



TEENAGERS CELEBRATING MAY DAY IN TASHME, C. 1943

NISHIHATA FAMILY COLLECTION

NNM 2010.80.2.122



Celebrate Spring, by Momoko Ito	2
Time for Change, by Beth Carter	3
Kiyoshi Izumi, Saskatchewan Nisei Architect, by Kam Teo	4
Staying Busy in Tashme, by Linda Kawamoto Reid	12
Racism and the Expropriation on Saltspring Island, by Brian Smallshaw	14
The Story of the Exchange, by Howard Shimokura	22
Treasures from the Collection – A Desk from Tashme, by Linda Kawamoto Reid	24

CONTENTS

CELEBRATE SPRING!

By Momoko Ito

The cover photo shows a wonderfully vibrant moment in time; a group of young Nikkei jumping jubilantly during a May Day celebration in the Tashme internment camp, probably in 1943.

Taking its origins from various spring time celebrations in Gaelic, Germanic and Roman cultures, May Day is traditionally celebrated in Europe on May 1st. The event marks a hopeful time of year when the thaws of winter make way for spring, and the flowers and trees begin to blossom. Some of the traditional May Day events that were enjoyed in the camps included the maypole dances, parades, athletic contests, and the highly anticipated crowning of the May Queens — all activities celebrating the abundance, renewal and joys of spring.

Events such as May Day provided a welcome reprieve from the uncertainty and day-to-day hardships of camp life, and an opportunity to come together as a community and enjoy the festive atmosphere of camaraderie and fun.

Most, if not all of the interior camps continued to observe major holiday traditions despite the upheaval and dispossession caused by the internment. Many images depicting dances, Christmas celebrations, theatrical performances, Obon ceremonies, and picnics, can be found in the Nikkei National Museum's collections. These images provide a testament to the important role holiday celebrations played in fostering strength and hope within the community. They capture the resilience and spirit of the Nikkei people during the internment years.

TIME FOR CHANGE

By Beth Carter, Director|Curator

It is with mixed feelings that I announce my departure from the Nikkei National Museum in April 2015 to start a new opportunity at the Bill Reid Gallery in downtown Vancouver. I have enjoyed many wonderful experiences in the NNM over the last six years. The museum has come a long way – and I am so proud of our active and dynamic exhibition program, the improvements to collections care and access, the increased educational mandate, and the many other programs and initiatives that we have accomplished. It has been a true honour to work with the Japanese Canadian community to share their history and culture.

I am very pleased that Sherri Kajiwarra will be taking over the Director|Curator position in the museum. Sherri has 20 years of experience in the arts and culture sector and strong links to the Nikkei community. I feel really confident that the museum will continue to thrive under Sherri's leadership and with the enthusiasm of the museum's excellent and knowledgeable staff.

The Nikkei National Museum is really a Canadian treasure that speaks to the foresight of the small group of people who saw the value of saving the stories and artifacts of Japanese Canadian history for the education of future generations. I look forward to continuing to support the museum down the road as a visitor and community member. Sayonara!

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT:

With the increase in mail charges, the NNM will be switching to digital email delivery of Nikkei Images. A small fee will be charged if you prefer to receive your Nikkei Images by mail. When you renew your membership, be sure to let us know your delivery preference. Thank you for your continued support.



national museum
& cultural centre

Nikkei Images is published by the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre

Editorial Committee:

Beth Carter; Stanley Fukawa, Frank Kamiya, Kaye Kishibe, Randy Kondo, Linda Kawamoto Reid, Edzard Teubert, Mitsuo Yesaki

Editorial Design:

Kaori Tanaka

Subscription to **Nikkei Images** is free with your yearly membership to NNMCC or \$2 per copy for non-members, (pus postage)

NNMCC

6688 Southoaks Crescent,
Burnaby, B.C., V5E 4M7 Canada
TEL: (604) 777-7000 FAX: (604) 777-7001
WEB: www.nikkeiplace.org

Disclaimer:

Every effort is made to ensure the accuracy of the information contained within Nikkei Images. However, due to the possibility of human or mechanical error, Nikkei Images is not responsible for any errors or omissions. Opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the editors or of the NNMCC.

NNMCC Membership Form

Thank you for your support of the NNMCC and we look forward to seeing you in the near future.

Name (Ms. / Mr. / Mrs. / Mr & Mrs): _____

Address: _____

Tel: _____ E-mail: _____

Yes, I will become a member of the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre at the following level:

- ☐ Individual: \$36.75 ☐ Senior: \$26.25 (Age 65+) ☐ Family: \$47.25 (Spouse/Partner & Children) ☐ Non-Profit: \$52.50

Check one:

- ☐ **FREE:** I would like to receive the Nikkei Images at my email address
☐ **\$6 (Domestic) / \$10 (US) / \$20 (Intl) per yr:** I would like to include postage to receive the Nikkei Images at my mailing address

Membership	\$	_____	x	_____	yrs	= \$	_____
Nikkei Images Postage (optional)	\$	_____	x	_____	yrs	= \$	_____
Donation	\$10	\$25	\$50	\$100	Surprise us!	\$	_____
TOTAL						\$	_____

Please make cheques payable to:

Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, 6688 Southoaks Crescent, Burnaby, BC, V5E 4M7

T 604.777.7000 F 604.777.7001 info@nikkeiplace.org www.nikkeiplace.org



KIYOSHI IZUMI: SASKATCHEWAN NISEI ARCHITECT

By Kam Teo

Kiyoshi Izumi (1921-1996) was an impressively-educated Canadian architect who designed many iconic Saskatchewan buildings during the boom of the 1960s. His personal and professional journey, however, are just as historically important as his architectural contributions. The Japanese Canadian community in Saskatchewan of the 1940s was small, and it is clear that Izumi's experiences as a Nisei who reached adulthood during the Second World War left an indelible impression.



SECOND YEAR ARCHITECTURE

Back Row—L. to R.
Bob Siddall, Dave Thardarson, Max Hersecovitch, Joe Izumi, Andy Chomick, Gordon Arnott.
Centre Row
George Stewart, Ken Hurst, Murray Simpson, Gerry Carrothers, Harry Le Blond, Jim
Tettamanti.
Front Row—L. to R.
Ted Whitely, Izzie Coop, Betty Towler, Pat Waterman, Ian Brown, Ross Irvine.
Missing—
John Dayton.

Class picture, 1946. From the U of Manitoba Year Book, Brown & Gold. Note that Kiyoshi Izumi was known as Joe Izumi. Also in the top right hand corner is Gordon Arnott, of Izumi, Arnott and Sugiyama.

UPC_SPub_044_000_1946_099_0001

British Columbia

Little is known about the early years of Kiyoshi Izumi. Born in Vancouver, British Columbia, on March 24, 1921, the son of Tojiro and Kin (both born in Japan), Kiyoshi came of age in a province where racism was, in the words of historian Jean Barman, “increasingly concentrated on the Japanese.”¹ Indeed, the formative years of Kiyoshi Izumi during the 1920s and 1930s saw relative success – at least for those of Asian heritage in BC – for his cohort in school and in university in British Columbia, stoking the fears of Euro Canadians that Japanese Canadian achievement meant dealing with an Asian ethnic group on the basis of equality. Between 1910 and 1930 the occupational base of the Japanese Canadian community had broadened from the fisheries industry to agriculture, commercial and service occupations. This stereotype of comparative Japanese Canadian success dovetailed with the expansionist foreign policy of Japan relative to that of China and the largely non-threatening male Chinese Canadian population.² While Euro Canadians of German and Italian heritage suffered during the Second World War, Japanese Canadians suffered considerably more. Shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, all Japanese Canadians were removed from coastal areas of British Columbia, most into internment camps. With this abolition of their civil rights came the loss of property and the separation of family and friends.

Saskatchewan

The residents in Saskatchewan of Japanese ancestry grew from 100 in 1942 to 153 in 1944. Among the few Japanese Canadians that resided in Saskatchewan before the 1940s were Kikuno and Genzo Kitagawa. Married in Japan in the 1920s, the young couple disembarked in British Columbia, stayed in Alberta briefly before settling in Regina in 1929. The enterprising Genzo and a business partner opened and managed Nippon Silk and while it was not lucrative during the early years of the Great Depression, the business managed to grow. The Second World War changed the dynamic for this Regina family, however. The business name of Genzo’s store Nippon Silk was changed to Silk-O-Lina, “to avoid unnecessary harassment from the public.” The Kitagawas had fears for their safety as the conflict progressed: the Silk-O-Lina’s “show-window” was broken. The family also moved from an

apartment to a house “to escape the discomfort of being closely watched by our neighbours,” admitted Kikuno Kitagawa in the late 1970s. “We were sensitive to criticisms, rumours, and the reactions of people towards Japanese [Canadians] that appeared on the radio and newspapers.”³ Undoubtedly, this sense of watchfulness and tension in the Japanese Canadian community in Regina were felt by Kiyoshi and his future wife, Amy Nomura.

Kiyoshi spent his childhood and youth in Vancouver but Amy’s childhood years took place in Regina. Settling in Regina in 1933, Amy and her brother John were the children of Charles Nomura, and were among only 15 Japanese Canadian “school-aged children” in the city in the 1930s. Because of the isolation, the teenaged John Nomura and several young men in their twenties founded *Shinyo Kai* (roughly translated as Heart Sun Club) which existed from 1936 to 1941. Monthly dues were paid by club members in order to fund gatherings that included Christmas parties and picnics. The group disbanded after the invasion of Pearl Harbor in order to keep a low profile but some of the original members took part in the creation of the *Regina Nisei Club* in 1944.⁴

History does not record when Kiyoshi Izumi left British Columbia for the relatively less racist province of Saskatchewan. A graduate of the Vancouver Technical High School in Vancouver in 1939, Kiyoshi enrolled at Regina College in Regina, Saskatchewan in 1943. It is unclear what the young man did and where he lived between 1939 and 1943. The future architect may have had relatives in the Queen City as the city of Regina only allowed people of Japanese ancestry to reside if family members could provide assurances of financial security. To be sure, the Second World War years in Saskatchewan did not see human rights abuses inflicted upon Japanese Canadians in a similar manner as were their compatriots in British Columbia. Properties that belonged to Japanese Canadians in the province were retained by them during and after the conflict. Saskatchewan Japanese Canadians, however, were to report their whereabouts to the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment once a month and were required to register and carry identification cards distributed by the Mounties.

In 1944, the *Regina Nisei Club* (RNC) was created as a support group for young Japanese Canadians in Regina

..... Continued on next page

and also as a collection of friends with a pan-Canadian approach under the umbrella of the “Canadian Forum” which was co-sponsored by CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Company) Radio. Topics for discussion each week were selected by national and local citizens that were of a political, economic, and social nature. Occasionally, according to Arthur Kato, the concerns of the RNC were heard throughout the province and the nation.⁵ It is questionable how much impact the plight and concerns of Japanese Canadians in Saskatchewan had on radio listeners throughout Canada, but such gatherings undoubtedly stimulated both intellectual discussion and comradeship among the young *Nisei* of Regina.

As historian Patricia Roy has shown, in 1941 Saskatchewan Premier W.J. Patterson informed Ottawa that he would accept Japanese Canadian families into his province on a “case-by-case” basis. The city of Regina accepted Japanese Canadians as residents while the city of Saskatoon did not. Saskatoon City Council bowed to pressure from local groups and individuals that expressed concern “for the safety of military and industrial establishments,” labour competition and “resentment of an enemy race.” The city of Saskatoon refused to admit Y. Takahashi and Taira Yasumaka into the community despite the fact that the University of Saskatchewan (UofS) had accepted them. This action was representative of the reactionary response by the mayor of Saskatoon who bellowed: “*The Japanese residents should be put into concentration camps. . . It would be foolish to move them into prairie cities. We have no room.*”⁶ This ethnic exclusion on the part of the city of Saskatoon may explain why, after one year at Regina College (1944), Kiyoshi Izumi left Saskatchewan to attend the University of Manitoba’s School of Architecture from 1944-1948. To be sure, the UofS did not have a school of architecture but if Izumi was interested in a professional college located at Saskatchewan’s oldest university the exclusionary policy of the city of Saskatoon would have prevented his attendance.

There was a small 1940s Japanese Canadian trek from British Columbia going through Saskatchewan with the University of Manitoba as a destination. Definitely, this eastward journey was followed by Izumi and James Shunichi Sugiyama (future partner of Izumi, Arnott, and Sugiyama), British Columbians who both went to Regina College and later attended the University of

Manitoba. The college experience in Regina for Izumi and Sugiyama remains a mystery. Throughout the Second World War, however, Regina College like many segments of society was a fount of patriotism and of a growing Canadian nationalism in an environment, in this instance, among service-age young people. This is reflected in an editorial by Regina College’s student newspaper the *College Record* in November 1940:

*What is Regina College contributing to Canada’s war effort? True – we are a small group . . . but why can’t we be doing more now? Other universities have compulsory military training for all male students. Our mother, the University of Saskatchewan, has compulsory “war service groups” for all women students. . . . The big universities demand four hours a week, surely we can spend SOME time on preparedness.*⁷

Kiyoshi Izumi and James Sugiyama were not the only members of the *Regina Nisei Club* that attended Regina College during the 1940s. The brothers Henry and Thomas Tamaki entered the college in 1943 – the year before Izumi – as did Robert Yoneda in 1949. The Tamaki brothers attained prominence in their own right. Thomas – a winner of Regina College’s 1945 Mrs. J.W. Smith Scholarship for both scholarship and leadership – was a future lawyer who became a Saskatchewan deputy minister in the Department of Mineral Resources. Brother Henry became a vice-president of Dominion Bridge.⁸ The academic success of the Tamakis (and a handful of others) at Regina College and residence in the provincial capital stood in stark distinction to the city of Saskatoon’s refusal to allow them to reside in that community in 1942. In the final analysis, at least ten Japanese Canadians attended Regina College in the 1940s.

In any case, progressive change – no matter how incremental – was about to take place. Initially, Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) provincial politician Tommy Douglas “remained uncharacteristically silent” on the challenges Japanese Canadians faced in 1943 and 1944 as he ran for political office in Saskatchewan. Political expediency trumped principle, therefore, in spite of his membership in a political party that claimed to champion civil liberties; certainly Douglas did not wish to be perceived as one of the few Canadian politicians to speak up publicly on behalf of Japanese Canadians even though privately Douglas found bigotry repulsive. Once safely in the Saskatchewan legislature

the CCF premier began to show tentative political support for Japanese Canadians.

In December 1945 the Douglas government informed Ottawa that it would permit a “fair share” of Japanese Canadians removed from British Columbia to make their homes in Saskatchewan. This announcement was in response to the deportation of some Japanese Canadians to Japan soon after the conflict. *“In our opinion,”* declared the Saskatchewan premier, *“the Federal government has no right to deport Japanese nationals or Canadian-born Japanese provided they have committed no act of treason.”* Three months later the former Baptist preacher thundered that it was the “rankest racial discrimination imaginable” to deport Japanese Canadians reminding his audience that those of German or Italian heritage were not expelled. In 1946, Douglas reinforced his rhetoric by hiring British Columbia-born, George Tamaki, as a senior legal advisor over protests from the British Columbia political caucus of the CCF. Douglas snapped in reply: *“If the existence of the CCF in B.C. depends on bowing to racial intolerance, the sooner it folds up the better.”* Nevertheless, this highly public employment of Tamaki by Douglas did not include a public rebuke of his political colleagues in British Columbia. Douglas also hired Tommy Shoyama in the same year.⁹

Events in Moose Jaw, however, in the months after Tamaki’s hiring by Douglas proved that there could be a backlash against concentrations of Japanese Canadians in Saskatchewan. In the summer of 1946, 127 men and two women were transferred from an internment camp in Angler, British Columbia, to Moose Jaw – a city of 20,000 inhabitants located less than 100 kilometers west of Regina – for the purpose of resettlement. According to the Labour Department official that enforced this relocation, *“we are anxious to get as many Japanese into Saskatchewan as soon as possible so as to balance up the distribution of Japanese in Western Canada.”* Initial newspaper reports would not have comforted Kiyoshi, Amy Nomura, James Sugiyama and their cohort in Regina. Indeed, city officials in Moose Jaw were quick to condemn this decision by the federal government and tacitly supported by the provincial government. Moose Jaw mayor Fraser McClellan claimed that there was an “acute housing shortage” with “468 unfilled applications from veterans” and 370 applications “from other citizens.” Newspaper headlines in Saskatchewan screamed: “Protest Japs

Located Here [in] Moose Jaw;” and “Vets Need Houses More Than Japs.” According to the Moose Jaw *Times-Herald* on July 20, 1946, most of the Japanese Canadian interns “were born and educated here in this dominion, and this is where they want to stay to make their homes.” At the same time, as if suffering from immediate amnesia the *Times-Herald* journalist also editorialized that *“the Japanese are an inscrutable race and it is difficult to know just what they are thinking.”* A year later, 91 people still remained in the Moose Jaw hostel because they refused to permanently settle in the province and instead, asserts Roy Miki, demanded either permission to return to British Columbia, or deportation to Japan and compensation for property losses. By 1949, the nearly 60 remaining Japanese Canadians were finally evicted from the hostel.¹⁰

Post Second World War

The reintegration of veterans to civilian life after the end of hostilities was a challenge for Canadian society in general and at universities in particular and the University of Manitoba was no exception. In 1947, university president Albert W. Trueman observed that returning veterans taxed the administrative capacity with student registration at the U of M reaching “the unprecedented figure of 6,919.” The presence of “such an army of students” imposed “severe strains on the institution,” declared Trueman with the university administration scrambling to find staff, space and equipment for returning veterans that had their education interrupted as well as for a younger cohort that did not see military service. Indeed, the department of architecture and interior design also grew from sixty students in 1945 to over 400 by 1948, years that coincided with the presence of Kiyoshi Izumi and his close friend, classmate and future business partner, Winnipeg-native Gordon Arnott. The importance of the friendship between Kiyoshi and Gordon as young adults at the University of Manitoba within the context of a nation at war cannot be overstated. With many of their classmates and age cohorts engaged in conflict, many in the Pacific theatre, this friendship between a Japanese Canadian and a Euro-Canadian must have been unique. That said – and allowing for youthful exuberance – the student year book *Brown and Gold* referred to the graduating Kiyoshi as a “solid citizen who claims the world for his home.”¹¹ It must be remarked that of the 17 students that graduated from the school of architecture in 1948, Izumi was the only student not

..... Continued on next page



listed with a hometown - an acknowledgement of his up-rootedness as a Japanese Canadian from British Columbia.

The city of Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba and the largest city on the Canadian prairies in the mid-twentieth century also saw limitations placed on Japanese Canadians. By the time Izumi arrived in 1944 to attend the University of Manitoba, restriction of movement, residence, and employment was problematic. In spite of such constraints, Japanese Canadians were permitted to attend university and live in the city. There was dependence on individual Euro-Canadian acts of generosity. Initially, friend of Kiyoshi and engineering student James Sugiyama had difficulty finding accommodations until he attained "room and board" with the help of a recommendation from a professor." Sugiyama quickly: *proved himself to be an intelligent and conscientious youth, so the family [that provided room and board] welcomed eight more Japanese [Canadian] students into their home. The father of the house was a painter and during the summer vacation he gave students painting jobs which greatly eased their financial situations.*¹² Izumi returned to Regina during his summer holidays to work at the Japanese Canadian owned Imperial Service Station and Tire Repair Shop (managed by future father-in-law, Charles Nomura) and because of his future wife Amy Nomura.

After graduating from the University of Manitoba School of Architecture in 1948, Kiyoshi became a graduate student of urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at the Graduate School of Design (GSD) at Harvard from 1950-1954. If there was a profession that *Nisei* could do relatively well in spite of racism during and in the decades after the Second World War, it was architecture. According to one American *Nisei* architect:

*...architecture's been very, very reasonable, nice to [N]iseis . . . Because I'm Japanese [American], I think [customers came] to me sometimes, you know. It's not because [Japanese Americans had a monopoly on] creativeness, but, there's some association there. And I [did not] try to discourage that thought, [and] those [Nisei] that went into architecture did very well . . . Yama [Minoru Yamasaki, designer of the original Twin Towers was] a good one, Gyo Obata another one, Ryo Tamoto, . . .*¹³

The Architect

There were structural and societal obstacles in attaining employment for Kiyoshi Izumi. Certainly, the architecture profession's legacy "is one of patronage, privilege, and power" with success predicated on a "network of social connections." Practitioners, were (and still are) dependent on wealthy and powerful patrons for their livelihoods. In a sparsely populated province such as Saskatchewan the number of wealthy clients were few and far between; thus the dependence on government largesse was amplified. Even so, the number of professional architects in Saskatchewan had dwindled to 16 by the beginning of the 1950s because of the Great Depression and the Second World War, making it opportune for the highly credentialed Izumi to return to a post-war province in 1953 that did not have as racist a reputation regarding Japanese Canadians. The partnership in 1953 between Kiyoshi (the elder by five years) and his classmate Gordon Arnott— six years





left:
 Official graduation photo of Kiyoshi
 Izumi, 1948
 From U of Manitoba student yearbook,
 Brown & Gold.
 UPC_SPub_044_000_1948_104_0001

above:
 James Sugiyama of Izumi, Arnott, and
 Sugiyama, c. mid-1960s
 Mr. Sugiyama was trained as an
 engineer at the U of M and served with
 the firm in that position.
 University of Manitoba Archives and
 Special Collections
 UM_pc219_A05-100_183_0901_027_0001

right:
 Kiyoshi Izumi, c. mid-1960s
 University of Manitoba Archives &
 Special Collections.
 UM_pc219_A05-100_183_0901_100_0001



..... Continued on next page

after graduating from the University of Manitoba – also reveals much at a personal and a professional level. It was Kiyoshi, who was living again in Regina after his graduate studies, who asked Gordon, then working in Vancouver in the early 1950s, to form a partnership.¹⁴

In 1954, Izumi was asked by the Saskatchewan government to evaluate the province's mental hospitals, more specifically, to make suggestions on how to modify and redesign hospital environments for the benefit of patients from the perspective of patients. Initially, the self-critical architect had difficulty grasping "the real and significant problems" a mentally ill individual had in relating to their physical environment. As such, with advice and direction from Humphry Osmond, Kiyoshi took LSD, which produced an experience similar to schizophrenia. The practical architect also wanted to identify with mental patients' needs for privacy and yet design the best possible housing at the least expense, the latter satisfying the fiscal considerations of his employer (the government of Saskatchewan). The result of this partnership saw the construction of the Yorkton Centre in 1964 though the government of the day did not fully implement the design by Izumi. The empathetic Izumi noted in his initial experiments with LSD that his "visually perceived world" became a *"part of the space-time framework of reference, in and from which one relates to himself and to others, but at times is an extension and an indistinguishable part of one's mind and body."* At the same time, Kiyoshi's taking of the hallucinogen were a means of communication that enhanced the *"emotional experiences of [mental patients] . . . , and whose needs [were] just as important."*¹⁵

At the same time, Izumi's reputation as a leading Saskatchewan architect was enhanced as the Regina-resident was one of the key organizers for the "Saskatchewan Symposium on Architecture" in October 1961. The symposium – which attracted 120 delegates from throughout the province and speakers with an international reputation – may also be considered the beginning of an architectural renaissance for the prairie province. At a panel discussion Kiyoshi stated that architecture in Saskatchewan suffered *"from a lack of skilled personnel and facilities in many areas of the construction industry."* Indeed, there was an "apparent low value placed on architecture by the public," generally. This architectural climate in Saskatchewan was about to change, in part, through the person of

keynote speaker, Minoru Yamasaki. The internationally renowned Japanese American architect announced at the symposium that he had brought with him to the Queen City "a number of possible plans" towards the completion of a master plan for the Wascana Centre and the expansion of the University of Saskatchewan's Regina campus, with provisions for a "grand entrance" to the university campus.¹⁶ The plans were expected to be approved by the Wascana Centre committee in 1962. Thus, the building boom of the 1960s was set to begin with the firm of Izumi, Arnott, and Sugiyama being a major contributor and beneficiary. The firm was responsible for designing some of the most recognizable buildings in Saskatchewan including Marquis Hall (1964) at the University of Saskatchewan, the Connexus Arts Centre (1970) formerly the Regina Centre of the Arts), and the downtown central location of the Regina Public Library (1962).

Epilogue

In 1968, at the age of 47 and after fifteen years of practice in architecture Kiyoshi Izumi accepted a faculty position at the newly created Department of Environmental Studies at the University of Saskatchewan's Regina campus. Later, from 1972 to 1986 Izumi taught at the University of Waterloo where he ended his career. Kiyoshi died in 1996 in Kitchener, Ontario, at the age of 75. Kiyoshi and Amy Nomura Izumi, along with others such as James Shunichi Sugiyama were among a handful of *Nisei* in the early-1940s that made Saskatchewan their home. Though less prominent than Tommy Shoyama and George Tamaki (as well as the Moose Jaw-born artist, Roy Kiyooka, who lived in Regina during the 1950s) Kiyoshi Izumi belonged to the generation of *Nisei* that struggled mightily and did not reach their full professional potential until the 1960s. To be sure, many never did reach their potential due to the racism from that era. In the final analysis, however, some light has finally been shed on Kiyoshi Izumi and some of his *Nisei* associates that made Saskatchewan their home from the turbulent 1940s to the 1960s.

Kam Teo is the branch manager at the Weyburn Public Library (WPL) in Weyburn, Saskatchewan. He became interested in the work of Kiyoshi Izumi when he discovered that the Regina, SK- based architect designed the original 1964 Weyburn Public Library on which the present library is located.

(Endnotes)

- 1 Barman, Jean. *The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 233; *Regina Leader Post*, Obituary, Tuesday, October 29, 1996, Section D.
- 2 Ward, Peter W. *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1978), 111&117.
- 3 Gomer Sunahara, Ann. *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1981), 160; Nakayama, Gordon G. *Issei: Stories of Japanese Canadian Pioneers* (Toronto, NC Press Ltd., 1984), 131-132; 209-210.
- 4 Kato, Arthur. *A History of Japanese Canadians in Regina*. (Regina: 1980; self-published), pgs. 3;11-12.
- 5 Ibid, 25-27.
- 6 Roy, Patricia E. *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-67*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 80; Adachi, Ken *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 231.
- 7 University of Regina Archives, (Hereinafter referred to as URA). *The College Record*, November 8, 1940, 2.
- 8 URA. Copies of *The College Record*, the University of Regina calendar, from 1940-1950; Kato, 43. Thomas Tamaki attended the University of Saskatchewan College of Law after the end of the Second World War when the city of Saskatoon rescinded its residency restrictions. <http://www.lawsociety.sk.ca/media/21169/bv15i5.pdf> (accessed June 5, 2013).
- 9 McLeod, Thomas H. & Ian McLeod. *Tommy Douglas: The Road to Jerusalem* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987), 95. An assistant to Douglas, McLeod worked with Tamaki (no relation to George, above) and Tommy Shoyama in the Saskatchewan civil service. Tamaki graduated near the top of his law school class at Dalhousie University in 1941. Originally rejected by the graduate school at the University of Toronto because he was Japanese Canadian, Tamaki was accepted in 1943. Girard, Philip. *Bora Laskin: Bringing Law to Life* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 144. It was Tamaki who recommended Shoyama to Douglas. http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/shoyama_thomas_kunito_1916-.html. (accessed August 21, 2013)
- 10 Saskatchewan Archives Board (Hereinafter referred to as SAB); "Saskatchewan Ready To Admit Some Japs." Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*, December 5, 1945; "Deportation of Japs show discrimination." *Regina Leader-Post* Feb. 20, 1946.
- 11 University of Manitoba Archives (Hereinafter referred to as UMA). *The Brown and Gold*, 1947, 6; *The Brown and Gold*, 1948, 104.
- 12 Nakayama, 138.
- 13 Interview with George Matsumoto, "From Confinement to College: Video Oral Histories of Japanese American Students in World War II." <http://openarchives.umb.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15774coll5/id/12/rec/1> (accessed October 12, 2013).
- 14 Kaplan, Victoria. *Structural Inequality: Black Architects in the United States*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 19; Flaman, Bernard *Architecture of Saskatchewan: A Visual Journey* (Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 2013), 32; Arnott, Ryan. "Buried Treasure," in *Regina's Secret Spaces: Love and Lore of Local Geography*, edited by Lorne Beug, Anne Campbell, Jeannie Mah (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2006), 118-119.
- 15 Hoffer, Abram. *Adventures in psychiatry: the scientific memoirs of Dr. Abram Hoffer* (Caledon, Ont. : KOS Publishing Inc., 2005), 154-155; Kiyoshi Izumi, "Some Considerations on the Art of Architecture and Art in Architecture," *The Structurist*, No 2, (1961-1962), 47-48. For scholarship on Saskatchewan's contribution to LSD research in ameliorating schizophrenia and alcoholism see Erika Dyck's *Psychedelic Psychiatry: LSD From Clinic to Campus* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 146.
- 16 Grain elevators "symbolic of Sask." *Regina Leader-Post*, Saturday, October 21, 1961. Pg. 32; "Location of university buildings taking shape – Yamasaki discusses Wascana Centre," *Regina Leader-Post*, October 20, 1961, pg. 3.

STAYING BUSY IN TASHME

By Linda Kawamoto Reid

Tashme was one of ten internment camps established in British Columbia by the Government of Canada to confine Japanese Canadians during World War II. Located 14 miles (22.5 km) southeast of Hope, Tashme covered 1,200 acres of land and, at its height, was home to 2,644 people. Opened in 1942, the camp was closed in 1946.

In 2015, the Tashme Historical Project is creating a new website to explore the complex history of this remote community. What was it like to live in Tashme? How did people survive the harsh and remote conditions? What did they do for fun?

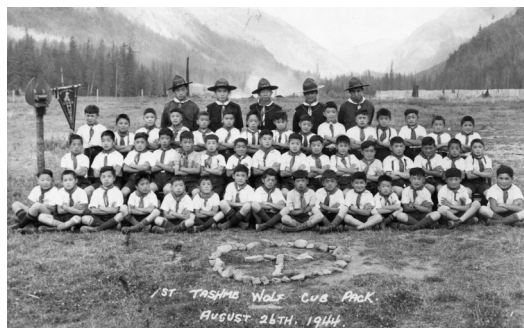
Skating Day, 1944. Marge Takahashi (Hayashi), Emi Sakanashi and Martha Horii and many other youth liked to skate on the frozen lake at 12 Mile (about 2.5 miles away). The lake was covered by the Hope Slide on January 9, 1965. NNM 1993.40.19

CGIT group, September 4, 1943. The United Church had a big influence on the activities and schooling for teenagers in Tashme. The Christian Girls in Training may have been inspired by the Church but was sponsored by the Tashme Youth Organization. NNM 1994.45.3

Japanese Language School, 1944. It was against the Order in Council under the War Measures Act to congregate and teach children in a Japanese Language School. The RCMP mostly overlooked the schools, instead they watched and reported the activities. The classes were held in the teacher's tar paper shacks. NNM 1995.101.1.8

First Wolf Cub Pack, August 26, 1944. Shig Yoshida (middle of the back row) was the organizer of all the Scouts and Wolf Cubs in Tashme. Unable to join the Scouts in Chemainus where he lived pre-war, he challenged the exams and became a Scout leader. In Tashme he also helped to organize the girl guides and brownies. By 1945, there were 144 scouts in Tashme. NNM 1995.101.2.3

Tashme Youth Organization (TYO) concert, 1942. From left to right: Fred Saiga, George Kakino, Eddie Mochizuki, Tad Morishita, Sho Okawara, Bob Kadoguchi, Yosh Ono. Every Christmas, the TYO would put on an excellent concert for the community. The





TYO was made up of young people over the age of 16. NNM 2010.80.2.129



Robert Ito at a TYO concert, 1944. Robert Ito was a good dancer and performer in his youth and was later with the National Ballet of Canada. He went on to Hollywood and became a well-known actor. NNM 2011.19.18



Bokin Boshu Engeikai Concert, 1943. This fundraising Shibai helped to purchase schoolbooks needed in Tashme classrooms. Although the BCSC provided education for grades 1-8, the correspondence high school education was funded by the internees and run by the United Church. NNM 2013.29.1.6

Odori by Jean Soga (now Wakahara), c.1943. Japanese cultural activities continued on in Tashme, as well as music, dance and sports. NNM 2013.32.9



Hayabusa Tashme Senior League Baseball Champions, 1944. First row from left: Heike, Kamino, A. Mizuguchi, Fujimoto, Mende, Matsumiya. Second row: Y. Watanabe, Harafuji, Watanabe, Omotani, Watanabe, T. Mizuguchi, Hayakawa, Nishimura, Moritsugu. The many Tashme baseball teams provided entertainment on Wednesdays and Sundays for the whole community. NNM 2014.20.1.1.37

Wedding of Minoru Kaura and Sadako Harafuji, 1943. First row from left: Mr. & Mrs. Tomihiro, Minoru and Sadako Kaura, Fumiko Kawata, Mr. & Mrs. Kawata. Second row: Kaura, S. Harafuji, T. Harafuji, Mr. & Mrs. Harafuji. Many other weddings happened in Tashme. NNM 2014.20.1.2.50



*The **Tashme Historical Project** is led by former Tashme internee Howard Shimokura, assisted by a volunteer committee, and supported by the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre in Burnaby, BC, and the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre in Toronto. The website will launch in Fall 2015. If you have questions, concerns or would like to suggest changes or additions to the site, please contact us! Nikkei National Museum, 604.777.7000, info@nikkeiplace.org*



Rose, Mary, Violet
and Alice Murakami
in Ganges, 1940

Mr. Kumanosuke
and his daughters,
Sayoko and Kimiko,
1920s



RACISM AND THE EXPROPRIATION OF JAPANESE CANADIAN LANDS ON SALTSPRING ISLAND

by Brian Smallshaw

The internment of Japanese Canadians during World War Two is a well documented story. The political decision to uproot and move Japanese Canadians, to seize and later sell off their land and property, was rooted in the institutional racism of the Canadian government towards all Asians, and the racist attitudes that were prevalent in Canadian society at the time.

Saltspring Island is one community which provides an interesting case study of expropriation. Firstly, it is geographically distinct by virtue of the fact that it's an island. As well, it is unusual in having a situation where one of the Japanese¹ families that was interned decided to return to the community, start over and rebuild, and has remained in that community to the present. Having the opportunity to interview a member of this family, Rose Murakami, though not a comprehensive assessment of the situation during the years of internment and the period that followed and thus necessarily anecdotal, provides us with an invaluable glimpse of how things were. It is fascinating to document how the history of policies and actions initiated and implemented at a national level were experienced in the specific circumstances of Saltspring Island.

Saltspring Island² is the largest and most populated of the Gulf Islands of British Columbia, a group of islands situated between Vancouver Island and mainland Canada. Prior to, during and in the years following the war, Saltspring's economy was based mainly on agriculture, logging and fishing, with a population of around 1500 to 2500.³ There was a population of about 77 Japanese prior to the outbreak of the war. Most of the Japanese on the island made their living from market gardening and logging, and to a much lesser extent, fishing, occupations that were not closed to them and in which their hard work and diligence allowed them to prosper.

Attitudes Towards the Japanese Prior to the War

When government passed the order-in-council ordering the detainment and removal of the Japanese from British Columbia's west coast on 24 February 1942, it was the culmination of forces that began building long before the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7th of the year before. During the decade of the thirties, though immigration from Japan had been restricted first to 400 people a year, and later to only 150 as stipulated by the 'Gentleman's Agreement' between Canada and Japan, there was much concern about illegal immigrants.

The RCMP uncovered a human smuggling ring in 1931 in which it was alleged that about 2,500 Japanese had illegally entered the country over the previous 15 years. In the highly publicized investigation that followed, it was concluded that 2,200 of these had fled the country fearing apprehension, 213 were arrested, 161 deported, and 47 were allowed to stay. The remainder were thought to be still at large.⁴ Despite the meagre findings of this investigation, rumours of illegal immigration continued to circulate, prompting Mackenzie King to appoint a Board of Review in 1938 headed by Hugh Keenleyside. The board toured the province investigating every available lead, but after that method turned up little, it was decided that the RCMP would undertake 'controlled sampling', unannounced spot checks of a number of communities with Japanese populations

throughout the province.⁵

Saltspring Island was one of the communities sampled. According to the RCMP report dated 23 July 1938⁶, on 18 July 1938 an RCMP team consisting of Lieutenant Corporal R.W. Kells (the writer of the report), Constables Owen-Jones and Henry 'F', and a 'Mr. Wynd' of the Immigration Department traveled to Saltspring aboard the CP steamship 'Princess Mary' to check on the 'Naturalization Papers, Passports and Birth Certificates of the Japanese Population of the above mentioned island'⁷.

They found that out of a reported population of 1200, 62 were Japanese owning a total of 997 acres which were mostly small properties of 5 to 30 acres, with two owning larger properties of 200 and 600 acres. The report noted that property on the island was valued at \$100.00 an acre, which turned out to be considerably higher than the appraisals made when the land was later seized and sold by the government.

The report summarized the Japanese population as: Adults Male (19); Adults Female (9); Children Male (13); Children Female (21); Total = 62. They noted that all Canadian-born children speak English fluently. After completing its investigation, the group returned to Vancouver on the Princess Mary on July 21, and reported that 'no illegal entrants were found on this investigation'.⁸

The RCMP report is interesting in a number of respects. First of all, the people enumerated in the report are referred to as 'the Japanese', despite the fact that the great majority of them are Canadian born, virtually all of them are Canadian citizens, and all of them are legal residents of Canada. The writer of the report had so internalized the concept of Canada as a white settler state that no qualification was given in his description of the nationality of the people he is describing, and there is no suggestion that they are Canadian; they are not 'Japanese Canadian', or 'Canadians of Japanese descent', 'people of Japanese extraction', etc. Rather, they had been completely 'othered' as 'Japanese'.

Secondly, in looking at the date of arrival in Canada of many of the older 'issei' members of the community who were born in Japan, many of them had been in Canada a very long time when the report was written. Nakamura Taki, 30 years; Ishijima Magoe, a citizen for 22 years and a 36-year resident of Saltspring; Murakami Tsunetaro, a citizen of 24 years; and Ito Nakazo, 31 years. These 'Japanese' were not newly arrived immigrants acculturating to life in Canada, most of them had been in Canada for decades, had established farms and businesses, and were successfully raising large families.

Thirdly, couched in the bureaucratic language of the report the outlines of the lives of families that if they could not be described as 'prosperous', were certainly operating as thriving and productive members of their community. Such descriptions as, 'Owns 21 Acres. 3 Greenhouses. 4 Poultry Houses. 5 room house. 300 poultry. About 10 acres cultivated, mostly in berries' does not suggest marginalization or poverty.

Though the Immigration Board of Review did not find the widespread illegal immigration that some had suspected, there were still many people calling for the expulsion of Asians. One of these, Lt. Col. MacGregor Macintosh, a Conservative MLA for Nanaimo and the Islands, was well known for his anti-Asian sentiments, and later served on the Standing Committee

..... Continued on next page

on Orientals formed in 1940 to advise the federal government on Asian matters.⁹ On 1 February 1938, Macintosh held a town hall meeting in Ganges (the largest town on Saltspring) where he gave an inflammatory speech calling for the 'repatriation' of Japanese Canadians to Japan. Rose Murakami cites her father's recollection of the meeting when the island's doctor at the time, Dr. Raymond Rush, stood up in the meeting to demand that Macintosh come with him to see the Okano home and farm, Rose's grandparent's place, to see how they lived.¹⁰ The incident is revealing for the fact that a member of the province's legislature felt it was acceptable to stand up in a town hall meeting and openly proclaim his racist sentiments, and that his views were not shared by everyone, and in fact, hotly contested.

War Sparks More Racism

With the outbreak of the war in 1939, the general suspicion of Canadians with roots in enemy nations increases dramatically. In the papers of the area are strident calls for vigilance of 'enemy aliens', and even their internment and the confiscation of their property, though prior to Pearl Harbor, there seems to be no mention of the Japanese as 'enemy aliens'. An article in the Nanaimo Free Press in May 1940 reports on a petition that had circulated in Ladysmith, urging that 'all aliens and all persons who have acquired British nationality during the present German regime; the internment of all enemy aliens; the confiscation of all privately-owned firearms and ammunition; the Dominion census be advanced and undertaken now, and the formation and training of a "home guard," mainly consisting of selected ex-service men.'¹¹

An even more strident article several weeks later entitled 'Let's Not Trust the Alien Too Far'¹² argues for unrestrained state power to arrest and detain suspects, 'For the safety of the state in war time it is essential that power be vested in the government to detain suspects. No citizen, with the welfare of Canada at heart, can oppose that section of the governmental regulations.' Though the war was raging in China, Pearl Harbor was still a year and a half away, and no mention was made of the Japanese. In the first weeks following Pearl Harbor, not doubting the loyalty of the Japanese in British Columbia, the initial concern of the Cabinet War Committee was 'irresponsible anti-Japanese demonstrations'¹³. In a speech made on December 8, Mackenzie King expressed his confidence in 'Canadian residents of Japanese origin', noting that Japanese nationals and those naturalized after 1922, like the Germans and Italians, would be required to report regularly to the RCMP.¹⁴ Public attitudes as expressed in press articles quickly took on a more ominous tone. The military authorities were giving assurances that the chances of an invasion were extremely remote, but others alarmed at the possibility of a Japanese 'fifth column' began to call for the internment of the Japanese, or even their expulsion from the country. After the fall of Hong Kong, letters began appearing in newspapers calling from the expulsion of Japanese from the coast.¹⁵

The outbreak of war between Japan and the Allied powers sparked more outward expressions of racism against the Japanese in Canada. In some cases, there was an economic motive to this; Japanese fishing boats had been ordered tied up, and seeing the possibility of freeing themselves from the fiercely

competitive Japanese who dominated the fishing industry in British Columbia, white and native fishermen called for Japanese boats and equipment to be impounded. When questioned whether they would be able to make up the shortfall in harvests that would inevitably result from removing so many boats from production, they replied that if Japanese vessels and equipment were made available to them they would have no trouble making up the difference. Thus it seems that for some people, there was an economic motive in trying to drive the Japanese off of the coast. On Saltspring Island, the Japanese were mostly engaged in market gardening, with most of their farms clustered around the end of Booth Inlet, close to the island's largest town, Ganges (Figure 1). They owned a total of about 1000 acres (400 hectares) in eleven properties, with a single parcel of land owned by the Iwasaki family comprising about 600 acres of the total, situated near the north end of the island away from the rest of the properties. Most had owned their farms for decades and had invested considerable time, effort and money to make them into productive and profitable enterprises. The Okanos and the Murakamis (Morihei) owned large greenhouses in which they produced vegetables and berries that were mostly for the Victoria market. Several of them, including Katsuyori Murakami and Morihei Murakami, had sizeable chicken-raising operations.

Removal from the Coast, Expropriation of Property

On 24 February 1942, the federal cabinet passed an order-in-council (Executive Order 9066) modeled on the American order for the same purpose, that empowered the



top:
Original Okano house in January 1920 (before the addition).
bottom:
Victor and Miyoko Okano with Mrs. Nagata, from Mayne Island



Picnic at Booth Canal, July 1933

minister of justice to remove anybody deemed a threat to national security from the designated protected area along the coast, though it would be applied only to the Japanese.¹⁶ All adult male enemy aliens were to be removed from the coast before 1 April 1942 for reasons of national security, and on 17 March 1942, five men were taken from the island by the RCMP and sent to the Yellowhead Prison Camp¹⁷: Katsuyori Murakami (age 43); Masakichi Inouye (61); Michio Inouye (22); Masayoshi Murakami (30); Umeo Luke Murakami (27).

There were other adult male Japanese on the island such as Murakami Morihei, but it is unclear why they were not taken with this first group. On 22 April 1942 the rest of the Japanese on Saltspring were allowed to pack up what belongings they could carry (150 pounds for adults, 75 pounds for children) and loaded aboard the *Princess Mary*, a ferry serving the islands, and taken to Vancouver where they were put in the Hastings Park Detention Centre. The people taken from the island, grouped by family and the property that they owned on the island are listed in Figure 2.¹⁸

Saltspring Island Internees (see page 20 for chart)

When the Japanese were removed from Saltspring in 1942, their land and other possessions were signed over to the Custodian of Enemy Property, who was to hold it during the period that they were interned away from the coast. Many welcomed their removal, not because they felt they were a security threat, but for economic reasons, or because of their racist views, they saw this as a convenient opportunity to rid the coast of the Japanese.

On Saltspring, Gavin C. Mouat, a member of a prominent family on the island, was appointed as the local agent for the Custodian of Enemy Property.¹⁹ During the rush of being taken from the island, Rose Murakami cites her father's memory of being told by Gavin that there was no need to lock their doors, because not so much as a single chopstick would be touched in their absence.²⁰ This was not to be the case.

With popular opinion against the idea of the Japanese returning to the coast, as early as November of 1942 consideration began to be given to selling off Japanese property, and also to provide farms to veterans returning from the war. To do so required another order-in-council since the powers of the Custodian of Enemy Property under the War Measures Act were restricted to protecting and administering the property of

Japanese Canadians. Following cabinet discussions late in the year, on 23 January 1943 cabinet passed an order-in-council granting the Custodian the right to dispose of the Japanese Canadian property without the consent of its owners.²¹

It took several months for the reality of this momentous decision to sink in, for the Japanese and for everyone else. At first many believed that it was only a minor administrative change, but when the fact that they were to be dispossessed of their land there was initially rage, which quickly turned to efforts to organize a resistance to the action; the Japanese were not prepared to be passive victims in this process and were determined to fight back. The Japanese Property Owners' Association was formed on March 31 in Kaslo, and soon after similar groups were formed in every detention camp in British Columbia. Legal council was retained and money raised to fight the expected court case, but while this was happening the farms were being sold.²²

The legitimacy of dispossessing a group of people from their property was not without controversy and there were many who felt that it smacked of the fascism that the Allies were fighting in Europe. However, at the time few believed that the Japanese would be returning to the coast and there was concern that many of the properties were deteriorating and being vandalized. This certainly seemed to be the case on Saltspring, where greenhouses were smashed and property stolen out of houses and buildings. Years later, items looted from Japanese properties were still turning up in thrift shops and garage sales.²³ Genuine concern for the fate of the properties was coupled with other considerations. Many individuals in government were protesting the cost of keeping the Japanese in detention, and saw the sale of the farms as being a means to provide them with the funds for their upkeep. As it was, internees were not allowed access to their bank accounts, and had to beg camp superintendents for the right to withdraw money. With rage, Rose Murakami recalls her mother Kimiko asking for and being refused the right to withdraw money from her bank account to purchase baby clothes for her younger brother Bruce who was born in the camp.²⁴

It has been suggested that with the general feeling being that the Japanese wouldn't be moving back to the coast, their lands might as well be sold off because they wouldn't be coming back. Many Japanese, however, saw it differently; selling off their property was a means to actively discourage them from going back to the coast. Given the difficulties faced by those who were determined to return, it's a difficult assertion to dispute. Being located in many desirable areas close to urban areas and already well developed, the farms were seen as ideal for the relocation of returning soldiers. In May 1943, Ivan T. Barnet, the Vancouver superintendent for the Veterans' Land Act, the agency responsible for procuring land for returning soldiers, approached the Rural Advisory Committee of the Custodian for Enemy Property and offered \$750,000 for 769 farms, properties that had a tax assessment value of \$1,200,000. This figure was raised to \$850,000. Despite the protests that the amount was still far too low, and the resignation of the Japanese member of the committee, Yasutaro Yamaga, the deal was finalized on 23 June 1943 for that amount. It included \$43,000 in net income from those farms for the 1943 harvest.²⁵

..... Continued on next page

On Saltspring, the local agent for the Custodian of Enemy Property took twelve properties into his possession, eleven belonging to the Japanese which were either sold under the Veterans' Land Act (VLA) which in turn sold them to returning soldiers, or in three cases, to individual buyers. The twelfth belonged to one Miles Acheson, who as a resident of China in 1942 was also deemed to be an enemy alien. Obtaining more information on Acheson has so far been fruitless; there is currently a 'Chris Acheson' living on the island, but he is unrelated to Miles Acheson and does not know anything about him. One possibility is that he was a Christian missionary serving in Japanese-occupied China. Unlike the rest of the properties that were seized, the Acheson property was returned to its owner after the war, though being 105 acres of farmland in a prime area of the island close to St. Mary's Lake it could have been turned into at least 10 small farms for returning veterans. The return of the Acheson property to its owner highlights the fundamentally racist nature of the way properties seized during the Second World War were handled.

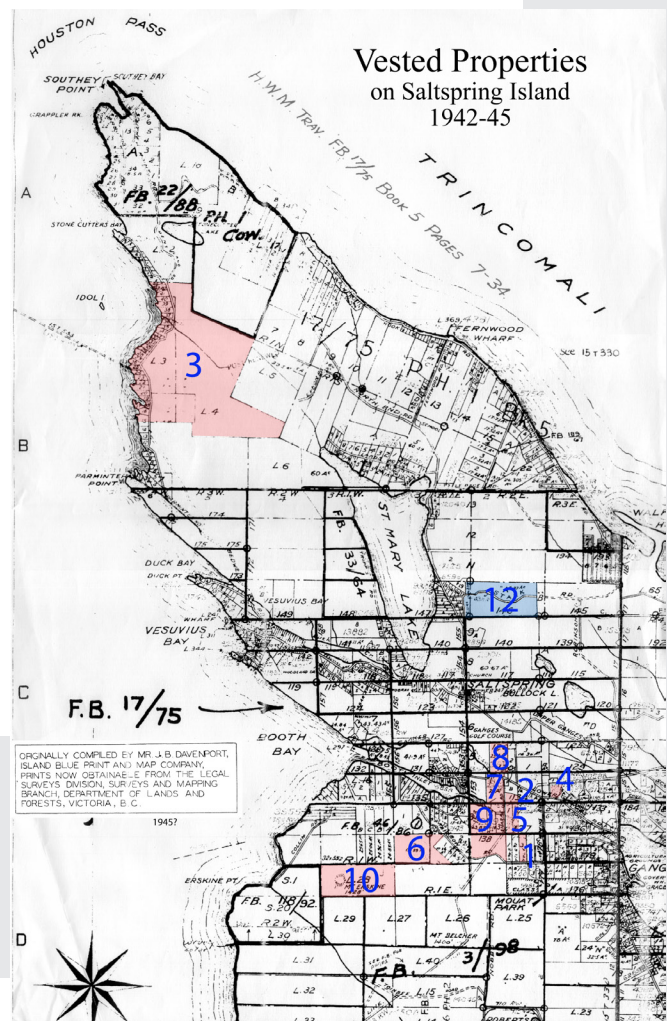
Of the eleven Japanese properties taken, the eight properties sold to the Director of Soldier Settlement for the VLA were all sold in 1944 and 1945 at a price very close to their VLA appraisal value. Both the assessed and actual sales values were hotly disputed and even outside the Japanese community were widely felt to be too low. This was partly attributed to the fact that so many properties were put on the market and sold over a short period, because the properties had been neglected after their Japanese owners were dispossessed and because the VLA appraisers were unfamiliar with the types of farms and thus underestimated their value.²⁶ Of the three properties not sold through the VLA, a 9.74 acre property owned by Masakichi Inouye (#1 on the Key to Vested Properties table above) was sold for \$1550 to a Joseph M. Ford in 1945, and a larger undeveloped property of 65.89 acres belonging to Masayoshi Okano (#6 on the table above) was sold for \$300 to a Fred Orr in 1945. No appraisals have been found for these properties. The Inouye property is noted on the Real Property Summary for its sale as being owned by Masakichi Inouye, but registered in the name of William Francis Akerman; the Akermans are an old family on the island with many members still living on the island today. It is noted that the title was delivered to Salt Spring Lands Ltd. on June 5th, 1945. The Masayoshi Okano property was registered in his name, and the Real Property Summary documenting its sale indicates that its title was delivered to Salt Spring Lands on June 23rd.

Salt Spring Lands Ltd. was founded in 1928 as the Salt Spring Land and Investment Co. Ltd.²⁷, and though the composition of its five-member Board of Directors changed over time, three members from the Mouat family were on the board at its founding, and in 1946²⁸, and Gavin C. Mouat, who became the local agent for the Custodian of Enemy Property, was registered on the board at both times. The Mouats have been a prominent family on Saltspring for almost a century, and remain influential to this day, with a number of businesses, such as Mouat's Hardware, being very visible in the centre of Ganges. The third non-VLA property, the much larger Iwasaki property (598.85 acres) near the north end of the island was also handled by Salt Spring Lands, but unlike other two, it was purchased and

held by the company. The property includes several miles of very attractive waterfront where there are now many very expensive homes on 26 separate properties. There are also 33 larger non-waterfront properties on what used to be the Iwasaki property.²⁹ They are situated along Sunset Drive, one of the most exclusive neighbourhoods on an island with an abundance of wealthy residents. Salt Spring Lands purchased the property in March 1945 for \$5250.00, receiving a \$262.50 commission on the sale. Even considering the prices of the times, this was an extraordinarily favourable purchase for Salt Spring Lands, as evidenced by the cost per acre compared to the other lands that were expropriated. For example, the Okano property at 49.32 acres sold for \$2926.00 compared to \$5250.00 for 598.85 acres. Even considering the fact that the Okano property included buildings, this is a very low price.

Bird Commission to Address Wartime Property Confiscation

After the war, it wasn't until 1 April 1949 before Japanese Canadians were allowed full freedom of movement in Canada, but almost immediately after armistice they began



Based on work done by Jay Thomas with assistance from Dan Arnold, Joni Devlin, and Caffyn Kelley for the Salt Spring Japanese Garden Society - March 2006



Rose and Mary Murakami, Ganges, November 1941

seeking redress for the loss of their property during the war. Racial discrimination, though abating somewhat, continued, and though some British Columbians had little sympathy for an adjustment to the compensation paid to Japanese Canadians who had lost their property during the war, there was growing public sentiment for at least addressing their losses. As noted by Roy, the *Vancouver Sun* saw an “open and shut case”; the government “had the plain duty to pay the losses incurred through no fault of the victims.”³⁰

In July 1947, the government announced that Justice H.I. Bird would head up a royal commission to investigate claims. After hearings began, Bird decided to speed up what was going to be a very slow process given the number of claims. He adopted a sampling method to try to establish a rate of compensation that would be a percentage of what owners had received for their properties.³¹ In his report submitted in April 1950, he decided that the custodian had given fair market prices for Vancouver properties, but recommended that those claimants be paid for the costs of the sales. For rural properties, he recommended giving owners an additional 10 percent plus the costs of sales, and for the 741 properties sold under the VLA, he recommended paying former owners an additional 80 percent. After about a month’s consideration, Bird’s recommendation was approved by cabinet, which amounted to a total claim of \$1,222,829 for about 1200 individuals.³² At the time, though many Japanese Canadians felt the judgment was unfair, most just wanted to get on with their lives after the horrors that they had suffered

during internment. Many decided not to return to the coast because there was nothing for them to return to and they had hard memories of discrimination in British Columbia. This was true for all but one of the families that had been moved off of Saltspring Island; in September 1954 Katsuyori and Kimiko Murakami returned to the island in the hope of repurchasing the land that had been taken from them. They were not welcomed, and they were unable to buy back their old farm. Absolutely determined to stay, they decided to start over, and bought land along Rainbow Road on the edge of the town of Ganges where they have lived since.³³

Through determination and a great deal of hard work the Murakami family have prospered on Saltspring and though they are now very respected members of the community with many friends and allies, Rose Murakami can offer many incidents of racism the family has suffered since returning to the island. One such incident in 1966-67 shows the persistence of racist attitudes. In late 1966, the community was making plans for a park in the centre of the town of Ganges to celebrate Canada’s centennial the following year. Several memorials were planned to honour the island’s pioneers, and the Murakami’s were asked to make a contribution, which they did, paying for some cherry trees that would be planted in the park.

In November 1966, the family made a trip to Japan, the first and only time Rose ever traveled to the country, and they traveled widely visiting family and seeing many of the places that she’d heard about as a child. After returning in February 1967 they were unable to find the tree in the park, and upon inquiring with a member of the committee who was responsible for its planning, Rose’s mother Kimiko was told they ‘didn’t want someone of her race donating to the park’ and that she should have her donation refunded.³⁴ This occurred almost 22 years after the end of the war, in the same year that Japanese Canadians were finally given full citizenship rights.

Iwasaki Seeks Redress

Years after the government paid some compensation to those who had had their property confiscated during the war, Torazo Iwasaki still did not accept that he had been properly compensated for his loss. Although the Bird Commission had determined compensation for most properties according to a percentage of their assessed value, the appraisal done for the Custodian in 1944 was \$5000, versus the appraisal done for Mr. Iwasaki which was \$12,000. The Bird Commission had accepted the higher figure and made payment of the amount owing, which Iwasaki initially refused, demanding a minimum of \$66,000, but he later accepted on 5 October 1948³⁵, apparently because he was nearly destitute³⁶.

In 1967 he began filing a lawsuit for the return of his property or damages in the amount of \$1.5 million, with the case going before the court on 1 October 1968³⁷. In his case, Iwasaki was arguing that the sale of his land to the Salt Spring Land Co. was a breach of trust and fraud, because the agent for the custodian, Gavin C. Mouat, was a shareholder in the company that purchased the land.

The media took up the cause over the next three years and the tone of many articles is sympathetic to the Iwasakis. On 23 June 1967, before case had gone to court, a cover page story

..... Continued on next page

in the Sun entitled “Couple Asks for \$1.5 Million” is subtitled, “Appeal to Canada’s Conscience”, and the next year there was a CBC television documentary on the case. Iwasaki lost his case in the Exchequer Court on 1 October 1968, it was appealed, but the Supreme Court upheld the lower court’s decision on 18 February 1970. The Nanaimo Daily Press wrote, “In dismissing the appeal, Mr. Justice Gerald Fauteaux said the court was unanimous in its belief that the property sale was legal and that Mr. Iwasaki is not entitled to further compensation. “He noted the appellant has received more compensation for his land than had been called for by the 1950 claims inquiry commission.”³⁸

The ruling was a bitter blow to Iwasaki, and the many other Japanese who remained convinced that after the injustice of losing their property during the war, the injustice had been compounded by the meagre compensation they had received under the Bird Commission. In making its decision, the court must have considered that a ruling favourable to Iwasaki would have opened a floodgate for hundreds of other claims. Certainly the Iwasaki case was influential in the redress movement which came later that sought to right some of wrongs that had been committed against Japanese Canadians in the past.

Conclusion

Anti-Asian racism has been persistent in British Columbia since the first arrival of Asians in the area, and it became particularly acute during the Second World War when Canadian citizens of Japanese descent were stripped of their property with little compensation, and with the acquiescence, or sometimes with the outright encouragement of a public that felt that the historical connection with an enemy country made the theft permissible. The scars of this injustice remain to this day.



New Year's party, Ganges, 1940



Violet Murakami, Class of 1941, Ganges, BC

Figure 2 - Saltspring Island Internees

The people taken from the island, grouped by family and the property that they owned on the island are listed in the table below. Families that owned property are indicated by an *. A more detailed list is available online.

family name, given name
Ando, Chiyo
property 1
*Inouye, Masakichi and Ei, and 5 children
Ishijima, Magoe
property 2
*Ito, Nakazo and Hatsue, and 6 children
property 3
*Iwasaki, Torazo and Fuku, and 5 children
property 4
*Mikado, Masukichi & Tsutayo, and 8 children
property 5
*Murakami, Katsuyori & Kimiko, and 6 children
property 6
*Okano, Masayoshi (Victor)
property 7
*Murakami, Morihei & Sukino, and 6 family members
property 8
*Murakami, Tsunetaro and Tameo and 2 family members
Nakamura, Taki (Mrs.)
6 more Nakamuras
Numajiri, Hikotaro (Yoshi) & Shizuko and 4 children
property 9, property 10
*Okano, Kumanosuke (Victor) & Evelyn, and 3 children
Separate house - Ohara, Saijiro & Tsuyu and 8 children and family members
Separate house - Hirano, Sugimatsu (Noah) & Komae, and 4 family members
property 11
*Okano, Sueyuki (James, Jim)
Okano, Moritaro (Billy)
Tottori, Katsutaro
Takebe, Etsujiro
Tasaka, Mr & Mrs. and children

(Endnotes)

- 1 I use the term 'Japanese' to refer to Japanese Canadians, including those that were 'naturalized'; i.e., had acquired Canadian citizenship, people of Japanese descent who were born in Canada, as well as immigrants who had not yet acquired Canadian citizenship. Since most of the individuals mentioned in this paper are Canadian, all names listed are given name first, family name second.
- 2 The name of the island is spelled both as one word, 'Saltspring', and as two words, 'Salt Spring' and like many things on the island, which is correct is a subject of some debate. I prefer the former so will use the one-word spelling, except in quotes where the original used the two-word spelling
- 3 Charles Kahn, *Salt Spring: The Story of an Island*, (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1998), 263.
- 4 Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 180
- 5 Ibid. 180
- 6 RCMP Division File No S49B, Vancouver BC Detachment, 23 July 1938
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ann Gomer Sunahara *The Politics of Racism*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981), 15
- 10 Rose Murakami *Ganbaru*, (Ganges: Japanese Garden Society of Salt Spring Island, 2005), 13
- 11 Nanaimo Free Press "Ladysmith asks for Internment of Enemy Aliens" p. 5 col. 1, 31 May 1940
- 12 Nanaimo Free Press "Let's Not Trust the Alien Too Far" p. 2. col. 1 12 June 1940
- 13 Patricia E. Roy *The Triumph of Citizenship*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 17
- 14 Ibid. 17
- 15 Ibid. 23
- 16 Ann Gomer Sunahara *The Politics of Racism*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981), 37
- 17 Recollection of Mary Kitagawa as documented in notes in the Salt Spring Japanese Garden Society Archive
- 18 Several people listed on the table indicated by a bullet before their names were not among the detainees, but I have included them because there is some utility in having lists of families that are as complete as possible.
- 19 Rose Murakami *Ganbaru*, (Ganges: Japanese Garden Society of Salt Spring Island, 2005), 17
- 20 Rose Murakami, interview 5 February 2011
- 21 Ann Gomer Sunahara *The Politics of Racism*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981), 105
- 22 Ann Gomer Sunahara *The Politics of Racism*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981), 107
- 23 Rose Murakami, interview 5 February 2011
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ann Gomer Sunahara *The Politics of Racism*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981), 108
- 26 Ann Gomer Sunahara *The Politics of Racism*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981), 157
- 27 from a "Notice of Directors" under the Company Act dated 4 August 1928, Salt Spring Garden Society Archive
- 28 from a "Notice of Directors" under the Company Act dated 4 May 1946, Salt Spring Garden Society Archive
- 29 CRD Natural Areas Atlas - 2009 Orthographic survey, with property line overlay, <http://crdatlas.ca/public>
- 30 Patricia E. Roy *The Triumph of Citizenship*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 243
- 31 Bird Commission Report, (Library and Archives Canada, 1950), 38
- 32 Patricia E. Roy *The Triumph of Citizenship*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 245
- 33 Rose Murakami, interview 2 April 2011
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Daniel Arnold *Crown Enemies: An Account of the Confiscation and Sale of Enemy Property in colonial and self-governing Canada and the emerging United States during Periods of Armed Conflict and Rebellion*, (Unpublished manuscript in Salt Spring Garden Society Archives, 1993) 173
- 36 Rose Murakami, interview 2 April 2011
- 37 Province "\$1.5 million claim before court today" p.12 1 October 1968
- 38 Nanaimo Free Press "Supreme Court Rejects Claim on Island Land" p. 20



above:
Men released from Angler on their way to
Japan, 1946. NNM 1995.106.2.7

right:
Departure from the Immigration Building,
Vancouver. NNM 1996.182.1.21



THE STORY OF THE EXCHANGE: JAPANESE CANADIANS FOR CANADIANS HELD BY JAPAN DURING WWII

by Howard Shimokura

In researching the internment of Japanese Canadians during WW II for the Tashme Historical Project, a joint history project of the NNMCC and JCCC, I discovered a piece of the history that I found fascinating – that some Japanese Canadians who were interned in Canada were exchanged for Canadians held in Japanese detention camps in the Far East, while hostilities were underway. Two exchanges were conducted successfully but additional exchanges were never concluded after the government of Japan broke off negotiations.

Between July 20 and July 26, 1942, the Swedish ship, the *M/S GRIPSHOLM*, with a group of about 1500 persons, including 42 Japanese Canadians aboard, landed at Lourenco Marques, known now as Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. They were awaiting the arrival of the *SS ASAMA MARU* and the *CONTE VERDE* from Japan, for an exchange for a group of 1500, mostly Americans, who were held in detention by Japan.

Negotiations began on December 8, 1941, the day after the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, when the US government sent a proposal to the Japanese government for an exchange of Japanese government officials for American government officials. Due to the state of war, the US government sent their communiqués via Switzerland, while Japanese government worked through the diplomatic channels of Spain. The immediacy of the proposal indicates that the US government was concerned about its government officials and others detained by Japan. In fact, the US government knew of the Japanese government actions before the Pearl Harbor attack and the intensification of its efforts to detain US officials and citizens during a period before and after December 7.

The initial proposal was subsequently expanded to include an exchange of civilians from US, Canada, Central and South America who were held in Japanese detention camps in Japan, China and Manchuria. The US government led the negotiations on behalf of Canada, Mexico, Peru, Brazil, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Panama, Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Paraguay and Venezuela. The expansion of the exchange to include non US countries provided an opportunity for inclusion of more “high value” Japanese government officials and citizens thus increasing the likelihood of the return of more Americans held in Japanese detention camps.

A key demand of Japan, reciprocity, required that for every American returned to the US, one Japanese would be repatriated to Japan. While the first priority of both sides was the return of government officials, initial negotiations for civilians focused on specific individuals known to the Japanese government. Japan wanted businessmen, scholars, or professionals, persons of stature, persons who “match their approximate social value with those Americans being held in Japan”. The US side wanted the return of businessmen, missionaries, educators,

journalists and tourists. The government of Japan was somewhat frustrated by the fact that many Japanese Nationals and Japanese Americans on its list opted to remain in the US. As negotiations progressed the exchange of ordinary citizens was eventually adopted, and what began as “qualitative reciprocity” became “quantitative reciprocity”. All of those who returned to Japan volunteered to do so and were required to give up their citizenship as a condition for being returned.

Another important aspect of the negotiations dealt with the treatment and well being of participants. Negotiations took place from early 1942 to summer of 1943 when the negotiations for the third exchange broke down. Initially, Japan expressed concern about the US government treatment of the Japanese diplomats in Washington following the US declaration of war. The US government immediately adopted a policy for treatment of enemy civilians during times of war according to international agreements, not only for Japanese government officials but also the Japanese American civilian population. The US government wanted to ensure that the Japanese government would also abide by international agreements. The topic of treatment of enemy

civilians became an issue of conflict during negotiations particularly as the war progressed and it became apparent that Japan was losing the war. Japan accused the US of mistreatment of Japanese Americans detained in relocation camps, while not meeting the standards of international agreements of American civilians held in Japanese detention camps, a truth revealed clearly after the war was over.

The same care was taken by the government of Canada and the BC Security Commission which was mandated to carry out the evacuation of Japanese and Japanese Canadians from the Pacific protection zone. In Canada, while there were complaints of mistreatment and issues of conflict, government agencies dealt with the issues and sponsored audits of living conditions and reports of inspections by the International Red Cross and officials from Spain to demonstrate to the government of Japan that Canada was meeting international standards of treatment of enemy civilians.

A second exchange took place October 16, 1943, when the *M/S GRIPSHOLM* with 1250 Japanese from US and 254 from Canada, Central and South America, landed at Marmagao, on the Portuguese colony of Goa, now part of India. It included 61 Japanese Canadians: 24 Japanese Nationals, 20 Naturalized Canadians, and 17 Canadian born (mostly children). In return, the *TEIA MARU* carried 1250 American and 217 Canadian repatriates with the remainder from other American republics.

Negotiations for the second exchange were very different from the first. The first dealt mostly with officials of both governments, for whose exchange there was little question. The second was impacted from the beginning by Japanese charges of poor treatment of their officials. Also, Japan claimed sole authority to determine who among its citizens and American citizens of Japanese descent should be included in the

exchange. This led to protracted negotiations to determine the 1500 persons for the second exchange. While agreement for this exchange was finally reached, negotiations for further exchanges amid the diplomatic tensions and acrimony, protests and counter protests over mistreatment of internees resulted in an impasse. Although ships for additional exchanges were assigned, no further exchanges were conducted.

While the US and Canada were anxious for the return of all of their government officials and citizens from Japanese detention camps, the government of Japan was more strategic in attempting to gain advantage for their country and their war effort. Japan requested the return of specific individuals identified by lists of names but without addresses which resulted in difficult searches among the internees who by this time were assigned to various relocation centers and internment camps. Many who were located declared that they wished to remain in the US and Canada. Only some of the others who were not on the government of Japan lists and wished to be repatriated were assigned to the first or second exchanges. The remainder who wished to be repatriated were sent back to Japan only after the war was over.

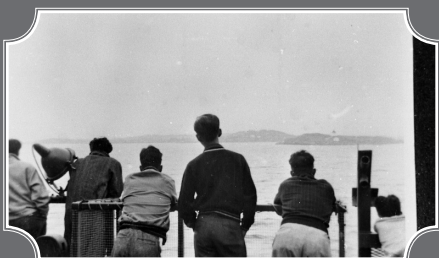
Historians disagree about the motivations of the governments of US, Canada and other nations in the Americas that led to the uprooting and relocation of their Japanese civilians to detention camps. In particular, historians do not agree on the influence the extensive negotiations for the exchanges had on the treatment of Japanese civilians in the US relocation centers and Canadian internment camps. Some historians now argue that the relocation camps served not only to meet the government of Japan demands for security for its nationals, but they also served "to locate and repatriate Japanese nationals in exchange for American citizens".

There appears to be little doubt that the

existence of the camps had a significant influence on the exchanges, the people exchanged, the number of exchanges and the eventual success of the two exchanges that took place. Of the approximately 7,000 – 10,000 Americans and Western Hemisphere persons estimated to be detained in Japan at the start of the war, 3000 were successfully returned, several thousand were eventually released as the war progressed and many died before the war ended. The influence of the exchanges or rather the negotiations for the exchanges, on the relocation and internment camps is less clear. The presence of negotiations directed the interviews and surveys about the loyalties of internees, which was an issue that caused a great deal of consternation. Certainly, there was concern on the part of the US and Canadian governments to ensure that their treatment of internees was at least in keeping with international agreements. The government of Japan appears to have violated many of these agreements in its detention camps but despite these violations, they continued to protest as unacceptable the treatment of Japanese internees in US relocation camps. And the exchange negotiations gave the government of Japan a persistent opportunity to protest.

References

- Elleman, Bruce (2006). Japanese-American civilian prisoner exchanges and detention camps, 1941-45. Routledge.
- BCSC Report on Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas March 4, 1942 to October 31, 1942. p 27
- Dept of Labor Report on Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada 1942-1944 August 1944. pp 28-29
- The New Canadian 1943-12-04-08
- *M/S GRIPSHOLM* (1925). Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia



Being deported from Canada to Japan, 1946 LAC 3193455 (PA.119024)
Leaving Vancouver on the *Marine Falcon*, 1946. NNM 1996.182.1.44
Canadian military personnel liberated from Japanese POW camps arrive in Vancouver, 1945. LAC_3403252

TREASURES FROM THE COLLECTION

SCHOOL DESK | Tashme, c.1940 | 2004.12

by Linda Kawamoto Reid

The internment abruptly interrupted the schooling of Japanese students. Although the education of all children in Canada was a provincial mandate, the government of British Columbia argued that the education of Japanese Canadian children was no longer its responsibility because the relocation was a federal mandate. In the fall of 1942, it looked like Japanese children would not be educated.

Eventually, after the Japanese Canadians arrived in the internment camps, the BC Security Commission

accepted responsibility for providing education only for elementary students from grades 1-8. The churches filled in with Missionary work to provide high school education and kindergarten care in most camps.*

This double seated school desk was used in Tashme for both the elementary school provided by the BCSC and the high school education which was essentially provided by the United Church Women's Missionary Society. The desks were acquired from the various Japanese language schools

in Vancouver as the custodian sold off the items in 1943. When the high school opened in September 1944, there were 90 students split into the 'A' and 'D' Buildings in Tashme. The desk size is about 12 inches by 36 inches with a bench to seat two students. It would have been very small and cramped for high school students. High school hours went from 3:30 – 5:30 pm and 6:30-8:50 pm due to the teenagers working during the day.

*Excerpts from the upcoming Tashme website launching in Fall 2015.

