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Fumi Tamagi (née Moriyama) and three others picking sugar beets in Shaughnessy, Alberta, circa 1943. NNM 2000.15.3



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Kohei and Kimie Shimozawa: Memories and Thanks (Part 1)

by David T. Shimozawa

When my sister Atsuko was visiting from Japan, we son, daughter Yoshi and second son Kohei were born would gather at my parent's home and look through before Kametaro left to work in Canada in 1909, when their old photo albums. When we came to the photos Kohei was four years old, leaving Kiku and three of Mom and Dad as a young couple, my sisters would children in Nishioi. The two youngest sons, Masashi tease them about their courtship. To Mom, they would and Takaharu were born after Kametaro returned suggest that she must have gone for Dad because he from Canada in 1916. Ryohei, the oldest, followed his was such a good looking fellow. Mom would blush and father's path to Canada in 1917 at age 19. He returned stammer a bit and say that she decided to marry him to Nishioi after the war in 1947 to assume his role as because she heard from others that he was honest, the head of the Shimozawa family. good to his parents and hard working. Also, she knew Kohei finished Grade 8 and two years of agricultural that all of the other families who wanted her to marry college. He left for Canada in 1925 at the of age their son, were only interested in her teacher's salary. twenty. Dad told me why he decided to leave home They would then tease Dad, saying that he must have for Canada. His father Kametaro had co-signed a gone for Mom because of her big beautiful eyes. loan for a nephew, who had reneged on repayment. Indeed, Mom was teased at school for her large round The family would lose their ancestral home and land eyes. Her classmates called her "Medaka". Dad said unless the debt was repaid. His father and his older that he did well in school, but was not at the top of the brother Ryohei had gone to work in Canada to clear class. He knew that if he married Mom, he would have the debt. Ryohei had been in Canada for eight years, smart children. We should all be thankful that he was but had become caught up in a life of gambling and wise enough to marry such a smart woman, to which drinking and was not helping his family. Also as the Mom would reply, that one would think that he was second son or jinan, Dad would end up working for picking a racehorse instead of a wife. And we would his older brother for the rest of his life, unless he all laugh. struck out on his own. Mom told me that Dad always My father, Kohei Shimozawa, was born in the village remembered how much he hated making the walk to of Nishioi, north of Odawara City, in Kanagawa-ken, the bank, carrying the money from the family's hard Japan on December 15, 1905. My mother, Kimie earned savings to make the regular payments. I think Mizuno, was born in the village of lizumi, about five that this is why I have never seen him drunk. He never kilometers south, on November 27, 1910. Odawara gambled and he paid cash for anything he bought, has expanded over the years so that the farming

large or small. villages of Nishioi and lizumi are now neighborhoods Mom's mother was born Teru Iwase, who married of Odawara.

Mosejiro Mizuno. Mom had seven siblings. Her only Kohei's father was born Kametaro Inouye. The sister Naka was two years older. Her oldest brother Shimozawa family had no male children, so he married Shinichiro was born in 1906 and came to Canada at my grandmother, Kiku Shimozawa, as an adopted son about the same time as my father Kohei. The other or yoshi. They had five children. Ryohei, the oldest brothers were Masamitsu, born in 1912, who looked





after the family property and cared for his parents as they aged; Kentaro, born in 1916; Tadaichi in 1920; Shigeharu in 1925; and Kohei in 1900. Kentaro and Kohei both died in 1932. Tadaichi died in the war. Shinichiro gave up his right to inherit the Mizuno land. He ceded it to Masamitsu, who had worked the land and had cared for it for decades, while his older brother was in Canada. The Mizuno family were rice farmers. They also operated a rice mill on their property and raised silkworms. All of Mosejiro and Teru's children have passed and Masamitsu's son, Norio, now carries on the family line.

Kimie Mizuno graduated from Kanagawa-ken Odawara High School. My sister Atsuko told me that when Mom graduated from her high school, her academic record had never been equaled. Her teachers implored her father to send her on to university. Mom told me that she wanted to go to what is now Ochanomizu University for Women. Her father told her that he would willingly mortgage the family property to send a son to university, but could not do this for a girl who would marry and go to another family. So Mom went to Yokohama Teachers College and became a junior high school teacher at Shimosoga Public School in Odawara.



Dad was sponsored by the lwase family, who had a strawberry farm near Hammond, BC. Mom and Mr. Iwase were cousins. Also, Dad and Mrs. Iwase were cousins. Dad stayed with them for one year and then left for Claxton Cannery on the Skeena River. Like a lot of other single young men at Claxton, he stayed in the Japanese bunkhouse and worked long hours in a two man skiff, pulling oars and heavy nets. He led a vagabond life, working on the Skeena, then coming down to Steveston after the Skeena runs were over. In Steveston, he stayed with the Naruse family and worked as deckhand for Mr. Naruse, fishing the Fraser River. At the end of the Fraser season, he returned to Hammond and worked through the winter at the Hammond Cedar Mill. In spring he would return to Claxton Cannery to repeat the cycle. This was his life from 1926 until 1931.

Mom told me that until he married, he sent half of his pay to his parents to help clear their debt. His younger brother Masashi, who was blind from infancy, became a renowned teacher of the blind and head of the Blind Institute in Tokyo. Kohei and later, Masashi, helped the family to eventually clear the debt. Takaharu, Dad's youngest brother was drafted into the Japanese Imperial Army immediately after his graduation from University. He was sent to Borneo, where he died.

In 1931, Dad's mother wrote to tell him that his father was ill, so Dad decided to travel to Japan to see him. She also told Dad that since he was of the right age, he should think about getting married. Mom's brother, Shinichiro Mizuno, was working at the Hammond mill with Dad. As Dad told me, my uncle Mizuno asked him to take some gifts for his family in lizumi. Shinichiro told Kohei that he had two sisters, that he should meet. The older sister Naka would be just right for him. The younger one, Kimie was much too smart for him and he wouldn't be able to handle her. So warned, Dad set off from Nishioi to lizumi. When he got there, Kimie was away, teaching at her school in Odawara. Her mother was not too happy to see him, saying that he should not entertain any thoughts about about courting their Kimie, who was only twenty. She was bringing a teacher's income to their family and they were not ready to let her go. Her older sister Naka, was also away but Dad learned later that she had already been betrothed to someone else. Dad said he felt a little offended. He left, saying that he was not interested in her daughters. He just came to deliver the gifts from Shinichiro in Canada.

what he was doing and could handle her. Two days later, Dad received a beautifully written letter from Kimie, saying how sorry she was that he Dad could not get a travel permit to bring his wife to was not able to meet her sister Naka and that he must Canada, so he left Japan on May 27, 1931. His father come again. Dad made a second trip to lizumi. Kimie Kametaro had recovered from his illness. Mom was was there, but her older sister Naka was nowhere now pregnant with Atsuko, who often proclaims in sight. Dad was invited into the house, where she that she was truly a honeymoon baby. Dad was now asked him all about Canada and what it was like to live married, so he had to find a permanent job to support there. According to Dad, they spent hours around the his family. It was fishing season, so he went to Claxton hibachi talking late into the evening and by the end of for the last time. After the season, he got off the boat their meeting, they had decided to marry. I asked Dad at Ocean Falls and started work as a jitney driver at the how it was that Mom was allowed to marry against the Ocean Falls Paper Mill. His job was to load huge rolls wishes of her mother. Dad replied with a smile, saying of paper onto the ships at the dock. He lived in the that I should know that Mom can often get you to a Japanese men's bunkhouse, worked long hours and place where she wants you to go. saved his money. His older brother Ryohei followed him to Ocean Falls. Dad found work for him at the paper mill and tried to keep him on a straight path.



Mom and Dad were married on April 1, 1931. That being April Fool's day would always be amusing to their children. Dad told me with a chuckle, that before the wedding, he was approached by his former school principal, who asked him if he was sure that he knew Mom arrived in Vancouver on April 8, 1937. She spent what he was doing by marrying such a smart woman.



Mom moved back to lizumi to live with her parents. She commuted to Odawara to teach Junior High while her mother looked after Atsuko. During this time, Dad was a prolific letter writer, and they wrote to each other frequently.

The years passed and by 1937, Atsuko would soon start school. Dad told Mom that Ocean Falls was not an ideal place for Japanese to raise a family. His intention was to return to Japan, when he had made enough to be independent and provide a comfortable life for his family. Mom's relatives urged Mom to rejoin her husband, who had now been away for six years. Mom made the fateful decision to leave Atsuko in lizumi and travel to Canada alone. It was a decision that would bring pain and regret to Mom for the rest of her life and a profound feeling of abandonment to Atsuko for most of her life.

I keep recalling Atsuko's poignant telling of the last day she saw her mother in Japan. She went with Mom and some relatives to the train station in Odawara. One of Mom's relatives asked Atsuko if she would like to go with her to a nearby store to select a present for herself. When they returned to the platform, her mother had boarded the train and the train had departed for Yokohama. Atsuko was five years old. She would not see her mother again until she was twenty two years old and would meet her father for the first time.

one week in Pitt Meadows with her brother Shinichiro Dad said that he told him not to worry, that he knew and his wife Tsuruko, then departed for Ocean Falls.





The Japanese community in Ocean Falls numbered about sixty-five families, with a Buddhist Church and a Japanese United Church. Mom became a teacher at the Japanese Language School. Students attended the school from 4:30pm to 6:00pm after public

school. Mom wrote to Atsuko regularly and sent money back to Japan to her mother's family to support Atsuko. Reverend Kabayama's wife taught at the school with Mom and they became good friends. Mom joined the church and was baptized. On one of his visits to our house in Winnipeg, I remember Reverend Kabayama telling me that he never saw my father inside his church until he married my mother. Dad eventually joined the church and was baptized.

My older sister, Carol (Noriko), was born on March 30, 1940. Mom said that she had miscarried before then. I was born just nine days before Pearl Harbor. In those days, mothers stayed in the hospital after giving birth for a longer time than they do now. When Dad visited her, she asked him why the nurses and hospital staff, who were so warm and friendly, had suddenly appeared to be openly hostile to her. He broke the news to her that Canada was now at war with Japan. Everything was about to change.

to be continued . . .



Above: Ocean Falls, circa summer,1938 Kimie is teaching at the Japanese Language School, Kohei is working at the Paper Mill (Shimozawa Family photo)

Left: lizumi, circa 1937 Atsuko, age 5 years, living with grandparents after Kimie left to join Kohei in Canada (Shimozawa Family photo)

It is Justice We Want (Part 1)

by Kam Teo

Introduction

Tashme, Christina Lake, Greenwood, Lemon Creek, Slocan, Harris Ranch, New Denver, Rosebery, Sandon, Kaslo, . . . Petawawa, Angler, . . . The names of these internment and prisoner-of-war camps in the interior of British Columbia and north-western Ontario are etched in the memories of Japanese Canadians as places of humiliation, shame, and, ultimately, resilience and regeneration. In the popular mindset, the assault on Japanese Canadians' civil liberties ended after the war but this was not the case as the Canadian government operated "hostels" in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec into the late 1940s. A hostel was a mid-point hub between internment camp and freedom. That said, Japanese Canadians were not permitted to return to British Columbia until 1949. Ultimately, it is the purpose of this work to shed light upon a little-known part of Canadian history by looking at one hostel located five miles south of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, from 1946 to 1948.

Large group of railway workers in front of a railroad, Saskatchewan ca. 1945 NNM 2010.23-2.4.111





Dedication

k, I would like to thank Tom Seki for his generosity of spirit and grace in telling me his family's story in Moose Jaw, SK. This article is dedicated to Tom Seki, his family, the Moose Jaw hostel internees, (the Murakamis) and, ultimately, to all Japanese Canadians and their descendants that were impacted by this shameful chapter in Canadian history. Finally, I welcome additional information from Japanese Canadians who were in Moose Jaw from 1946-1948 or their descendants. Thank you. I can be reached at kamwteo@gmail.com.



Moose Jaw "Hostel": 1946-1948

In 1946 Moose Jaw (77 kilometres west of Regina) was a city of 22,590 residents and was recovering from the economic devastation visited upon it during the Great Depression. However, by the summer of 1946, there was an economic boom. There were "five hundred applications for living accommodation, many conversions of single dwelling units into multiple living accommodation, one hundred and sixty wartime houses built and occupied and at least one hundred private homes constructed since 1941, ...," In fact, the economic growth in this agricultural-based economy spurred on by the economic expansion in Canada was sustained well into 1946. City officials trumpeted that employment had "reached a new high." The Canadian military also had a direct economic and cultural influence on the city. During the Second World War, the city became home to the Moose Jaw Royal Canadian Air Force which employed 1.500 to 2.000 individuals.

Political change was also taking place in Saskatchewan; in 1944, Tommy Douglas (1904-1986), leader of the provincial Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was elected premier. One historian noted, however, that Douglas, "remained uncharacteristically silent" on the challenges Japanese Canadians faced during the Second World War as he ran for political office. Once safely in the Saskatchewan legislature, Premier Douglas began to show tentative political support for Japanese Canadians. In October 1945, the Liberal government of William Lvon Mackenzie King government passed Bill 15 which extended some of its wartime power, including the right to decide "entry into Canada, exclusion and deportation and revocation of nationality." Bill 15 made "repatriation" legal. To be sure, the word "repatriation" used by the King government was a misnomer as most Japanese Canadians before Pearl Harbor were Canadian-born (or naturalized citizens) with most not knowing any other country except Canada. Still, in December 1945 the Douglas government informed Ottawa that it would permit a "fair share" of Japanese Canadians (how many was not stated) to make their homes in Saskatchewan. "In our opinion," declared Douglas, "the Federal government has no right to deport Japanese nationals or Canadian-born Japanese provided they have committed no act of treason." Indeed, not a single Japanese Canadian was charged with a treasonous act during the war. Though the support was qualified, Saskatchewan was the only



Kendo Sensei Moto Matsushita, Moose Jaw Saskatchewan, ca 1947 NNM 2011.68.1.71

province to officially extend such a welcome to Japanese Canadians. That said, in 1945 the Japanese Canadian population in Saskatchewan was the smallest of any prairie province at 153 while Alberta and Manitoba had 2,961 and 1,131 respectively. A month after agreeing to take in unspecified numbers of Japanese Canadians the CCF government backed up their political rhetoric by seeking legal counsel to look at the viability of challenging the constitutionality of "repatriation." This Saskatchewan constitutional challenge in January 1946, though unsuccessful, attained the support of church groups in the province.

On June 11, 1946, Moose Jaw residents learned in the *Moose Jaw Times Herald* that "within a few days" approximately "500 to 1,000 Japanese [Canadians]" would be located in billets at the air force base situated five miles south of city limits. Walter Dawson of the federal Labour Department – and soon to be supervisor of the Moose Jaw hostel – informed Moose Jaw



residents that Japanese Canadians would be transferred that the housing situation in the city was "acute" due to from the "Pacific Coast." It is curious and unknown as the sizable number of war veterans and "other citizens" to why Moose Jaw or Saskatchewan was chosen to already in the community. McClellan urged Mitchell to hold Japanese Canadians or whether it was a decision use air force buildings in other parts of Saskatchewan made only by Mackenzie King or in conjunction with "not adjacent to larger urban centres...." Two days later, his cabinet. Logistically, the city was on a Canadian the mayor attempted to quell the furor by explaining to Pacific Railway mainline which made it convenient to City Council that the presence of Japanese Canadians move people and supplies. The air force base was also was a fait accompli. "We have no say as to who comes available to hold large numbers. Politically, it may have here." He also reminded city residents that the internees been a combination of the highly public condemnation "were citizens of Canada." Alderman J. Hampson of the Liberal government's negation of the human responded that "Japs" would saturate the Moose Jaw rights of Canadians by Tommy Douglas as well as his labour market. Thundered another city councillor, "they willingness the previous December to accept a "fair should be put back where they came from." The racist share" of Japanese Canadians into the province. The and bellicose language was uttered in spite of the fact latter point was noted by federal minister of Labour that Moose Jaw was in an economic boom. Humphrey Mitchell in a letter dated June 12, 1946, to Douglas, who only learned from newspapers of the In an effort to minimize protests by local residents, arrival of internees.

hostel supervisor Walter Dawson announced on June 19, 1946, that a maximum of 240 residents – rather than "We have completed arrangements for taking over the earlier announced 500 or 1,000 internees - would a number of buildings at the Moose Jaw Air Station be arriving in Moose Jaw. It is unknowable if the earlier to accommodate temporarily a number of Japanese number of 500 to 1,000 internees was a feint to gauge [Canadian] families relocating to Saskatchewan. The public opinion or a legitimate number that had to be object will be to have these families reside in these pared down to 240 due to the racist uproar from city buildings until they can be absorbed into general politicians. Dawson engaged in further damage control employment and housing accommodation can be claiming that some of the Japanese Canadians were also located for them.... We know that your Government is veterans who "fought for the Dominion." One important sympathetic with the difficulties which confront people fact left unsaid by Dawson: 127 POW internees were to of Japanese origin living in Canada and we shall be very be transferred from the Angler, Ontario, prisoner-of-war grateful for your cooperation and assistance." camp and were scheduled to arrive in Moose Jaw.



Regardless of Ottawa's unilateral establishment of internees in Moose Jaw, it was now time for the Saskatchewan government to act on its stated support of Japanese Canadians. Unintentionally, however, Douglas invited Ottawa to use Saskatchewan to implement its policy to ethnically cleanse Japanese Canadians away from British Columbia.

Moose Jaw Mayor Fraser McClellan immediately protested the impending arrival of Japanese Canadians to Moose Jaw to Humphrey Mitchell (Federal Minister Responsible for Japanese Canadians) on the grounds



Nevertheless, on June 14, the first twenty-one Japanese Canadian internees arrived in Moose Jaw from Tashme, BC. Interestingly, there appeared to be a lack of communication and perhaps jurisdictional tensions between Ottawa and the air force base in the prairie city as the first arrivals in Moose Jaw were not permitted to enter the newly designated hostel. A series of phone calls to Ottawa untangled the bureaucratic knot and the families that were originally located in enlisted men's quarters were later moved into officer's quarters. The new internees, whether from the Angler POW camp or from an internment camp in Tashme, BC, had to readjust to a new location and a new province with different personnel and a different set of rules. The Moose Jaw hostel was administered by supervisor and relocation officer Walter Dawson of the federal Department of Labour with security the purview of Constable William Cooper of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Both Dawson and Cooper were given the authority to issue "necessary permits to Japanese [Canadians] who are leaving the [Moose Jaw hostel] to take employment," in Saskatchewan. "Three civilian watchmen" were employed on "eight-hour shifts" for 24 hours a day in order to prevent the internees from trespassing. The buildings to be used to house the internees were fenced by "page wire with one strand of barbed wire around the top." Single men were housed in barracks while families had separate rooms. A local doctor was responsible for the health of internees. The housing was barely adequate: Cooper admitted privately that the facilities were "unsuitable for occidental housing" but good enough for Japanese Canadians. The barest amenities were provided: there existed, "electricity, flush toilets, showers." All the internees were "fed in a central mess" staffed by Japanese Canadians. According to Tom Seki, whose wife Mary worked in the mess hall in the autumn of 1946, Ottawa was generous with food during a time when rationing was still a part of Canadians' lives. The internees were supplied with "meat, butter, sugar, coffee, and tea." The internees "never wanted for anything," whether it was Japanese food or "western food." Generally, the issei in the hostel preferred Japanese food while the *nisei* preferred western food or a combination of the two.

On July 4, 127 Japanese Canadians arrived in Moose Jaw "under escort from [the] Angler Inter[n]ment Camp." These internees were transferred to Moose Jaw from Angler because they refused to leave the POW camp "either to go to work or return to Japan." These acts of civil disobedience were a protest against having their property taken, their civil rights annulled, and the fact that they wanted to go home to BC but were still prevented from doing so. The arrival of Japanese Canadians to Moose Jaw from the interior of British Columbia also included the families of Angler internees. Initially, at least, it "proved to have had a favourable [e]ffect on many," according to RCMP Constable Cooper, and it was hoped that the reunification of families would have a stabilizing impact on the remaining Angler ganbariya.

Tensions between the hardened Angler POW camp ganbariya and Tashme families was an expected result of Canada's continuing ethnic cleansing policy. Angler internee Takeo Nakano (and an issei non-ganbariya), upon deciding to leave the Ontario POW camp in November 1943 was spat upon and cursed by an internee identified only as "M." Asserts Nakano, "M" verbally attacked him: "So you are going to leave [Angler] and work for Canada in wartime, are you? I suppose you don't know that that will aid the war effort against Japan." Concluded the bitter ganbariya, "Still, I know a traitor to Japan when I see one." According to Nakano, "M" was one of the ganbariya sent to Moose Jaw in 1946. Tom Seki also recalled similar scenes though his experience was different from many nisei in Moose Jaw: he worked as a translator and clerk at the Moose Jaw detachment of the RCMP. Seki believed that the ganbariya were "stubborn people" and that because he worked for the RCMP he was, thus, caught in the middle. Some of the issei "took their anger out on me." The presence of internees in Moose Jaw was a key component of the King government's post-war strategy to further violate civil liberties by deporting Japanese Canadians to Japan as well as prohibit their return to the Pacific Coast without due process of law. In line with Ottawa's continued nullification of Canadians' civil liberties, the Moose Jaw internees temporarily located in this prairie community had travel restrictions. Japanese Canadians at the hostel were "at liberty" to travel 50 miles for employment for no more than 30 days "without an RCMP travel permit...." Meanwhile, it quickly became clear to Constable Cooper that the internees from Angler and those from Tashme segregated themselves into different cliques, with the former, "still bitter, and non [-] cooperative," upon arrival in Moose Jaw. Nevertheless, the whirlwind of change was such that by the third week of July, "about 36 of the (245) camp residents" had "volunt[eered] for repatriation to Japan." Those interned in Moose Jaw that wished to



go to Japan left Vancouver on August 2 on board the S.S. General Meigs. The "voluntary" reasons for deportation to Japan after the war were varied. Because of racism, some felt they had no home in Canada. For others, family obligations were a large factor: many *nisei* that went to Japan with their elderly *issei* parents did so out of familial obligation. were offered. Individual members of the "[Canadian Commonwealth Federation], . . . Rotary Club, YWCA, YMCA, [and the] United Church" invited the *nisei* to many Moose Jaw gatherings. Moose Jaw-native Fumiko Endo Greenaway, who was a teenager at the time, also recalled visiting with friends at the hostel which meant that teenagers had similar opportunities to have some semblance of social life.

In the internees' initial months in Moose Jaw, it was the issei that generally stayed within the confines of Even so, the post-war economic boom in Moose Jaw the hostel while the nisei ventured into the community. meant that the vacancy rate was very low in this small prairie city: a double-edged sword for Ottawa in its efforts Certainly, language proficiency and familiarity with to disperse Japanese Canadians. In fact, according to Canadian culture also played a part in one's ability to assimilate. In many ways, the experiences of Tom RCMP Sergeant Albert Minty, there appeared to be and Mary Seki (who were 25 and 23 years of age "considerable employment for Japanese [Canadians]" if respectively) in Moose Jaw is illustrative of the Japanese housing could only be attained in the city. At this point, Canadian experience during and in the immediate only one family that found work had left the hostel and years after the Second World War. In the spring of 1945 moved into Moose Jaw. However, employment for internees in Tashme, British Columbia were coerced Japanese Canadians were limited to temporary work into making a difficult choice by Ottawa, "repatriation" and the service industry as some men provided labour to Japan or move east of British Columbia. The Sekis at surrounding farms and restaurants. Some men also remained in Canada while their parents chose Japan. served as "section hands" on the railroads surrounding Moose Jaw was chosen as a "midway" point between Moose Jaw. The greatest demand, however, was for "domestic help" though unfortunately for the Moose Jaw BC and Ontario as Mary was pregnant at the time. The young couple took part in many social functions that "project" there were "few [Japanese Canadian] girls old enough for this kind of work."





By mid-November, with the onset of what was for many of the Japanese Canadian internees a first prairie winter, the Labour Department's strategy to use Moose Jaw as a "relocation centre" appeared to be having success. Since July 1, there was "a total of 424 admissions to the Moose Jaw hostel with 54 having found employment in Saskatchewan while another 144 finding jobs in other provinces. Another twenty-five settled in the city. But whether located at the hostel or within the city limits Japanese Canadians were determined to rebuild their lives with a handful taking part in an "Economic Losses" Survey" commissioned by the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy (JCCD). The Toronto-based JCCD promoted this survey on November 21, 1946, sending a Canada-wide call asking Japanese Canadians to fill in the survey to gather information on property losses during the war. The purpose of the survey was a first step in seeking financial reparations from Ottawa for the loss of property. The first person to request the forms in Moose Jaw was Philip Murakami in December guickly followed by Sukeji Takasaki and Kensuke Kitagawa. In spite of the presence of over 400 hundred internees. only a dozen in Moose Jaw took part in the JCCD survey. A transient existence due to continuing dispersal and an uncertain future meant that filling a survey to seek financial restitution was not a priority.

January 1947 began with a "workplace" strike by the 19-member Japanese Canadian kitchen staff at the hostel, all of whom were employed by the Department of Labour. It appears that there were three "ringleaders" in this strike, and, according to RCMP Sergeant Albert Minty, other staff were "scared into remaining off work." Toshio Hagane, Hideo Hama, and Hideo Matsuyama were former internees from the Angler POW camp that "refused to take any outside occupation, . . ." This protest for two additional kitchen staff to feed what was now a total of "268 inmates" (and agreed to by Dawson) settled the issue. This would be the first of a number of acts of civil disobedience "strikes" that the former Angler POW internees would initiate.

The workplace strike in January also coincided with the beginning of a sustained three-month period of blizzards that had no equal in 20th century southern Saskatchewan. On January 15, a teenage Moose Jaw hostel internee wrote to a former Tashme teacher, "the winds [were] blowing the snow around so we are not able to go to school. The bus cannot come up to our airport [location of the hostel]. . . We have had many blizzards." Local branches of the YWCA, YMCA, and the United Church assisted internees in January, February and March as the city (and southern Saskatchewan) withstood blizzards "blocking highways, creating havoc with the highway system and endangering fuel and food supplies" to the community. Internee school children that managed to go to school during these months and were unable to return to the hostel were fed, housed and entertained with movies by the YMCA and YWCA. Parts of Moose Jaw saw snow piled as high as fourteen feet. The weather also halted the movements of internees that had job placements with many deciding to wait until spring before relocating to "other parts of Canada." It must be remembered, however, that while this winter was their first on the prairies for these Japanese Canadians, they had been battered by winters in the interior of British Columbia and north-western Ontario for the previous three winters. Former Angler POW internees withstood minus-40 temperatures in north-western Ontario while those in the interior of British Columbia in Tashme, BC, weathered minus-25 temperatures with five-foot snow drifts piled up against the thinly insulated shacks that they lived in.

January 11, 1947, also marked the first time that Japanese Canadians spoke publicly about their plight in Moose Jaw. Tom Seki spoke on behalf of his fellow internees to the Moose Jaw Rotary Club asking for "fair treatment and tolerance" from the assembled residents. The expectations of Japanese Canadians in their new home were modest: ". . . all we wanted was freedom from that feeling of insecurity, prejudice, and hopelessness that has dominated our lives for the past few years." Speaking for himself and his hostel contemporaries to establishment figures in the city, "I am hoping and praying that from now on," Euro Canadians should "judge us by our individual acts and not by our race, color, or creed." Seki also presented his fellow nisei as equally Canadian as any Euro Canadian born in Canada, a task he undertook by taking part in speaking engagements throughout southern Saskatchewan.

The winter travails of the hostel internees notwithstanding, while some Japanese Canadians in Moose Jaw fought for their civil liberties through civil disobedience, Kensuke Kitagawa did so through the existing political and legal system. In March, Kitagawa – an *issei* from the Angler POW camp– began his fight to attain compensation for property seized by Ottawa. The "Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property" confiscated homes, businesses, boats, cars, trucks, and all manner of property that were MP from BC, and its sole cabinet minister, the Scottishsold by public tender or auction. Established in 1920 to born Mackenzie was a major player in the internment oversee what Ottawa deemed to be "enemy assets" that of Japanese Canadians. The Liberal government remained in government possession after the First World (supported by the conservatives) were engaged in War, the Office of the Custodian was made responsible racism and misdirected vengeance and scapegoating. for all the property of dispersed Japanese Canadians in The Pacific Coast prohibition remained. 1942. Through a Moose Jaw law firm, Kitagawa served notice to the Custodian of Enemy Property. "Mr. Kitagawa Nevertheless, the federal Department of Labour ... is not all satisfied with the prices he obtained for announced the closure of the Moose Jaw hostel for [the loss of] his [British Columbia] property." Continued May 31, provoking an immediate response from some the solicitors, "[Kitagawa] should have received what former internees of the Angler POW camp. It appeared the property was reasonably worth." That said, in an that nine of their cohorts were also allowed to leave act of defiance, the new Moose Jaw resident cashed for New Denver, BC, for health reasons. In an attempt a three-thousand-dollar compensatory cheque from to maintain group cohesion and remain in Moose Jaw, one internee stated that "he would be killed first," before Ottawa, a deed "not to be taken as any indication" that he approved the confiscation of his property." he was transferred while another claimed that he was a "[former] Japanese soldier and would take orders from Even in the post-war dynamic of Canada, the federal no one but the Japanese army." RCMP sergeant Albert Minty added a note of caution in his reporting: a number of former Angler POW internees were observed: "busily sharpening knives." The exact concerns of the Moose Jaw internees were not noted in the RCMP memorandum but it is likely that the fervent wish of many was to return to the Pacific Coast and that unity among inmates were required in order to attain this goal. Indeed, the anger of a sizable minority within the camp had intensified behind the scenes, so hinted the New Canadian, the sole Japanese Canadian newspaper.

CCF continued to be the sole defender of Canadians' civil liberties as the House of Commons debated the extension of the Emergency Powers Act that authorized the continued control of the movement of Japanese Canadians. In April, the person to stand in defence of Japanese Canadians, ironically, was new CCF Moose Jaw MP, Ross Thatcher. "I am particularly mindful," began the youthful MP on April 22, 1947, in the House of Commons, of Japanese Canadians "living about four miles south of my own city of Moose Jaw." Using this fact, the MP argued against the Emergency Powers Act: "... we are dealing with the rights of Canadians... By the end of May, the number of Japanese Canadians in the hostel was reduced to 97 from a total of 237 in ... With [the Second World War] over, I cannot see why the government is asking parliament to extend these mid-April. The Labour Department hoped, as Mackenzie powers for another year." Ultimately, the continued King had intended, that the rounding up and sending of Japanese Canadians from the British Columbia interior abolition of Canadians' civil rights was based on racism, according to Thatcher. "They are denied the privileges and the Angler POW camp to Moose Jaw would further of citizenship: they are persecuted solely because scatter the diaspora. There was concern that arresting their skin is yellow." Thatcher's arguments against the the remaining internees would garner negative publicity extension of the Liberal bill prompted reactions. Minister for the Canadian government. Therefore, it was decided of Labour Humphrey Mitchell responded: ... "I would like in late-May that the remaining inmates were permitted to remain at the hostel with no decision to be made by to ask my [H]onourable friend whether the Canadians in Japan and China [during the war] were as well treated the Department of Labour as to their fate "until after as the Japanese in Canada." Clearly, Mitchell could not the House of Common proroques." After the end of differentiate between Euro Canadian POWs at the mercy the parliamentary session, the internees could then be "evicted by [the RCMP] without repercussions." As a of foreign powers and that of Canadian citizens at the mercy of their own government. Minister of Veterans result, the May 31 deadline for the hostel closure came Affairs and BC MP Ian Mackenzie also could not restrain and went. himself. "... [Mackenzie King should] not let the rest of Canada interfere with the wishes of British Columbia to be continued . . . and destroy the policy with respect to the coastline from whence I came, . . ." As the most senior Liberal





The Sugar Beet Fields and Japanese Canadian Internment

by David B. Iwaasa

Nearly 4,000 of some 21,460 Japanese Canadians forcibly evacuated from the West Coast of Canada during and immediately following World War II ended up working for a period in the sugar beet fields, mostly in Southern Alberta, but also more than 1,000 in Manitoba and a small group of mostly single men in Southern Ontario. For the sugar beet growers and the sugar beet factories, the mass evacuation of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast was a 'heaven sent' solution to their perennial labour shortages.¹ For the Canadian federal government, the sugar beet fields offered an opportunity to guickly remove many Japanese Canadians from the West Coast in a cost-effective manner. For Japanese Canadians, faced with a horrendous uprooting from their homes, the sugar beet fields offered the possibility of moving as a unit, keeping their families intact. While not ideal, it seemed the best of an array of unpalatable options.

On January 8, 1942 a Conference on Japanese Problems was convened in Ottawa to find a way to ease the concerns of British Columbian politicians who saw the continued presence of Japanese Canadians in B.C. as a menace to public safety. According to the official minutes of the Conference, the British Columbia delegation absolutely refused to accept the RCMP opinion that Japanese Canadians were loyal; and they demanded the removal of all Japanese from the Pacific Coast. A Canadian Press report dated January 5, 1942 from Vancouver was headlined "Committee on Jap Situation Goes to Ottawa", and stated, "Vancouver newspapers said the committee was recommending to the government that all Japanese, of whom there are some 24,000 in the province, be placed in camps where they possibly could be formed into labor corps...."2

This last point, suggesting that surplus labour might be available, caught the eye of the Alberta Sugar Beet Growers' Association (ASBGA), and their secretary, Mr. W.F. Russell, sent the following to Mayor Hume, chairman of the federal government's Standing Committee on Orientals on January 28, 1942:

"Dear Sirs: We would like some information in connection with the plan or scheme to remove the Orientals from the coast to the interior. In the beet fields in this District, we employ around 1,500 to 2,000 beet workers every year. If some scheme could be worked satisfactorily, it might be possible to utilize some of the Orientals from your territory. Kindly let me hear from you in connection with this matter."

As an indication of the immediate interest the enquiry from the ASBGA created, the Associate Deputy Minister of Labour, Mr. A. MacNamara, sent the following letter to Mr. Russell of the ASBGA on February 17, 1942: "Dear Sir: Unofficial advice has been placed in my hands to the effect that the Alberta Sugar Beet Growers' Association is somewhat interested in obtaining the assistance of Japanese labour in connection with the cultivation of sugar beets...Japanese Nationals, who are men born in Japan and enemy aliens, as well as Canadians of Japanese racial origin born in Canada, are available...It strikes me that it might be possible for your Association to work out some mutually satisfactory arrangement for the employment of this surplus labour."

Given the positive reaction from the government to the ASBGA's initial enquiries, on March 6, 1942, a delegation was sent to Vancouver to meet with the newly established B.C. Security Commission. This meeting was



a positive one. According to A.E. Palmer, who was a dents in the district. The local Japanese residents gave member of the ASBGA delegation, representing the assurances at the meeting that the newcomers had federal Department of Agriculture, there were three been permitted to come by the federal authorities. In reasons why they felt the Japanese should come to Lethbridge, Alderman Rorie Knight declared, "I will have southern Alberta: the need was tremendous and no nothing to do with the Japanese-they are the most other significant source of labour was in sight; the deltreacherous nation on earth. No word of mine will bring egation felt that if the federal government deemed it a Jap to this country. However, D.H. Elton, mayor of Lenecessary to evacuate the Japanese, then it was their thbridge stated: "we must subdue our personal feelings duty to help remove them; and since the Japanese and cooperate with the government on this problem."³ could be moved to the sugar beet fields as a family unit, the growers felt that it would be in the interests of Also, while the ASBGA wanted the Japanese to come the Japanese themselves to come to Southern Alberta. to southern Alberta, not all their locals were equally supportive. In Picture Butte, the local gave unanimous Although most of the sugar beet growers were pleased approval for the use of Japanese workers in the sugar with the Japanese coming, not everyone felt the same beet fields, but in Taber about half of the growers were way. On March 8, 1942, the Raymond branch of the Cavehemently opposed. In Raymond, some sixty farmers nadian Legion called a meeting to discuss the situation. attended a meeting to discuss final details of bringing This occurred after the recent arrival of several Japain the evacuees; and although it appeared that a majornese families and individuals from the West Coast, mainity were in favour of the move, there was a vocal minorly friends and relatives of the long-time Japanese resiity that was very much opposed.⁴





Despite the controversy, by April it was guite definite that the Japanese would be coming to Southern Alberta. On April 7, 1942, Mr. W. Andrews of Lethbridge was appointed as the B.C. Security Commission representative in Southern Alberta. Approximately one week later, the first contingent from the Mission, B.C. area arrived and went to the Coalhurst-Diamond City region. The second group consisting of 22 families from Whonnack, B.C. went to Picture Butte. The third group comprised of some 73 persons in ten families from Steveston went to Coaldale. The fourth group made up of 23 families from New Westminster went to the Raymond-Magrath district. The movement continued until, by the first week in June, the 21st group had arrived, bringing the total number of Japanese Canadians brought into southern Alberta from B.C. to approximately 2,250 or about 370 families.⁵ Over roughly this same period, some 1,053 individuals in family units were moved to Manitoba and some 350 single men were sent to Ontario to work in their sugar beet fields.

The Japanese Canadians that had agreed to be moved to the sugar beet fields did so, for the most part, because they were promised that they would remain in family units, receive decent housing, be able to maintain a reasonable standard of living, have relative freedom of movement, and placement on farms near one another. Consequently, whole communities in the Fraser Valley volunteered for beet work. Most had made their living for years through stoop labour on their berry and vegetable farms and they assumed that beet work on the prairies would be similar. Also, while most of the first contingents were from among those with some farm experience, later groups included large numbers of fishermen and those with lumbering experience. The wide-open prairie sugar beet fields were a new experience. As the exhausted and bewildered evacuees, clutching their meagre belongings, stumbled off the railcars and trucks at places like Hill Spring, Welling, Stirling, and Barnwell, what greeted them proved to be far more traumatic than they might have ever expected

First, the process by which farmers selected the families to work on their farms was often very arbitrary and led to serious mismatching. Then, once selected by a farmer, the real shock set in. Previous sugar beet labourers had been of the transient nature and so most living quarters were, at best, of a temporary sort, possibly adequate for short periods in the summer but totally



Morishita Family Collection Circa 1943 2011.79.4.1.4.40

inadequate for the harsh prairie winter. According to Seiko Kinoshita from Langley, the first place they were taken to upon arriving at Hill Spring was an old log building which clearly had recently served as a pig sty. "You could see the sky through the spaces between the logs."6 The lack of adequate water was another source of irritation for the evacuees. One farmer wrote to the Lethbridge office of the [BC Security] Commission, saying that the Hungarians [who were his previous beet workers] used only five gallons of water per day while the Japanese used sixty. Other major problems encountered by the evacuees included the lack of nearby medical facilities; the vast distances between farms and neighbours; and the lack of acreage and extra work to allow most of the families to make an adequate living.7

Given that the order for mass evacuation was not officially issued until February 26, 1942 and the first Japanese began to arrive in Southern Alberta less than a month and a half later, it was not surprising that there would be some confusion and suffering at the outset. While movement to the sugar beet fields was meant to allow the Japanese Canadians to be self-sufficient, it wasn't until the second crop year that many of the problems were addressed and an estimated 42% were forced to seek some type of relief during the first winter. As described by Tadashi Akagawa, an evacuee from Surrey,

"Thinning the beets was backbreaking work...During the growing season, only the odd weeding and irrigating was necessary. The really hard work began with the harvesting of sugar beets. I recall standing shivering in



quired to grow and harvest sugar beets. Winnipeg was a more cosmopolitan centre and they didn't experience as much of the racism and discrimination that took place elsewhere, including in parts of Southern Alberta. In the case of Ontario, nisei men who had been shipped to road camps in northern Ontario in the spring of 1942 were later housed in 8 camps and hired out to sugar beet farmers in southern Ontario. But in the spring of 1943, only 2 camps were reopened, and less than 50 nisei were involved in beet labour. The sugar beet programme – at first thought capable of drawing many families in similar manner to the prairie farms was a failure in Ontario, largely due to the ready availability of better paying jobs.⁹

the cold November mornings staring at the seemingly never-ending rows of full-grown sugar beets...We had worked in fruit and vegetables in Surrey, but nothing was like working in the sugar beets in Alberta."8 However, as many of the initial problems began to be resolved, the individual situations of the evacuee families began to improve. Although they were still in exile, most were trying to make the best of a difficult situation. It was also a learning process for their fellow Southern Albertans as they realized that the Japanese Canadians were not subversives, and many had been in Canada longer than their Caucasian employers. The Lethbridge Herald on August 25, 1942 reflected this amazement:

Were the expectations of both the government and "Japanese beet workers, many of them speaking perthe Japanese Canadians met through the sugar beet fect English are in the Taber district and are seen freprojects established as part of the wartime evacuation? quently on the town streets. Some of them have been From the government perspective, the evacuees had members of Christian churches at the coast and attend saved the sugar beet industry. As quoted by Ken Ada-Sunday services here." chi, in Alberta, "by 1945, the evacuees constituted 65% of the beet labour and were therefore an almost indis-While the some 1,000 evacuees sent to the Manitoba pensable work force in the province." For the evacuees, sugar beet fields also encountered many of the same despite the difficult beginnings and the brutally hard difficulties of adjusting to the back-breaking work rework, when the so-called "loyalty test" was taken near





the end of the war, the fact that only 15.4% indicated a desire to go to Japan after the end of the war was an indication of how well they had adapted to life in Alberta. Moreover, the 3,650 Japanese in Alberta – including 534 pre-war residents - remained fairly constant with the exodus of those moving farther east balanced by the intake from British Columbia.¹⁰

The same could also be said of the Japanese Canadian population of Manitoba, remaining relatively constant through to March 31, 1949. In my own research, I noted an important concern that had hung over the evacuees from the outset was the demand by the Province of Alberta that the Japanese be removed from Alberta at the end of the hostilities and a similar condition existed in the agreement with the Province of Manitoba. While this condition was referred to as late as 1944, it is interesting that it was largely forgotten after the war ended, and no mention of this condition was made when the agreements with the provinces came to an end in 1948. It appears that the Japanese Canadians had been accepted as full members of their respective provinces. A fitting epitaph to this traumatic period in Japanese Canadian history was made by Tadashi Akagawa:¹¹

"When we came out to the beet fields in Alberta, the people here were scared. They had heard about the Japanese whom they were at war with and thought that Canadian Japanese were terrible people. When they found out we were not part of the war, but were peaceful and hard working, and didn't want to cause

any trouble, a lot of people changed their attitudes...We knew that we had to show that we were good people and were good citizens. We did very well."



Fumi Tamagi, Shaughnessy, Alberta Circa: 1943 2000.15.3

Be on the lookout for our Southern Alberta Sugar Beet Fields bus tour announcement, organized by the Nikkei National Museum and Tonari Gumi. We will be touring different towns and villages in Southern Alberta related to Japanese Canadian history. There will be an opportunity to witness current sugar beet harvesting as well as to visit the Taber sugar factory to see how sugar beets are transformed into sugar. Tentatively, the tour will be offered in the second week of October 2019.

Endnotes

¹The phrase 'heaven sent' was used by B.C. politicians who saw the war as a "heaven-sent opportunity to rid themselves of the Japanese economic menace for ever more", but it equally applied to the sugar beet growers who were perennially plagued with labour shortages. See Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism, (Toronto, James Lorimer & Co., 1981) 33 and David B. Iwaasa, "Canadian Japanese in Southern Alberta: 1905-1945," in Two Monographs on Japanese-Canadians, ed. Roger Daniels (New York, Arno Press, 1978), 64-65.

² The article and the following letters are from the Alberta Sugar Beet Growers' Association Papers, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

³ Lethbridge Herald, March 9, 1942

⁴ C.D. Peterson, interview by the author, summer 1972, also *Raymond Recorder*, Apr. 3, 1942.

⁵ David B. Iwaasa, quoting from the Lethbridge Herald, May 30, 1942, 70-71. The B.C. Security Commission, "Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas", October 31, 1942 states that 2,588 were moved to Alberta, including some individual families who moved to Alberta on their own.

⁶ Ann Gomer Sunahara, 80, and Seiko Kinoshita, maiden name of the author's mother, interviewed, summer 1972.

⁷ Forrest E. Laviolette, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948) 127-129.

⁸ N. Rochelle Yamagishi, Nikkei Journey: Japanese Canadians in Southern Alberta, (Victoria, Trafford Publishing, 2005), 102-106.

⁹ Refer to Aaron Floresco, director, Facing Injustice: The Relocation of Japanese Canadians to Manitoba, (Winnipeg, DVD by Past Perfect Productions, 2017); Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was, (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1976), 283-294; and Ann Gomer Sunahara, 82. ¹⁰ David B. Iwaasa, 96-97 and Ken Adachi, 282 and 416

¹¹ N. Rochelle Yamagishi, 110.



Treasures from the Collection

December 1941 – Hiroshi Okuda's Narrative

Introduction by Trevor Wideman, Nikkei National Museum and Landscapes of Injustice

Hiroshi Okuda was born on November 13, 1914 at Cumas I worked my way through, I found something even berland, B.C. to Kasaku Okuda and Haruka Uyeda. He more interesting and emotional buried in the pages attended both Victoria College and the University of the narrative printed here. British Columbia, where he obtained two degrees, one in Commerce (1935) and one in Arts (1936). He was As I read through this undated account, which was almost certainly written between the years of 1941 and the first Asian-Canadian to be inducted into the UBC "Big Block" club, which honours outstanding athletic 1944, I was compelled by Hiroshi's first-person recolachievements. Hiroshi was fluent in both Japanese and lections of December 7th and 8th, 1941, the day of, and English, which allowed him to work as an accountant day after, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. I was struck by how he described his thoughts as he listened to the in the 1930s for both English and Japanese firms. After 1942 he was interned at Tashme, and he eventually radio news, visited local businesses, and engaged with settled in Montreal, arriving there in January 1944. In friends, acquaintances, and strangers. The narrative poignantly communicated the confusion, uncertainty, Montreal, he became active in the Japanese Canadian and dread that permeated the Japanese Canadian community, becoming the Quebec representative to community on Powell Street and beyond. It also con-(and eventually President of) the National Japanese Canadian Citizen's Association. tained fascinating reflections on the role of the nisei, the place of Japanese Canadians during wartime, and I first came across Hiroshi Okuda while working as a the legal restrictions that Hiroshi and all other Japa-

student researcher at the Nikkei National Museum with nese Canadians were forced to navigate. the Landscapes of Injustice research project. I had been tasked with describing and entering a bundle of Upon reading, I realized that this story was something Hiroshi's records into the archives' database, and in the quite unique and special. Hiroshi's descriptive tone and careful attention to detail made it easy for me to process, I came across a stack of thin, oddly-shaped pieces of paper scrawled with very tiny handwriting. imagine what life would have been like for a nisei in Vancouver in 1941. It was unlike anything I had read on the subject. Now, a year later, I am happy that Hiroshi's Though I could barely make out the text, I spent some time with a magnifying glass, slowly making my way story is able to reach a wider audience here in Nikkei across the paper. The first pages I encountered had Images.

personal stories of Hiroshi's boyhood growing up in Above: 2018.3.1.1.6 - Hiroshi Okuda's Registration Card, dated June 7th, Cumberland, his work as a researcher for the Canadian Japanese Association, and his days working as an accountant for various firms in the Vancouver area. But Over: 2018.3.1.2.2 - A digital scan of one page of Hiroshi Okuda's journal detailing the events of Pearl Harbour and December 1941.





Okuda Narrative – 2018.3.1.2.3

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December 7th, 1941, will leave forever imprints in the minds of those of Japanese origin not only in Canada, and more particularly those in BC, but also in the United States of America, and especially those in Washington, Oregon, and California. It was Sunday and like any other day of any year, with this exception: that Japan declared an out and out war against England and the United States by bombing Pearl Harbor, Manila, Hong Kong, and Singapore simultaneously.

It is usually my custom to tune in the radio on a special mantelpiece just above my head when I awoke, and was rudely shaken from bed by the special announcement "Pearl Harbor Bombed". This in itself did not make me realize the fullness of the impact. I thought and hoped and prayed while I took a second breath that it was one of those Orson Welles "man from Mars" programs, but the follow up to the original announcement convinced me that what we had hopes would never come to pass had suddenly dawned upon us. My mind started to swim in a sea of bewilderment right there and then, and for once I was lost like the herring in mid-Pacific, not knowing what to think, how to act or what to do.

I am usually a late riser but December 7th found me otherwise for before I had taken a second breath I was fully dressed and hugging closely to the radio for further information. Just then my next door neighbour Billie, in penthouse #48, came barging into my room and she was just as perplexed and bewildered as I was for the news had come to her just as potent a shock as it did to me. We did not talk much for we were more interested in listening to the comments of serious war correspondents like William Shirer, and other internationally known news headliners. When Honolulu and Manila both did not answer to the "go ahead" signal of the announcer, we knew what was behind the terse announcement "Pearl Harbor Bombed".

At 10 feeling rather hungry, I dropped in at Sumiyoshi and found the quick lunch counters and tables just packed. It seemed as if all of Powell Street had congregated there long before I arrived in order to see for themselves what reactions and views others have con-

cerning the news. There were youngsters of my age and oldsters alike, each in his own inimitable way, discussing about the news, and at least trying to console themselves one against the other that we are all innocent victims of circumstances and all in the same boat. Whether we sink or rise will depend on our attitude and on the attitude of others, for a single suspicious character among us will have its consequences upon the 23,000 Japanese in BC and 125,000 in America.

We must be forever cautious in our expressions and must not lead others to suspicion. In contrast to our ways of thinking during our carefree life just nipped by the impending war we must endeavour to have a clear conscience, a conscience not begat with fear or suspicion, but a conscience begat with simplicity. We must endeavour to strive for that goal in times of abnormalities to show by our every action that we are loyal and law abiding citizens of this country of ours, which has given us our daily breads, and which we have come to think as our native land. We must endeavour to strike a medium between what is just and unjust, equitable and inequitable, and try to suppress our yearnings for all the civil liberties which are enjoyed by others even in times of emergencies. We must forever bear in mind that we are of Japanese origin, and therefore, must live within the limitations imposed upon us by the orders-incouncil issued by the government under the War Measures Act.

But the war having come so suddenly the various orders-in-council will not be forthcoming for some time, and we must endeavour to shift for ourselves [sic] as well as we can under wartime emergencies. Being myself one of the numerous War Babies of 1914 vintage, I could not judge for myself what the limitations are and so must use my own discretion in this matter.

The sea of bewilderment on which I was trying to be afloat in the forenoon, trying my darndest to keep afloat and not be engulfed by the crushing white crested waves, calmed down and I found myself afloat in the sea of bewitching anticipation in the afternoon. While I was pondering the reaction of those

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of Japanese origin it never occurred to me what the reaction of others would be once I came in contact with them. I thought to myself that sooner or later I will have to face my many occidental friends and that since our office is located in the business centre of Vancouver I must not have a guilty conscience or a chip on my shoulder and must face them as in days gone by. "Remember Pearl Harbor," that jargon of impending war, had left a bad impression of things Japanese as the commentators had addressed the public that Japan had sneaked from behind and stabbed America in the back. This impression

has not use my own hearthon on this matter

that the Japanese could not be trusted, I must consider as a chip on us, and must, therefore, endeavour to override this impression when I face the music. This sea of anticipation into which I had been thrown into recalled to mind what those of German origin had to go through on that 3rd day of September 1939. They being of the white race enjoying all the civil liberties of a fullfledged Canadian, their reaction may not have been as controversial as ours, but still boiled down to the same thing. Extras were rampant on that day, but strangely no extras came out on December 7th, 1941. September 3rd, 1939, though memorable, did not bring with it the reactions which were my lot as did December 7th, 1941, for although it was close to the hearts of every

That night, for the first time in ages, I did not get a Canadian, it did not involve those of Japanese origin. wink of sleep. All evening I tossed in bed, thinking the And as we were far removed from the actual theatre of whole night through, what this was leading to, for how war it did not occur to us that time that though it had long, and what was to be our lot. I thought about my come to pass, it would govern our ways of life to any folks in Cumberland, my younger brothers, and sisters, appreciable extent. We accepted it merely as another and how all my other friends were taking the news. I war, and took it for granted that though there will be thought of my friends south of the 49th, and also of my certain restrictions in our own ways of life it would not nisei friends in Japan. I thought of my many occidental affect us materially. friends who too were rudely awaken (sic) by the news, and who too must be pondering over the situation, In contrast to September 3rd of 1939, December 7th pondering perhaps in a different way. The panorama of 1941 brought with it all the bewilderment imaginand sequence of events past, present, and future enable for now we were thrown into a sea of animated tered my brains. Events which were full of gaiety and suspension and hyperactiveness, a sea in which we laughter in the past had suddenly changed to one of must shift for ourselves as best as we can. With this bewilderment and what the future held in store for us thought in my mind I returned to my penthouse #47 only time will tell. In this way my brain was taxed to to map out my itinerary for the days to come, and for capacity and so the thought of getting a good night's



Counter 77. 190, will been former informer in the mink of strain of paparas origin, not only on Evalor and more of articularly change 190, but dee minks That attel of Banks, and admitted on makerlow around the testional. So was tomaked and does the and observed and place and this resultion that a papar dedeed an one and one sets against Expland land his that attel to bond of and does the adde strain for an this resultion that a for dedeed an one and one sets against Expland land the That attended and does the and does all straights and they been committee and a result on the set against Expland land the That attended by bonding and an week of any for committee and a resolver and the set against for the form and an our second an our second and another of counter to the received an attended and and and and the second form and an our second. The second and a second and the second at a second at a second and a second and the second and the second and the second at a second and the second at a second and a second at a tail but not make no called that the follows of the confast times. I clought and befold and prayed fact the local which is cannot been for one one of doce Oran Deales Then from There's prayer to the failm of to the program concourses to concourse me clad what the field will never some to fair baland to be sound upon us. He wind started to come us a see of Cambdoment profit there and show, and for one flow the de baring in mid-thinks, not knowing start to think don't est at so what to be . Som movely a tell him but Decenter sith find an allowing for labor hat take a cound breach some fall getraced and hingging cloudy he belie to finder information but then my doit door mythem the findered of the takes constituted my room, and are not fur or for fixed and nelseelan waa filista muu hal ann ta har juut as fatu is noon tatar as die to ma. Makil not take muus har noon antavatal an tang to the comments of normal serie conselsembant, lake Scilam Arner, and obey networkersteeled harm noon bushar Arneha bad ahel not noon to the landball cognal Gales and menor, we know that a fait was likelinging the land announces. "Have bouland School School and Manda bad ahel not at a fulling taken hungry . I hopped on at hunghade and front the grand hand counters and tables first facked . manspore Italiand as I all I Pour at had suggested these long lifes I arrived in order to an for themalice what reactions and were obries have somering the rever their and prompties of reported solutions alike and in his minutable way discussions about the Don't and as least trying to prove to demail for one against the fields, that we Homis le former centions in our extrement and most not led silves to contrain Stations ender the fait mit had be inferding some The product of the second of and production and not and second to be added on the second of the second and the Bothe was having and so conditally the nervous produce on contract will use to booksoming by continue and so and must extension to shift for oursed as a on sen men weeting one quies "Builter of the our Bakes myself of Me water & could not proge for myself all at the limitations bere The can't make an and a mater make mater and the formant to formant to formant to have affect and not angerliked by the considering with a considering white the constance of th

the sudden changed that will be bound to be brought about in the ways of life to which I had previously been accustomed. Around 8 in the evening, Frank and Mike dropped into penthouse #48 and so I made my appearance there. Over several cups of dripped coffee we all discussed in our varied ways what the news implied explicitly and how we were going to face our occidental friends the following morning. I had been jolted by the news. I had decided not to go to the office, but Mike, who is working in the Kerrisdale residential district, and Frank, who is working in the local bank, were intending to go to their respective jobs. I decided that I might as well make my appearance at the office.



sleep did not occur to me until I began to hear the singing crescendo of the carefree chickadees whirring in the dark morning, and then it was time to arise.

Never had I gone to the office before 10, but December 8th found me up drowsy but early and so I boarded the #14 at the corner of Jackson and Hastings along with Reggie Yasui, the West Coast Salesman, and Anthony Kobayashi, Tagashira Salesman. That day being 75¢ day at the Woodward's Department Store, the tram was packed with middle aged women shoppers and so we there hung on to the railings, and overheard the following conversation: "I wish those Chinese would lick the hell out of the Japs." I poked Reggie on the ribs and advised him what we were up against. I was ill at ease, but considered that it was only natural that they express their opinions outwardly. Though the conversationalists were strangers, that guilty conscience which I had tried so hard to surmount got the better of me, and so...

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by the time I had reached 744 W Hastings I must have had a long face, for Margie Black, the cigarette stand concessioner, said, "Rosie, why do you have a long face, instead of smiles written all over you as in the past?" To her, I believe, the war made no difference whatsoever in our friendly relationship for which I was thankful. Tommy Muir, the elevator operator, whom I had come to know very well during the past 4 years advised me that he feels sorry things had to turn out the way it had but that there is no sense in having a guilty conscience, and that I will always be welcome in his home. After doffing my overcoat I pondered for awhile and made a beeline for Spencer's, where I saw Jack Mains, Mary Martin, and others in order to say a few words. Having known them for years through business connections I anticipated and counted on them to act as my advisors, and their impression was to the effect that they were sorry Japan took the wrong road. Words of wisdom emanated from the lips of Mains advising me that I should not take it too seriously, but that since everyone has been keyed up to the nth degree I should take things easy for a while. After making the rounds of other offices I donned my overcoat and left for home in a taxi, with a clear conscience and glad of the fact that my acquaintances had no word of derogation against me personally.

I was in the office for only 10 minutes all told, I did not realize then what the other members were doing for I was the only member present though only for a short while. That afternoon I was advised by one of my acquaintances that both N & S were interned on Sunday evening along with many others. I realized then that many pressing responsibilities requiring investigations and enquiries were placed upon my shoulders and for once actually was at a loss, since the various firms were in a delicate state of affairs.

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The majority of *niseis* I know are like myself, a little startled to find themselves classified distinctly as of Japanese origin and therefore must be treated accordingly. It now clearly comes to mind that on December 6, 1941, we went to bed as integrated Canadians accustomed to Canadian customs and habits, though at times made the pawn of political pollbaiting, only to wake up on December 7, 1941, to find ourselves of Japanese origin. The problems of franchise, of assimilation, of decentralization, towards which we were aiming were rudely assaulted and we were again restored to our more or less forgotten identity: "Once a Jap, always a Jap."

We who had been striving to get away from the "petty insular spirit" so typical of many *isseis* were disturbingly restored to the identity of having a strong attachment to the birthplace of our forefathers. Not all of us were disturbed by this mysticism, for there were many among us born in Canada, nurtured in Canadian schools, and working among Canadians, who were of the opinion that though externally we have the features of a Japanese that surely we will be treated as Canadians; that surely the prestige which we so richly deserve, and which we had more or less generally won, would not have been in vain.

We the *niseis* are comparable to the modern 8 cylinder carriage and the *isseis* to the one lung gas carriage of 1910 vintage.

"Remember Pearl Harbor," that note emanating from the radio, and will persist in the circumambient ether through time unending. Will be forever present in the interstices of one's selective memory. As long as civilization exists on this universe.