices are included in the second passage. In the third passage, Hambourg's words mirror the excess that she attempts to convey. Demonstrating literary-artistic narration, Hambourg's emphasis of key nouns and the repetition of "too much" could have been easily transposed into a novel. Noting the ways that Hambourg utilizes multiple forms of compositional-stylistic unities within the same letter shows the dialogic fluidity apparent in her letters. This fluidity has not been seen, to this extent, in the other two chapters.

Demonstrating a marked deviation from her earlier questioning, Hambourg engages in philosophical questioning within the same letter. She asks, "Should one acquiesce in the world or should one attempt to change it or should one hold aloof? And if one does attempt to change it, and one fails, can one condemn the world for not conforming to one's personal ideas of good and evil?" and "I am puzzled by your mysticism. The good state, in what sense do you mean beyond? In the sense of 'la bas est l'esperance?' I am yesterday, I am tomorrow, but never I am today" (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*). The tonal change in Hambourg's questioning happens because not only are Hambourg and Koch maturing, but the political climate becomes more tenuous and dire. In September 1941, the yellow Star of David badge which was already compulsory in Nazi Germany was enforced elsewhere in occupied Europe (Alsace, Bohemia-Moravia and the *Warthegau* — the German-annexed territory of western Poland). Hambourg's questions about changing the world could be referencing the ways in which the world was rapidly changing around her.

Trying to maintain a sense of connection to Koch, on May 12, 1942, Hambourg writes of her work at a Fire Station in a St. John's Wood's slum.

> Now the Fire Service is, I imagine very similar to a concentration camp, except that one receives contact with the normal world every third day. [...] How Otto did I react to all this? How did I react to the squalor of everything around me, to the oppression of petty officialdom, to the amusing petty intrigues of my immediate woman officer who conceived a violent dislike of me? In the first place I became exceedingly depressed and nervous, my one overwhelming desire was to avoid at any costs attracting the attention of the 'officer in charge,' to be left alone became my one consuming ambition. I also found a tendency in myself, which I suppressed only with difficulty, to combat intrigue with intrigue, to sink in self defensive despair to their depths of nastiness. I tried at one time to organize trade union activities, but being unfortunately unpopular with the women at the local (superintendent) station, found myself instead in a very poor position with the said station unanimously organized against me!!! (Hambourg, *Letter to Otto Koch*)

As in other passages, Hambourg fluidly switches between compositional-stylistic unities; however, this passage is significant due to Hambourg's use of parallels. Her comparison of the Fire Station to a concentration camp and her explanation of how she operates in such a situation appears an attempt at understanding what Koch was going through. Her comments, however, show that she stands at quite a distance from understanding the reality of concentration camps and Koch's internment experience. In January 1939, SS Officer Heinrich Himmler described the concentration camps as a "harsh and strict measure. Hard labour that forges new values, a regulated lifestyle, an unprecedented cleanliness in accommodation and personal hygiene, sound food, strict but fair treatment, guidance to learn to work again and to acquire new craftsmen's

skills" (Wachsmann). Until June 1, 1942 (one month after Hambourg's letter was written), the mass killing of the Jewish population in these concentration camps was not made known to the public, The *Liberty Brigade* published an article of the gassing of tens of thousands of Jews at Chelmno- a Nazi-operated death camp in Poland (Onion et al., "News of Holocaust Death Camp Killings Becomes Public for First Time"). While Hambourg may have been unaware of the systemic killing that was taking place within the camps, it might have been a willful ignorance considering all the killing that was being reported outside the camps.

The way that Hambourg traverses multiple compositional-stylistic unities shows the mastery of a novelist rather than a letter writer. In most of her experiences, Hambourg consistently considers Koch's perspective or how he would react. She lavishly paints her everyday interactions and scenarios into little scenes that Koch can escape into. While Koch chooses to emphasize different components of her letters, Hambourg's full letters show how she creates pockets of escapism and safety for Koch. At a time when Koch's mobility is highly policed, Hambourg's letters offer him a temporary imaginative respite.

Conclusion:

The dialogic conversation that exists between Koch's memoir and his personal and family letters reveals a young man having to navigate the states of internee, refugee and prisoner of war. Identifying this navigation of different states of identity, in her article "Identity and War," Mary Kaldor, drawing on the work of Indian economist Amartya Sen, emphasizes the distinction between unidimensional or solitaristic identities and pluralities of human identity. "Unidimensional or solitaristic identities are likely to be associated with repressive hierarchical forms of order whereas a different set of open horizontal arrangements for ordering society are

made possible if we allow for multiple ways of identifying ourselves" (337). As can be seen through his memoir and through his letters, the state does not allow Koch to hold a plurality of identities. He must only exist within labels that are static and unmoving. "The key point about unidimensional identities is that they are uniquely defined in relation to other (usually one other) similar but threatening collective unidimensional identities. The Jew, in the quotation from Sartes, is defined in relation to the antisemite" (338). The labels that the government ascribes to Koch do exist on this binary of threat. Each label that the government forces Koch to embody operates in relation to another more threatening term. The terms internee, refugee and prisoner of war work in relation and in opposition to each other throughout Koch's internment.

In both his memoir and his letters, Koch questions his current identity state and the mobility associated with those changes of labels. Exploring post-internment options to relocate to the United States (New York and Cuba), return to England or remain in Canada, Koch and his family meticulously consider each potential pathway. In "Wars of Mobility," Nikos Papastergiadis, writes of kinetophobia (the fear of mobility) and how images of the nation as a body under threat are juxtaposed with images of the migrant or refugee as an enemy agent. "By describing the desire to have roots in one place as a fundamental human need, projecting mobility as the cause of moral disorder, and equating the places of mobility with non-places, social scientists have not entrenched a kinetophobic view towards migrants, but also underestimated the social value of mobility" (352). The way Koch's mobility is policed by the state while in internment camp reflects a perpetuation of these attitudes. While immigration officials want strong character references of Koch from Britain (evidence of "roots"), they simultaneously want undying pledges of allegiance. The connections that Papastergiadis makes in his article connect well with Salman Rushdie's comments on roots. Rushdie explains: "We

pretend that we are trees and speak of roots. Look under your feet. You will not find gnarled growths sprouting through the soles. Roots, I sometimes think, are a conservative myth, designed to keep us in our places" (qtd in Eigenbrod 21). As Rushdie's comments emphasize, the idea of roots are used by the state as a form of control. The problem with this worldview is that Koch is a transnational subject who does not easily fit into comfortable binaries.

In "Ghostly Politics," Jessica Auchter identifies the binary of politically qualified subjects and those beyond the limits of qualified politics.

> The lines between life and death itself sustain the project of statecraft by constructing the politically qualified subjects of the state: those defined as citizens, those in need of ordering and bordering, and those beyond the limits of qualified politics, those that Judith Butler might define as 'ungrievable lives', or Anna Agathangelou might refer to as the already 'ontologically dead'. (6)

The dichotomies that Auchter maps in the above passage is reflected in Koch's transnational internment experience. Being forced to move between the label of a "politically qualified subject" and "beyond the limits of qualified politics" takes a toll on his psyche. While Koch encounters a Canadian state that wants to be perceived as solid and in control, what is revealed is the state "always [is] in the process of being constructed." Koch is in flux struggling to be contained within state definitions and confines.

Koch straddles a boundary between the public and private especially through his letters, which is indicative of the genre of letter writing itself. As shown through the letter that causes the Immigration Office to question Koch's allegiance towards Canada, Koch has to realize that his words do not exist in a void (though he most certainly feels that way at times) but are constantly on display. In conjunction with the letters, the testimonials that are written on Koch's

behalf reveal conversations within conversations. The dialogic interaction in the letters are never just between the writer and the intended recipient, but between the writer, the intended recipient, censor and unintended recipients (if the letter is passed around to multiple family members). These complex and intersecting webs show the reverberations of the letters even before the production of archives and further readers. The letters that Hambourg and Koch's family and friends write to Koch offer both a finished and unfinished counterpoint to Koch's letters. The letters Koch exchanges with his sister Margo and brother-in-law Paul show complete correspondence threads. Since the letters Koch writes to Hambourg are lost, her letters act as an open-ended dialogic thread. Both dialogic arenas offer new perspectives and arenas of encounter from which to view Koch. Readers can see him from the perspective of son, brother, friend and arguably lover.

It is quite telling that Koch named his memoir *Otto & Daria: A Wartime Journey Through No Man's Land.* While "No Man's Land" is defined as "a piece of waste or unowned land; an uninhabited or desolate area," it is also defined as "an imaginary or intermediate place. In later use also: an indeterminate state, a state of confusion or uncertainty" ("No Man's Land, n."). The conversation that occurs between Koch's memoir and archives emphasizes the contradictions inherent in the definitions. Throughout his internment camp experience, Koch exists in a constant state of confusion and uncertainty. Always considering a pathway of release, Koch never has any indication which pathway will actually guarantee his survival. The constant negotiation and planning that takes place between Koch, Margo, Paul and the Immigration Board details an odious and time-consuming back and forth. Never completely writing in isolation, Koch's letters are always subject to more than one pair of eyes (especially in the internment

camp environment). Koch must negotiate how to write guardedly especially after his interrogation about his allegiance.

While having to negotiate the confusing and uncertain political arena, Koch also has to navigate his relationship with Hambourg. In this memoir, Koch frames the more romantic side of their relationship as being a symptom of *internitis*.[58] He continually casts aside any real feelings for her (maybe in an attempt to respect the relationship with his current wife). Whatever his motivations, when readers are introduced to the letters, a deeper connection between Hambourg and Koch presents itself. Hambourg's vibrancy and energy dominate her letter writing and provide moments of interrogation and escapism for Koch. Hambourg does exist in her own "No Man's Land" but while Koch is troubled with physical freedom, Hambourg is more concerned with existential issues. In a book talk about *Otto & Daria,* Koch says,

> We were both uprooted by the war. I was uprooted because my existence as a German Jew had been destroyed by the Nazis and she through the circumstances of wartime London was uprooted from her family and was adrift and we were both in no man's land and I arrived here safely but she remained adrift. (*Otto & Daria*)

Koch's comments are telling as his arrival in Canada was paired with internment. Koch makes an interesting connection between safety and internment and Hambourg's lack of safety and freedom. While they are both uprooted, Koch appears to become comfortably replanted whereas Hambourg appears displaced and in a state of mental turmoil. They both experienced immense

[58] In his memoir, Koch defines "Internitis" as becoming "impatient, irritable, depressed, and bored, experiencing a thoroughly unhealthy and unattractive combination of self-centeredness and sexual longing, accompanied by a vivid sensation of having lost touch with reality" (E. Koch 176–77).

loss through their respective wartime experiences. Koch lost time, mobility, and parts of his identity. Hambourg lost her youth, vibrancy, and her mind.

In the same book talk, Koch also responds to a question about where his letters to Hambourg are. He responds "You see a reflection of what I had written to her. She responds to me, she teases me [...] It is in that sense an exchange. A reader will find they will not miss my letters at all because they are reflected like in a mirror" (*Otto & Daria*). Koch's comments are interesting because in his memoir he manages the reflections he wants readers to see. By only inserting sections of Hambourg's letters into his memoir, he provides only a partial rather than a complete reflection. Only in the archives are readers able to see the complete versions of Hambourg's letters and to garner a clearer reflection of their relationship. The exchange that Koch points to between Hambourg and himself, while complete, also remains incomplete.

In summation, Koch's memoir and letters reveal a complex transnational experience and dialogic interaction. Calling into question the ways in which personal and public mobility is restricted by the state, Koch shows a resilience against seemingly insurmountable forces. With the strong support of his family and Hambourg, Koch proves how an identity is forced to be continually in flux, not just temporally but politically as well. Only through personal reconstruction is Koch able to secure his freedom from internment camp, causing readers to question the extent and power of state policies.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: Only the Beginning

Native survivance is an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion in history; survivance is the obvious continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable cultural name. Survivance stories are renunciations of state dominance, obstructions, and the unbearable sentiments of monotheism, tragedy, and victimry.

-Gerald Vizenor, *Native Liberty*

Through the dialogic conversation between archives and memoirs this dissertation explored the ways in which Edmund Metatawabin, Tom Sando and Eric (Otto) Koch survived and demanded presence in the face of state dominance. Their memoirs and corresponding archival fonds — Metatawabin's *Up Ghost River* and Anna Wesley's court transcript, Sando's *Wild Daisies in the Sand* and his Japanese diaries, and Koch's *Otto & Daria* with personal and familial letters — demonstrate a powerful resistance that pushes against labels of "tragedy" and "victimry." While their experiences should not be equated and should be recognized for their distinctive histories, themes of isolation, memory, intimacy, mobility and state echo between them. The memoirs and the archives show that their experiences, at times served in isolation, were not overcome alone. The conversations between the memoirs and the archives show a complex interdependent network of relationships that simultaneously spoke with, through, and at times, against the author's narratives. The relationships that the authors built both during and after their residential school and internment experiences show the immense power of establishing space and presence in the face of state erasure and absence. Their memoirs and archives are testaments which speak against historical silences, comfortable national narratives and offer a platform for those uncomfortable voicing their own stories.

In this dissertation, I have argued that Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas on dialogism developed in relation to the novel are transferable to describe the conversation that takes place between

memoirs and archives. The reason why this transfer between genres works well is because of the evident dialogism at work in these forms. While the novel is heavily stylized and combines direct authorial literary-artistic narration, various forms of oral everyday narration, semi literary narration (the letter, the diary), extra-artistic authorial speech (moral, philosophical statements) and individualized speech of characters, these same compositional-stylistic unities can be found between memoirs and archives. Memoirs, like novels, are highly constructed entities. The authors strategically choose what to include and exclude and how best to present their story.

Their direct authorial narrative forms the basis and structure of the memoir and Metatawabin's memoir *Up Ghost River*, for example, is populated with dialogue scenes that demonstrate oral everyday narration. Working in tandem with the court transcript, the transcript also demonstrates oral everyday language through the testimonies of the witnesses, extra authorial speech through the direct and cross examining and records the individualized speech patterns of the witnesses. Sando and Koch's memoirs combine direct authorial narration with semi-literary narration as their respective memoirs are structured in the form of diary entries or include excerpts from letters. Reading their memoirs in tandem with their archival diaries and letters highlighted unedited forms of oral everyday narration and individualized speech. While the novel may contain all of these elements of discourse at once, the memoir and archives bring all these elements together to provoke a conversation about the unbridled power of the state on identity, memory, access, and belonging.

Bakhtin writes,

> What is realized in the novel is the process of coming to know one's own language as it is perceived in someone else's language, coming to know one's own horizon within someone else's horizon. There takes place within the novel an ideological translation of

> another's language and an overcoming of its otherness-an otherness that is only contingent, external, illusory. (*The Dialogic Imagination* 365)

I argue that this dissertation has proven that in the meeting of memoirs and archives there has been a continuous "coming to know one's own horizon within someone else's horizon." This "coming to know" does not just exist between author and reader, but exists between the younger and older versions of the author's life, as well as between the support networks in a person's life and between the author and society. Through Metatawabin's court transcript readers are allowed to see a multitude of other horizons through the survivors. Through Sando's archives, readers are forced to see the cost of familial and nationalistic obligation. Through Koch's archives, readers are able to meet Hambourg and Koch's family. While I have only listed some examples of the dialogic threads at play, the full amount is numerous and unending. The power of the rejoinder and of future rejoinders cannot be overstressed as only through continuous dialogic conversation can learning take place.

The dialogic framework of citizenship, counter narratives, code-switching and/or composition provides a beginning point for conversation rather than a definitive conclusion. To review, dialogic citizenship operates based on continuous oscillations of inclusion and exclusion between forms. The term engages with the ways in which the authors grapple with their identity both inside and outside political formulations of the nation-state. Dialogic counternarratives are narratives that exist in just one form or the other. These narratives present an alternative viewpoint or experience. Dialogic code-switching highlights the linguistic oscillations that happen *between* works.

Out of all three prongs of the framework, "dialogic citizenship" was the most contentious term especially when used in Metatawabin's chapter. As explored in that chapter, the

use of this term is not meant to endorse the state or serve as a "buy-in" to state prefigured conceptions of citizenship. Rather, this term applied in that context, embodies those tensions as a beginning point for conversation. As the sections of dialogic citizenship revealed, the state exerts immense power over how individuals are allowed to communicate, interact and move within the political and geographical confines of the state. In the court transcript, in chapter one, the questioning of child and adult perspectives from the Crown and the defence only allowed the witnesses to engage in highly scripted ways. Through the questions positioned "from your perspective of a child" and "from your perspective of an adult", notions of perspective, temporality and memory were routinely at work within direct and cross examination. The defence ruthlessly targeted minute deviations or changes in memory and questioned the witnesses' testimonies for validity. In chapter two, Sando's Japanese diaries show an unquestioning loyalty to Japan in the face of Canadian state betrayal. His positioning throughout his letters and participation in oaths and Japanese nationalistic songs, show the power of state control transnationally. This is contrasted with his memoir which expresses his pride and loyalty in being a Canadian citizen. The ideological contrast between the diaries and the memoir show naturally how one's beliefs can change over time, not just personally but politically as well. Koch's family letters show a navigation through a pluralistic identity: German born, Jewish, British student, Canadian refugee, internee and prisoner of war. The ways in which the state endorses some aspects of his identity and rejects others shows the impossibility of being neatly included within national containers and narratives. The state forced Koch to emphasize and suppress facets of his identity throughout his internment experience. Exploring different routes for release, Koch had to navigate how the labels the state had given him restricted or could potentially enforce his mobility.

As the sections on dialogic citizenship emphasize, the authors all show a confrontation with the *politics of recognition*. In "The Politics of Recognition," Charles Taylor connects how identity is partly shaped by the recognition or often by its misrecognition of others. When this misrecognition occurs, a person or a group of people can suffer damage if society reflects back that demeaning or contemptible picture. Taylor's article immediately evokes connections to Smaro Kamboureli's ideas of sedative politics and multiculturalism. As she explains in reference to heritage performances, "Heritage shows make visible the point where the ethnic subject's misrecognition with the law coincides with his misrecognition of himself" (Kamboureli 111). Taylor and Kamboureli both point to the ways in which the state suppresses and contains identity, which the case studies of all three authors show. While their experiences are distinctive and should not be equated, the state in all three instances attempted to construct a limited and distinct identity mould that did not allow for difference. Even looking at the legal documentation of the Indian Act, War Measures Act and Immigration Act, the definitions for "Indian," "enemy alien" and "refugee" were written in highly racialized and discriminatory language. These terms did not allow for personal or national mobility and in conjunction with a society that was reinforcing the terms, naturally had a negative effect on the authors perception of themselves. The force of these terms is also demonstrated by how long the authors had to deconstruct and distance themselves from the racialized and discriminatory internal connotations that those terms carried.

Glen Sean Coulthard responds to Taylor's comments and proposes an alternative politics of recognition in relation to Indigenous peoples.

> What our present condition does demand, however, is that we begin to approach our engagements with the settler-state legal apparatus with a degree of critical self-reflection,

> skepticism, and caution that has to date been largely absent in our efforts. It also demands that we begin to shift our attention away from the largely rights based/recognition orientation that has emerged as hegemonic over the last four decades, to a resurgent politics of recognition that seeks to practice decolonial, gender emancipatory, and economically nonexploitative alternative structures of law and sovereign authority grounded on a critical refashioning of the best of Indigenous political traditions. It is only by privileging and grounding ourselves in these normative lifeways and resurgent practices that we have a hope of surviving our strategic engagements with the colonial state with integrity as Indigenous peoples. (179) [59]

Specifically in reference to Metatawabin, the court transcript demonstrates the ways in which Indigenous resurgent practices are not being considered by the colonial state. Metatawabin does not interact with the state in order to be accepted or endorsed by it, he interacts with the state in order to ensure that the survivors are heard by the individuals who hurt them. The way in which the courtroom heavily polices the use of Cree and translated witness statements reveals an oppressive structure that does not endorse integrity of Indigenous peoples. The witness statements break the silence that the state imposed on them not only during residential school but after residential school as well. Coulthard's comments reveal the extent of work that remains to be done in the restructuring of institutional structures to be more inclusive and represent Indigenous communities.

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[59] Coulthard endorses forms of Indigenous resistance such as blockading because they are a way to physically say no to the degradation of Indigenous communities. In his eyes, these actions are an affirmative gesture of Indigenous resurgence and serve as a way to dismantle a capitalistic society bent on the exploitation of the land and its resources.

As the section on dialogic counternarratives revealed, the alternative perspectives and stories shared broadened and at times, challenged the stories that the authors presented. These narratives force readers to consider and contemplate different facets of the same story and be pushed to see a story from multiple points of view. At the same time, these counternarratives show how individuals are forced to protect themselves and others from societal stigmas. Metatawabin's chapter revealed the perspective of a perpetrator, Anna Wesley. Even though her voice comes through the performative nature of the courtroom, her voice and perspective is still given a platform to be heard and represented. In the memoir, Metatawabin presents his personal perspective and experience with her; seeing Anna Wesley in a courtroom environment reveals a more deconstructed identity. Her voiced defences for her actions show her worldview (especially how she framed herself in familial terms) and the ways in which she did not just impact Metatawabin but other survivors too. Instead of showing another's person's perspective, Sando's chapter reveals how an individual can occupy different ideological positions at different temporal moments in his life. In the diaries (written in the 1940s) Sando reveals his nationalistic loyalty to Japan and his renouncement of Canadian citizenship. This information is only revealed through the diaries and not through the memoir. Furthermore, Sando's exploration of his sexuality with other men (known only through acronyms) in the camp can only be read about through his diaries. Both of these facets of Sando's identity are notedly left out of Sando's memoir. Finally, Koch's chapter, which explores his relationship with Hambourg and his family reveals the interconnectedness of personal relationships and political motivations. Koch's relationship with Hambourg reveals an oscillation of philosophical and political musings, and platonic and romantic support. Seeing Koch through the eyes of Hambourg and his family shows sides of Koch that are not strategically framed by Koch in his memoir.

The section on dialogic counternarrative shows the importance of the dialogic interaction for a rejoinder. In *Dancing On Our Turtle's Back,* Leanne Simpson writes:

> My ancestors resisted and survived what must have seemed like an apocalyptic reality of occupation and subjugation in a context where they had few choices. They resisted by simply surviving and being alive. They resisted by holding onto their stories. They resisted by taking the seeds of our culture and political systems and packing them away, so that one day another generation of Michi Saagiig Nishnaaneg might be able to plant them. (15)

For Simpson, part of resistance included "holding onto their stories." Simpson's claims about narratives are firmly rooted in the context of Indigenous genocide. Explicitly recognizing that all three events cannot and should not be equated, a key connection that can be taken from Simpson is the synergy of sharing stories. Metatawabin, Sando, and Koch do not "simply survive" but take on the state in both subtle and explicit ways. In particular, Metatawabin served as a catalyst and platform for victims of St. Anne's Residential School to share their stories in a safe space at the Keykawin conference and later at the trial of Anna Wesley. For Sando and Koch, the simple act of sharing their memoirs in a public forum allowed others a space of identification, especially if they underwent a similar experience.

The sections on dialogic code-switching show the power imbalances contained within language and the ways in which language functions as a method of connection but also of isolation. In Metatawabin's chapter the memoir demonstrates how Cree serves as a method of connection between the boys and between Metatawabin and Mike (his abuser). In contrast, the court transcript shows how Cree was heavily policed in the courtroom through the survivor's statements and through their testimony. The way situations of untranslatability were handled did

not show an institutional structure willing to accommodate for cultural difference. Sando's memoir provides a moment of entry and engagement for readers with the addition of the Japanese-English glossary, Sando does challenge the reader to look up what certain Japanese national songs mean. In his diaries, which were completely in Japanese and which I had translated, the nationalistic songs and the introduction of the Oath of the Foreign Brethren carry a deeper connection within Sando's expressions of Japanese loyalty and commitment. Since the diaries had never been translated into English, the diary would be limited to those who understood Japanese.

In dialogic composition, most evidently shown in the third chapter, Hambourg's letters create moments of escapism and safety for Koch. Her theatricality creates spaces where Koch can exert imaginative mobility even though his physical mobility is restricted. The way that Hambourg infuses her letters with a mixture rhetorical questioning, dialogue and narration shows the power and intimacy of dialogic composition. Hambourg weaves between compositional-stylistic unities with such ease that her letters could be mistaken as an excerpt from a novel. Through her letters, Hambourg acts as a friend, confidante, lover, and storyteller. The amount of attention and animation that Hambourg pays to her environment and how she tries to see the world through Koch's eyes, reveals a co-dependent relationship. Koch relies on Hambourg for moments of escape, and Hambourg relies on Koch for moments of validation and solidarity.

Taylor illuminates how "the crucial feature of human life is its fundamentally *dialogical* character. We become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression" (32). This "dialogical character" that Taylor points to can be seen in the intricacies of connection evident in both the memoirs and the archives. Through these two forms, readers can see how the authors

define their identity not just through their relationships with others but also through language. The ways in which Metatawabin, Sando and Koch utilize Cree, Japanese, and German provide a rich entryway for emphasizing historical context, power imbalances and cultural connection. The way that Metatawabin uses Cree in the memoir contrasts with the way that the use of Cree is controlled in the courtroom. Both examples serve to allude to the history of residential schools and hold cultural inclusion with institutional exclusion. Similarly, the way that Sando expresses himself in his Japanese diaries contrasts with the single word and phrase code-switching that he employs within the memoir. Sando's fluctuations with and through language show his oscillations with national loyalty over the course of his life. Koch's use of German (and at times French) in his memoir and letters, emphasize a pre-war atmosphere of containment and enclosure exerted by the German authorities.

The authors in this dissertation demand presence: politically, temporally, socially and personally. Geraldine Pratt and Diana Taylor present this idea of "the politics of presence" that reflects the motives and motivations of the authors in this study. Pratt defines the politics of presence as "the grounds for finding a speaking position and the possibilities for speaking across differences" (241). Taylor uses the term to describe

> an act, a word, and an attitude, ¡presente! can be understood as a war cry in the face of nullification; an act of solidarity as in responding, showing up, and standing with; a commitment to witnessing; a joyous accompaniment; present among, with and to, walking and talking with others [...] an ongoing *becoming* as opposed to a static *being,* as participatory and relational, founded on mutual recognition. (4)

Both Pratt and Taylor's definitions draw on important but distinct facets that Metatawabin, Sando and Koch utilize within their memoirs. Additionally, the definitions also point to the ways

in which readers can respond to the dialogic space in between memoirs and archives. All three authors utilize their memoir to find and craft their speaking position. Each process being conducted at different temporal moments in the author's life speaks directly to an audience familiar and unfamiliar with the history of Residential schools and the histories of Japanese Canadian and Jewish Canadian internment. All the authors communicate their experiences in a way to speak to diverse audiences and offer concrete entryways for interaction. At the end of his memoir Metatawabin lists actions that readers can take to support Indigenous communities and initiatives, Sando provides a glossary of Japanese to English words and Koch engages in intermittent translation when he code-switches between English and German throughout his memoir. At the same time, they also communicate perspectives and voices that would commonly be ignored or overlooked. In the court transcript, Anna Wesley, albeit in a highly performative and institutional space, gets a platform to voice her story and opinion on what transpired at St. Anne's. In Sando's diaries, the renouncement of his Canadian citizenship and the exploration of homosexual feelings provided a platform for historical conversation. Koch's family letters and Hambourg's letters reveal the intricacies of familial and more personal connection. Koch's connection with Hambourg, allowed readers to see how integral she was in his life and the vibrancy and passion that she brought to the people around her.

The broad definition that Taylor provides of "the politics of presence" speaks on one level to the individuals that the authors support and on another level to responses garnered from readers. Looking at the interaction between memoirs and archives, readers can see directly how the authors support their personal and social networks. In both the memoir and the court transcript, Metatawabin responds, shows up, and stands with the people within his community. He creates a space of continuous presence for the survivors of St. Anne's and walks with them

every step of the way in both cultural and institutional settings. In his memoir and diaries, Sando demonstrates a constant consideration of familial and nationalistic obligation especially at the end of the war. While the memoir and diaries show an oscillation between what nation he supports, Sando does demonstrate acts of solidarity and allegiance towards the nations he believes in. In his memoir and letters, Koch demonstrates a sensitivity and deep interconnectedness to family. All of his potential release plans out of internment camp are supported and facilitated by his sister Margo and Paul and his mother. Koch never acts entirely alone and has a strong support network existing beyond the camp. Additionally, all the authors in this study through the memoirs and the archives show an "ongoing becoming," which is reflective of the core tenants of the dialogic framework employed throughout this dissertation. Metatawabin documents his healing process through both Western and Indigenous methods after his residential school experience. Explaining the ways in which he both succeeds and fails in his journey allows his experience to connect with multiple perspectives. The amount of transparency that he provides allows readers to trust and connect with him on a deeper level. Sando shows how ideological views such as a renouncement of Canadian citizenship can drastically change from being a prisoner of war to being a grandfather. Koch's experience shows how a transnational identity is forced to change and the effects that those changes have in response to family and friends.

Next Steps

I will end this dissertation with a reassertion of the importance of attending to the dialogic conversations between archives and memoirs. As Bakhtin has demonstrated, power lies in rejoinder and response. Taking into account global contexts such as the war between Russia

and Ukraine, the caging of illegal immigrants at the U.S.A and Mexico border and the intake of international refugees into Canada, discussions about borders, mobility, state, citizenship, nation and memory are more than needed. As Anderson, Wertsch and Bevernage have shown, there is much to be understood from the construction and subsequent deconstruction of national narratives. Only through a close attention to both sides of the dialogic conversation are we able to construct, critically analyze and unsettle preconceived notions and biases.

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