UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-EAU CLAIRE

THE UNTOLD STORY OF CAMP MCCOY: JAPANESE PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE HEART OF WISCONSIN DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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BY

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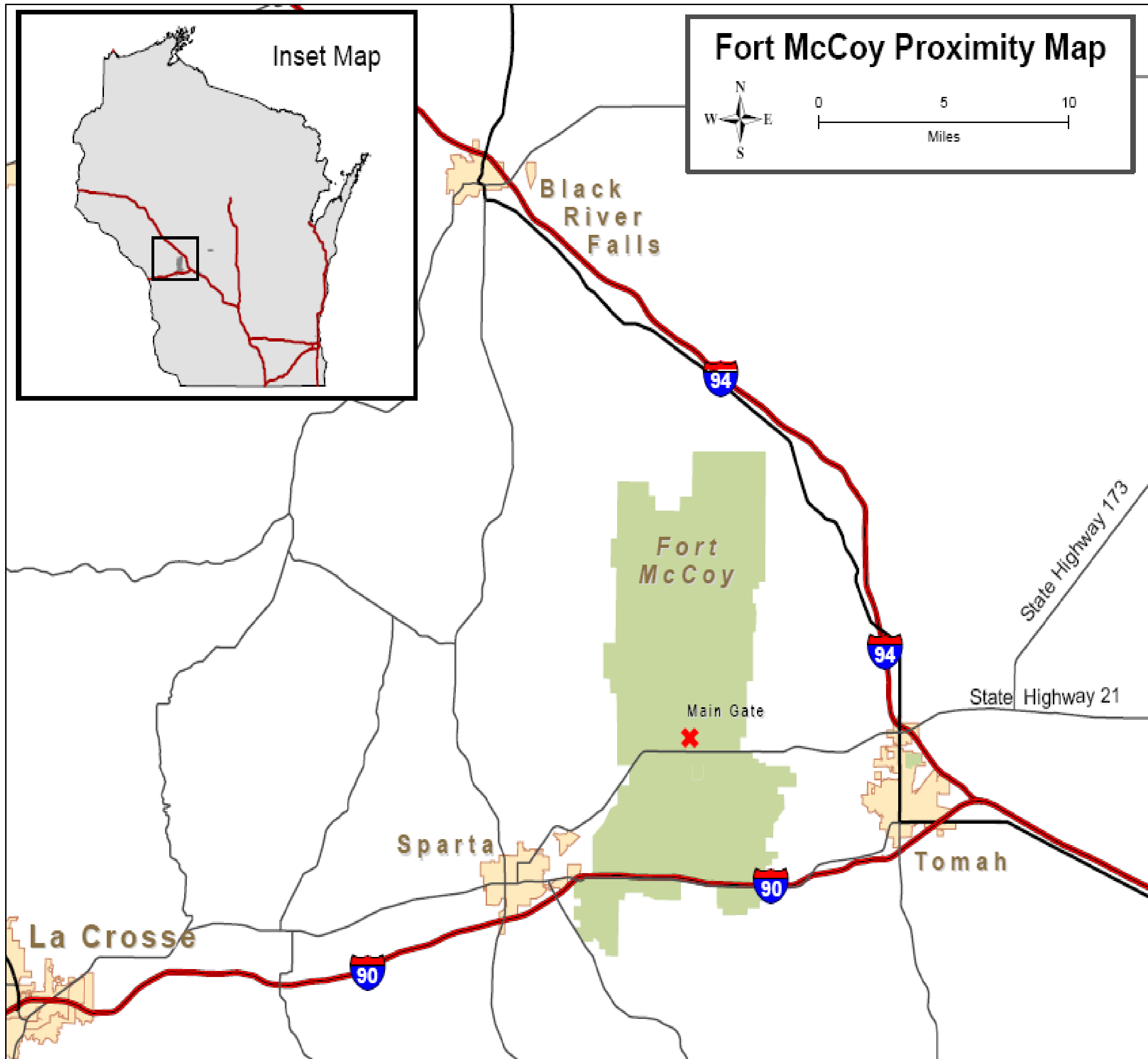

Figure 1. Current map of Fort McCoy.[1]

[1] Wisconsin Emergency Management. "Fort McCoy Proximity Map." http://emergencymanagement.wi.gov/docview.asp?docid=5403 [accessed April 27, 2010].

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ABSTRACT

Located in the heart of Wisconsin between Tomah and Sparta, Camp McCoy was the prisoner of war base camp for the entire state of Wisconsin during the Second World War. McCoy headed a series of branch camps throughout the state and as such, it housed the greatest number of enemy prisoners of war. The most numerous POWs interned at Camp McCoy over the course of the Second World War were Germans. It would seem, through talking to Wisconsin residents, that their knowledge of the Camp McCoy prisoner of war population ended there.

It would then seem many forgot the United States was fighting a two front war.

Although Camp McCoy is well known for its German POW population, little is known about the Japanese prisoner of war population imprisoned there. It is the goal of this research paper to shed some light on the experience of Japanese POWs at Camp McCoy during the Second World War. The lives of Japanese prisoners are traced through the use of some secondary resources coupled with abundant primary resources. This paper examines the day-to-day life of the Japanese prisoners at McCoy, the labor they provided, their thoughts on suicide and escape, and their transition back to Japan after the end of the Second World War.

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Prologue

On the morning of December 7, 1941, five Japanese midget-class submarines cut through the warm waters of the Pacific Ocean. Their final destination was the American naval base at Pearl Harbor. It was the hope of the IJN that these submarines, armed with two torpedoes each, would slip past Oahu's defensive perimeter and wreak havoc on the unsuspecting American Fleet stationed at Pearl. The submarines, and those piloting them, were to be the first wave of attack against Pearl Harbor on a day that would live in infamy.

Prior to disembarking on their mission to Pearl Harbor, the submarines were carried aboard Japanese aircraft carriers. The commanders of the Imperial Japanese Navy intended the submarines to carry out their mission in one of three special ways: (1) to attack the enemy's largest ship at the very first moment of encounter with an enemy fleet. This was to be a sudden and surprise attack, (2) to attack, similarly, a large enemy ship by secretly entering a harbor or naval base of the enemy, and (3) to be used as a "trump card" as occasion might arise.[2] With the warships stationed at Pearl Harbor shattered, the IJN would be the unopposed naval power in the Pacific.

Along with Petty Officer Kiyoshi Inagaki, Ensign Kazou Sakamaki captained one of the five subs. Both men knew the mission was nearly suicide.[3] The midget submarines had been rushed into production by the IJN for the attack on Pearl Harbor and remained largely untested in battle. As such, the submarines suffered many problems, of which Sakamaki was not immune.

Before reaching the outskirts of Oahu's outer defense, Sakamaki's compass failed. This forced Sakamaki to surface in order to navigate by the tiny vessel's periscope. As the periscope

[2] Kazuo Sakamaki, *I Attacked Pearl Harbor*, (New York: The Association Press, 1949), 31.

[3] Bill Roche, "Of War, Madness, - and Honor: A Tale of Fort McCoy and POW #1," *The Fort McCoy Triad*, December 2, 1988.

sliced through the water, it was spotted by a U.S. warship patrolling off the coast of Oahu. The crew aboard the cruiser immediately sprung into action and began to depth charge the seventy-eight foot long submarine.

Following a crippling blow to one the submarine's battery cells, Sakamaki lost control of the helm and drifted out to sea. At this point, Sakamaki deemed the mission a failure and opted to scuttle the craft with a time-delayed bomb. After lighting the explosive, Sakamaki and his fellow crewmember dove into the sea, fully expecting to die.[4]

Unfortunately for Sakamaki, like the submarine, the bomb did not work either. Eventually, Sakamaki passed out from exhaustion and was swept away from the craft and fellow crewman Inagaki. When he awoke, he discovered himself washed up on a beach, but he was not alone. To his surprise, Sakamaki found himself looking down the barrel of a rifle wielded by a uniformed American soldier. Ensign Kazou Sakamaki was the first official prisoner of war taken by the United States after their entry into the Second World War.

Figure 2. Ensign of the Imperial Japanese Navy, Kazou Sakamaki, 1942.[5]

[4] Roche Article, 1988.

[5] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

Following his capture, Sakamaki was transported to a temporary holding facility on Sand Island, a small prison in the bay of Honolulu. He remained there in a self-described ten foot by ten-foot "birdcage" for nearly two and a half months. Sakamaki thought constantly of suicide, as it was considered more honorable than capture by the enemy.[6]

Sakamaki remained on Sand Island until his transfer to California for interrogation on February 29, 1942.[7] After a brief period on Angel Island, California, Sakamaki boarded a train bound for a prisoner of war camp somewhere in the United States, though he did not know where. After a grueling train ride, Sakamaki disembarked and found himself in a cold, unwelcoming environment. After asking his American captors where he was, Sakamaki discovered he was imprisoned at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin and there he would remain, alone, until he was joined by other Japanese prisoners almost five months later.[8]

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[6] Sakamaki, *I Attacked Pearl Harbor*, 49.

[7] Arnold Krammer, "Japanese Prisoners of War in America," *Pacific Historical Review 52, no.1.* (1983): 67-91.

[8] Ibid.

The Beginning of Camp McCoy as a Prisoner of War Camp

In 1909, two separate military camps located near Sparta, Wisconsin served as training facilities for the Regular Army and the Wisconsin National Guard. Camp Emory Upton served as a maneuver base for infantry soldiers, while Camp Robinson operated as an artillery camp.[9] Although the camps were only separated by a set of St. Paul railroad tracks, they were considered completely separate.

In 1926, the camps combined into one military post and renamed Camp McCoy. Although the name of the post had changed, its mission remained the same: train soldiers for combat. With the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s and the creation of organization such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the camp expanded rapidly. The WPA constructed a series of new roads throughout the post, making the transport of troops and artillery pieces considerably easier. In 1933, the state government of Wisconsin established Camp McCoy as the state headquarters of the CCC.[10] As such, the CCC constructed a series of new barracks and buildings all over post. From its humble beginnings in 1909, Camp McCoy had grown to be the largest military camp in the state of Wisconsin by the mid-1930s.

With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, training activities at Camp McCoy increased exponentially despite the fact the United States had not officially entered the war. In early 1942, the camp received a new mission from the War Department. In addition to acting as a military training facility, Camp McCoy would function as a detainment camp for what were considered "dangerous civilian enemy aliens". Newly assigned Camp Commandant, Lieutenant

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[9] "A Chronicle of Our Past:1909-1999", *The Fort McCoy Triad*, January 1, 1999.

[10] Ibid.

Colonel Fred M. Distelhorst, assured the Sparta Herald in January of 1942 that he didn't believe any dangerous persons would be held at Camp McCoy, although he alluded that captured enemy military personnel may be detained at McCoy.[11]

Camp McCoy's existance as an alien internment camp was short lived. With the arrival of Ensign Kazou Sakamaki of the IJN on March 9, 1942, Camp McCoy's mission was once again altered. Japanese internees were slowly removed from the camp and transferred to other internment camps throughout the United States as Camp McCoy became a prisoner of war camp. Sakamaki was the first of many prisoners of war, both Japanese and German, to be detained at Camp McCoy. By the end of the war, Camp McCoy was the largest permanent Japanese prisoner of war camp in the United States.

CAMP	Service Command	Officers	NCO	Enlisted	Total
Angel Island, California	9	24	71	312	407
Clarinda, Iowa	7	0	73	982	1,055
McCoy, Wisconsin	6	3	10	2,749	2,762
Meade, Maryland	3	1	0	1	2
Kennedy, Texas	8	3	499	0	590

Figure 3. Japanese POW numbers at POW camps throughout the United States at the end of the Second World War.[12]

Although Camp McCoy was undoubtedly the largest Japanese POWcamp in the U.S., the number of Japanese prisoners remained relatively low compared to the quantity of German prisoners at the camp.

During major battles in the Pacific Theater, thousands of Japanese soldiers were killed while only handfuls were captured. For instance, during the campaign for Burma, a mere 142

[11] Heather L. Spencer, *Fort McCoy Archaeoloical Resource Management Series: Reports of Investigation No. 5* (Fort McCoy, Wisconsin, 1996).

[12] "Semi-Monthly Report on Prisoner of War as of 1 August 1945," PMGO, "Prisoner of War Operations," Tab 116.

Japanese soldiers were captured by Allied forces compared to 17,466.[13] The fierce way in which the Japanese conducted themselves on the battlefield coupled the belief that capture brought about binding shame and dishonor easily accounted for the low numbers of Japanese POWs in American POW camps.

For those Japanese who were captured in the Pacific Theater, the journey to POW in the United States, such as Camp McCoy, was long and sometimes arduous. In the early stages of the war, the majority of Japanese prisoners taken by the Allies were either injured or unconscious when they were captured. Injured prisoners were transported to the United States aboard medical ships where they received health care to aid them in the process of recovery. Although they were wounded, these prisoners were kept under constant guard to ensure they could not cause damage to themselves or to the ship's crew. Able bodied prisoners were simply transported aboard Allied ships bound for the United States.

Upon reaching the U.S., prisoners were consolidated at Angel Island, California. Japanese prisoners considered of special importance were immediately separated from other prisoners for questioning. After interrogation by Army officials, these prisoners rejoined their captured comrades. Prisoners remained on Angel Island, which had been designated by the War Department as the entry point for all Japanese prisoners entering the United States from the Pacific, until all injured prisoners had healed and interrogations were completed. From Angel Island, prisoners were transferred to POW camps throughout the United States by train, with many going to Camp McCoy.

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[13] Krammer Article. 1983.

Illustration 4. Japanese POWs board a train in California in order to begin their long journey to their new home at the prisoner of war camp at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin.[14]

Upon their arrival at Camp McCoy, prisoners found themselves assigned to one of the two compounds designated as Japanese prisoner camps. In all, Camp McCoy consisted of five different POW compounds, two being assigned to the Japanese, another two designated for German prisoners, and the last facility allocated as a Korean prison camp. At the beginning of its assignment as a POW camp, Camp McCoy's detainment center consisted of only 35 buildings.[15] However, as the war continued and the number of Axis POWs increased, McCoy's POW camp expanded accordingly.

Of the many enhancements necessary for Camp McCoy to become a fully functional POW, prisoner security was one of the first. A double barbed wire fence secured the areas surrounding each POW compound. To deter possible digging escapes, an underground concrete barrier was constructed ten feet beyond the outer fence extending around the perimeter of each

[14] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

[15] Information courtesy of Fort McCoy Historical Center, March 2010.

compound.[16] There were 7 guard towers equipped with machine guns and high power spotlights that were constructed around the borders of the individual holding facilities.

Manning these towers were soldiers of the 667th Military Police Escort Guard Company. Military Police (MP) personnel of the 667th were specially trained to act as guards for enemy POWs, although they were never intended for use in the United States. [17] While guarding the camp, sentries challenged the POWs three times before opening fire if a prisoner approached the fence. A tribute to the effectiveness of this process, no prisoners of any nationality were shot during Camp McCoy's time as a POW camp.

Attached to the 667th Guard Company was a small contingent of twelve war dogs. These animals proved invaluable assets in guarding the prisoners. Although the dogs were never used to attack prisoners, Japanese and German prisoners alike came to fear and respect them. This proved particularly useful when the MPs were assigned to guard the prisoners who worked clearing brush outside the Camp McCoy perimeter as there were not enough MPs to keep watch over each prisoner.[18]

In early 1942, Camp McCoy was only able to house a total of one-hundred prisoners and internees.[19] Improvements to the camp were quickly made to accommodate for the increasing number of incoming prisoners. Mess halls and kitchens formally used by the CCC were renovated for use by the prisoners. Other buildings constructed by the CCC in 1935 were converted over to prisoner barracks. From its beginning as a POW, able to sustain a mere one-

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[16] Spencer, Archaeological Resource Management, 10.

[17] General Bryan, *Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 8 September 1943).

[18] Ibid

[19] George Glover Lewis, Lt. Col., and Capt. John Menwha. *History of Prisoner of War Utilization by the United States Army 1777-1945.* Washington D.C.: American Forces Information, Service, 1987.

hundred prisoners in 1942, Camp McCoy rapidly expanded to accommodate the needs of thousands of enemy prisoners of war by mid 1943.

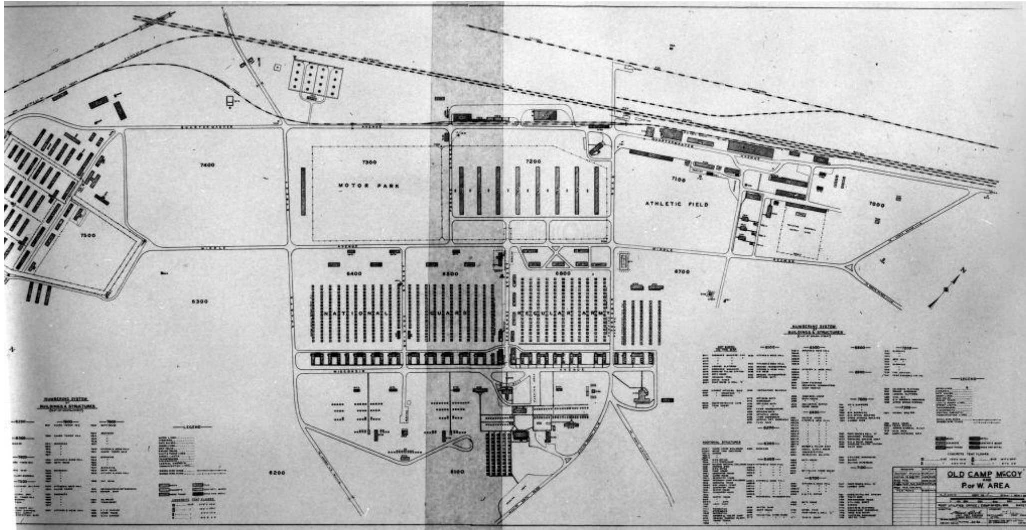

Figure 5. A map of the POW camp at Camp McCoy. While, Japanese, German and Korean prisoners were housed in different compounds, their compounds were located within half a mile of one another.[20]

Figure 6. A hand drawn picture of what the Main Gate at Camp McCoy looked like in 1943. Picture was drawn by a German POW detained at Camp McCoy during the Second World War.[21]

[20] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

[21] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

Prisoner Housing

Within Camp McCoy, there were five different prisoner of war compounds. Compounds 1 and 2 housed Japanese POWs, while the Germans resided in Compounds 3 and 4, and the Korean prisoners inhabited Compound 5. Each POW compound consisted of two rows of barracks, which had been constructed by the CCC. Each prisoner barrack contained 50 Army-style bunk beds. Barracks featured communal shower rooms and latrines with little to no privacy. An additional barrack within each compound served as a mess hall, while another functioned as a day room fitted with furniture, recreational games, and a small library.[22]

Figure 7. A hand drawn picture of what the barracks at Camp McCoy looked like in 1943. Picture was drawn by a German POW detained at Camp McCoy during World War Two.[23]

[22] Kramer Article. 1983.

[23] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

Upon the arrival of the first Japanese officers, separate barracks were constructed for the officers as required by the Geneva Convention. The officer barracks were far better than those of the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers (NCOs). For instance, each officer had his own room with a private footlocker for small personal belongings and a rack on which he could hang his uniforms. Additionally, amenities in officer barracks were superior to those offered to the NCOs, as each barrack was outfitted with private showers, washbasins, and private latrines.[24]

In addition to living separately, officers ate their food separately from the NCOs and enlisted men. Although they dined independently, officers were fed the same food as their fellow Japanese soldiers. Food was prepared in a Japanese manner, with steamed rice being served at least once per day. Prisoners were also provided soy sauce with all their meals. With the assistance of the International Red Cross, one of the many organizations which frequently inspected Camp McCoy, Japanese prisoners were supplied with chopsticks to replace forks and knives.[25] Appointed Camp Commandant in 1943, Lieutenant Colonel (LTC) Horace I. Rogers allowed prisoners to construct several garden plots so they would had access to fresh vegetables.[26] These gardens served a dual purpose; they provided the POWs with healthy food in addition to giving them an activity to pass their time.

To facilitate healthy prisoners, sick call was held daily. If a prisoner was feeling ill or had injured himself, prisoners had access to the post hospital. Army doctors treated prisoner's common illnesses in addition to more severe medical cases, though sick soldiers were more numerous amongst the German prisoners than the Japanese prisoners. Each prisoner compound

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[24] A. Cardinaux, *Camp McCoy* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 25 October 1944).

[25] Paul Schnyder, representing the International Red Cross, *Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 18-19 September 1945).

[26] Cardinaux Report. 23 October 1944.

also featured a dispensary, capable of providing for the prescription needs of the prisoners. If necessary, prisoners also had full access to the camp dentist. All reports filed after inspections described prisoners as physically and dentally healthy.

On top of providing for the physical well being of the prisoners, LTC Rogers allowed prisoners of all nationalities and faiths to continue their religious practices. Rogers allowed Japanese POWs to convert a run-down Christian chapel on post into a place of Japanese worship. Though there was no documented Buddhist priest amongst the prisoners, Buddhist ceremonies were routinely performed, with religious rituals carried out each morning. In order to carry out official Buddhist ceremonies, prisoners requested incense through the YMCA, which was quickly afforded to them.

With the help of the YMCA and other prisoner friendly organizations who frequented Camp McCoy, Japanese POWs were able to live comfortably and in good health. LTC Rogers constantly ensured the needs of his charges were being met and that the living conditions of the prisoners was kept well above standard. In addition to aiding LTC Rogers with providing the best care he could for the POWs, the YMCA and other organizations assisted Camp McCoy and Commandant Rogers with supplying recreational pursuits to the prisoners.

Recreation

According to a large number of reports given over the course of Camp McCoy's time as a POW camp, McCoy offered the most recreational opportunities to the prisoners out of any of the Japanese POW camps nationwide. Prisoners had free access to numerous types of athletic equipment, arts and crafts materials, and reading matter. Though many of the Japanese prisoners refused to involve themselves with camp activities after their initial arrival, boredom soon got the better of them, after which they actively engaged themselves in the plethora of activities offered to them by LTC Rogers and his fellow camp administrators, which were not required by the Geneva Convention.

Figure 8. Japanese prisoners enjoy some daily free time. Overall, Japanese POWs remained in good spirits during their detainment at Camp McCoy.[27]

One of the first activities undertaken by the Japanese prisoners was the construction of a stage in each Japanese POW compound. The initial intent of the stages were so the Japanese could give presentations, but their purpose rapidly expanded. Prisoners held concerts almost

[27] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

monthly, with the orchestra at times playing music written by the Japanese POWs. The YMCA, Red Cross, and other organizations provided the numerous instruments used in the concerts to the prisoners. Amongst other things, the stages were used to host poetry competitions between the Japanese prisoners. However, as time passed the main purpose of the stages shifted from music and poetry to theater.

Theater thrived in the Japanese prisoner population. After initially requesting permission to perform traditional Japanese plays from LTC Rogers, the prisoners were met with one stipulation; LTC Roger requested that he be allowed to attend the performances. And so it was. The Japanese produced as many as three productions per month, with LTC Rogers attending as many performances as he could. Scenery and costumes for the productions were handmade by the prisoners with supplies purchased at the canteen.[28] Plays included Japanese tragedies, dramas, comedies, and occasionally, mythic tales. Theater remained a favorite pastime of the Japanese prisoners through the end of the war and until their release.

Aside from theater, the Japanese expressed their creativeness through arts and crafts. Prisoners were noted in many reports to have taken an interest in toy making.[29] As they were not permitted tools for woodcutting, the Japanese prisoners fashioned the toys out of cigarette paper and rice water, which acted as an adhesive. In addition to making toys out of paper, the Japanese also constructed paper flowers from toilet tissue. These flowers were used to decorate the tables in the prisoner mess halls and sometimes even the camp administrator's mess hall.

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[28] Canada. National Council of Women of Canada. *Report on Camp McCoy: Prisoner of War Camp*. September 13, 1944.

[29] Howard V. Hong, *Visit to Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 6 June 1945).
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Water painting was also exceptionally popular among the Japanese prisoner population. In many instances, the Japanese POWs had been taught painting skills during their education in Japan. Painting offered prisoners a quiet activity in which they could escape from the sometimes noisy world of the Japanese prisoner compounds. Chinese and Indian ink, bamboo brushes, and tempera paint were left with the prisoners through the YMCA, which they greatly appreciated[30]

Another donation made to the prisoners by the YMCA was that of traditional Japanese Mah Jong games. Along with several ping pong table, checkers and chess boards, and a full sized pool table, the prisoners had copious leisure interests with which to busy themselves if the weather did not permit them to go outside.[31] With the YMCA being so active in camp life, many prisoners began to take an interest in the organization, sometimes asking the "YMCA man" if there were chapters of the YMCA across the world or if as Buddhists, they were eligible to join the association.[32] Though many organizations and various VIPs frequently inspected the camp, the Japanese remained fixated with the goings-on of the YMCA.

Upon his inspection during September 18 – 19, 1945, General Bryan of the War Department reported that Camp McCoy possessed more athletic equipment than he had seen at any other camp across the United States.[33] Prisoners had access to soccer balls, footballs, volleyballs, medicine balls for physical fitness, as well as horseshoes.[34] Baseball equipment was also obtained through the donations of the YMCA. Baseball quickly proved to be the prisoners'

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Howard V. Hong, *Report on Visit to Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 8 May 1944).

[32] Ibid.

[33] Schnyder Report. 18-19 September 1945.

[34] Hong Report. 8 May 1944.

favorite outdoor activity. Teams were formed among the Japanese POWs in Compounds 1 and 2, who were able to play each other after a regular season in their own compound in a camp championship series.

Besides having access to American sports, Japanese prisoners were also presented with the opportunity to view American movies. Showings took place every Saturday afternoon and were available to all nationalities at the camp for a minimum charge. In order to reduce problems, separate show times were established for each nationality imprisoned at Camp McCoy. The theater in which the films were shown was located outside of the compound so it was necessary for the prisoners to be under guard supervision. To the astonishment of LTC Rogers and the War Department, the Japanese prisoners were exceptionally well behaved and never attempted an escape on the weekly outings to the movies. This came in stark contrast to the belief that the Japanese would do whatever was needed to break free from their American captors.

Prisoners were also able to write their families if they chose to do so. POWs were permitted to write one full-length letter one week and a short postcard the next, with the content of their correspondences subjected to the censure of the War Department.[35] Although all prisoners were allowed to write home, German prisoners were far more likely to write their friends and families than their Japanese counterparts. To the Japanese, writing home let those close to them know they had been captured which would thus admit they were living in shame and dishonor. As such, the Japanese seldom wrote home unless they received a letter informing them of an emergency at home.[36]

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[35] Information courtesy of Fort McCoy Historical Center, March 2010.

[36] Ibid.

To the benefit of the LTC Rogers and other Camp McCoy administrators, the ability of the Japanese to write home served a dual purpose. If a Japanese prisoner got out of line, camp supervisors used the threat of writing to the POWs loved ones as a disciplinary action. LTC Rogers and his camp administrators knew the Japanese honor code and realized it would be more shameful for the Japanese prisoners to have their loved ones discover their imprisonment than for the prisoners to cooperate with American captors. If the threat was made, prisoners usually reversed their behavior and became model prisoners.[37]

[37] Krammer Article. 1983.

Education

In addition to the numerous arts and crafts provided to Japanese prisoners, LTC Rogers and his staff also provided for their intellectual stimulation. Within each prisoner compound, a barrack used as a dayroom was outfitted with a small library. Though a large number of the books were written in English, each library contained some Japanese novels, obtained mainly through the efforts of the American Red Cross and the YMCA. Over the course of time, two hundred and 25 Japanese novels were supplied to the camp by the War Prisoner's Aid.[38]

Though most prisoners did not appear interested in learning English, some learned it in their free time. Some learned simply by talking to the guards and camp administrators, while many opted to teach themselves through reading novels written in English. By the end of their imprisonment at Camp McCoy, many prisoners were versed in English enough to read the majority of the English books in the prisoner libraries.

In addition to supple amounts of literature to encourage scholarly betterment, a school curriculum was developed for high school aged prisoners. Classes were taught by a Japanese prisoner whose profession in Japan had been teaching and was certified by LTC Rogers. Though they were only half a day long, once a week, classes were mandatory for prisoners between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.[39] Classes consisted of watercolor painting, English, Japanese character writing and reading, arithmetic (to include algebra, geometry, and trigonometry), moral science, geography, Japanese history, and Japanese literature.[40]

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[38] Hong Report. 6 June 1945.

[39] Schnyder Report. 18-19 September 1945.

[40] Howard V. Hong, *Report on Visit to Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 5-7 February 1945).

Older prisoners also involved themselves in education in order to pass their time. Classes for this age group remained strictly voluntary. By 1945, forty percent of the camp's Japanese population was engaged in structured educational pursuits. Classes for older prisoners consisted of English, American and Japanese history, art, character writing, instruction in Buddhism, moral teaching, and physical training.[41]

[41] Ibid.

Problems

Despite of the abundance of activities in which Japanese prisoners could involve themselves in, problems still abounded among the prisoners. Japanese POWs were said to have always had something to complain about in the camp, whether it was their treatment, the food, or their housing situation. A day seldom went by without American personnel at Camp McCoy receiving some grievances from the Japanese. Though many of these complaints were petty, there were some instances when the POWs objections elicited a response from camp management.

From the arrival of the first large group of Japanese prisoners, problems arose between the POWs and the MPs guarding the camp. Of the petty complaints lodged with LTC Rogers, the Japanese expressed particular concern that American MPs were present in their barracks during cleaning on Saturday mornings.[42] The issue became legitimate when some prisoners reported they had been kicked around by the MPs. LTC Rogers took this complaint very seriously. Following the objection, LTC Roger implemented a policy which stated that no MPs were to be present in barracks during cleaning time, although they would remained stationed outside.

Serious problems also existed within the Japanese prisoner community. Although both the Japanese Army and Navy served the Emperor, a fierce rivalry existed between the two military branches which did not cease upon being taken prisoner. At Camp McCoy, Navy prisoners far outnumbered Army personnel and with each naval battle in the Pacific Theater, the number of captured naval personnel transferred to Camp McCoy increased exponentially.[43] On January 6, 1944, a riot broke out between the Japanese prisoners in Compound 1. Camp

[42] Schnyder Report. 18-19 September 1945.

[43] Linda Fournier, *Fort McCoy Prisoner of War Camp* [Fort McCoy Historical Center, 2003].

administration never received a clear answer for the reason the riot broke out, but there was little doubt that inter-service rivalry caused the outbreak. The six prisoners in question were tried by court-martial on the sixth of March, with only minor disciplinary action taken.

Additional difficulties erupted within the Japanese POW population with each wave of new prisoners. Japanese soldiers who were captured later in the war saw themselves as far less dishonorable for being captured than those who had arrived at Camp McCoy prior to them. As the war went on, the rift between new and old prisoners deepened.

Issues between the three nationalities housed at Camp McCoy, most noticeably between the German and Japanese prisoners. Japanese attempted to maintain an aloof distance from the German prisoners in the adjoining compound. On the other hand, the German prisoners would openly mock the Japanese. German POWs often ridiculed the Japanese by gesturing, mimicking, or making racist remarks across the fence which separated them.[44] Despite the two ethnicities being united as Axis powers, tensions remained deep between the Japanese and German prisoners until McCoy closed its doors as a prisoner of war camp.

Following the arrival of the first large group of Japanese prisoners, problems with the POWs soon began. LTC Rogers, along with his fellow administrators attempted to quickly quell these issues by providing the prisoners with recreational activities. However, as the number of Japanese prisoners increased, as did the troubles within the Japanese community. In order to prevent any further quandaries, LTC Rogers quickly implemented a program, which he hoped would leave the POWs too fatigued to cause any difficulties… he put the prisoners to work.

[44] Fournier, 2003.

Japanese Labor

From the beginning of the work program, many of the Japanese prisoners did as little work as possible, as they firmly believed that any work done aided the Allied war effort. Initially, the vast majority of Japanese prisoners at Camp McCoy held job duties on post. Positions held by Japanese POWs included road maintenance, ditch digger, laundryman, cook, coal handler, and automotive repairman. The number of petty complaints received from the Japanese prisoners increased as the work program went on, even though the vast majority of duties assigned to Japanese POWs required little physical labor, which adhered to the guidelines of the 1921 Geneva Accords.

One of the first objections to work received by LTC Rogers came from the Japanese POWs assigned to laundry duty. According to the complaint, the Japanese prisoners refused to wash laundry with American women present. Ironically, this protest came in spite of the prisoners having completely separate washing facilities from the women doing laundry on post. The POWs stated they had no problem doing their own personal laundry, but refused to do others laundry like women or the Chinese.[45]

Japanese soldiers and sailors alike had an adverse reaction to cleaning the latrines on post. They informed LTC Rogers that they did not like this kind of work and saw it as beneath them. Rogers simply informed the prisoners that cleaning latrines was a duty often performed by POWs and that he was well within his rights of the Geneva Convention to assign the work to prisoners. Despite this, cleaning the latrines remained an unfavorable assignment among the Japanese. Many times during inspections, latrines cleaned by the Japanese were not found to be

[45] Schnyder Report. 18-19 September 1945.

up to standard and the prisoners had to re-clean the latrine. Eventually, Japanese POWs learned it was better to clean well the first time, rather than risk having to clean a second time.

Additional complaints arose that the battle casualty men had to work eight hours, just as the other prisoners. As stated in the Geneva Convention, men being treated for injuries as a prisoner cannot partake in strenuous labor. When approached about the matter by the Japanese representative, camp Executive Officer, Major Paul Johnson pointed out that prisoners recovering from battle wounds were purposely placed in jobs on post that required little to no physical labor. Although it was true they worked a standard eight-hour shift, similar to their able-bodied comrades, they were not on a task basis as the other Japanese POWs were and, therefore, the work was of no hardship to them.[46]

Many times, Japanese soldiers simply refused to work. Aside from invariable complaining, refusal to work proved to a perpetual issue. Officers remained apathetic and uncooperative with camp officials. In one instance on May 30, 1944, officers ordered their NCOs not to work. As required by the Geneva Convention, it was necessary for the NCOs to oversee the work of the enlisted men. Since the NCOs had been ordered not to work, it was impossible for the enlisted personnel to work.

The morning of May 31, the Japanese NCOs and enlisted men staged a sit down strike, refusing to turn out for roll call, breakfast, or work.[47] After attempting to negotiate with the Japanese officers, LTC Rogers issued a clear warning to all of the NCOs stating that they were to take their men out to work. The NCOs refused to disobey the orders of their officers, at which

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[46] Ibid

[47] General Bryan, *Visit to Camp McCoy* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 30 September 1944).

point LTC Rogers ordered out the MPs with their bayonets fixed to the end of their rifles. It is needless to say that following this action, the Japanese had no qualms about working.

As a result of their insubordination, the prisoners were not allotted the ten-minute break they usually received every hour. After half a day in the hot sun with no breaks, the prisoners returned to Camp McCoy, exhausted. Upon their return, the post hospital reported that several of the prisoners were suffering from minor bayonet wounds. For those prisoners who were too fatigued to return to McCoy on foot, LTC Rogers ordered trucks to the fields where they had been working. Immediately following the ordeal, the Japanese NCOs reported directly to LTC Rogers that there would be no further problems.

During the first two years of the Second World War, the War Department precluded the Commandants of prisoner of war camps from using any more pressure than a reprimand, admonition, revocation of privileges, or court martial in an attempt to get prisoners to work. By and large, these acts were ineffective, especially against combat-hardened Japanese soldiers. By late 1943, however, the War Department altered its stance on the use of reasonable pressure to encourage prisoners to comply with a work order. Eventually labeled "administrative pressure," the War Department authorized camp Commandants to impose a restricted diet and reduced privileges to any prisoner who refused to work. These actions were not considered punishment, as the War Department reasoned prisoners could terminate the pressure at any time by simply complying with the work order.[48]

LTC Rogers acted within his rights as Camp Commandant without violating the Geneva Accords. He treated the prisoners fairly and with justice. Although he knew the NCOs were attempting to vindicate their honor by refusing to work and by doing so regaining face in the

[48] Ibid.

eyes of their officers, he still had to discipline them to ensure the practice did not get out of hand. Despite their punishment, the NCOs harbored no ill feelings for LTC Rogers.[49]

By mid-1944, nearly 50 percent of the Japanese soldiers worked outside the Camp McCoy perimeter.[50] Only prisoners who exhibited model behavior and showed little interest in escaping were assigned to work details outside the camp. Despite the strict prerequisites, prisoners assigned to off post duties were still closely guarded by accompanying MPs and their war dogs to prevent escape. Many soldiers worked clearing nearby forests, mainly cutting wood, in order to prepare for the expansion of the rapidly growing Camp McCoy.

As per the Geneva Accords, prisoners received compensation for work done during their time as a POW. Although many Japanese prisoners at Camp McCoy held jobs which remained relatively undemanding in comparison to their comrades at other prisoner of war camps across the United States, they received equal pay. Enlisted personnel received eighty cents per workday, averaging a total of nineteen dollars per month.[51] Japanese officers, who were not required to work other than on a volunteer basis, were salaried and received pay anywhere from 15 to 35 dollars a month.

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[49] Fournier, 2003.

[50] General Bryan Report. 30 September 1944.

[51] General Bryan Report. 8 September 1943.

Army	Navy	Monthly Pay	US Army Equivalent	US Navy Equivalent
Taisho	Taisho	$128.91	General	Admiral
Chujo	Chujo	$113.29	Lieutenant General	Vice Admiral
Shosho	Shosho	$97.66	Major General	Rear Admiral
Taisa	Taisa	$81.08	Colonel	Captain
Chusa	Chusa	$62.90	Lieutenant Colonel	Commander
Shosa	Shosha	$45.51	Major	Lieutenant Commander
Taii Itto Taii Nito Tai Santo	Tokumu Taii Taii Itto Taii Nito Taii Santo	$40.53 $37.11 $32.23 $28.71	Captain	Lieutenant
Chui Itto Chui Nito	Chui Tokumu Chui	$28.00	First Lieutenant	Lieutenant, Junior Grade
Shoi	Shoi Tokumu Shoi	$28.00	Second Lieutenant	Ensign

Figure 9. National pay averages by rank and grade for Japanese POWs.[52]

The War Department prohibited prisoners from receiving real money for their work, which might enable them to bribe camp guards and make their way out of the country. Instead, a U.S. Treasury Trust Fund maintained the money prisoners earned during their detainment.[53] In order for prisoners to purchase items from the post canteen, script was issued as an alternative to real money. Prisoners used these coupons to purchase the essentials, in addition to small amounts of beer, cigarettes, and some sweets.

[52] Maxwell S. McKnight, "The Employment of Prisoners of War in the United States," *International Labor Review 57* (1944).

[53] Krammer Article. 1983.

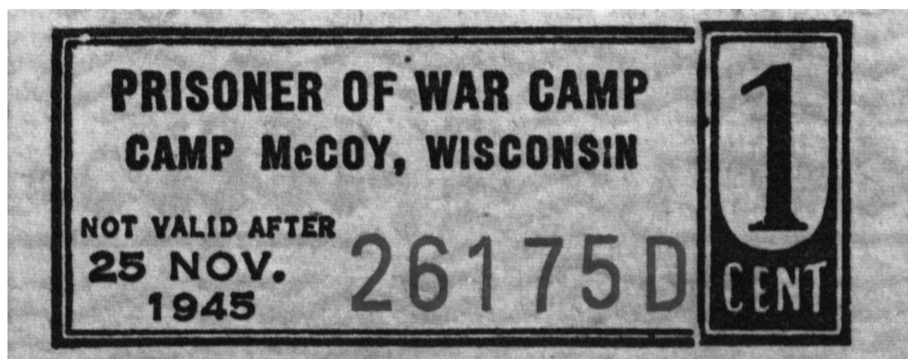

Figure 10.. An example of money issued to POWs at Camp McCoy as payment for their work. Prisoners could use money at the Post Exchange to by commodities from toilet tissue to beer and wine.[54]

For the most part, LTC Rogers reported that he was pleased with the work done by the Japanese prisoners. Prisoners were constantly kept busy, either through work or activities offered by the camp administration, in order to prevent boredom, fights amongst prisoners, or the ability to plan a mass suicide or coordinated uprising against camp officials, as the War Department feared.[55] In spite of these precautions, many Japanese prisoners reported in exit interviews that they had constantly though of suicide or escape during their internment at Camp McCoy.

[54] Photo courtesy of Linda M. Fournier, Fort McCoy Public Affairs Officer, March 2010.

[55] General Bryan Report. 30 September 1944.

Suicide and Escape

Japanese prisoners presented a unique problem for LTC Rogers and Camp McCoy administrators. Unlike their German counterparts, who had been schooled in the provisions of the Geneva Convention, Japanese soldiers were told from the beginning of their military careers to take their own lives rather than be captured or surrender.[56] According to the official Japanese Military Field Code (JMFC) during the Second World War, Japanese soldiers were to remember, "rather than live and bear the shame of imprisonment by the enemy, he should die and avoid leaving a dishonorable name!" The JMFC also recommended that each soldier save at least one round of ammunition in their weapon for themselves or to carry out a banzai attack on an enemy position if faced with the possibility of capture.[57]

As previously mentioned, the majority of Japanese soldiers captured in the Pacific Theater were either severely wounded or unconscious at the time of their capture. Had the Japanese been cognizant prior to their capture, they would have in all likelihood committed suicide as dictated by a code of Japanese honor dating back as far as the Samurai.[58] Upon capture, Japanese POWs viewed themselves as dead.[59] The dishonor of capture by the enemy was so great that many Japanese would attempt to commit suicide and die a semi-honorable death in any way they could.

Despite their many efforts, committing suicide proved exceptionally difficult for Japanese POWs in American POW camps. They were not allowed access to rope, which they

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[56] Krammer Article. 1983.

[57] Tokyo Gazette Publishing House, *Field Service Guide* (Tokyo, 1941).

[58] Ulrich Straus, *The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POW's of WWII*. Seattle: University of Washington, 2004.

[59] Mr. Gonzales, representing the Spanish Embassy, *Visit to Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 25-27 February 1945).

could hang themselves with or sharp objects to cut themselves with. To ensure these items were not being smuggled into camp by prisoners working outside of the Camp McCoy perimeter, MPs searched prisoners upon return to the camp. Since prisoners were deprived of an honorable death, the next alternative to regain some matter of honor was escape.

The United States government worried about both Japanese and German prisoners escaping from the POW camps. The government speculated that if prisoners were able to escape they would "rape and sabotage their way across the country."[60] As such, military personnel too many precautions in choosing the location of POW camps.

One of the primary safety measures taken in selecting prisoner of war camp sites, especially in the case of Japanese prisoners, was the local population of civilians in close proximity to the POW camp. Part of the reason the region around Sparta and Tomah was selected to house Japanese POWs was based on the simple fact that the local populous was predominately Caucasian. If a Japanese prisoner managed to escape from Camp McCoy, he would have an exceptionally difficult time attempting to blend in.

The Army warned communities near POW camps to be especially vigilant and to immediately report any suspicious activity to the authorities. Sparta and Tomah, Wisconsin were no exceptions. According to the War Department, "The Japanese, with their reputation for trickiness and sneakiness are apt to make a greater attempt to disturb our home front security than the Germans ever [would]."[61] For obvious reasons, German prisoners at Camp McCoy had an easier time concealing themselves in the civilian population residing in central Wisconsin, had

[60] Fournier, 2003.

[61] Sparta Herald, June 11, 1945, p. 2.

they chosen to escape. On the other hand, the Japanese prisoners housed at McCoy had no chance.

To the governments relief and astonishment, Japanese POWs seldom attempted to escape, regardless of what POW facility they were being held at. In fact, German prisoners accounted for the majority of the escape and escape attempts made throughout the war, at a monthly break out rate of three escape per ten thousand captives. On the other hand, Japanese prisoners nation wide attempted only fourteen escape attempts, all of which were made from Camp McCoy, none of which were successful.[62]

[62] Fournier, 2003.

The End of the War

With the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in early August of 1945, the war with Japan was over. On August 15, 1945 aboard the USS Missouri, Japanese officials signed an unconditional surrender, officially ending the war. Although the war between the United States and Japan was over, Japanese POWs in American POW camps were not automatically released. Their journey from America back to Japan had just begun.

In mid-1945, Japanese prisoners began to trickle out of Camp McCoy. By late August, all of the Japanese officers and NCOs were transferred from McCoy to Camp Kennedy, Texas.[63] In an exit interview-like process, Japanese officers reported that they were exceptionally pleased with the way the camp had been run. They attributed a great deal of the camp's success to the involvement of the Camp Commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Horace Rogers.[64] The POWs indicated that during their time at Camp McCoy their treatment had been outstanding, far from the picture of pain, torture, and neglect that had been painted by the Japanese government and military. Despite their satisfaction with their treatment, many revealed that they were ready to go home, even in the face of ridicule for their capture.

Preceding the end of the war, the War Department predicted that many of the Japanese POWs would return home to Japan, even though they could potentially face a life of shame and dishonor in their communities. Knowing that some of the Japanese prisoners were still bound to their code of honor, the War Department began to worry about their well-being upon their arrival to Japan. Despite the teachings of the JMFC, many Japanese soldiers did not contemplate suicide while they were on American soil. Knowing that many POWs would return to Japan, it became a

[63] Howard V. Hong, *Visit to Prisoner of War Camp: Camp McCoy, Wisconsin* (Washington D.C.: Special War Problems Division, Department of State, 19 July 1945).

[64] Cardinaux Report. 25 October 1943

genuine concern of the War Department that once released, Japanese soldiers returning to Japan would commit suicide on the boats on route to Japan or when they returned to Japanese soil.

In order to prevent this, classes were offered to Japanese POWs before they returned to Japan. Prisoners were lectured on the value of life by Japanese-American counselors who understood what honor meant to the prisoners. They were told that Japan, as a country, had surrendered honorably and there was therefore no need for them to end their lives to regain honor in the eyes of their family or their country. These classes were assumed to have had a positive impact on the prisoners as there were no suicides on the boat ride back to Japan and no reported suicides among prisoners upon their return to Japan. In addition to suicide prevention classes the American military attempted another, not so successful program to influence Japanese prisoners of war.

Well before Japanese prisoners ever left Camp McCoy, a secret reorientation program was in the works under the supervision of the Headquarters of Army Service Forces (HASF). It was proposed that Japanese soldiers, who were once captives in American POW camps could be assimilated into American culture and with time, could become productive members of American society. Despite numerous success stories from other POW camps nationwide which held Japanese captives, it was decided that Camp McCoy could not establish an effective reorientation program. Lieutenant Colonel Rogers, along with his advisors from the HASF, concluded that it would be impossible to acquire a reorientation officer who was well versed in both Japanese and German psychology.[65] Eventually, the precedence of reorientation went to the German POWs at Camp McCoy, who were deemed to be psychologically on par with Americans and thus less complicated to reorient.

[65] Walter H. Rapp, Field Service Report on Visit to Prisoner of War Camp, Camp McCoy, Wisconsin (New York: Office of the Provost General Marshal, Headquarters Army Service Forces, 16-17 April 1945).

By mid-1946 the vast majority of former Japanese POWs had successfully returned to Japan, with very few remaining in the United States. Those returning to Japan resumed their lives as civilians and re-entered their pre-war careers. Many former POWs rushed to the aid of those in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and assisted in rebuilding the cities. After the initial chaos following the end of the war, the Japanese who had been imprisoned in American POW camps, such as Camp McCoy, resumed their lives. Although their experience as POWs had been long and sometimes arduous, the war was over, and they were finally home.

CONCLUSION

By the end of the Second World War, Camp McCoy was the largest permanent Japanese POW camp in the United States.[66] Japanese prisoners at McCoy were well provided for with ample recreational activities in which they could partake in, educational courses, and comfortable housing. Only minor problems were encountered with the Japanese POW population, including fourteen escape attempts, but for the most part the prisoners behaved in a manor that contradicted what the US War Department expected of them. By the end of the war, the overwhelming majority of Japanese prisoners reported that they were extraordinarily pleased with their experience at Camp McCoy.

According to many reports filed throughout McCoy's period as an enemy POW camp, the camp was exceptionally well run, with prisoners maintaining relatively good spirits during their internment. Most of the camp's success was attributed to its Commandant, Lieutenant Horace Rogers and his administrative staff. Working alongside organizations such as the International Red Cross and YMCA, Rogers ensured the needs of the prisoners were being met, doing whatever he could to make certain their internment remained bearable.

Camp McCoy's POW camp ran effectively and efficiently from the time it opened in 1942 to the time it closed its gates in 1946. Most of McCoy's former Japanese prisoners returned to their homes in Japan following the end of the Second World War. However, on September 21, 1966, administrators at Fort McCoy received a letter from a former Japanese POW. Written on his behalf by the Japanese Embassy in Washington D.C., Yasuichiro Hayashi stated in his letter:

"I have been longing to visit [Camp McCoy] again if I had the chance because for me this place signifies a second starting point in my life."[67]

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[66] Fournier, 2003.
[67] Hisatsino Matsukimo *to* the Army Foreign Liaison Officer. Memorandum. September 21, 1966.

There was no evidence on file to show whether or not Mr. Hayashi ever got to visit Fort McCoy, but his letter spoke to the affect Camp McCoy had on those interned there over the course of the Second World War. Although they were prisoners, the Japanese soldiers and sailors at McCoy remained well cared for over the course of their stay. With the assistance of LTC Horace Rogers and his staff, Japanese POWs at Camp came to view Camp McCoy as an important chapter in their life story.

FUTURE WORK

On South Post of Fort McCoy, there are a series of large, red rock outcroppings, which locals refer to as the "Jap Pass." Local legend holds these rocks got their color from the blood of the Japanese killed at Camp McCoy during the Second World War. It is because of stories such as this one, which yield no historical accuracy, that I intend to further my research. Japanese POWs held at Camp McCoy during the Second World War remains a largely un-researched and misunderstood topic. Of the many people I spoke with over the course of conducting research for this paper, very few realized Fort McCoy had functioned as a POW camp, with even fewer being aware Japanese prisoners had been held there. There is a wealth of knowledge surrounding the Japanese POW experience at Camp McCoy, but few have taken the initiative to do anything about it.

My ultimate goal for future work on the subject is to co-author a book with Betty Cowley, based solely on the Japanese experience at Camp McCoy. Although Cowley briefly mentions the imprisonment of Japanese POWs at Camp McCoy in her book, *Stalag Wisconsin: Inside WWII Prisoner of War Camps*, her research barely begins to starch the surface of the subject. The topic of Japanese prisoners in Wisconsin is a sidebar to the larger subject of German POWs held throughout Wisconsin. Although there are far more primary resources on German prisoners, it is my firm belief that there is enough research material available to write a second book concerning the Japanese POWs at Camp McCoy.

List of Abbreviations

CCC – Civilian Conservation Corps

HASF – Headquarters of Army Service Forces

IJN – Imperial Japanese Navy

JMFC – Japanese Military Field Code

LTC – Lieutenant Colonel

MAJ – Major

MP – Military Police

NCO – Non-Commissioned Officer

NCWC – National Council of Women of Canada

POW – Prisoner of war

WPA – Works Progress Administration

YMCA – Young Men's Christian Association

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