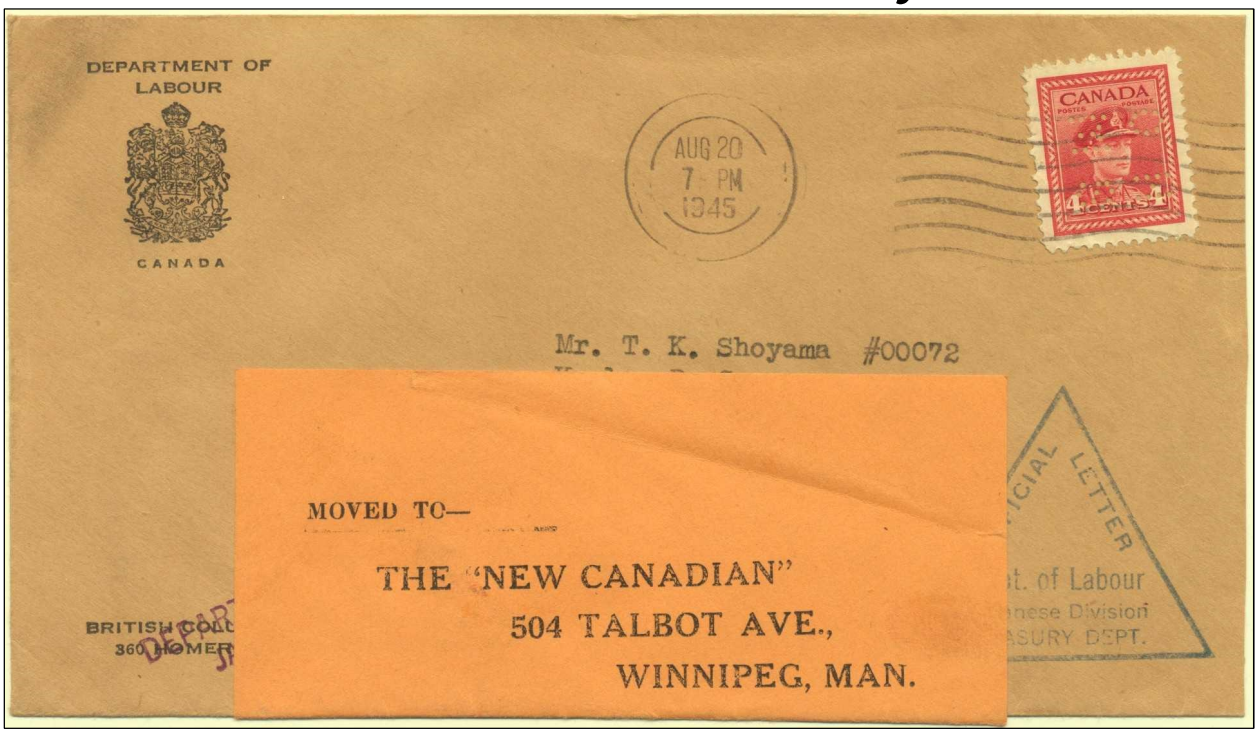
RESEARCH GROUP • POST OFFICE • BRITISH COLUMBIA

Monograph 10

Landscapes of Injustice and Postal History



Cover from the Treasury Division of the Department of Labour, Japanese Division, addressed to Tom Shoyama at Kaslo, B.C., redirected to the new Winnipeg office of *The New Canadian* newspaper.

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Introduction

This is a short book describing the postal history and the social history of the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War II. After the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese forces and war being declared between Canada and Japan, the Canadian government removed people of Japanese origin (over 20,000 people) from coastal British Columbia. All people of Japanese origin living within 100 miles of the west coast were moved out of this protected area. This affected about 95% of those people in Canada with Japanese ancestry. The two largest concentrations were in downtown Vancouver and in the fishing village of Steveston. When the restrictions were lifted in 1949, the Japanese Canadians had no homes and no historic Japanese-Canadian neighbourhoods to return to. Some had been sent to Japan in 1946.

In my work, I have referred to two major sources. First, the book *Japanese Canadians in World War II. Censored Mail from the Uprooting in British Columbia* by Louis Fiset[1]. Fiset has accumulated an unmatchable collection of postal artifacts related to this topic, having incorporated into his own collection the earlier exhibits and collections of Ken Ellison, Bill Robinson and Bill Topping.

My second major reference is the *Landscapes of Injustice* [*LOI*] digital archive[2]. *LOI* is "dedicated to recovering and grappling with the forced sale of Japanese-Canadian-owned property." Most Japanese Canadians were British subjects—citizens of Canada—by birth or naturalization. The Canadian government uprooted them and interned them, and dispossessed them—forcing sale of their properties and chattels, often well below their value. *LOI* presents the copious records related to this internment and dispossession. For a postal historian, use of the biographical research material in *LOI* adds information about the writers of covers and sometimes

about the addressees. Each cover becomes virtually a chapter on its own, often telling a sad story.

The research group who produced *LOI* also published a book[3] that examines the uprooting and internment of Japanese Canadians and their dispossession. The 14 scholarly articles in this book provide a modern analysis of the removal of all forms of property (including real estate) from Japanese Canadian citizens.

The *LOI* reports avoid the euphemisms used in many governmental reports. For example, the website avoids the terms "evacuation" of Japanese Canadians, preferring "uprooting" and "internment". Similarly, the term "repatriation" of Japanese Canadians to Japan in 1946 is replaced by "exile". Loss of property is referred to as "dispossession" or "forced sales". I have often used the *LOI* terms.

For my purposes, the most useful information is found in the Digital Research Database of *LOI* in the Custodian Case files[2]:

> *The custodian case files are a series of records created by the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property documenting individual and corporate Japanese-Canadian property holdings including real estate and chattels that have been specially curated and processed by the LOI digital archive team. They are a part of the Office of the Custodian fonds held at the Library and Archives Canada (RG-117 C-3) and available on the Héritage project site. The Office recorded 14,644 case files and other official records on microfilm which were transferred to the national archives when the office disbanded in 1985. These records are a crucial component of the database as they detail Japanese-Canadian property loss with names of individuals and itemized lists of property and forced sales. Because of their importance, and the fact that most of them have never been viewed by the public, the digital archive team invested in the labour to create a single record and digital object for each case file. Each case file is searchable in the database with a detailed description of the record.*

This collection is a good resource for community members who are conducting family history research as well as for general researchers interested in analyzing the kinds of property recorded by the Office of the Custodian.

The Custodian Case Files are organized alphabetically by surname. Each entry in the index has a summary of the information. By opening the case file number at the left and downloading the Facsimile, one can find records of property owned and information from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) including family details, date forced into the Interior, subsequent addresses, and property appraisals. An example of use of these data is presented in reference 4.

I have little memory of the eviction of Japanese Canadians from Vancouver, where I grew up. There were no Japanese Canadians in my class in elementary school. I recall my sister Joan coming home from Britannia High School and saying that a Japanese -Canadian classmate [*Kazuko Shinobu Yatabe, 1924–2019*] was absent that day, and that she would not be returning to school. Kazuko taught Grade 3 in the school at Kaslo during her internment there[5]. Joan and Kazuko did not see each other for a number of decades.

I clearly remember when, in 1949 or 1950, the first Japanese Canadian students arrived in our Britannia High School classrooms. They quickly blended into our classes and became close friends. Having resided in self-sustaining communities, their families had managed to return to the west coast, although most Japanese Canadians who remained in Canada wound up east of British Columbia.

This book is organized chronologically. For example, it starts with examples of pre-World War II Japanese Canadian mail. Next is a discussion of the roles played by the various Canadian government agencies after war with Japan was declared in December 1941. Then I describe application of the many governmental edicts by discussing road-work camps, internment

in prisoner-of-war camps, voluntary migrations, and forced internment at interior-British Columbia communities. The importance of the newspaper *The New Canadian* is emphasized. Finally, there is discussion of post-war movement.

Pre-War Mail

Completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886 and the initiation of regular steamship service between Yokohama and Vancouver starting in 1887 brought Japanese immigrants to British Columbia, especially early in the 20th century. Japanese settlements formed in Vancouver and in Steveston (on Lulu Island). Both settlements formed Japan-towns, with their own services: stores and restaurants, and Japanese doctors and schools. Japanese workers were soon active in Pacific coastal fishing villages and pulp-mill and mining towns. A few Japanese immigrants settled in the Okanagan Valley and in Alberta.

I have found few pre-war examples of items mailed to or written by people listed in *LOI.* The earliest are two 1903 postal stationery cards addressed to Mr. K. Shimotakahara in Vancouver. One of these is shown in Fig. 1 (next page).

Biographic data about Shimotakahara are from a number of *Google* articles and financial data are from *LOI*. Dr. Kozo Shimotakahara (1886–1951) emigrated to Canada at the age of 14. He attended Columbian Methodist College in New Westminster, then went to the University of Chicago for medical training. He returned to Vancouver in 1915 to be the first Japanese-Canadian medical doctor. His wife Shin was a nurse. In 1918, during the Spanish flu pandemic, he was involved in setting up a field hospital for Japanese people at Strathcona Elementary School. Dr. Shimotakahara was generous to poor students and lower-income patients with their medical charges. After Pearl Harbor, he often waived accumulated bills that his patients owed. The Shimotakaharas were

evacuated to Kaslo on October 16, 1942. Dr. Shimotakahara remained in Kaslo—actively practicing—until he died in 1951.

Figure 1. Both sides of a card addressed to Mr. K. Shimotakahara in Vancouver, mailed in Kansas City, Kansas on November 10, 1903. It reached Vancouver on November 14th.

LOI records show that in August 1943, the Shimotakaharas were able to sell their house (Fig. 2) at 1245 West 10th Avenue in Vancouver for $3,274 (net). They had purchased the house for $5,500. The sale was slow and complicated, and involved both a real estate agent and the B.C. Security Commission. Their downtown property (at Main and Powell, a 2-storey brick building with 4 stores downstairs and 17 rooms upstairs, Fig. 3, next page) was sold in November 1943 for $10,070 (net) by the government Custodian. In 1929, they had paid $29,500 for the building. They filed an appeal claim in 1948 for underpayment and were awarded $1,439 by the court.

Figure 2. House at 1245 West 10th Avenue, Vancouver. (*LOI*)

Figure 3. Store and apartments at Main and Powell, Vancouver. (*LOI*)

My next pre-war cover is a registered cover mailed to Victoria at Nanaimo on May 10, 1933 (Fig. 4). Postage (3¢) and registration fee (10¢) were paid with a 13¢ Medallion-issue stamp (Quebec Citadel image).

Figure 4. Cover mailed in 1935 by Moto Mizuyabu.

The writer of the cover was Mrs. Moto Mizuyabu, P.O. Box 35, Nanaimo (living at 238 Chelsea Street, Nanaimo). *LOI* records show that Moto Hamanishi—born in 1904—married Tsuneziro Mizuyabu (born 1895). They had five children. Tsuneziro was a self-employed fisherman, and owned a 35-foot boat. Both were naturalized Canadians. They and their children were evacuated to Lemon Creek (Slocan) on September 24, 1942. Lemon Creek was one of four communities in the Slocan area. By October 1943, 1,766 Japanese Canadians were living at Lemon Creek (nearly 5,000 were to live in Slocan).

Tsuneziro's boat was sold in 1944 by the government for $1,610 (less $70). The owner strongly protested the sale. Their Nanaimo bungalow was sold for $1,635. The family was exiled to Japan on August 2, 1946. Tsuneziro was given a draft for $5,200 [*his earnings and sales*] when he left Canada. Moto was issued $200 on her departure.

My next pre-war cover (Fig. 5) was mailed from Vancouver to Japan on March 11, 1938. The envelope bears a printed corner card that reads "TAISHODO/Kitamura Bros." with the return address 301 Powell St. The Taishodo Drug Store—at Gore Avenue and Powell Street (Fig. 6, next page)—was owned by Kenji Kitamura.

Figure 5. Cover sent to Japan in 1938 from the Taishodo Drug Store.

Kenjiro Kitamura's *LOI* case file is huge, 171MB. He and his wife Teru were naturalized Canadian citizens. The Kitamura family was uprooted to Bay Farm, Slocan on October 26, 1942 and then to Toronto on December 12, 1946. In Slocan, Kitagawa managed the Bay Farm Drug Store.

Kenji Kitamura owned a store building on Powell Street and a granite dwelling at 1096 West 10th Avenue (at the southwest corner of West 10th and Spruce). Both the store's main floor and the rooms upstairs from the store were rented until 1946. The house also was leased. The store (Fig. 6) was sold in November 1946 for $7,000 less costs. The residence on West 10th Avenue sold in 1944 for $7,500 less sale costs. Kitamura appealed his payments, and in 1950 the Japanese Property Claims Commission (the Bird Commission) awarded him $1,125.47.

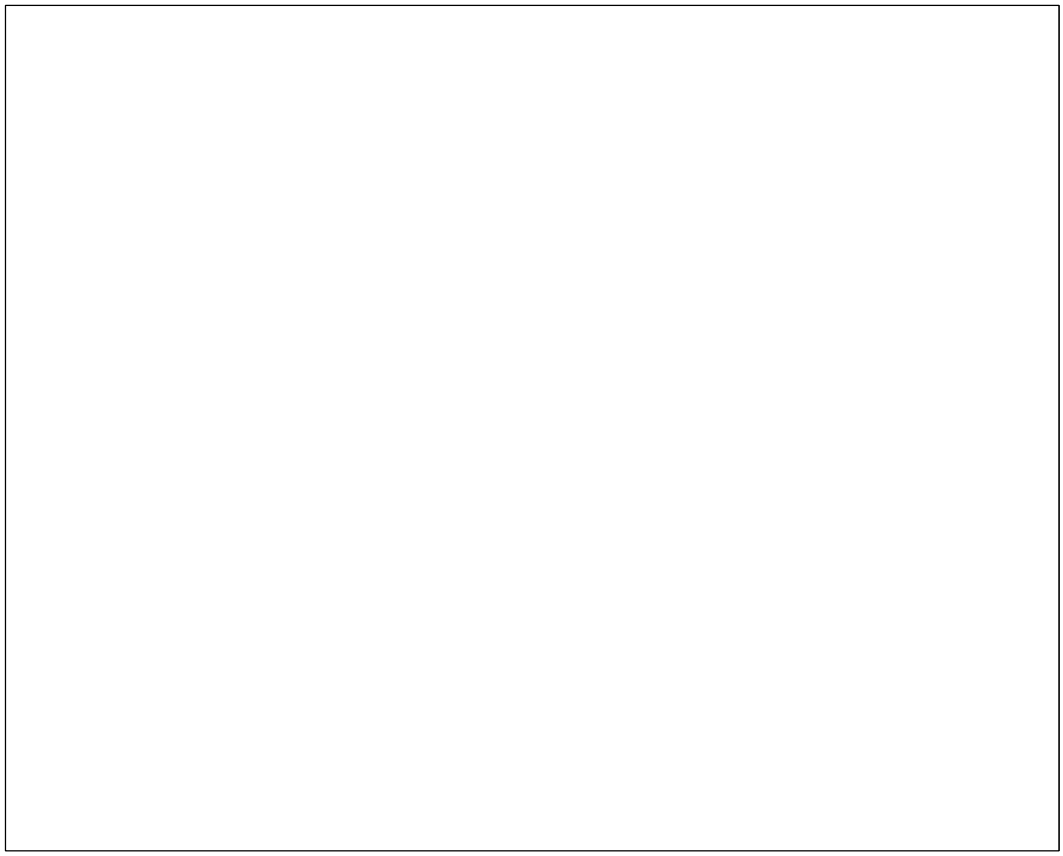


Figure 6. The 300 block of Powell St. The low building with the five vertical windows is the Taishodo Drug Store. (Nikkei National Museum photo).

Kenji Kitamura is described in the top-secret 161-page *Report on Japanese Activities in British Columbia* compiled in June 1942 by intelligence officer Sir William Stephenson, Director of the British Security Co-Ordination (based in New York City). The anonymous material, sent to the RCMP in early August 1942, contains brief reports about suspected disloyalty of many prominent Japanese Canadians. Both a scan of the original report and a transcription of its Appendices 5 and 10 are in *LOI*. The report suggests that many individuals on the lists be arrested immediately. The agent who compiled the commentary for Stephenson was probably Glenn McPherson (see pp. 171 and 172 in reference 3), a civil servant and also Stephenson's B.C. agent. Kenji Kitamura was No. 59 on Stephenson's second list. He was "reported by several informers to be very pro-Japanese" and to be in league with Kiichi Okura (same list, No. 65) who operated a laundry and allegedly picked up both laundry and dope from Japanese ships. The list seems to just be unsubstantiated racially-motivated gossip. On August 5, 1942, RCMP Commissioner S.T. Wood sent a two-page letter replying to Stephenson politely rebuffing Stephenson's suggestions of arrests and saying that there was no evidence of espionage or sabotage among the Japanese in British Columbia. By this time, many Japanese Canadians were interned in the B.C. Interior.

I have a cover from Wadhams, B.C. [near the mouth of Rivers Inlet] addressed to Mr. T. (Tsunekichi) Nakatsu, PO Box 65, Steveston, B.C. (Fig. 7, next page). Rivers Inlet was famous for its bountiful Chinook and Coho salmon runs. *LOI* says that Tsunekichi was deceased in 1941. The cover was sent by K. Nakatsu (Kichinosuke Nakatsu, Tsunekichi's son, a fisherman).

Kichinsuke was born December 17, 1917. Kichinosuke's fishing vessel was sold to Nelson Brothers Fisheries Limited on August 28, 1942 for $218.80. In 1950, after he claimed a value of $500 for his boat, he received $89.01 through the Japanese Property Claims Commission. He was interned at Angler, Ontario in June 1942, then went to Germania (near Bracebridge), Ontario and then to Toronto.

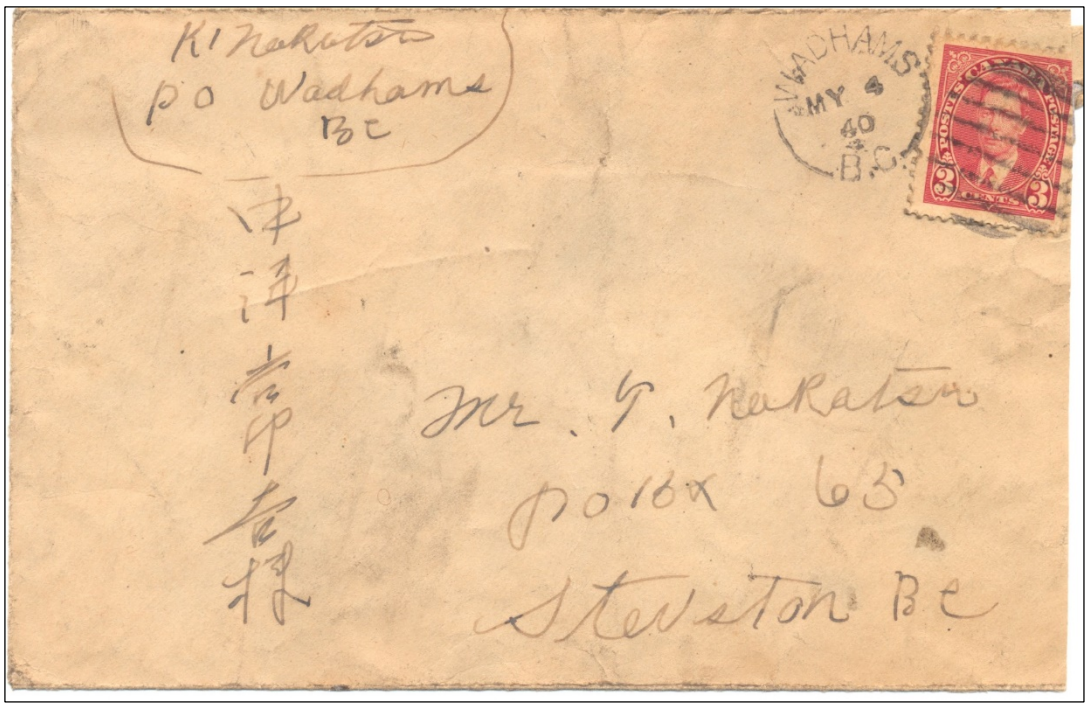


Figure 7. Cover mailed by K. Nakatsu at Wadhams, B.C. on May 4, 1940.

The next pre-war cover is an envelope containing a card enclosure, probably a New Year's card (Fig. 8, next page) sent unsealed to Kobe, Japan as printed matter. It probably was carried west in the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK) steamship *Heian Maru*, which departed Vancouver on January 5, 1941. The card provides the sender's address as 2225 Dundas Street,

Vancouver. According to the 1940 *British Columbia and Yukon Directory*, the resident at that address was Kanichi Matsubayashi.

Figure 8. Cover and enclosure mailed December 31, 1940.

Kanichi Matsuyashi was born on September 25, 1895. His wife Shigeko (nee Takenaya) was born on September 23, 1902. Both were naturalized Canadian citizens. They rented their home on Dundas Street for $12.50 per month. Kanichi was a bookkeeper employed by Tanaka & Co. (importers and exporters, #217–193 E. Hastings St.). In 1942, they had three children (16,

14, 11). When they went to the Interior, they left their furniture, utensils and a piano stored at the Dundas Street home. Most of their chattels—previously insured for $1,500—were by 1947 sold at auction for $317.15. In October 1950, they were paid $13.19 as a result of a claim made to the Japanese Property Claims Commission.

The Matsuyashis were uprooted to Bay Farm (Slocan) in the summer of 1942. In 1947, Kanichi's address was c/o the Homewood Sanitarium in Guelph, Ontario and in 1950 Shigeko was living at 130 Delhi St. in Guelph. The Homewood Sanitarium (now called the 'Homewood Health Centre') is a private institution for treatment of mental illness and substance abuse.

The addressees of the Fig. 8 envelope—Mr. and Mrs. T. Wakisaka—apparently were both in Kobe, Japan in 1940. Takeji Wakisaka was a sawmill worker at Alberta Lumber Co., Vancouver. His wife Yoshio and their son lived in Japan. Takeji was evacuated to Slocan on July 15, 1942. He died in hospital in Revelstoke on October 12, 1946 after being in an accident at his workplace, Parkin Spruce Mills.

Fig. 9 (next page) shows a cover mailed in Vancouver on January 13, 1941 to Japan via Yokohama (the point of entry). This envelope was probably carried west in the NYK liner *Hikawa Maru*, which departed from Vancouver on January 17, 1941. The envelope was written by Daijiro Nakabori to his wife, Sade Nakaburo, who was living in Japan. Daijiro was a mill worker for the B.C. Cedar Lumber Co. Ltd. in Vancouver. *LOI* notes that he was evacuated to Raymond, Alberta, possibly on March 7, 1942, to do farm work. He was exiled to Japan in the *S.S. General Meigs* in June 1946. When he left, he was paid by the Custodian's Office $860 from his account.

Figure 9. Cover sent by Daijiro Nakabori to his wife in Japan ('Mr.' is in the address instead of 'Mrs.').

Next is a Gunji Yubin envelope (Fig. 10, next page) mailed at Oita, Japan on February 21, 1941 to Mrs. E. Yano, 2553 Venables Street, Vancouver. The four-character boxed handstamp reads "Furyoyubin", Prisoner of War. A helmet and cherry blossom icon is said to be below the adhesive. The 20-sen postage stamp was not required for this POW envelope. Perhaps it was mailed by a worker at a camp. The last regular mail eastbound Canadian Pacific Steamship had arrived in Vancouver on January 11, 1941, so this cover probably was carried across the Pacific by a Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK) steamship—its name not known. Newspapers were censored at that time, so many sailing data are not available.

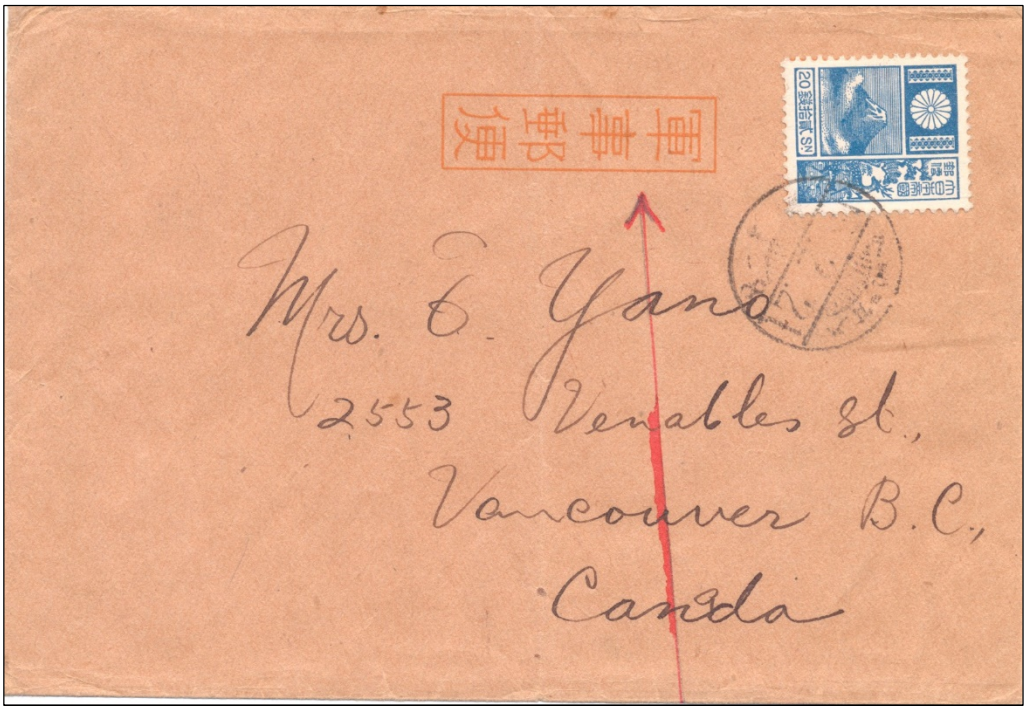


Figure 10. Gunji Yubin Helmet and Cherry Blossoms envelope mailed to Mrs. E. Yano in Vancouver.

Emi Yano (born August 4, 1903) and her husband Takeo Yano (born December 25, 1891) were Japanese Nationals. They rented their home at 2553 Venables Street in East Vancouver. They had three children. Takeo was a labourer with Britannia Mining & Smelting Company, Britannia Beach, B.C. Emi was a teacher at the Fairview Japanese School. They were evacuated to Bay Farm, Slocan on September 24, 1942, and later moved to New Denver. On June 2, 1947, they moved to Brantford, Ontario. At some point, Takeo became a porter for the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Newspapers in the Japanese Language

In the 1930s and early 1940s, three Japanese-language newspapers were published in Vancouver: *Kanada Shinpo* (*Canada News* or *Canada Daily News*), *Tairiku Nippō* (*Continental Daily News*) and *Nikkan Minshu* (*The Daily People*). The Canadian government forced all three of these newspapers to cease publication in December 1941.

Rev. Goro Kaburagi, a Methodist minister, started a weekly paper—the *Bankuba Shuho* (*Vancouver Weekly*)—in July 1897[7]. It was renamed the *Kanada Shinpo* (*Canada News*) in 1903. Kaburagi was editor when *Kanada Shinpo* became the first daily Japanese newspaper in Canada in March 1904. Kaburagi was a pacifist and opposed Japanese imperialism. He encouraged assimilation into mainstream society. However, he lost his ministry and returned to Japan. The next owner of the newspaper was Koichiro Sanmiya, a business leader in the community [see Family Stories #23, *LOI*]. After sporadic periods of suspension, its publication apparently ended in 1921.

The conservative newspaper *Kanada Shinbun* (*Canada Daily News*) succeeded the *Kanada Shinpō* in 1921[8], founded by Juzo Suzuki (who was first listed as Manager, then editor). [Suzuki was interned at Angler, then was repatriated to Japan in the second *Gripsholm* exchange voyage.] The paper carried a mixture of domestic news from Japan and articles on social and political events in Vancouver, with more domestic news than the other two newspapers. Fig. 11 (next page) shows an August 11, 1922 cover from Tacoma, Washington addressed to M. Sanmiya [Koichiro, or to his wife Morio] c/o Canada Daily News Ltd. on Powell Street.

Confusion about the end of one paper and the start of the other can be roughly cleared up by examining contemporary Vancouver city directories. *Henderson's 1921 Vancouver Directory* lists "Can. News Ltd." at 558 Powell Street. The *1922 Wrigley British Columbia Directory* lists "Canada Daily News Co. Ltd." at 558 Powell Street, with K. Sanmiya as President and G.

Takahashi as Manager. The *1923 Henderson's Greater Vancouver Directory* shows K. Sanmiya as Manager. The *1924 Wrigley British Columbia Directory* lists J. [*Juzo*] Suzuki as Manager. The *1925 Wrigley British Columbia Directory* provides a new address: 118 Main Street. The 1941 *British Columbia and Yukon Directory* has Suzuki as editor and the address still 118 Main Street. The 1942 *British Columbia and Yukon Directory* lists 118 Main (St.) as "vacant".

Figure 11. A 1922 cover addressed to "Mr. M. Sanmiya" c/o the Canada Daily News Ltd., 558 Powell Street, Vancouver.

The principal rival of the *Kanada Shinbun* and the leading paper in the community was the *Tairiku Nippō* (*Continental News*) which was a community newspaper published predominantly in Japanese. It was founded on June 22, 1907 by Dôsa Iida and reestablished in 1908 by Yasushi Yamazaki. The company's earliest directory listing (in the *1908 Henderson's City of Vancouver Directory*) shows Y. Yamazaki as Proprietor, G. Tomakura

and S. Okade as Editors, and S. Tateishi as Sub-editor. The *Nippō* office was at 124 Gore Avenue. Yamazaki was president of the Canadian Japanese Association (CJA) and he also formed a fisherman's union. The *Nippō* was opposed to assimilation and proselytization of Japanese Canadians to Christianity. It conveyed considerable homeland and international news. In 1916, Yamazaki promoted the formation of the Canadian Japanese Volunteer Corps (CJVC). The *Tairiku Nippō* was published from 1907 to 1941.

The third Vancouver Japanese newspaper was the *Nikkan Minshu* (*Daily People* or *Daily Worker*), the paper of the Japanese Workers' Union. The union started a weekly newspaper, *Rodo Shuho* (*Labour Weekly*) on August 11, 1920, but this paper—short of funds—ceased on March 8, 1924. It was replaced by a daily newspaper edited by Etsu Suzuki, who left Canada in 1933. City Directories list the *Daily People* at 544 Powell Street. It was not a house organ of the union but meant to be for general readers. Takaichi Umezuki was its editor from 1933 until 1941. He was hired by *The New Canadian* to be its Japanese editor and eventually became its publisher. In 1978, Umezuki was appointed to the Order of Canada in recognition of his many achievements.

Major readers of *Tairiku Nippō* were members of the Japanese Buddhist temples. Most readers of the *Kanada Shinbun* were Japanese Christians, and those of the *Nikkan Minshu* were labour union members. Among these three papers, the circulations in 1941 were *Tairiku Nippō* leading with 4,000, *Kanada Shinbun* second with 2,500, and *Nikkan Minshu* with 1,500. All three of these Japanese newspapers were closed down on December 7, 1941.

In 1938, an English-language newspaper, *The New Canadian,* started publishing in Vancouver. It carried news of interest to the younger Japanese Canadians. During World War II, *The New Canadian* was the only Japanese newspaper published. It is discussed in detail in a later section.

Pre-War Repatriation

LOI has reproduced an October 10, 1941 urgent and secret letter written by the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa stating that the Japanese government had proposed sending a ship to Canada to repatriate Japanese nationals in Canada who may have wished to return to Japan "on account of the war situation". Note that this was about two months before the raid on Pearl Harbor. The last regular sailing had been the NYK [Nippon Yusen Kaisha] liner *Heian Maru*, which departed for Yokohama from Vancouver [*date censored*] and then Seattle on August 4, 1941. On the special voyage, the *Hikawa Maru* departed from Vancouver on November 1st and reached Japan on November 18th. Fred "Cyclone" Taylor [District Superintendent of Immigration and former star hockey player] reported on November 12th that 140 sailed in the *Hikawa Maru*. The Canadian government was nervous about questioning the repatriates in detail, fearing repercussions from the Japanese government, but quietly found a suitable form for them to complete to find out who was leaving. The Department of Immigration wanted their names in case they asked to return to Canada. Taylor's report with the name of each passenger is shown in *LOI*, with the age, sex, date and place of birth, and any of their Canadian-born children recorded. Fourteen of the male passengers had a wife in Japan. Another NYK ship, the *Tatsuta Maru*, made a special voyage to San Francisco for repatriation purposes. She departed San Francisco on October 30th and called at Honolulu on her return trip to Japan, arriving at Yokohama on November 14th.

Role of Canadian Government Agencies

The Japanese attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on December 7, 1941 brought major changes for Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. Canada declared war on Japan the same day. The War Measures Act was a federal law that gave the Canadian government extra emergency powers in time of war, invasion or insurrection. Using this law, the Cabinet through Orders-in-Council could make laws regarding security and defence without the assent of Parliament. Within three months of December 7th, federal cabinet Orders-in-Council forced the removal of Japanese Canadian male nationals to camps, and then authorized the *removal from the B.C. coast of all people of Japanese origin*. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) were tasked with supervising the activities of Japanese Canadians. A Custodian of Enemy Property was authorized to hold all land and property in trust. Three government agencies—the RCMP, the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) and its replacement, and the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property—impacted severely on the lives of Japanese Canadians.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Between March and August 1941 (before Japan was involved in World War II) the RCMP registered and thumb-printed Japanese nationals and Japanese Canadians, and issued them registration cards with personal numbers. All people of Japanese origin over the age of 16 had to carry their numbered identification cards at all times, until 1949. The RCMP registered Japanese Canadian children when they reached the age of 16. Starting in December 1941, the RCMP recorded biographic data on each Japanese adult on a Registration Form.

With the invasion of Poland, the Canadian government on September 1, 1939 had enacted the War Measures Act. Soon after the declaration of war against Japan, the RCMP were given expanded powers to search without

warrant, to impose a curfew and to confiscate property. A Custodian of Enemy Property was authorized to hold all land and property in trust.

The RCMP was assisted by officers of the British Columbia Provincial Police (BCPP). During the assembly of Japanese Canadians at Hastings Park (described below), the RCMP managed most of the work in Vancouver and New Westminster. The BCPP organized the removal from Vancouver Island and the Coast. The BCPP took over responsibility for most of the policing of Japanese Canadians when they were transferred to the Interior. For the Japanese-Canadian communities, the 1943 *Report of Royal Canadian Mounted Police* lists five RCMP officers in New Denver, two in Kaslo, three in Slocan City, two in Tashme and one at the Blue River work camp. The RCMP were given the responsibility of arresting any Japanese Canadians who broke the law. The *Report of Royal Canadian Mounted Police* for the year ended March 31, 1943 states:

> For-the most part the detention of persons of the Japanese race was made necessary as a result of their refusal to evacuate from the Protected Areas in British Columbia or for failure to comply with orders issued by the British Columbia Security Commission, and releases from detention are effected as soon as the individual concerned agrees to accept proffered employment and to comply with the orders he previously disregarded.

The *1942 RCMP Report* contained this reassuring statement:

> Our experience would indicate that at the present time there is no organized system of sabotage in Canada, or if an organization does exist, it has not yet become active.

Public Prejudice and Orders-in-Council

Before the war and soon after Pearl Harbor, numerous politicians at all levels had spoken out against the presence of Japanese in British Columbia. Federally, Ian Alistair Mackenzie (1890–1949)—Member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre and B.C.'s representative in Cabinet—had for decades sought exclusion of Asians from B.C. and he wanted them not to return to the province. In a 1944 September speech at his nomination, he said "Let that be our slogan for British Columbia: — No Japanese from the Rockies to the sea." On B.C. matters, he was a strong influence on Prime Minister Mackenzie King's government. Ian Mackenzie was supported by quite a few British Columbians, including B.C. premier John Hart.

Defenders of Japanese Canadians included Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside of the Department of External Affairs, RCMP Assistant Commissioner Frederick John Mead, and several important people in the CCF (now the New Democratic Party) and in the United Church of Canada. During the war, the Army and the RCMP found no signs of disloyalty among the Japanese Canadians.

The federal government developed a series of rules or laws pertaining to treatment of the Japanese Canadians, proclaimed as Orders-in-Council. As such, they were not discussed in Parliament. *LOI* has a file with 65 Orders-in-Council pertinent to the treatment of Japanese Canadians at: loi.uvic.ca/archive/lac_rg2_a-1-a.html. *LOI* shows scans of the full orders. Here is a list of Orders-in-Council that are pertinent to this discussion. Those that I consider most important are shown with an asterisk. The list shows the progression of regulations applied to Japanese in Canada, presenting the steps taken to try to solve the major problems of evacuating the west coast. It indicates how the laws of the land changed to fit the process of expulsion. Some orders were never carried out. Some others were modified or revoked.

P.C. [*Privy Council*] 9590: December 7, 1941. Take custody of all property in Canada of persons residing in Japan.

*P.C. 9760: December 16, 1941. There should be a re-registration of the Japanese population of B.C. The Registration Form with the RCMP is included. Individual completed and updated forms are shown in *LOI*.

*P.C. 251: January 12, 1942. Prevention of all persons of Japanese racial origin from fishing or serving on fishing vessels off the coast of B.C.

P.C. 288: January 13, 1942. Disposal of the fishing vessels that had been impounded in B.C. ports.

* P.C. 365: January 16, 1942. Enemy aliens must leave the "protected area" and not return. The "protected area" [i.e., up to 100 miles inland] was not defined here.

P.C. 987; February 9, 1942. Disposal charge of 1% on sale of fishing boats and fishing supplies.

P.C. 1271: February 17, 1942. Establishes the Canadian Japanese Construction Corps, voluntary and only for the duration of the war. Basic rate of pay $1.00 per day with a small dependents' allowance.

*P.C. 1348: February 19, 1942. Establishes work camps outside the "protected area" for male enemy aliens.

*P.C. 1486: February 24, 1942. The Minister of Justice may make orders for all persons to leave the protected area.

*P.C. 1665: March 4, 1942. Establishes the British Columbia Security Commission, with three members. The duty of the BCSC will be to plan, supervise and direct the evacuation from the protected area of all persons of the Japanese race. The Commission shall provide for the housing, feeding, care and protection of such persons. Any property that an evacuee is unable to take with him shall be vested in the Custodian.

*P.C. 1968: March 16, 1942. The Department of National Defence will utilize two buildings in the Exhibition Grounds at Vancouver from March through July as temporary accommodation for personnel of Japanese origin.

P.C. 2483: March 27, 1942. Revisions and clarifications to P.C. 1665.

P.C. 2542: March 31, 1942. Creation of the Canadian Japanese Construction Corps be withheld until a later date.

*P.C. 2616: March 31, 1942. BCSC has submitted a plan for evacuation of Japanese women and children and of men physically unfit for work in work camps and placement in certain abandoned mining camp towns, villages or settlements such as Slocan, Kaslo, Sandon and Greenwood. Authority was granted for the BCSC to charge the costs for the evacuation.

P.C. 2972: April 14, 1942. Expropriation of the buildings and grounds of all of Hastings Park until December 31, 1942.

*P.C. 3212: April 21, 1942. Allows the BCSC to place evacuees in provinces other than British Columbia, and to remove them after termination of the war.

P.C. 3903: May 11, 1942. Provides authority to use $100,000 to move labourers of Japanese descent from B.C. to Ontario for farm work.

P.C. 5523: June 29, 1942. The Director of Soldier Settlement must approve of the sale or lease of any Japanese-owned agricultural land in the B.C. protected area.

P.C. 5651: July 2, 1942. Sets out the terms for the lease of Hastings Park.

P.C. 5965: July 10, 1942. Increases the funds allotted to the BCSC.

P.C. 6247: July 20, 1942. 1,027 of the 1,265 fishing vessels detained had been disposed of. All remaining vessels and equipment as of August 1, 1942 will be controlled by the Custodian.

P.C. 6758: July 31, 1942. Amendments to P.C. 1348, providing the BCSC terms for employment at work camps.

*P.C. 7387: August 18, 1942. Provides the BCSC with up to $550,000 for 900 small houses, hospital facilities, necessary facilities, education of about 5,000 children, and general stores for the people.

P.C. 8173: September 11, 1942. Regarding working conditions and compensation when employed by BCSC at work camps.

P.C. 10773: November 26, 1942. British citizenship will be stripped from deported or exiled people if Canada is at war with that country.

P.C. 10849: December 3, 1942. BCSC requires funds to purchase sufficient building sites (as listed).

*P.C. 469: January 19, 1943. Authorized the Custodian of Enemy Property "to liquidate, sell or otherwise dispose of" property of Japanese Canadians that was being held in trust.

P.C. 1275: February 5, 1943. With relocation completed, the Minister of Labour takes over the responsibilities of the BCSC. An Advisory Board will advise the Minister; Austin Taylor, John Shirras and F.J. Mead (who were on the BCSC) shall be members.

P.C. 1373: February 19, 1943. An added $20,000 for farm workers in Ontario. (cf. P.C. 3903).

P.C. 1422: February 23, 1943. Allows Japanese Canadians to work in the lumber industry in B.C.

P.C. 1841: March 8, 1943. Acquisition of property in Rosebery, B.C.

P.C. 2326: May 10, 1943. Prisoners of war may volunteer for agricultural and other work projects.

P.C. 4002: May 17, 1943. Approval of an agreement between the BCSC and the Province of Alberta that education of school-age children evacuated to Alberta be provided.

P.C. 4365: May 28, 1943. To seek Japanese Canadians to work to supply needed wood fuel. $500,000 allotted.

P.C. 9702: December 20, 1943. A Japanese Canadian may lease a building or part of a building for a term of up to one year.

*P.C. 7355: P.C. 7356; P.C. 7357. December 15, 1945. Three deportation orders against people of Japanese descent, regardless of place of birth.

P.C. 7414: December 28, 1945. The War Measure Act is replaced by the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, 1945. All orders to continue in full force.

*P.C. 1810: July 18, 1947. Creation of the Bird Commission inquiry into the dispossession of people of Japanese descent.

P.C. 589: February 17, 1948: Agreement between Alberta and Canada regarding settlement and funds for Japanese uprooted to Alberta.

P.C. 637: February 20, 1948. Revokes P.C. 1945-7355.

*P.C. 5638: January 27, 1949. Revokes P.C. 1665-1942, P.C. 469-1943 and P.C. 1945-7355.

The British Columbia Security Commission

The federal government (by March 4, 1942 Order-in-Council P.C. 1665) established the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) under authority of the Department of Labour to organize and supervise the relocation of Japanese Nationals and Japanese Canadians. The BCSC, with offices in Vancouver, was also charged with providing housing, welfare and elementary education programmes. The BCSC vested all properties of the internees to the Custodian of Enemy Property. The BCSC operated until February 1943, by which time all Japanese Canadians were evacuated from the coast, then the Department of Labour, Japanese Division took over the responsibilities of the BCSC (P.C. 1275). This Department had an office in Vancouver and later another office in Toronto. The Department of Labour,

Japanese Division often used BCSC-printed envelopes. I have seen government reports as late as 1945 that use the heading Department of Labour / British Columbia Security Commission.

With the uprooting of the Japanese Canadians being urgent, the BCSC advised them to bring with them only what they would need immediately. This was limited by weight: 150 pounds per adult and 75 pounds per child, with a maximum of 1,000 pounds per family. The internment of Japanese Canadians left the government the difficult task of deciding what to do with both their empty properties and their remaining possessions. This became the job of the Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property.

Here is an envelope (Fig. 12) sent on June 20, 1942 by the BCSC, Marine Building, Vancouver, B.C. to Frank Hatashita, Esq., 328 Alexander Street, Vancouver. Note the distinctive triangular B.C.S.C. No. 1 marking on the envelope. Three of these marks were used between June and October 1942. A fourth was used later by the BCSC Treasury Department.

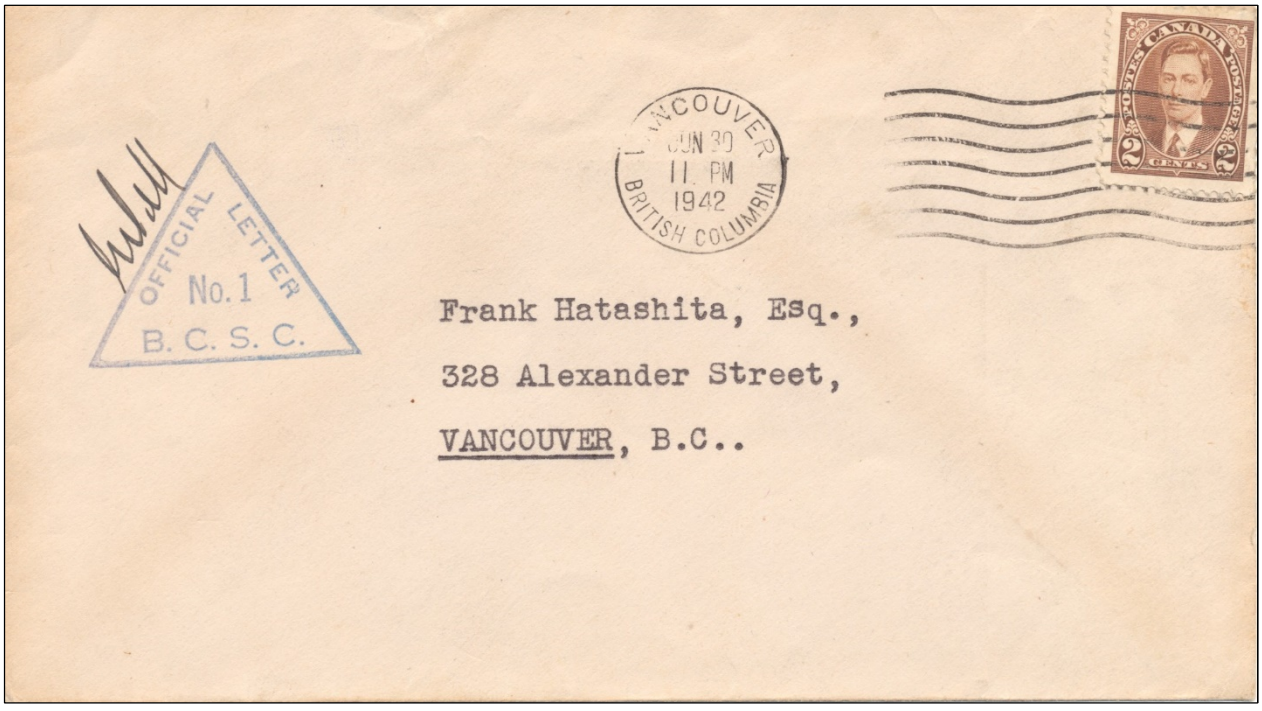


Figure 12. Official envelope sent by the BCSC on June 20, 1942.

Frank Minoru Hatashita (born September 17, 1919 in Canada) was a fish packer. He was evacuated to Tashme, B.C. on October 3, 1942. He owned a fairly new diesel-powered fishing vessel, which the Office of the Custodian sold for $5,600 less costs (net $5,539). His own valuation for the boat was $5,800. The Custodian created an account for him and sent $100 to him each month, and also purchased $4,000 in Victory bonds for him. He moved to Toronto on January 1, 1944, where he was employed in a machine shop.

The Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property

The Canadian Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property was a government agency established in 1916 to administer property claims and reparations created by war[9]. This office existed until 1985. It published no annual reports; its records are in the Record Group 117 (RG 117) fonds of Library and Archives Canada. The *LOI* Custodian Case Files are derived from data in RG 117. The office dealt with properties of Canada's enemies in both World Wars, and from 1942 also with the seized properties of Japanese Canadians. The activity of the office had diminished in the 1930s, but Japan's entry into World War II added a new dimension to the custodian's work. In a newly-formed Vancouver office, it administered the affairs of over 22,000 people of Japanese extraction who were moved to the Interior of BC. The Custodian oversaw the properties of the internees. The Office of the Custodian assured the relocated Japanese Canadians that their property would be protected.

The bureaucrat in charge of the Vancouver office of the custodian was Glenn Willoughby McPherson (1910–1998; see Chapter 5 in reference 3). McPherson was a lawyer who in 1937 became legal counsel to the Custodian of Enemy Property in Ottawa. By 1939, he was advising the custodian on Second World War issues. He also became an espionage agent for William

Stephenson's British Security Co-Ordination—a definite conflict of interest. McPherson both wrote the first draft of the Order-in-Council ordering liquidation of the confiscated properties and oversaw its implementation. British Columbia's only Cabinet member, racist Ian Alistair Mackenzie, saw to it that McPherson's draft was revised, making the Custodian of Enemy Property responsible for everything owned by the Japanese Canadians (including real estate).

The Office of the Custodian first sold fishing boats, fishing nets and gear, cars, trucks, cameras, shortwave radios and firearms. Also, anything claimed to be perishable was sold. These items were sold without the permission of their owners. Initially, the homes, farms and stored chattels of the Japanese Canadians were to be protected by the Custodian. In late 1942, McPherson argued that *all* Japanese-owned assets were perishable, including their real estate. Federal politicians authorized McPherson's policy of perishability, giving the Custodian the power to sell all personal property. The Japanese real estate was sold by the government to prevent their returning to their west coast homes. In retrospect, the homes and farms probably should not have been sold.

Next, I will describe the processes used for the uprooting of the thousands of Japanese Canadians, primarily their movement from the Pacific coast to inland B.C.—east of what was called the "protected area", i.e., 100 miles from the Pacific coast. For most, the first stop was Hastings Park.

Hastings Park Manning Pool

On March 1, 1942, the Department of National Defense leased the grounds and buildings of the Pacific National Exhibition (PNE) at Hastings Park in east Vancouver to became a clearing station for Japanese internees. The camp was formally called the "Hastings Park Manning Pool". Hastings Park became a temporary holding camp until men were sent to work at road camps or their families were interned in more permanent camps in the B.C. Interior. The first Japanese Canadians arrived at Hastings Park on March 16th. Between that date and September 30, 1942, about 8,000 Japanese Canadians passed through Hastings Park. The web site *Hastings Park 1942*[10] presents the history, including some personal reflections, of the incarceration at Hastings Park.

Buildings at Hastings Park were quickly renovated into crude living quarters by installation of partitions and bunks. The dormitories for the women and children were animal stalls in the Livestock Building. In this building, there were strong smells and there was little privacy. The men and older boys were bunked in other buildings. A tuberculosis hospital was set up in the Poultry Building. Inmates of the centre formed the Hastings Park Japanese Committee and secured improvements in diet, partitions for toilets, a separate dormitory for boys 13 to 18, and the dismissal of unsympathetic Caucasian workers.

The RCMP were assigned guard duty for Hastings Park. Fig. 13 shows the Guard House at the main gate. RCMP Superintendent E.C.P. Salt was *In Charge of Japanese Registration* and *Officer in Command* at Hastings Park Detention Centre. A cover sent on February 4, 1942 from British Field Post Office 248 (Canadian FPO SC 4 at Witley, Surrey, U.K.) to Salt is shown in Fig. 14. The cover would have been delivered to Salt at the RCMP's Vancouver headquarters on West 37th Avenue at Heather Street.

Figure 13. RCMP officers at the Guard House at Hastings Park. City of Vancouver Archives (CVA 180-3518; public domain).

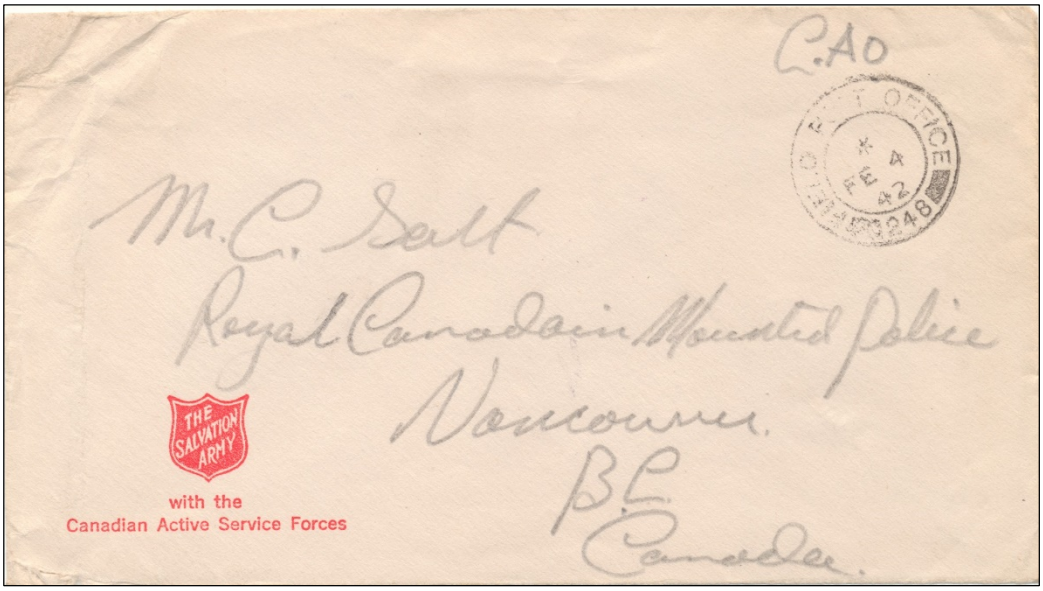


Figure 14. Cover addressed to Superintendent E.C.P. Salt, who was the RCMP Officer in Commander at Hastings Park. (Courtesy of Robert Toombs).

Japanese Canadians in the Lower Mainland of B.C. were ordered to surrender their motor vehicles on Monday, March 10, 1942. They were to bring them to the exhibition grounds at Hastings Park (Fig. 15). Japanese Canadians had been banned from driving since December 1941, but the ban was lifted for March 10th. About 2,000 vehicles were turned in to the RCMP that day. There would have been more but some owners—having lost their driving privileges—had sold their vehicles. Cars and trucks were held in trust by the Custodian of Enemy Property but were later sold without the consent of the owners.

Figure 15. Row of confiscated vehicles at Hastings Park race track, March 10, 1942. The Shoot-the-Chutes ride is in the background. City of Vancouver Archives (CVA 1184-88; public domain).

Next is a cover sent to Mrs. Hatsue Kozai, Hasting(s) Clearing Station, Hasting(s) Park, Vancouver (Fig. 16). The cover written by her husband Shinkuro Kozai was mailed at Hope on May 12, 1942 with a return address of P.O. Box 3, Hope, B.C. This post office box was used for mail to and from workers on the Hope–Princeton highway project who were at the west end of the project. In March 1942, 100 interned Japanese Canadian men were sent to two camps on the west end of the Hope–Princeton Highway project (Camp 11 and Camp 15). Another 100 internees went to work camps near Princeton. These men used picks and shovels to build or improve the Hope–Princeton Highway.

The Kozais had lived in Nanaimo, where Shinkuro was a teacher at the Japanese School. *LOI* reports that Shinkuro was evacuated on March 23, 1942. According to Fiset's data, the city of Nanaimo was not evacuated until April 21st. However, by then, Hatsue and their children had gone to Hastings Park. Fiset's Figure 3.7 is a March 31st cover from Shinkuro Kozai to Hatsue at Hastings Park. The Kozai family spent the war years in Slocan, then moved to Toronto. When the Buddhist Church committees in post-War Toronto founded the Japanese Language Schools there, Shinkuro Kozai became the principal.

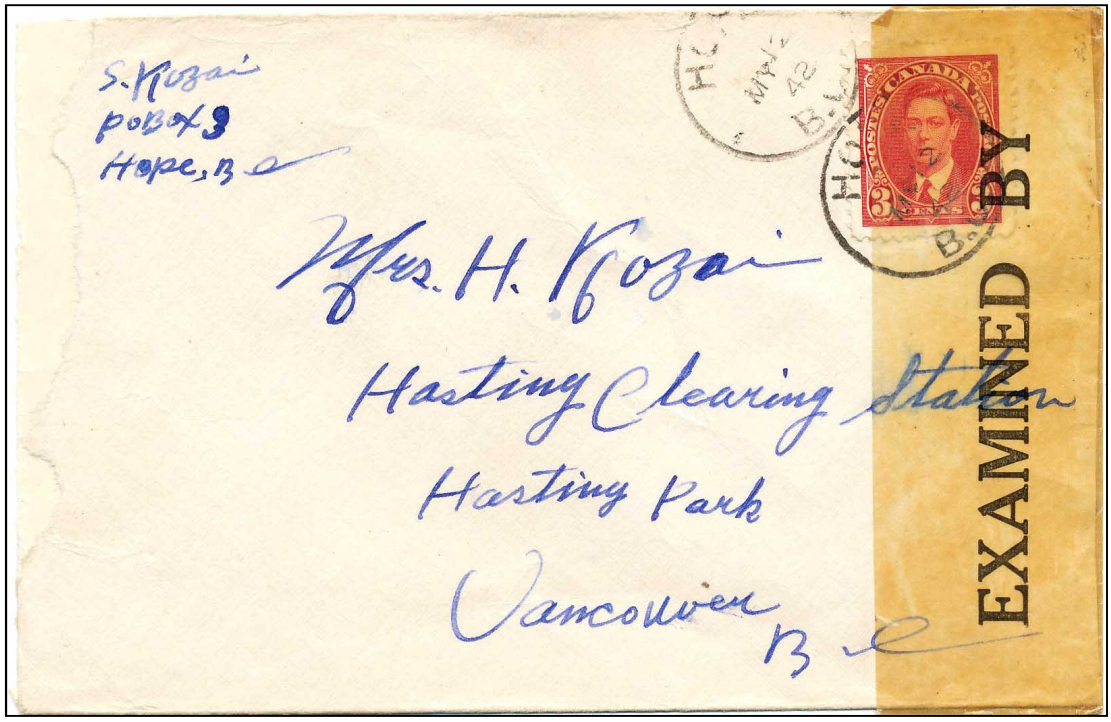


Figure 16. May 12, 1942 cover from Shinkuro Kozai at a work camp east of Hope, B.C. to his wife Hatsue, who was interned at Hastings Park.

The many Japanese Canadians living in Vancouver were the last people to go to Hastings Park. Their evacuation to Hastings Park took five months—until the end of September. Fig. 17 presents a picture post card written at Nelson, B.C. on July 17, 1942 (postmarked on the Nelson & Medicine Hat R.P.O. the same day; censored in Vancouver by DB 267) to Miss Tossy Tsuchida, 421 Powell Street, Vancouver. *LOI* shows that 12-year-old Anna Toshi Tsuchida and her mother and three of her sisters remained in Vancouver until they were sent to Bay Farms, Slocan on October 15, 1942. [Two sisters were sent to the sanitarium in New Denver.] *LOI* does not show when the family went to Hastings Park. Toshi's father Kazo Tsuchida was sent in early March 1942 to the Decoigne, Alberta work camp on the Blue River–Yellowhead highway work project. He later joined the family in

Slocan. There are more details about the family below, in the discussion of Bay Farm.

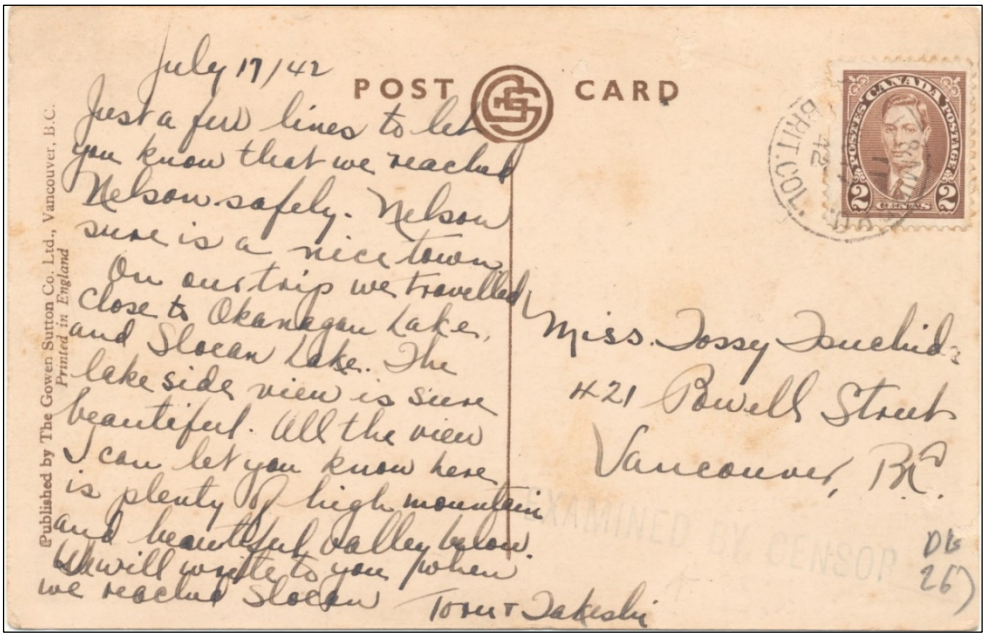


Figure 17. Post card sent from Nelson, B.C. in July 1942 to Toshi (Tossy) Tsuchida, who remained in Vancouver with most of her family until October 1942. The card was written by friends or relatives who were on the way to Slocan.

Fig. 18 (next page) presents another post card sent from the Interior to Hastings Park, this one from Slocan. It was mailed on July 28, 1942 by Isamu Honkawa to his brother Takazo Honkawa, who was at Hastings Park Clearing Station. The message was censored by DB 258. It says, "Arrived in Slocan July 27, 10:20 A.M. Slocan is not a bad place for weather is mild and warm. I've meet [*met*] up with Saeko and Sumiko Eguchi in front of their new home. Give my best regard to the boys that came from Chemainus." [*The Eguchi family went to Slocan on June 1, 1942*.] I could not find out why Isamu preceded the rest of the Honkawa family to Slocan.

In 1942, Kyohachi and Kise Honkawa had children aged 16 (Hisae, F), 15 (Isamu, M), 13 (Takazo, M) and 8 (Kimie, F). Kyohachi was a millhand working for Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company in Chemainus. The family lived in a four-room company house. Kyohachi was evacuated on March 12, 1942, and was in Hastings Park on August 1, 1942. Kise was evacuated to Lemon Creek (Slocan) from Hastings Park on September 5, 1942. In May 1947, they were in Geraldton, Ontario. Isamu was a church warden at St. Andrews Japanese Anglican Church in Toronto in December 1982.

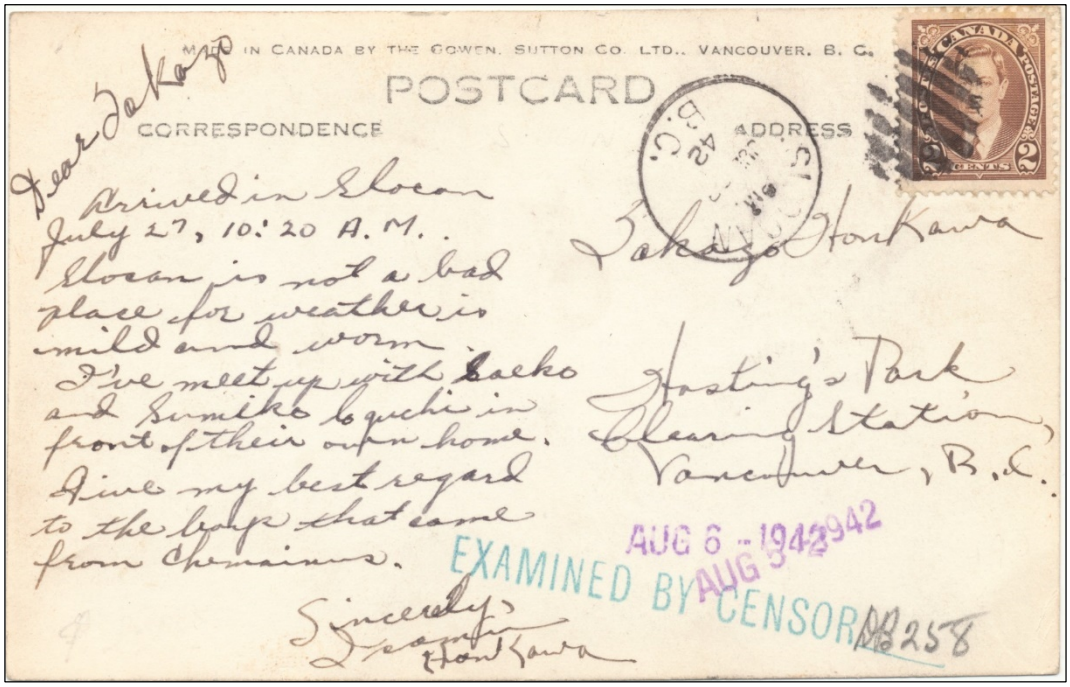


Figure 18. A post card from Slocan to Hastings Park.

The last able-bodied Japanese internee left Hastings Park for the Interior on September 30, 1942. One hundred and five Japanese hospital patients stayed on in the tuberculosis hospital at Hastings Park until the end of March 1943, when they were transferred to a new hospital at New Denver.

In early October 1942, the Hastings Park facility was turned over to the Army for military drill practice and storage. The cover in Fig. 19—addressed to a member of the 79th Battery of the Light Anti-Aircraft Artillery (LAA) Regiment—was initially mailed (on October 4, 1942, at Montreal) to Sgt. A. Cheyne at Petawawa, Ontario. It was redirected on October 5th to Hastings Park Camp, Vancouver. His regiment was involved in the defense of Esquimalt naval base and Victoria. Perhaps Sgt. Cheyne's presence at Hastings Park was a stopover on the way to Vancouver Island. This is early mail showing the military use of Hastings Park Camp.

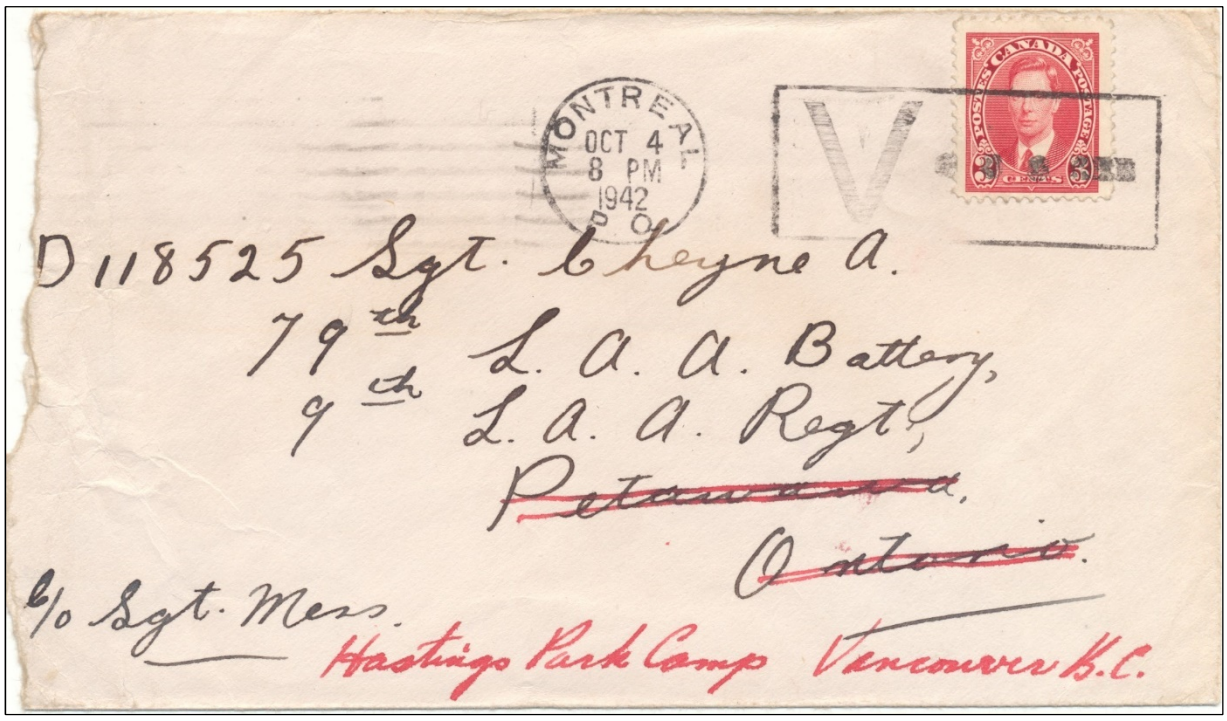


Figure 19. Cover from Montreal to a soldier at Hastings Park Camp in early October 1942.

Road Work Camps

Order-in Council 1348, proclaimed on February 19, 1942, provided for the establishment of work camps outside the "protected area" for male enemy aliens. The full story of the road work camps is in the book by Yon Shimzu[11]. Consideration was given first to road construction in B.C., focusing on projects that could be performed by hand labour.

After much discussion, the Canadian government settled on three western highway projects and one in Ontario. There was no winter road between B.C. and the Prairies; the Yellowhead Route would fulfill that role with addition of a few short sections. The Lake Superior section of the Trans-Canada Highway in Ontario had two camps that could easily be expanded for work, between Schreiber and Jackfish. In early February 1942, 90 young males were set to depart for Chapleau, Ontario for work in sawmills and lumber camps there, but this effort was cancelled. Single, unemployed men had worked on highway projects in the 1930s during the Depression. Perhaps bunkhouses similar to those that housed them could be built for Japanese workers for the Jasper–Yellowhead–Blue River section of the highway from Alberta to the West Coast. On February 22nd, 100 men left for Rainbow (on Moose Lake), B.C. and on February 23rd 100 for Geikie (8 miles west of Jasper), Alberta. They were to be housed temporarily in railway bunk-cars on sidings. Eventually 1,400 men lodged in 17 camps worked on this project. The headquarters was at Blue River.

February 24th was the day that the government proclaimed Order-in-Council P.C. 1486 that ordered all Japanese persons to leave the protected area. When men were ordered to report to road camps and refused, they were detained in the Immigration Building in Vancouver. Almost immediately, there was concern that family units would be divided. It took until July for the government to make plans for reuniting families and to announce there would be no more family breakups. The number of workers

on the Blue River–Yellowhead project went from over 1,500 to 271 in November and only 85 men in 3 camps by the end of 1942.

Fig. 20 shows a cover to Geneva, Switzerland written December 28, 1943 at Thunder River Camp and mailed at Blue River on December 29, 1943. Its enclosure, a printed letter form, was censored in Ottawa (C. 80), Paris (circle) and Munich (German resealing Tape d, barely showing). Postage of 5¢ was attached to the envelope, and one International Reply Coupon or IRC was enclosed (COUPON RÉPONSE in red). Fiset[1] in Chapter 7 describes how a 12¢ IRC—purchased at a Canadian post office—would be used to pay for a foreign surface-rate stamp for the Red Cross to forward the letter to Japan. The letter enclosed was surely a message to the sender's family in Japan.

Figure 20. Cover written at Thunder River Camp, mailed at Blue River.

The cover in Fig. 20 was written by Takejuro Moriya (born August 20, 1885). He was a cook with the White Pass & Yukon Co. (location unspecified). His wife and four children were in Japan. He was a cook at the Tete Jaune Cache road camp and transferred to Camp 823, Thunder River on March 31, 1942. He had no property or declared chattels. When he returned to Japan on August 2, 1946 in the *S.S. General Meigs*, he had $686 that he had saved.

As work on the Yellowhead–Blue River road tapered off [it continued, though, to the end of the war], many workers were transferred to the Hope–Princeton Highway and the Sicamous–Revelstoke section of the Trans-Canada Highway. These roads are the next topics.

In mid March 1942, 100 interned Japanese Canadian men left Vancouver to work on the west end of the 89-mile Hope–Princeton Highway project (see the map shown in Fig. 21), the second of 3 B.C. highway projects. Two former

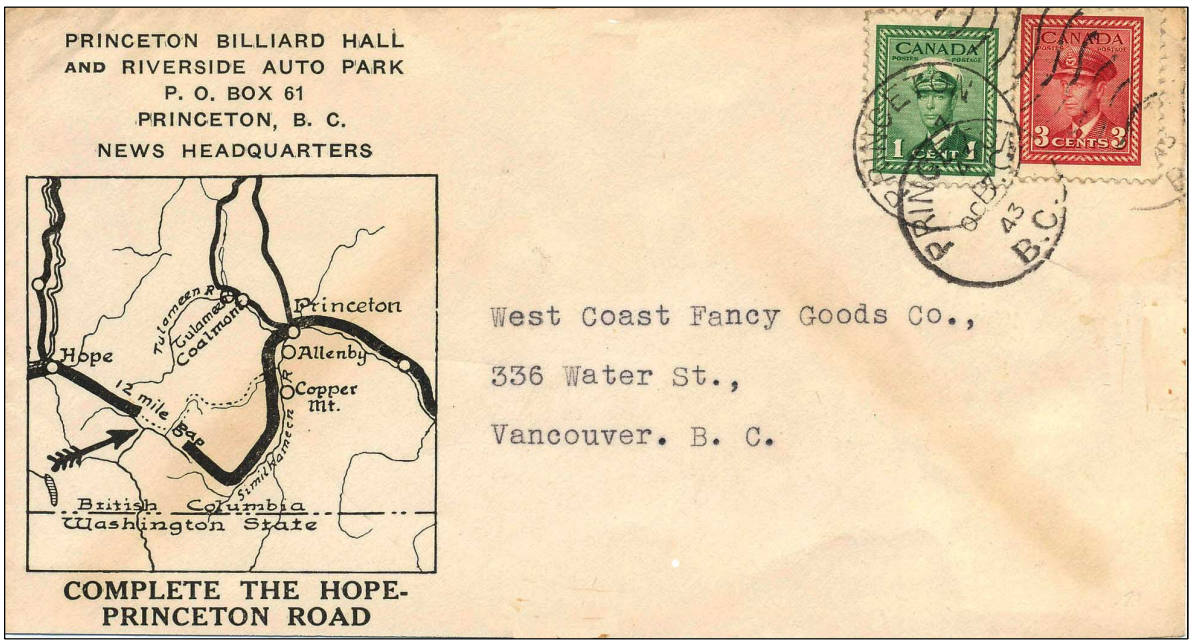


Figure 21. Illustrated envelope (1943) bearing a map of the uncompleted Hope–Princeton Highway.

unemployment relief camps (11 and 15 miles southeast of Hope) had been prepared quickly for these men. In the summer of 1942, to accommodate the families of these road workers and others, the new community of Tashme (discussed later) was constructed. Another 100 internees had gone to work camps near Princeton in early March 1942. There were several feet of snow on the ground at the work camps when the 200 internees reached there. By July, the old road was being enlarged and repaired by men using picks, mattocks (pick axes) and shovels; the unfinished distance was 11 or 12 miles. More workers from the Yellowhead–Blue River project came to the Hope–Princeton in August 1942.

I have already shown a May 12, 1942 cover to Hastings Park (Fig. 16) written at one of the western work camps by Shinkuro Kozai. Fiset's Figure 3.7—also written by Kozai—is the earliest reported mail (March 31st) from a worker at the west end of the Hope–Princeton project

With the availability of bulldozers, in October 1943 the two sections of the Hope–Princeton road were linked at Skagit Bluffs (Mile 26 from Hope). However, much of the road was still narrow. Japanese work on the Hope–Princeton ended in September 1945. Fifty miles were passable from Princeton to the Allison Summit; at the west end, there were 7 miles graded and surfaced and 14 partly graded miles between Hope and Tashme. The government hired contractors to complete the construction and pave the surface, and the highway opened on November 2, 1949.

The third highway project in B.C. was the widening and improvement of the highway between Sicamous and Revelstoke. This project was approved in mid-March 1942. The first men arrived at the camps on April 8, 1942. Bunk cars and mess cars for them were on sidings at Solsqua, Taft,

Three Valley and Cambie Siding. Bunk houses and mess halls were built during April. Yard Creek, Craigellachie, North Fork (temporary tent camp, combined with Griffin Lake), and Griffin Lake were established the same summer. In mid September 1942, 100 volunteers from 5 of these camps went for a few weeks to Coldstream Ranch near Vernon to pick the apple crop. In January 1943, there were 321 men in the 5 Sicamous–Revelstoke camps remaining (Solsqua, Yard Creek, Taft, Three Valley, and Griffin Lake). Workers at Solsqua were transferred to Yard Creek, so in February 1944 there were 106 workers in 4 camps. On May 27, 1944, there were 58 workers in 2 camps, Griffin Lake and Taft. The Sicamous–Revelstoke project closed down in July 1944. The Japanese Canadian men had aligned, reconstructed and improved 44½ miles of the Trans-Canada Highway.

I have two similar covers from the Solsqua camp, mailed to Vancouver on May 20, 1943 and May 30, 1943. The earlier cover is shown in Fig. 22. The return address is "Camp Mail, No. 1, Solsqua, B.C." Solsqua was the camp closest to Sicamous. The contents were censored in Vancouver by Clerk C. 267. The cover is addressed to Frank Hamada, 2700 Commercial Drive. The history of this envelope is complicated, but it tells how three members of the family worked at road camps in B.C., leaving the mother to look after the family's younger children and a corner grocery store that the family operated.

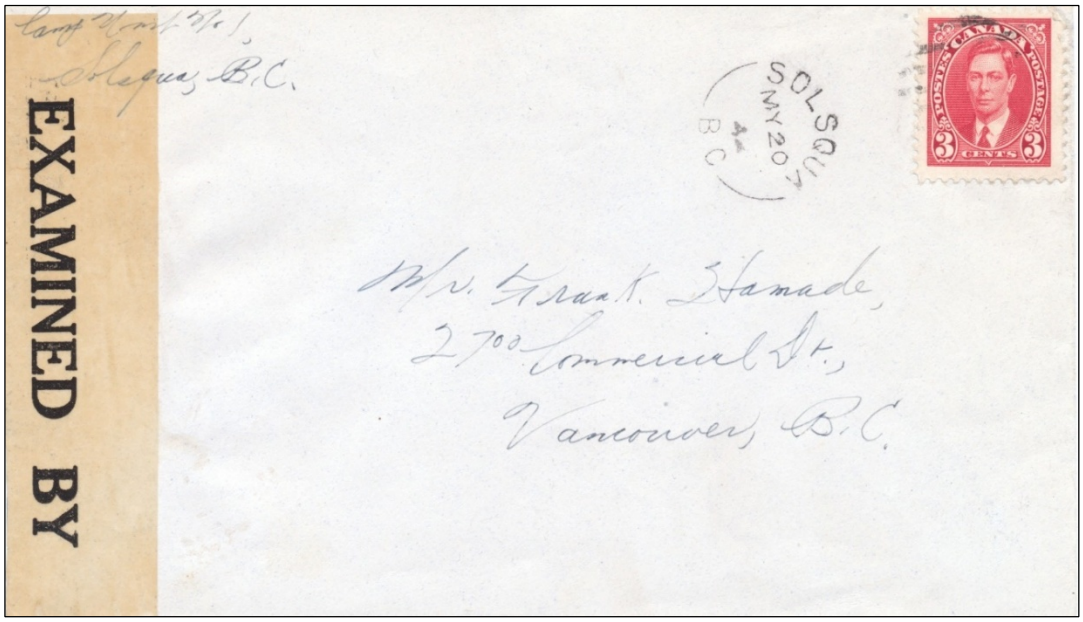


Figure 22. Cover from Camp Unit No. 1, Solsqua, B.C.

The envelope is addressed to Frank Hamada, 2700 Commercial Drive. The city directory shows that this address was the home of the Star Confectionery store, located on the southeast corner of 11th Avenue and Commercial Drive. Browsing the Custodian Case files of *LOI* shows that Hamades living at this address were Matsunosuke Hamade and Hana Hamade, parents of Isao Hamade (son), Yoshio Hamade (son), Mitsuo Hamade (son), Kiyoko Hamade (daughter), Mariko Hamade (daughter), Asako Hamade (daughter), Yukio Hamade (son), Matsuko Hamade [also listed as Matsuo Hamade] (daughter) and Ronald Hamade [also listed as Ronald Yoshiyuki Hamade] (son). Isao, Yoshio, Mitsuo and Kiyoko were old enough to have their own entries in the files. Children under 16 are only listed on their parents' records. Hana's June 9, 1942 report reveals that her husband Matsunosuke was at Tete Jaune work camp, and that the eldest sons were also at road work camps, Isao at Jasper #1 Camp and Yushio (who wrote my cover) at Solsqua. The Hamades rented the store and the attached four-room house. In July, Hana sold the fixtures and stock of the store for $175. She went to Lemon Creek, Slocan on September 17, 1942 and was in Toronto in 1947. Isao [born in 1917] had been an engineer on a fish packing

boat. In May 1943, he was working for Burns Lumber Company, Passmore (south of Slocan) while living at Lemon Creek. He had gone to Jasper road work camp on March 2, 1942. Yoshio [born in 1922] was a student and gardener. He went to Solsqua on April 16, 1942. In August 1943, he was working for the Big Bend Lumber Co. in Nakusp, and was in Toronto in 1946. Mitsuo [born in 1924] went to Lemon Creek (or perhaps to Hastings Park) on July 18, 1942. Kiyoko [born in 1920] went to Lemon Creek September 17, 1942. Presumably the youngest children also went to Lemon Creek then. In November 1944, Matsunosuke and his son Isao were working for Burns Lumbers Company, Passmore while living at Lemon Creek. All the family seems to be in Toronto in 1947.

I have found additional information about the Hamade family in other sections of *LOI* and via *Google*. For example, I found Mitsuo Frank Hamade in a group photograph the 1939 Graduating Class of the Japanese Language School, Keiyu Kai. Thus, he was the "Frank" addressee of my covers. I found a photo of the cover-writer Roy [Yoshio] at Solsqua (Fig. 23). The *Toronto Star* July 4, 2022 obituary for Herby Yukio Hamade says that he was predeceased by brother Joe (Isao), Roy, and Frank and sisters Alice and Mae, and survived by his brother Ron and sisters Mary and Pansy.

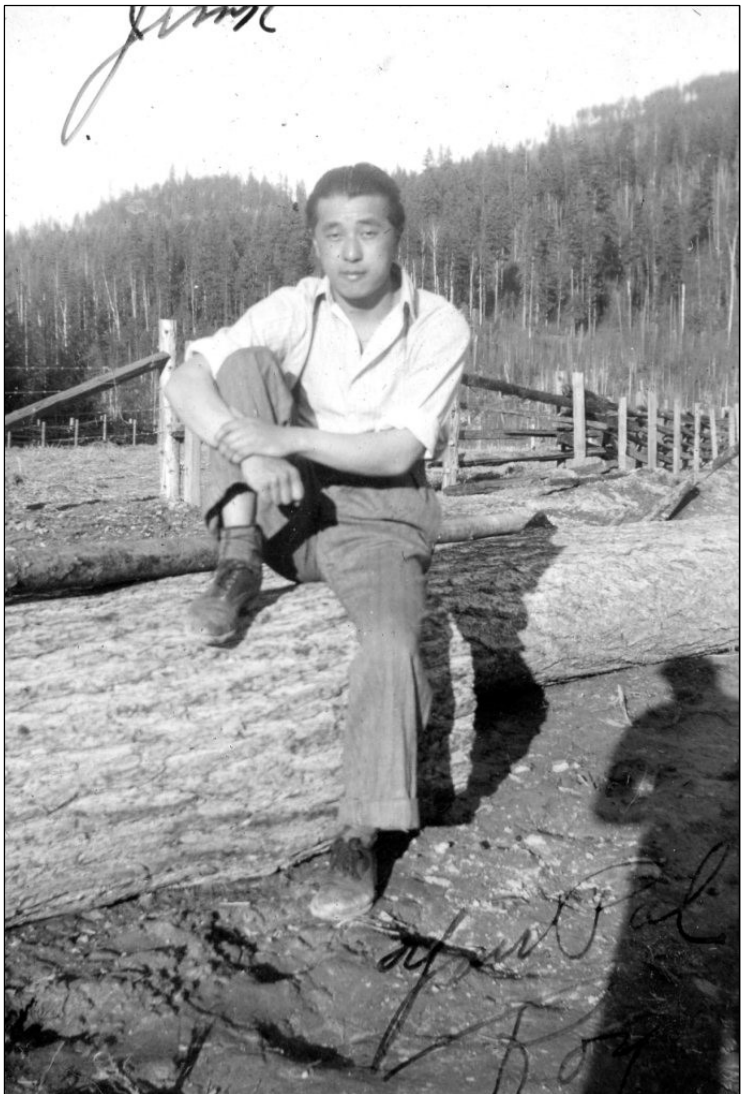


Figure 23. Roy Hamade sitting on a large log, at the Solsqua road camp in 1943. [Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre Photo 2014.02.06.42.]

The other place Japanese Canadian men were employed for road work was on a 14-mile stretch of the Trans Canada Highway in northern Ontario, between Schreiber and Jackfish, near the north shore of Lake Superior. By April 1, 1942, 134 men were in camp at Schreiber. All were Canadian-born. On April 10th, 41 more men arrived. There were four old highway construction camps for accommodation. By mid May, there were 329 men there. A group of 154 men left the camps for sugar beet work in Glencoe and Dresden. By 1943, only two camps were open, with 43 men in total. The last Ontario camp, Schrieber, closed May 27, 1944.

Internment

Thirty nine men of Japanese extraction who were considered to be potentially dangerous were arrested on December 7, 1941 and interned in the Vancouver Immigration Building, located just south of Canadian Pacific Steamship's Pier-A. These men were taken to the Kananaskis-Seebe camp in Alberta on February 11, 1942. Another 13 Japanese nationals were arrested and on March 16th taken to Seebe. This group of 52 was transferred to Petawawa, Ontario on April 13th. Two more groups of Japanese Canadians were sent to Petawawa, arriving on April 28th [105 men] and on May 20th [136 men]. A single internee, from the Geikie, Alberta road camp, arrived on June 6th. The internees were made to wear POW uniforms: a blue shirt with a red circle on the back, pants with a red stripe, and a cap. On July 20th, the Japanese Canadians were moved again, this time to Angler, Ontario, also called Camp 101. Angler is located in a remote part of northwestern Ontario, on Lake Superior. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire and had five armed guard towers. The maximum number of Japanese Canadians at Angler was 720, in November 1942. Work (for $50 a month) was available for internees at the nearby Pigeon Timber Company, but some refused this work. When Angler closed in the summer of 1946, the remaining 128 internees were transferred to a hostel near Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan.

Why were these men arrested? For most of them, it was a matter of refusing to report to a work camp, resisting the evacuation from the Coast and the breakup of families, or protesting BCSC rulings.

I can recall the presence of men in the Vancouver Immigration Building in 1942. On Sundays, we fairly often were driven to see ships at Pier B-C. I remember hearing shouts and rattling of bars coming from the windows of the top floors of the Immigration Building and not knowing

who was causing the noise. I now know the noise-makers were interned Japanese Canadian men.

There was a riot of Japanese Canadians in the Vancouver Immigration Building on May 13, 1942. The riot caused some $1,200 in damages. District Superintendent of Immigration Fred Taylor wrote to the BCSC:

> You are no doubt aware of the rather exciting time we had last week with one hundred and fifty odd Japanese being housed here, at which time they did considerable damage to our building.
>
> According to the Public Works Officials it will take some $1,200.00 to repair our walls, plumbing, replacing of windows and bars and you might let me know if we will look to your office for payment of all this or just which Department of the Government Service is responsible.

Money ($2,332.26) had been collected from "certain Japanese Internees" while they were in custody. RCMP Commissioner F.J. Mead recommended that this money collected from the Japanese Canadians be returned to them. The Department of Labour paid this $1,200 bill in July 1942.

Special stationery—lettersheets and post cards—was issued to Japanese Canadian internees and had to be used for any of their letters. Postage was free. Fig. 24 (next page) shows an example of a POW lettersheet. It was written by Kenichi Yamashita at Petawawa. Kenichi was born in Canada on April 30, 1919. He was a fisherman, at Inverness Cannery, Skeena River, B.C. His family included his father Gonnosuke Yamashita, his mother Toku Yamashita, his wife Mitsuyo Yamashita (who was in Japan) and his brother Bunkichi Yamashita (also from Inverness Cannery but living at 215 Princess Street in Vancouver). Kenichi was interned on May 16, 1942 and sent to Petawawa and then to Angler. He must have been in the group of 136 men who arrived at Petawawa on May 20th. He was exiled to Japan on June 17, 1946 in the *S.S. General Meigs*. *LOI*

does not give any information on why he was a POW. His letter concerns the sale of his fish boat and payment to his brother of $200 from its sale.

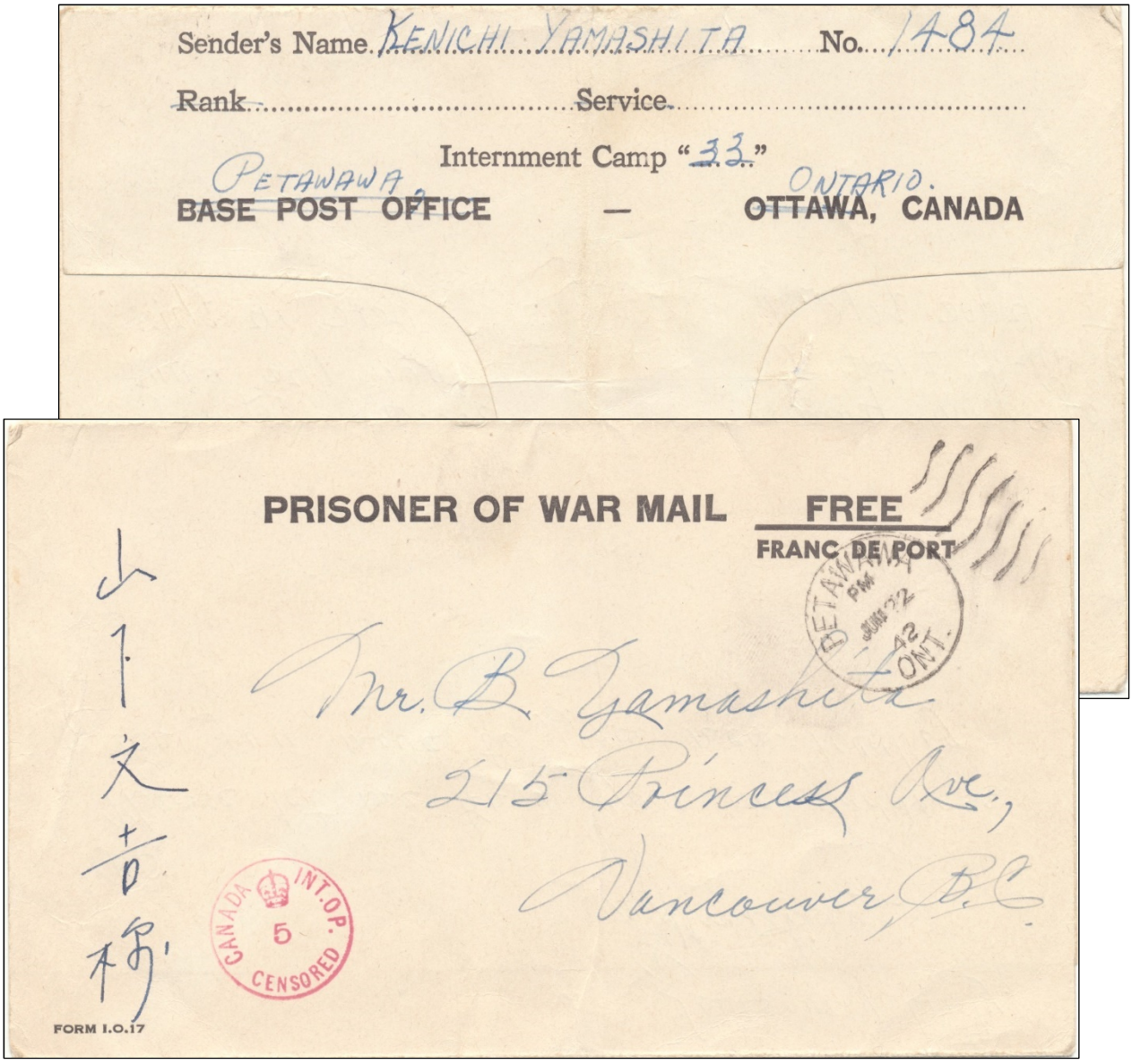


Figure 24. POW lettersheet from Petawawa to Vancouver, mailed on June 22, 1942. The contents of the letter were censored locally by a military censor at Petawawa (see the crown-in-circle mark #5 at the lower left).

Self-Support Communities

Some families who had financial independence moved out of the protected area of the coast into communities where they could support themselves. Fiset describes these communities as "informal internment sites". Life there required a permit from the RCMP, and the BCSC required that they have sufficient money and provisions to sustain themselves for a year.

Some of the largest groups went to the Lillooet area, reached by steamship to Squamish and then by the Pacific Great Eastern (PGE) Railway. Some went there from Vancouver by road by taxi; recall that their cars had been seized in March 1942. The map in Fig. 25 shows the locations of five of the self-supporting communities: East Lillooet, Minto City, McGillivray Falls, Taylor Lake, and Bridge River (served by the Shalalth post office).

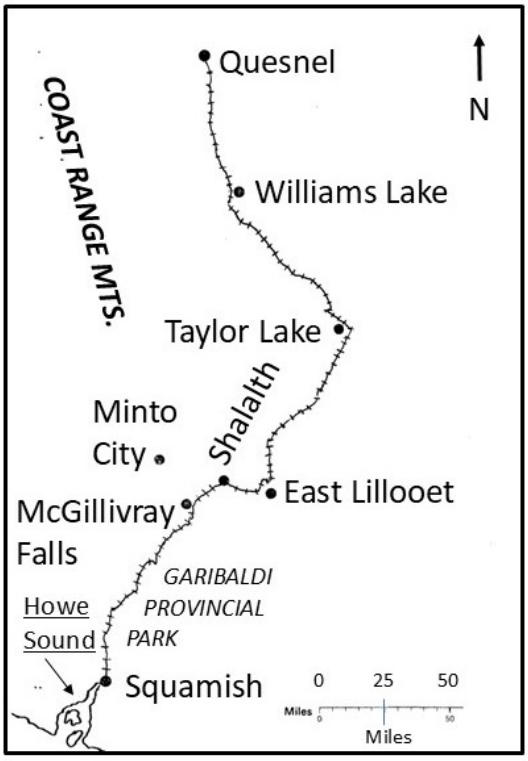


Figure 25. Locations of self-supporting communities in the Lillooet area. All except McGillivray Falls were outside the 100-mile protected zone.

One of the largest of these self-supporting communities—with 309 people—was the camp at East Lillooet, across from Lillooet by a bridge. The BCSC leased 40 acres of land, where early arrivals built 62 tar-paper shacks. These shacks had no insulation, no indoor plumbing and no electricity. The town museum in Lillooet displays a map identifying the resident family in each shack. The East Lillooet camp stayed opened until 1949.

Fig. 26 presents a cover from East Lillooet sent to the International Red Cross in Switzerland postmarked October 30, 1943 at Lillooet. The message carried in this envelope—25 words or less, on an official form—was examined in Vancouver by Censor C. 194, who was proficient in the Japanese language. At Geneva, the message was dispatched to Japan as part of a bundle. The red A.x. in a circle was applied by a German censor in Paris, France. Senders purchased a 25¢ Postal Note from the Canadian post office to pay for postage to Japan. The red COUPON-RÉPONSE mark applied in Geneva indicates that a required 12¢ International Reply Coupon (whose cost was included in the 25¢ fee) had been included in the envelope, to pay postage from Geneva to Japan.

Figure 26. Cover mailed at Lillooet, B.C., censored by Censor C. 194.

The other large self-supporting community in the Lillooet area was Minto City (37 miles northwest of Lillooet) with 322 people. Minto Mine had produced gold before the war but Minto City was a ghost town by early 1942. Minto City was an ideal relocation site with empty miners' houses. There were stores and there was a hotel and a post office. The Minto Mine post office was established in 1935 and closed in 1960. Yet life in Minto City was challenging. Located in the mountains, it probably was one of the most isolated internment settlements.

Here are two covers from Minto Mine. The first (Fig. 27) was postmarked MINTO MINE, B.C. on May 22, 1943. Note the simple return address of "Minto City, B.C." The cover is addressed to Frigidaire Products in Leaside, Ontario. The contents were censored by Censor 270 in Vancouver.

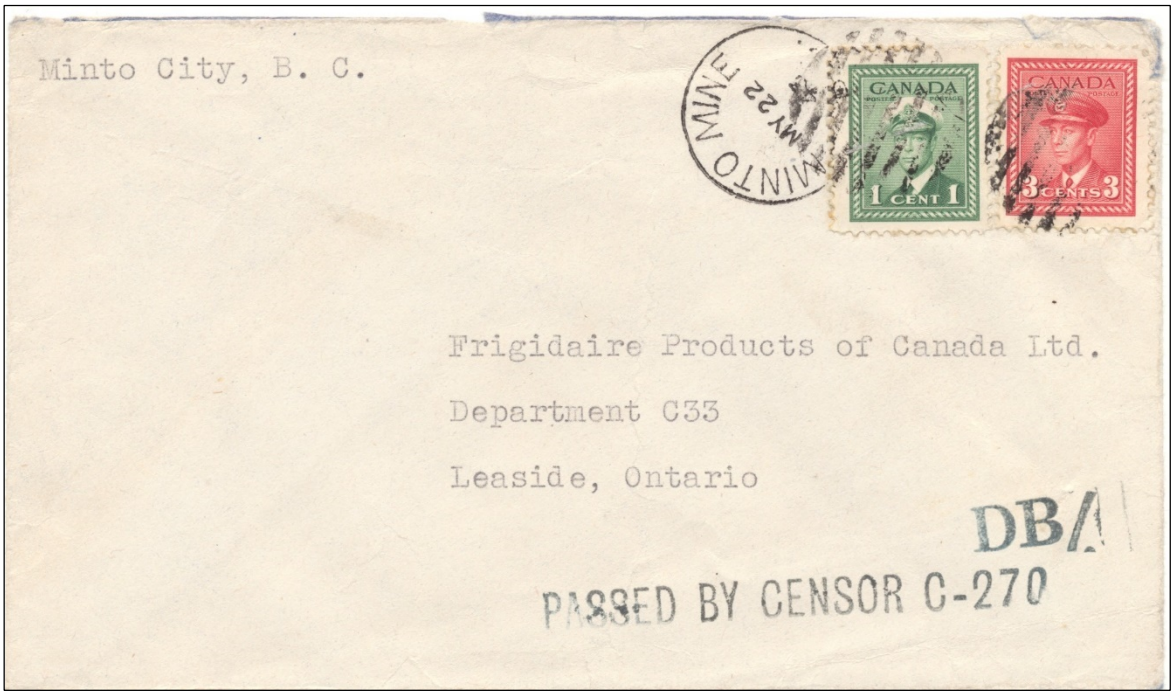


Figure 27. Cover (May 22, 1943) from Minto Mine to Leaside, Ontario.

A second cover from Minto Mine is shown in Fig. 28. It was sent by Tanaka & Co. Ltd., Minto Mine, B.C. to Gordon & Belyea Ltd. in Vancouver on August 29, 1945. Censorship of mail in Vancouver ceased on August 16, 1945, so the contents of this cover were not censored.

Figure 28. Cover from Tanaka & Co. Ltd. in Minto Mine.

On his RCMP report in 1942, Tokutaro Tanaka listed his occupation as exporter and importer. He first evacuated to Bridge River but by May 22, 1943 he was in Minto City. In June 1947, he moved to Vernon, B.C. On October 29, 1947, Tanaka wrote to the Custodian that Tanaka & Company had had no business for six years. The company was liquidated in 1947, and the Custodian sent Tanaka several cheques. Negotiations concerning Tanaka's investments continued until 1951.

The next item (Fig. 29, next page) is a June 27, 1944 postal card from Hamilton, Ontario to the Editor of *The New Canadian* in Kaslo, B.C.

Figure 29. Postal card sent to *The New Canadian*, P.O. Drawer A, Kaslo, B.C. by H. Shoji, 206 Dromore Crescent, Hamilton, Ontario.

The postal card was sent by Norihiko [Henry] Shoji. He was born on May 15, 1923, and was a student at UBC. *LOI* shows that he went to Hamilton, Ontario on May 28, 1942. His father Kojiro Shoji, President of the Vancouver Paper Box Company, was evacuated to Minto City. Kojiro's seized property includes five lots of land in Vancouver, three brick buildings and a six-room semi-bungalow and garage. The Vancouver Paper Box Co. was liquidated by Price, Waterhouse and Co. The building and its property were sold to Davies Paper Box Ltd. in 1945 for $10,500. The Shoji home was sold in 1944 to their tenants for $4,000. Henry was continuing his university studies at McMaster University in Hamilton (see his message on the card in Fig. 29).

Bridge River is 13 miles west of Lillooet on the north side of Seton Lake. The Bridge River post office opened June 1, 1927; its name changed to Shalalth on June 16, 1937. Bridge River was a company townsite for the B.C. Electric Company but became a ghost town in the 1930s when the hydroelectric project there was abandoned temporarily. In 1942, there were 269 Japanese Canadian refugees in the Bridge River Camp. Facilities there included cottages, a hotel, a hospital, and a community hall. With electricity and indoor plumbing, it was one of the more comfortable camps.

Fig. 30 illustrates a cover sent to Vancouver on May 31, 1942 by Kiyo Shimada, c/o Bridge River Hotel, Shalalth, B.C. A month later, Kiyo was living at the Christina Lake self-supporting camp in the Alpine Inn Hotel. According to correspondence in *LOI*, her son Masao Shimada was living in Bridge River in April and May 1943 but then also went to Christina Lake. The cover was addressed to a distributor of magazines, books, newspapers and comic books.

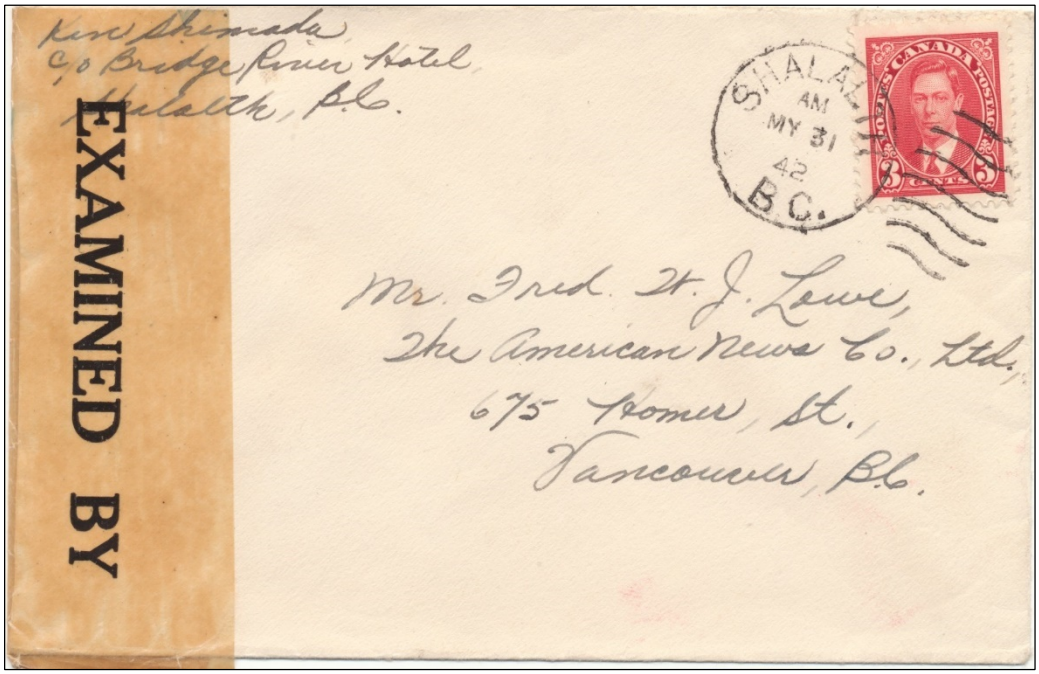


Figure 30. Cover from the Bridge River Camp to Vancouver. Its contents were censored in Vancouver by C. 272. Carried south by the PGE Railway.

A second cover from the Bridge River Hotel is shown in Fig. 31. It was posted at Shalalth by Suekichi Honkawa on December 20, 1944. As can be seen in the corner card, he had come from Port Essington, where he was a boat carpenter. He evacuated to Bridge River on May 28, 1942, then went to East Lillooet on June 14, 1946. The cover—to a wholesale hardware and ship chandlery—does not show censoring, which is unusual. Honkawa's buildings and property near Port Essington were not sold until well after the end of the war.

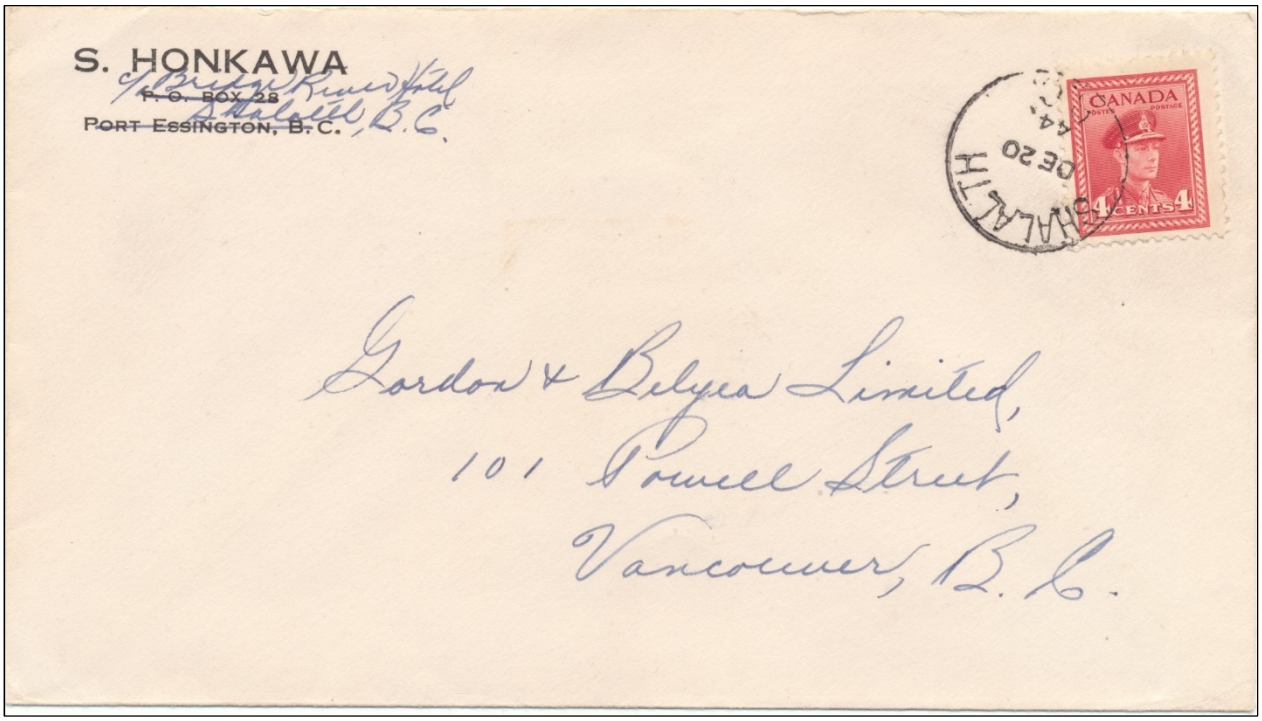


Figure 31. Cover from Shalalth (December 20, 1944) to Vancouver, uncensored.

The next item is a post card sent from the Taylor Lake Camp to *The New Canadian* office in Winnipeg (Fig. 32, next page). The sender was Sahiji Koyama, Taylor Lake, Fawn Post Office. Fawn is seven miles east of 100

Mile House, on the PGE railway (its office name was changed to Lone Butte in 1961). The card was postmarked SQUAMISH & QUESNEL R.P.O./B.C/2 on December 8, 1946. [Squamish and Quesnel were the termini of the PGE in 1946.] In November 1942, there were 180 refugees in Taylor Lake Camp.

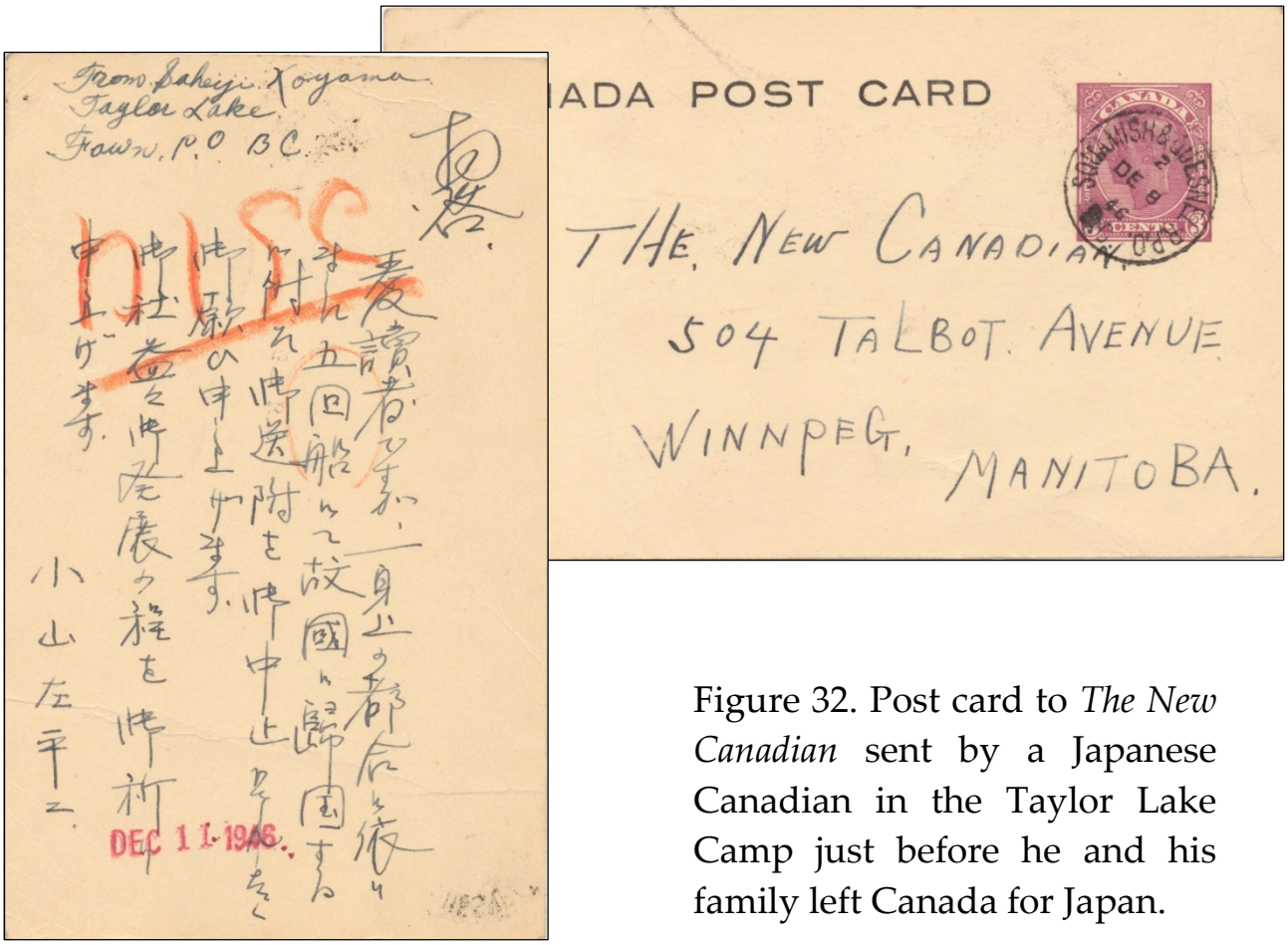


Figure 32. Post card to *The New Canadian* sent by a Japanese Canadian in the Taylor Lake Camp just before he and his family left Canada for Japan.

Koyama was born August 26, 1904, and was a naturalized Canadian citizen. He was a fisherman living in Steveston, employed by the New England Fishing Company of Vancouver. His wife Yukiye gave the address House #64, Phoenix Cannery, Steveston. He and his family went to Minto City on May 11, 1942. I could not find out when they went to Taylor Lake. He and his wife and two children were exiled to Japan in the *S.S. Marine*

Falcon on December 24, 1946—16 days after this card was mailed. Presumably the message on the card was about cancelling his subscription to the newspaper.

Accommodation at the logging camp at Taylor Lake consisted of bunkhouses and a cookhouse, with internees being employed by the local pulp and paper company.

The other self-supporting community in the Lillooet region was McGillivray Falls, 22 miles west southwest of Lillooet on the west shore of Anderson Lake, and on the PGE railway. McGillivray Falls was just outside the 100-mile protected zone. Some experienced internees there were hired for work at the Devine sawmill, just within the protected zone. This was allowed because the area was isolated—Devine had no direct road access to the coast.

Self-support settlements other than the Lillooet area mostly had smaller numbers of Japanese Canadians. These included Christina Lake (in the west Kootenays; mentioned above), Blind Bay (14 miles north northwest of Salmon Arm), Tappen (6 miles north of Salmon Arm) and Westwold (28 miles east southeast of Kamloops). Grand Forks (also in the west Kootenays) had over 300 Japanese Canadians.

Several hundred Japanese Canadians moved from the Coast to Interior rural communities using authorized farm work permits. Permit holders received no government support, so they were self-support farm workers. Fig. 33 (next page) shows a cover sent from Vernon, B.C. on April 6, 1945 to *The New Canadian* newspaper in Kaslo, B.C. by T. Tsuji, c/o Fraser Brothers, Swan Lake, Vernon. It reached Kaslo on April 14th after its letter was censored in Vancouver by Censor 268. Its route was by train to Vancouver, censoring, then train (CPR Kettle Valley) to Nelson and motor vehicle to Kaslo. The cover's letter probably was related to a subscription to the newspaper.

There are four T. Tsujis listed in *LOI* who were uprooted to Vernon. Only two gave Fraser Brothers and Box 636 as their postal contact: Tokutaro Tsuji (born in 1893) was employed as an orchard worker by Fraser Brothers. In Vancouver, he had been a gardener. His wife Tsuge Tsuji was born in 1901. The family — including one of their three daughters (two born in Japan had

Figure 33. Cover mailed in Vernon by Tsuge Tsuji.

remained there)—had lived on West 3rd Avenue in Vancouver, and moved to Vernon on February 22, 1942. Both Tokutaro and Tsuge were Japanese nationals. The handwriting and handprinting styles on forms completed by Tsuge shown in *LOI* are identical to those on my envelope. Therefore, she was the T. Tsuji who sent my cover. After the war, the Tsujis went to Japan in the *S.S. Marine Angel* on May 31, 1946. When they left, Tokutaro was debt free and was issued a draft for $4180; Tsuge was paid $200 by the government. This suggests that Tokutaro was the only working member of the family.

Tokutaro and his family apparently chose self support authorized by the government, working at a B.C. orchard for the duration of the war. Their February 1942 travel to Vernon was quite early in the removal process, before the government-enforced removal of Japanese from the west coast. Movement of Japanese to the Okanagan valley relieved a drastic shortage of farm and orchard workers there; farmers and orchard owners in the North Okanagan favoured arrival of Japanese workers. At first, some came to the Okanagan independent of the government. This seems to have been the case for the Tsujis. Eventually, local growers' associations in the North Okanagan arranged to provide—for the duration of the war—room and board, medical care and the going wage for incoming Japanese families. Self-support

families presumably required government permits for movement. I have not found any mention of permits in the *LOI* data.

A cover to *The New Canadian* office in Kaslo from M. Araki, Box 14, Westbank, B.C. is shown in Fig. 34 (next page). Manzo Araki worked as a miner for Canadian Collieries Ltd. in Cumberland, B.C. He and his wife Natsuka and family lived there in a house they had built, at a cost of $1,200, on company property. They paid a monthly rent for use of the mine-owned property, but Araki had not paid the ground rent of $1.00 per month since July 1928. In March 1943, the company wrote that miners were allowed to build on company land and occupy the buildings for a nominal ground rent "so long as they remained employees of the company". In August 1943, the company paid Araki's account $25.00—their estimated salvage value for the house. Araki received the $25 cheque in May 1947, but refused it. In 1950, the Bird Commission awarded Araki $34.50 for missing chattels (48% of $75.00).

From Cumberland, the Arakis first went to Hastings Park and then Greenwood, but by September 1942 were in Westbank, where eventually they farmed tomatoes[12]. Manzo and his wife moved to Vancouver in 1951.

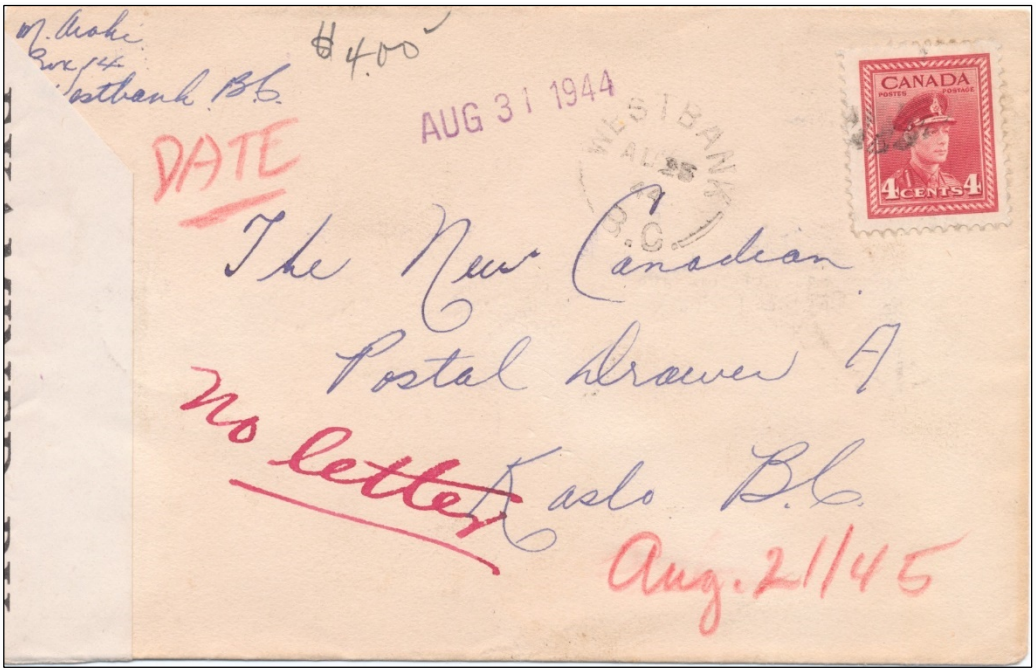


Figure 34. Cover mailed at Westbank by Manzo Araki on August 25, 1944. Its letter was censored in Vancouver by D.B. 166.

By mid June 1942, over 4,000 Japanese Canadians had moved to Manitoba and Alberta to work on sugar beet farms. They helped to fill a major labour shortage. The BCSC provided transportation and set the rates of pay. Work on the sugar-beet farms was hard, and seasonal. Often, Japanese Canadians could find off-season work at food-canning facilities or lumber camps and sawmills.

The cover in Fig. 35 (next page) was written by Kumesaburo Hayakawa, who had gone to work on sugar-beet farms in Ste. Agathe, Manitoba. Hayakawa was a widower—a self-employed masseur living in Prince Rupert. His daughter Noriko (born August 5, 1919) was the addressee of my cover. She was in Haney, B.C. on April 20, 1942 and then went to Winnipeg. Her brother Joe (1924–2010) was a student in Prince Rupert and then at Britannia High School in Vancouver. Joe attended the

University of Manitoba, attaining a B. Sc. and in 1955 an M.D. degree. He specialized in anaesthesiology.

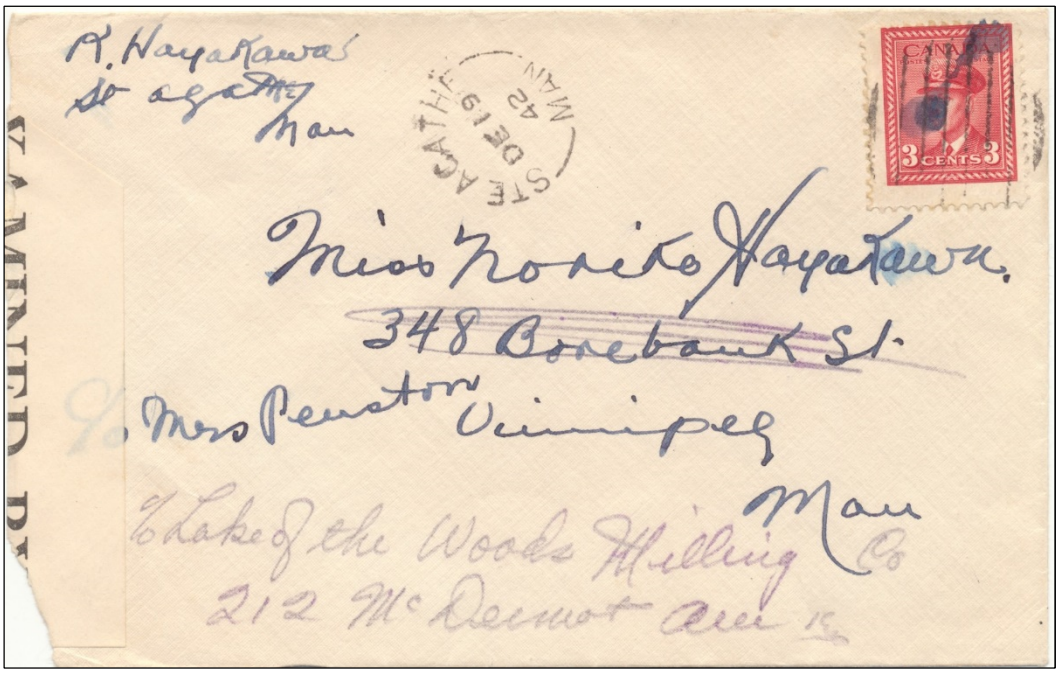


Figure 35. Cover (December 19, 1942) from Ste. Agathe, Manitoba to Winnipeg, readdressed to Lake of the Woods Milling Co., 212 McDermot Avenue. Its letter was censored in Vancouver by DB 173.

The next cover (Fig. 36, next page) was sent to a Japanese Canadian—Genji Otsu—living in Winnipeg. Genji Otsu (born January 1, 1898) was a self-employed fisherman living in Steveston. He was Manager of the River Fish Company. William Stephenson's confidential report to the RCMP says that "Genji Otsu… is one of the most active leaders among the Japanese… He is regarded as a man who would be a leader of the Japanese in a crisis on the West coast of British Columbia." He was uprooted to Minto City on May 28, 1942 and moved to Winnipeg some time after October 1944 and before January 1945. By July 1950, he was back living in Steveston. There is nothing in the *LOI* files to show what he did in Winnipeg.

The cover in Fig. 36 was mailed at Yokohama, Japan at the Headquarters of the U.S. Eighth Army. It is postmarked U.S. ARMY / POSTAL SERVICE / APO 343. The writer, Koichi Yoshida, normally resided in Honolulu, Hawaii. A note that came with the cover says he was serving in Japan as a translator.

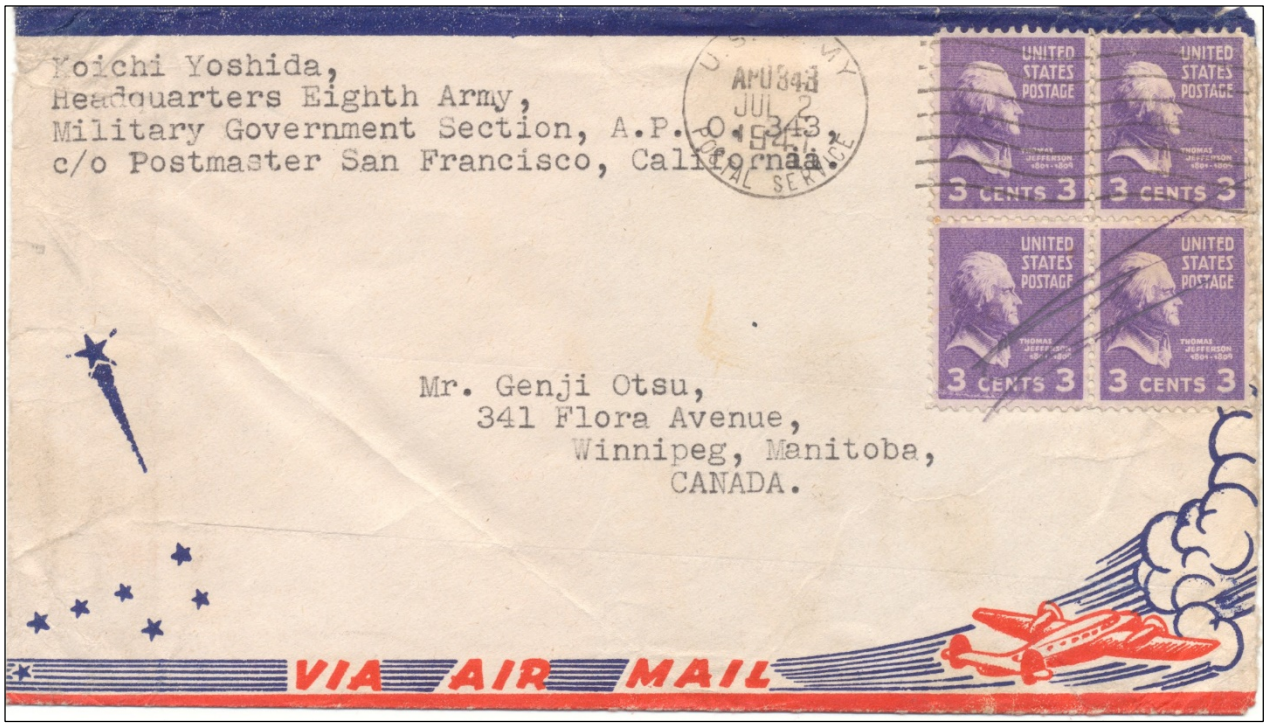


Figure 36. Double-weight air mail cover from Japan (July 2, 1947) to Genji Otsu in Winnipeg.

Next, I will discuss the housing centres in Interior British Columbia that were needed to accommodate most of the Japanese Canadians from the West Coast.

Interior Housing Centres

On March 4, 1942, the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) was established with Order-in-Council P.C. 1665 with the duty "to plan, supervise and direct the evacuation from the protected area of all persons of the Japanese race." The Commission had to quickly find suitable living places for thousands of people. They decided that they could be accommodated in some almost-deserted mining towns in the B.C. Interior, east of the 100-mile protected area. The BCSC settled on five communities as suitable: Greenwood, Slocan City (and its environs), New Denver, Sandon and Kaslo. These locations could accept about 8,000 people, but another 4,000 needed housing. Therefore, in addition, two large communities would be built from scratch: Lemon Creek (near Slocan) and Tashme (east of Hope). All these Interior locations had climates much different —summer heat and winter cold—from the West Coast.

Existing homes were supplemented with quickly-erected tent towns until more permanent cabins could be completed. More than 1,100 three-room 28-foot by 14-foot uninsulated cabins were built, each to house either a large family or two smaller families. The basic design had a central common area with two sleeping rooms with bunk beds.

I will describe each of the interior housing centres in the order of their establishment. The camps were spread across the Interior of British Columbia (see the map in Fig. 37, next page). Most were in the Slocan Valley, as shown on the map in Fig. 38 (page 67). Kaslo is on the west bank of Kootenay Lake. Other centres—Tashme and Greenwood—were farther west in the Interior. Tashme was built just east of Hope, on a rough road that would become the Hope-Princeton Highway (Highway 3). Greenwood is 50 miles east of Osoyoos and 22 miles west of Grand Forks, in the Boundary District.

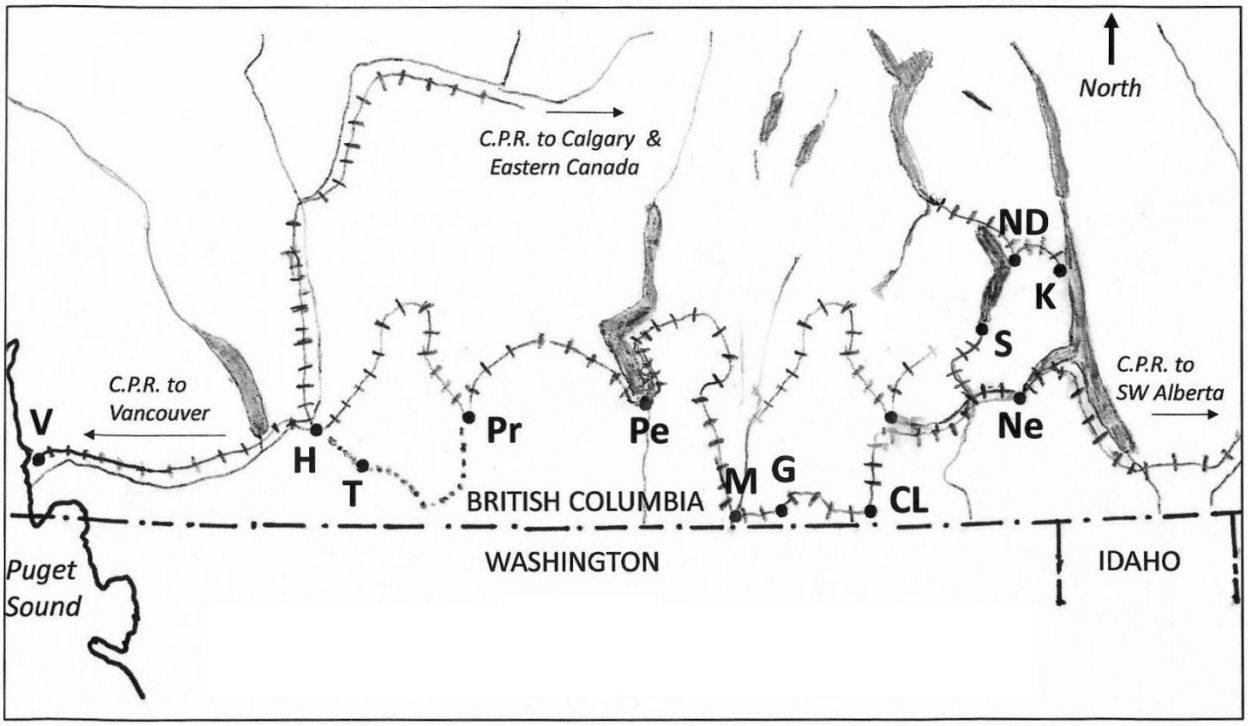


Figure 37. Map showing the locations of cities, towns and housing centres in the Interior of British Columbia. Most housing centres were accessible by train via the southern trans-continental line of the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) that ran from near Hope, B.C. to near Medicine Hat, Alberta—often referred to as the Kettle Valley Line. The road being built between Hope and Princeton is shown as a dotted line.

Legend:	V - Vancouver	H - Hope	T - Tashme
	Pr – Princeton	Pe - Penticton	M - Midway
	G - Greenwood	CL - Christina Lake	Ne - Nelson
	S - Slocan City	ND - New Denver	K - Kaslo

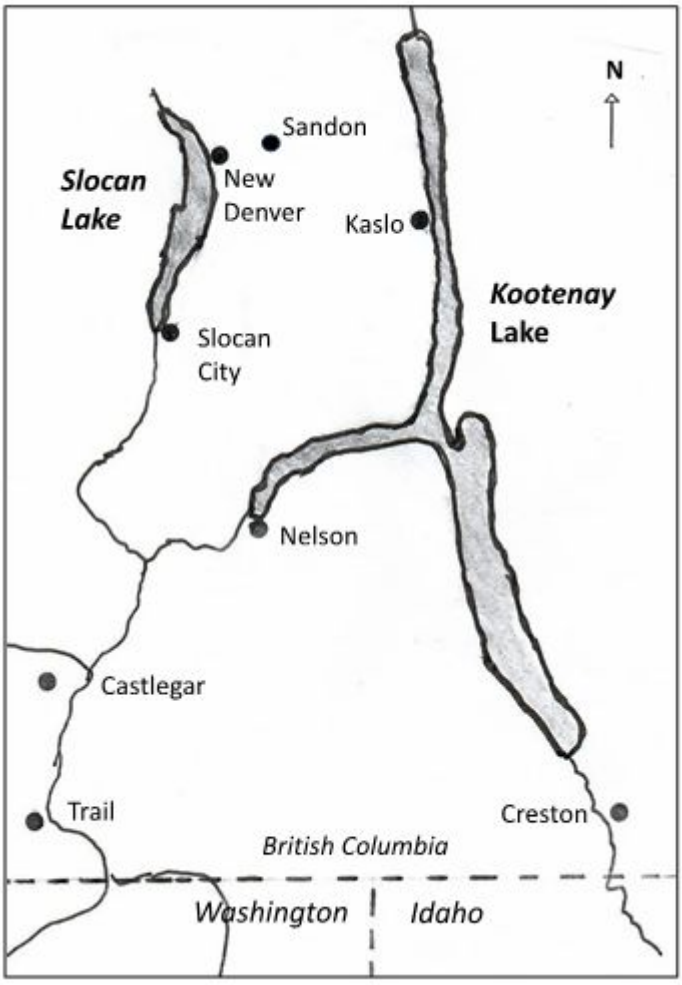


Figure 38. Locations of interior BC housing centres at Slocan City, New Denver, Sandon and Kaslo.

Greenwood

Copper ore was found near Greenwood in the mid 1880s, and a town of 3,000 developed in the 1890s. A smelter started operations in 1901, but in 1918 the smelter closed and soon there were only a few hundred residents. Greenwood was the first Interior housing centre to receive Japanese Canadians. Approx-imately 1,200 were housed in vacant buildings; the first arrived on April 26, 1942. After the war ended, many chose to remain in Greenwood, revitalizing the community.

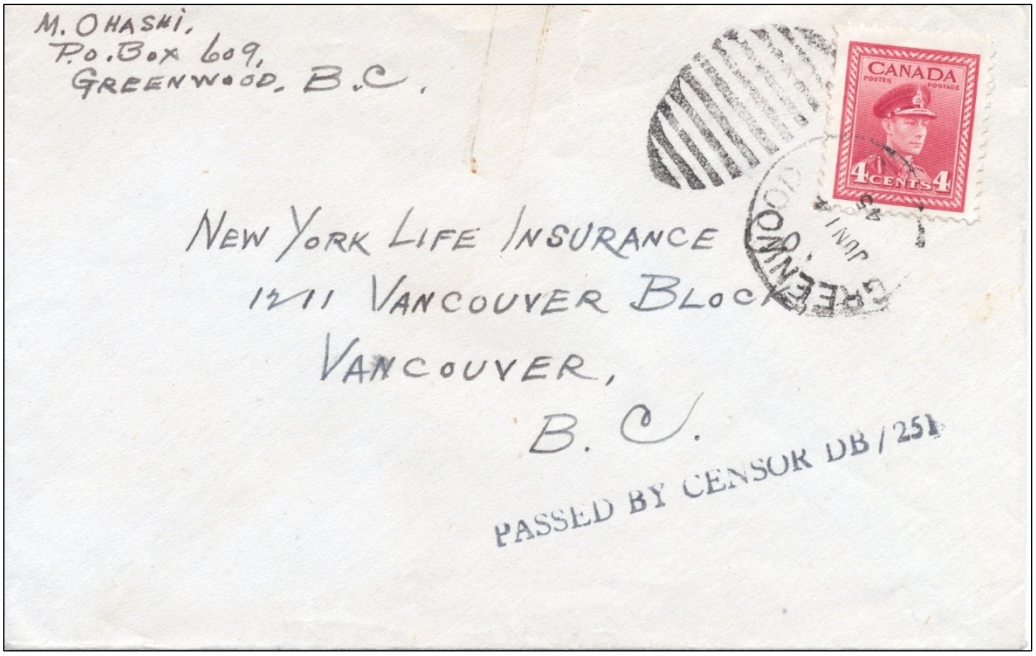


Figure 38. Cover from M. Ohashi, Greenwood, B.C.

Fig. 38 presents a cover from Greenwood, B.C. posted on June 14, 1945 by M. Ohashi, P.O. Box 609, Greenwood. It is addressed to the New York Life Insurance, Co., Vancouver and the mailing is marked as censored by DB/251. However, the envelope was passed without opening. There is no resealing tape. The cover in Fig. 38 is an anomaly in that I cannot find an Ohashi in *LOI* living in Greenwood. The writer could be below the age of 16 (and not listed in *LOI*) but usually youngsters are not paying for life insurance policies.

Kaslo

The second Interior housing centre to receive Japanese Canadians from the protected area was Kaslo. Kaslo is on the west shore of Kootenay Lake, 32 miles northeast of Nelson. Steamer from Nelson was the easiest way to get to Kaslo in the 1940s. The first Japanese Canadians—a group of 150—arrived in Kaslo by steamer on May 13, 1942. Most were women, children, and elderly men because younger men were at road work camps. Within a month, there were about 600 and by November 1942 there were 978. Patricia Roy[13] discusses the contrast between the acceptance of Japanese in Kaslo and the anti-Japanese propaganda that raged in Kelowna. She points out that several Japanese Canadian leaders went to Kaslo, people like dentist Dr. Edward Banno, physician Dr. Kozo Shimotakahara, Tom Shoyama and Rev. K. Shimizu. Their "ability to deal with the leaders of the white community on a professional basis undoubtedly contributed to the friendly relationships between the two communities in Kaslo." [Ed Banno (1908–1984) was also a negotiator, an advanced philatelist and a member of Vancouver's 21 Stamp Club. He collected classic Japanese stamps and pre-WW II Japanese commemoratives. Dr. Kozo Shimotakahara is discussed on pp. 6–8. Tom Shoyama was editor of *The New Canadian*. Rev. Kosaburo Shimizu (1893–1962) was a United Church of Canada minister in B.C. and Ontario.]

Kaslo, being a former mining town, had many abandoned buildings. The BCSC leased 52 buildings in Kaslo including two hotels. Most needed renovation before occupancy. Most of the facilities were dormitory-like. The new residents integrated well into the community. They became two-thirds of the population. Most stayed in Kaslo for the full war.

An illustrated cover from New Westminster to Kaslo is shown in Fig. 39. From P.O. Box 980, it was posted on July 27, 1942 to Mr. E. Onishi, Box

552, Kaslo. It was passed without opening by Censor C-270 in Vancouver, and reached Kaslo on August 3rd.

Figure 39. July 27, 1942 cover to Kaslo, B.C.

The addressee, Eijiro Ohnishi, was born on January 4, 1876. His home was in New Westminster. He is described as "Retired". Eijiro and his wife Sada were evacuated to Kaslo on May 19, 1942. In 1945, they were in Oakville, Ontario. Their two sons were both at the Taft road work camp. Jointly, Eijiro and Sada owned several properties in New Westminster; these were rented and the rents that were collected went into the Ohnishi's accounts with the Custodian, and the Custodian's office paid insurance and other maintenance costs. The properties were sold in 1944 and 1945.

The offices of *The New Canadian* newspaper were in Kaslo from 1942 to 1945. As you will see throughout this publication, much of its correspondence has survived.

Slocan Extension

Slocan is 20 miles north northwest of Nelson at the south end of Slocan Lake. Slocan Extension was a group of four adjacent Japanese Canadian housing centres in the West Kootenays in the Slocan Valley: Slocan City, Bay Farm, Popoff and Lemon Creek. All four camps used the Slocan post office for their mail. The SLOCAN, B.C. circle date stamp was proofed on December 10, 1937.

Slocan City (with 595 people) was formerly a mining town, so there were existing buildings and abandoned mine houses to create the camp there. Bay Farm, Popoff and Lemon Creek were purpose-built camps on land leased by the BCSC. Lemon Creek was the largest camp in the West Kootenays. The first Japanese Canadians to arrive at these three camps lived in unheated tents until other facilities were built—by the internees themselves. In 1946, Slocan City was a point of exile for internees who were returning to Japan.

Bay Farm (with 1376 internees) was 1.5 miles south of Slocan City. Popoff (population 1,000 internees) was south of Bay Farm on farm land leased from the Popoff family. This camp had family shacks, large dormitories and a school. Lemon Creek (Fig. 40, next page; population 1,860 internees) was south of Popoff on land leased from the Anderson family. It had a United Church, a Buddhist temple, three stores and named streets.

I have shown above a picture post card sent by internees on their way to Slocan (Fig. 17). The message on the card ends with, "We will write to you when we reach Slocan."

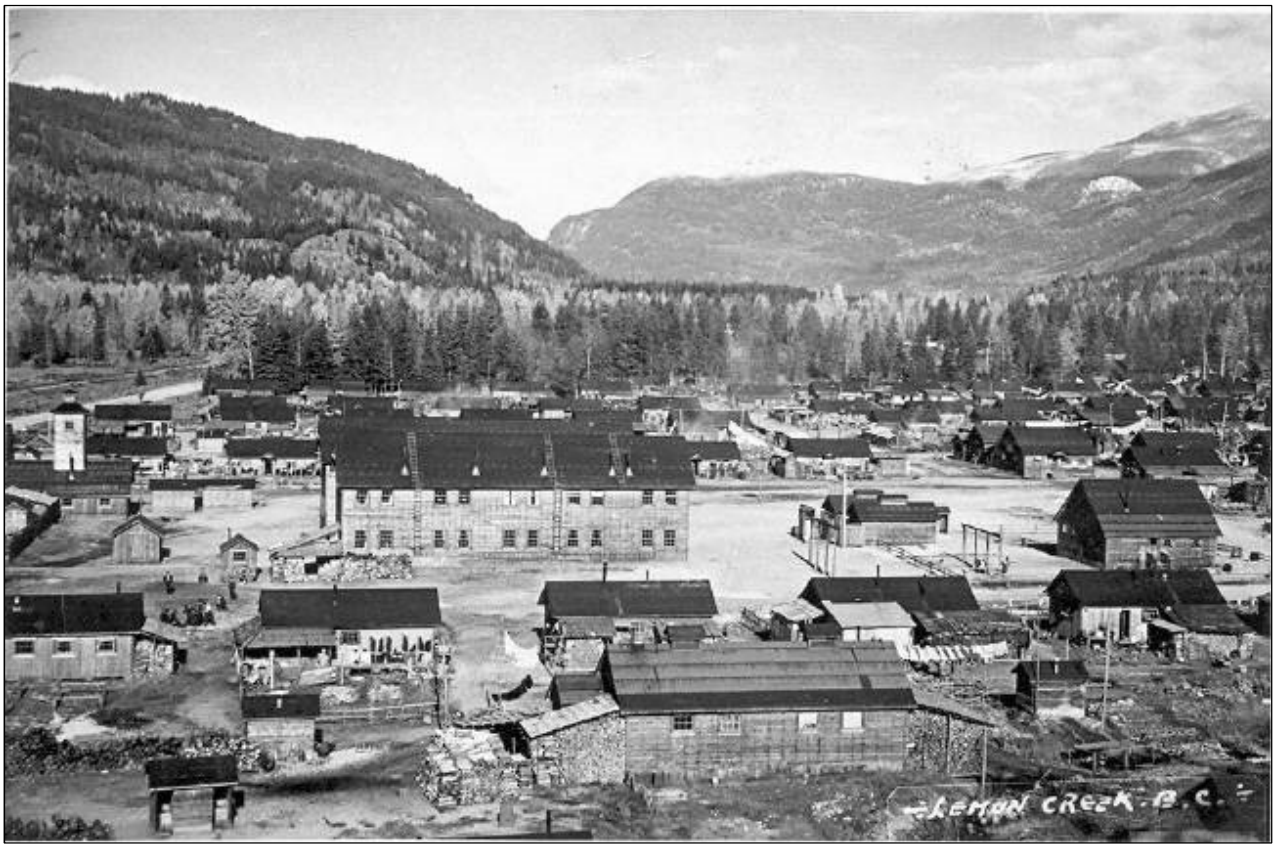


Figure 40. View of Lemon Creek Camp, B.C., 1944–1945. [From Wikipedia, photo by Diana Domai.]

Fig. 41 (next page) shows a cover mailed from Slocan City mailed to Vancouver on November 17, 1942. It was passed without opening by Censor C-270. It was written by Dave Shiozaki, who typed his Japanese Registration Number 09758 on the back of the envelope.

Oddly, David Fumiaki Shiozaki does not have a file in the *LOI* Custodian Case Files. His father was Bunschichi Shiozaki. He and his wife Tomiko had two sons: David Shiozaki [also known as Fumiaki Shiozaki] and Fumiharu Shiozaki [also known as Richard Shiozaki]. They owned a hotel at 341 East Hastings Street (the Olympia Hotel) and a rooming house at 1012 Main Street, which they sold. Bunschichi and Tomiko were uprooted to Greenwood. In a September 14, 1942 letter, Bunschichi's lawyer wrote

that the older son [*that would be David, a graduate of UBC*] is now working as a teacher of English, is self-supporting and is working for an M.A. degree. The younger son [*Richard*] had completed two years at UBC and was anxious to complete his studies either at UBC or in Montreal. On November 20, 1942, the lawyer wrote that he had heard from D.F. Shiozaki in Slocan City. David Fumiaki Shiozaki passed away at the North York General Hospital on 18 March 18, 2007 in his 86th year. In 2012, F. Richard Shiozaki received an honorary degree at UBC in a special ceremony for Japanese Canadian students of 1942. Fumiharu Richard (Dick) Shiozaki (February 5, 1924–February 18, 2016) passed way in Toronto at the age of 92. He had completed his studies for a P. Eng. at the University of Toronto.

Figure 41. Cover from Slocan City to Vancouver.

The addressee of David's letter was Mary Josephine Woodsworth, sister of Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, founder of the CCF. She is listed in the *1942 British Columbia and Yukon Directory* as a school teacher living at 1966 Sasamat Terrace. In the 1943 directory, her address is Gordon Neighbourhood House, 1005 Jervis St. Both addresses appear on this redirected cover. Gordon House—a West End community centre—was founded in 1942.

I find it interesting that David Shiozaki sent his letter to Miss Woodsworth care of the BCSC head office in the Marine Building. Did Mary Woodsworth have a connection to the BCSC? Had she taught David in the past?

Fig. 42 shows a picture post card sent by B. Tobata in Montreal to K. Tsuchida, Bay Farm, Slocan, B.C. The card, postmarked July 24, 1944, is in Japanese and was examined by Censor DB 177.

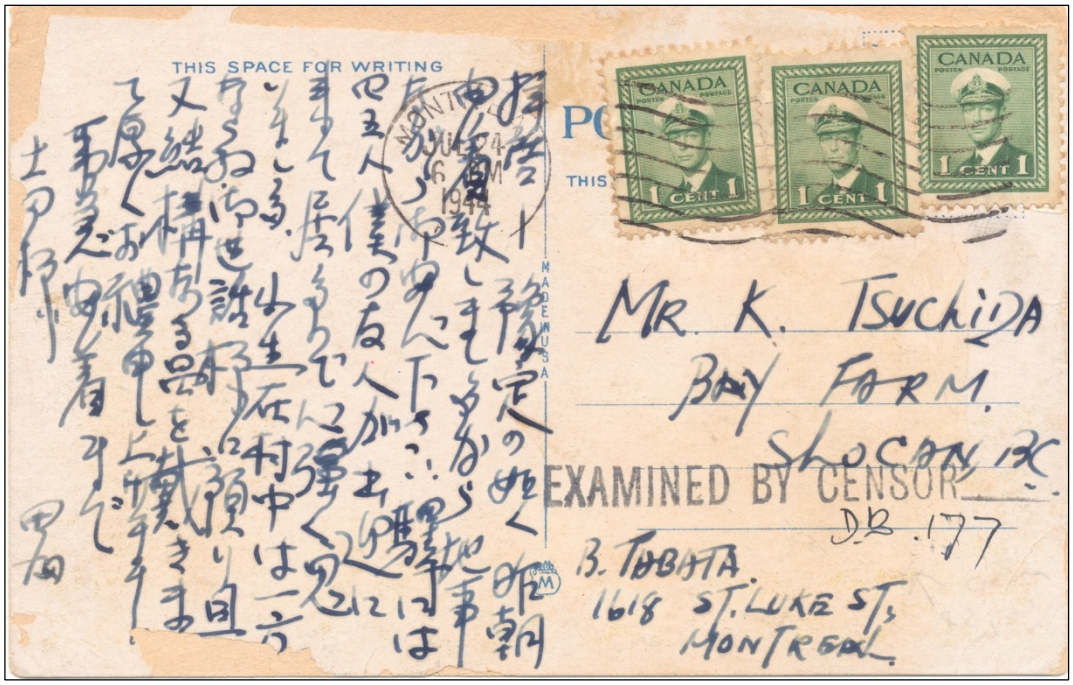


Figure 42. Picture post card sent to Bay Farm, Slocan.

The recipient of this card was Kazo Tsuchida, a truck driver renting rooms in a house at 419 Powell Street, Vancouver. He went to the Decoigne, Alberta work camp on March 7, 1942. Apparently he disposed of his 1929 truck before he left Vancouver. He and his wife Akiko Tsuchida had six daughters. Akiko and four of their daughters went to Bay Farm on October 15, 1942. Kazo joined them there later. Masako and Shigeko both went to the Hastings Park Hospital and then to the sanitarium in New Denver. I have already shown a post card to his youngest daughter, Toshi (cf. Fig. 17, p. 37). Kazo, Akiko and Shigeko (and possibly other daughters) returned to Japan in the *S.S. Marine Falcon* on December 24, 1946.

The writer of this card appears to be Bunchiro Tabata (born in 1912). He was a fish packer in Vancouver, and apparently went to a Jasper work camp in March 1942. His wife Kiku was in Japan. In August 1943, he was working in Edmonton for McInnes Product Corp. In October 1943, his home address was Slocan City. He later was in Monreal. He returned to Japan on June 17,1946 in the *S.S. General Meigs*.

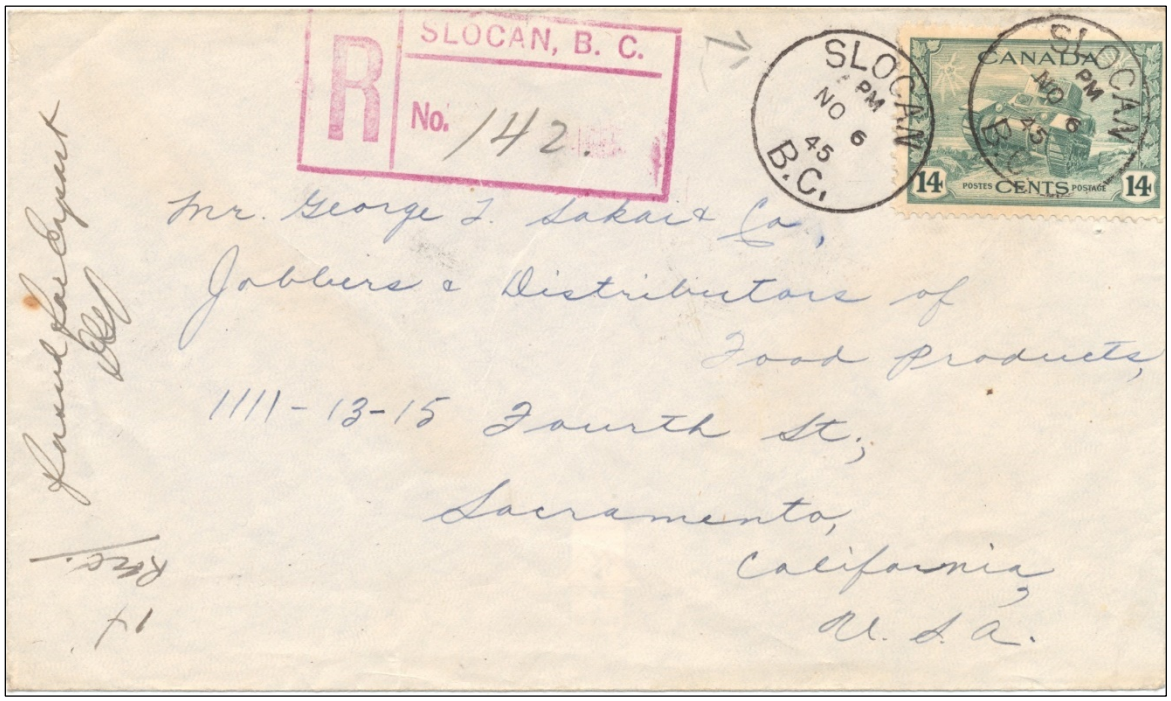


Figure 43. Post-war registered cover from Lemon Creek to California.

A post-war registered cover to California from Lemon Creek is presented in Figure 43 (on the previous page). It was posted on November 6, 1945 at Slocan. The name U. Kosugi is printed on the reverse. Note the endorsement "Passed for Export" at the left. In *LOI*, I found that Uzo and Iku Kosugi had been sent to Lemon Creek, Slocan on September 19, 1942.

For more than 30 years, Uzo and his wife Iku had lived on a nine-acre fruit and berry farm (with a house and various sheds) 1½ miles from Sullivan Station, which was on the B.C. Electric Railway line to Chilliwack. They had two daughters (Suya Ida and Yayeko) and two sons (Aza and George Douglas). Most of the family (including Yayeko) was sent to Lemon Creek, Slocan on September 19, 1942. Their older daughter Suya Ida died at age 19 at Slocan on September 19, 1943. Aza (a millworker born in 1919) went to Hamilton, Ontario in June 1942. The rest of the family went to Hamilton later. Their farm was sold, netting $1041. Aza Kosugi owned a 1939 Dodge truck (bought on an installment plan); it was sold in August 1942 for $650, but it had a lien on it of $584; less $25.53 expenses, Uzo Kosugi was paid $40.47 for the truck. Uzo appealed to the Bird Commission for redress on the property and was awarded $1,186.26.

Slocan City was used as a as a gathering point for those being exiled to Japan. All four Slocan Extension camps closed in 1946. The New Denver camp remained open until 1957.

Sandon

Sandon is located in the mountains, 7 miles east of New Denver and 27 miles west of Kaslo, in a narrow, isolated valley (Fig. 44). When it was a silver- and lead-mining community, at the end of the 19th century, there probably were about 5,000 residents. In 1942, there were 50 residents, soon joined by over 900 Japanese internees. After renovation, over 50 buildings were available. There was no flat land for additional tents or cabins. A rough road connected Sandon to New Denver.

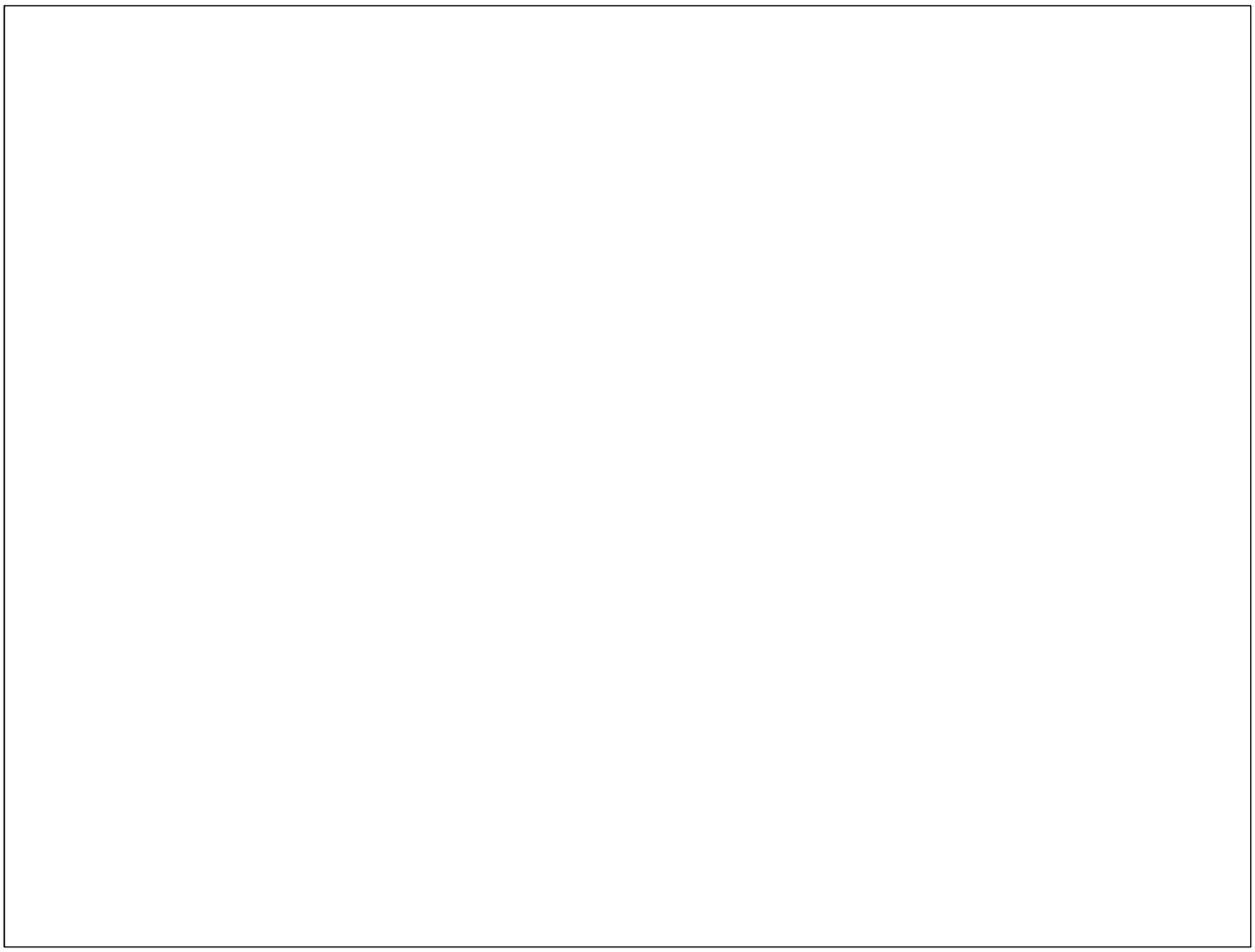


Fig. 44. Sandon, 1915. Photographer undetermined. B.C. Archives, A-00985.

Figure 45. Cover mailed at Sandon on April 14, 1944.

Fig. 45 (above) illustrates a cover a cover mailed at Sandon on April 14, 1944 to the International Red Cross in Switzerland. Its contents were censored only in Vancouver, by Censor DB-152. This mail was sent by Kanetaro Kurahashi (born December 18, 1877), a fisherman living at Sunnyside Cannery on the Skeena River. His wife Sumi also worked at the cannery. They were evacuated to Sandon (probably from Hastings Park) on June 22, 1942. Their Canadian-born son Satoru Kurahashi—also a fisherman, employed by BC Packers Limited—was evacuated on March 25, 1942 and went to Eatonville, Ontario.

Sandon was the first camp closed by the BCSC. Sandon's camp closed in July 1944 when its leases expired. Its inhabitants were transferred to New Denver.

New Denver and Rosebery

New Denver, on the east shore of Slocan Lake, is 20 miles north of Slocan City. There were several housing camps in or near New Denver, with about 1,500 Japanese Canadians. The Orchard Camp consisted of 250 huts built on a leased fruit orchard and vegetable farm. Small huts were built on surveyed lots, and streets were given names. The first Japanese residents arrived there on May 21, 1942. After the war, in 1960, the original Orchard occupants were deeded ownership of the relocation homes and lots. At the Harris Ranch, just over a mile south of New Denver, about 50 elderly men were housed in a home and 23 shacks. At the two-acre Nelson Ranch, a barn was converted into a men's dormitory.

The sub-camp at Rosebery—with 350 to 450 internees—was about 4 miles north of New Denver. The first Japanese residents arrived there in June 1943. Rosebery had its own post office.

New Denver was a holding centre for internees from other camps that closed. It was the last resettlement camp to close, in 1957. However, 78 mostly elderly Japanese who occupied the camp after the war did not wish to be dispersed to other places. The government subdivided the camp, moved the houses, upgraded the electrical service and gave title to the Japanese Canadian residents.

A 100-bed tuberculosis sanatorium was built in New Denver, and 100 patients came from the Hastings Park hospital in 1943. The sanitarium closed in 1951. Between 1953 and 1959, it became the New Denver Dormitory School for children of the Sons of Freedom (a small radicalized splinter group of the Doukhobors). The children were schooled there until their parents agreed to send them to public school. That program officially ended on August 2, 1959.

An opened-out registered cover mailed to Toronto at New Denver on February 22, 1946 is shown in Fig. 46 (next page). The town MOTO dates the

cover, and the town circle date stamp is on the reverse. The cover went to Nelson, then east on the CPR's Kettle Valley line (MED HAT & NEL. R.P.O.).

Figure 46. Cover posted at New Denver in February 1946.

The cover in Fig. 46 was mailed by W. Takahashi. I have been unable to find anyone in *LOI* with the name "W. Takahashi".

In 1994, an interpretive centre called the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre was opened in the Orchard region of New Denver. The centre includes several internment huts and the camp's community hall. It is a National Historic Site preserving the history of the internment camp.

Tashme

The last and largest interior B.C. housing centre was Tashme, a community constructed on a leased 1,200-acre dairy and livestock farm 14 miles (22.5 km) east of Hope[14]. Tashme was in the mountains at an elevation of 2,300 feet, in the Sumallo River valley—now the Sunshine Valley ski area, so it was cold in winter. At its population peak, Tashme housed 2,644 people. The Sunshine Valley Tashme Museum is located at the original site of the community. Fig. 47 shows the buildings and many of the 347 tar-papered shacks. Tashme was a self-sufficient village, having a hospital, schools, sawmill, general store, post office, bakery, laundry, shoemaker, tailors, dressmakers and jeweller.

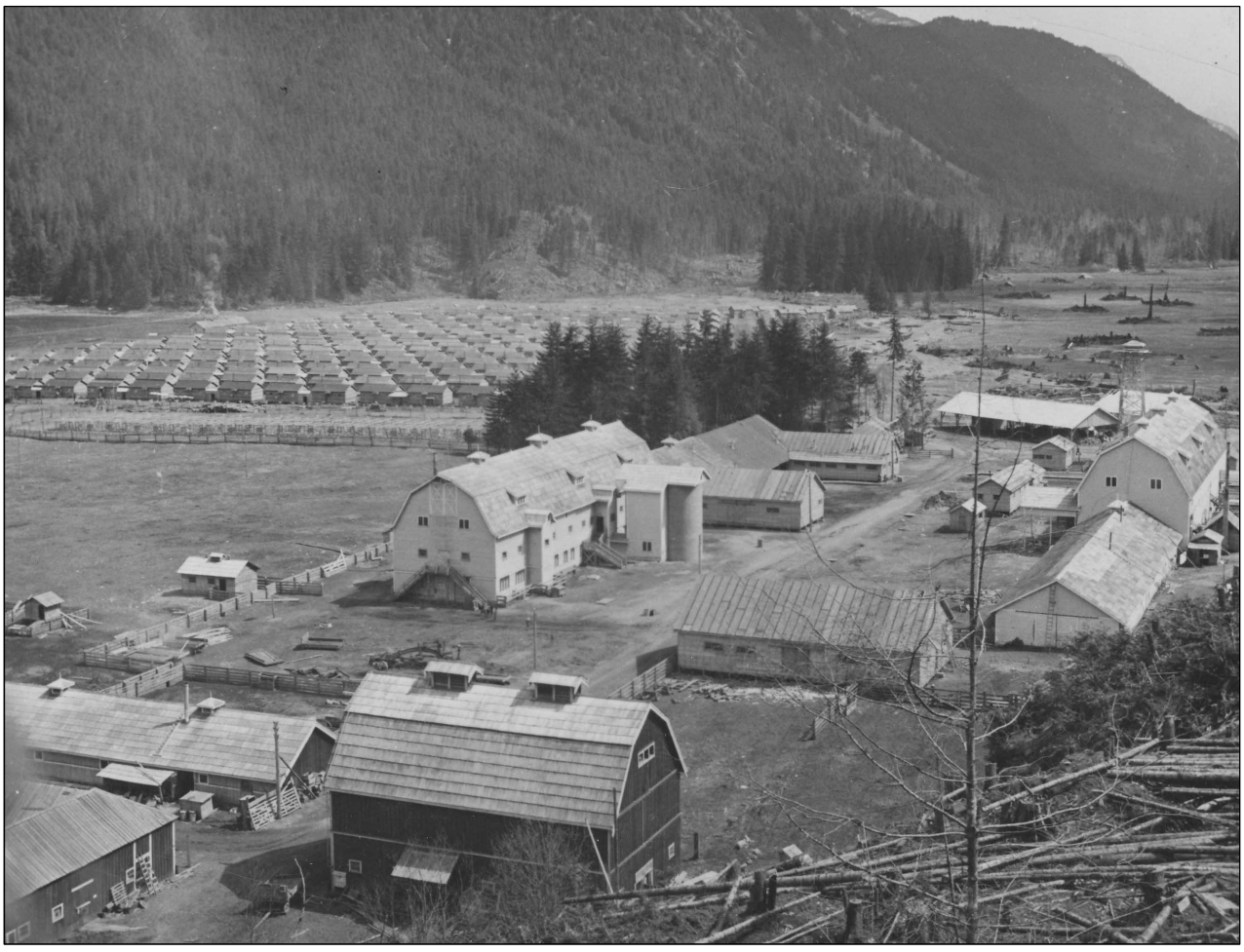


Figure 47. Tashme village. (Photo Rev. Yoshio Ono, courtesy of Brian Plain).

In the summer of 1950, when my father and I travelled the new Hope-Princeton Highway with friends, it was a surprise when we saw what remained of this isolated village that we had never been told about.

Tashme had its own post office, which was open from August 16, 1943 to August 31, 1946. Mail from Tashme went by truck to Hope. Tashme mail posted before August 16, 1943 was postmarked at Hope. The Tashme circle date stamp was proofed on March 27, 1943. The office was in a small alcove of the camp store.

The Tashme cover shown in Fig. 48 was mailed to an insurance company in Vancouver on September 25, 1944 by Shigeru Sasaki. *LOI* correspondence shows that Sasaki wrote to the Custodian on September 23, 1944 asking his office to pay from his credit account the insurance premium (due October 15th) on his New York Life Insurance policy. The letter carried in the cover illustrated, censored in Vancouver by DB 260, probably said how the premium was to be paid.

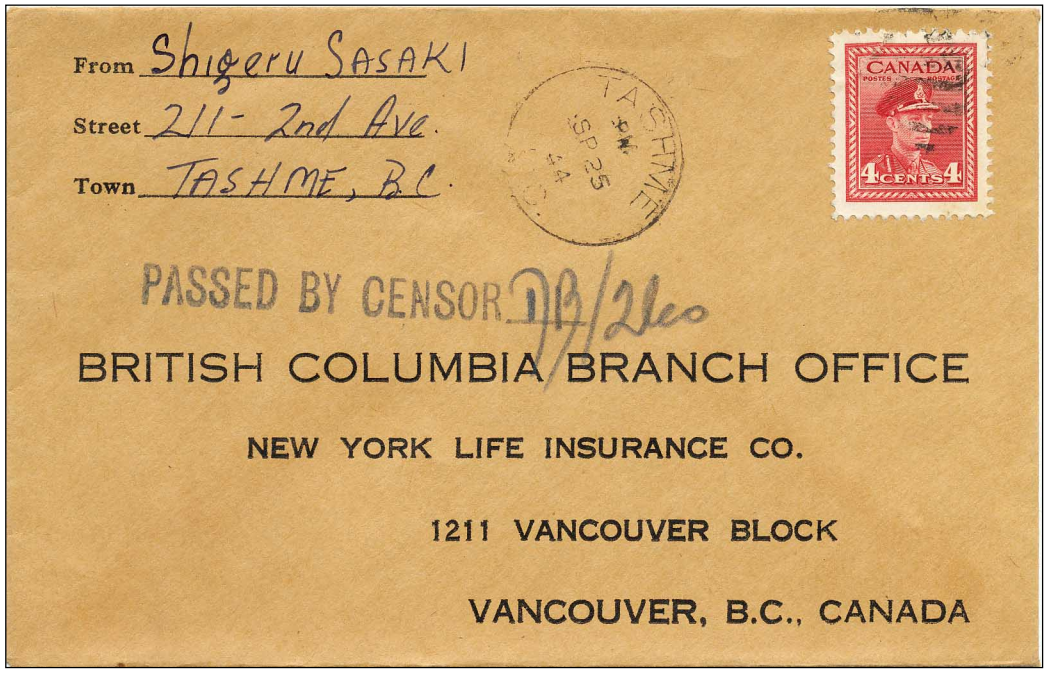


Figure 48. Cover from Tashme postmarked PM/SP 25/44.

Shigeru Sasaki (a gardener, born on October 24, 1892) and his wife Naka and five children owned a residence at 1758 W. 7th Avenue in Vancouver. Their home was rented in May 1942 for $9.00 per month. It was sold in March 1944 for $950. Sasaki had purchased it for $1,800 and made necessary improvements. After an appeal to the Bird commission in 1948, Sasaki received $56.53 ($60 less costs).

Naka's May 11, 1942 RCMP Report places Shigero at a work camp near Princeton. She and the children were evacuated to Tashme on September 9, 1942. By November 16, 1942, Shigeru's return address was Tashme. On May 29, 1945 he wrote that he—with a release from the BCSC—was on self-support at RR #2, Vernon. His address soon changed to c/o A.T. Howe, Vernon.

A second cover from Tashme is shown in Fig. 49. The return address on the back of the cover is "Chiye Akada, 238 2nd Ave., Tashme, B.C." A two-page handwritten letter is enclosed in the cover. The cover is addressed to Miss Ruth Hooper, Lend a Hand C.G.I.T. [*Canadian Girls in Training*], Trinity United Church, Bowmanville, Ont. The letter was censored by DB/263.

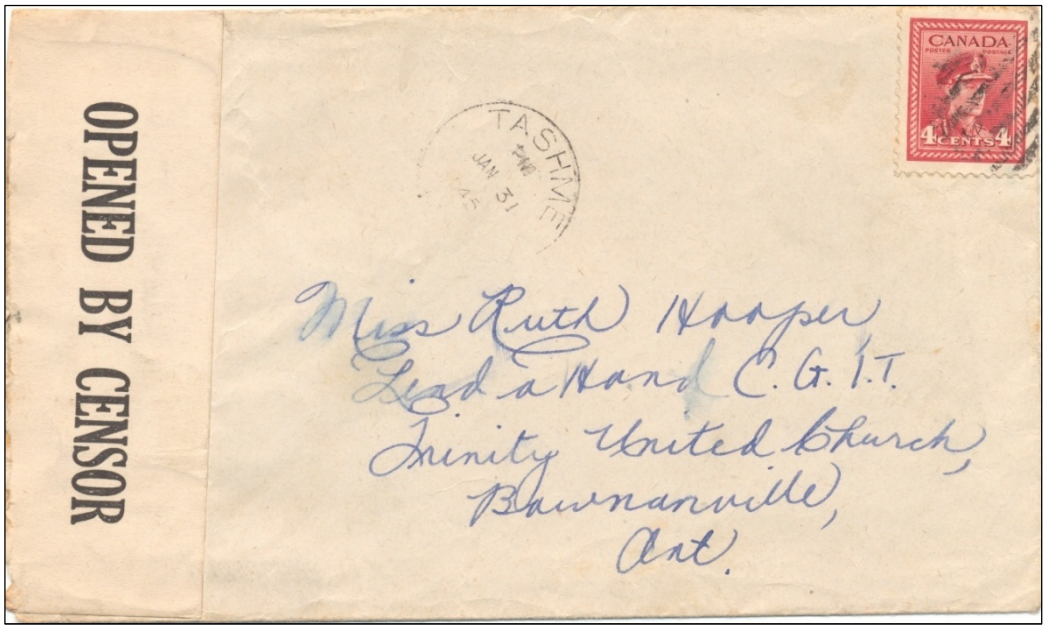


Figure 49. Cover from Tashme postmarked PM/JAN 31/45.

Chiye (Lillian) Okada (born September 17, 1929) was the daughter of Osama and Yaeko Okada. Osama was a boom man employed by Victoria Lumber Company, Chemainus, B.C. Chiye (born on September 17, 1929) was the eldest of four children. Osama was evacuated on March 12, 1942 but *LOI* has no indication of where he went then. The family was uprooted to Tashme, B.C. on September 8, 1942 and was exiled to Japan on May 31, 1946 in the *S.S. Marine Angel.*

Chiya's letter includes these comments on life in Tashme:

> "In Tashme we have cold weather so we often go skating to the lake, two miles away from Tashme. I went last Sunday and we had lots of fun skating on a big lake.
>
> In Tashme there is only one store, which is under the British Columbia Security Commission. The store is not big only one floor with hardware, groceries all together."

A third cover from Tashme is illustrated in Fig. 50 (next page). It was sent unsealed, with 1¢ postage. Addressed to Kansas City 6, Mo., U.S.A., its

return address is E. Nishizawa, 716 7th Ave., Tashme, B.C. The contents of the cover were not censored, of course, in 1946. Note the unusual placement of the year above the month and day in the postmark.

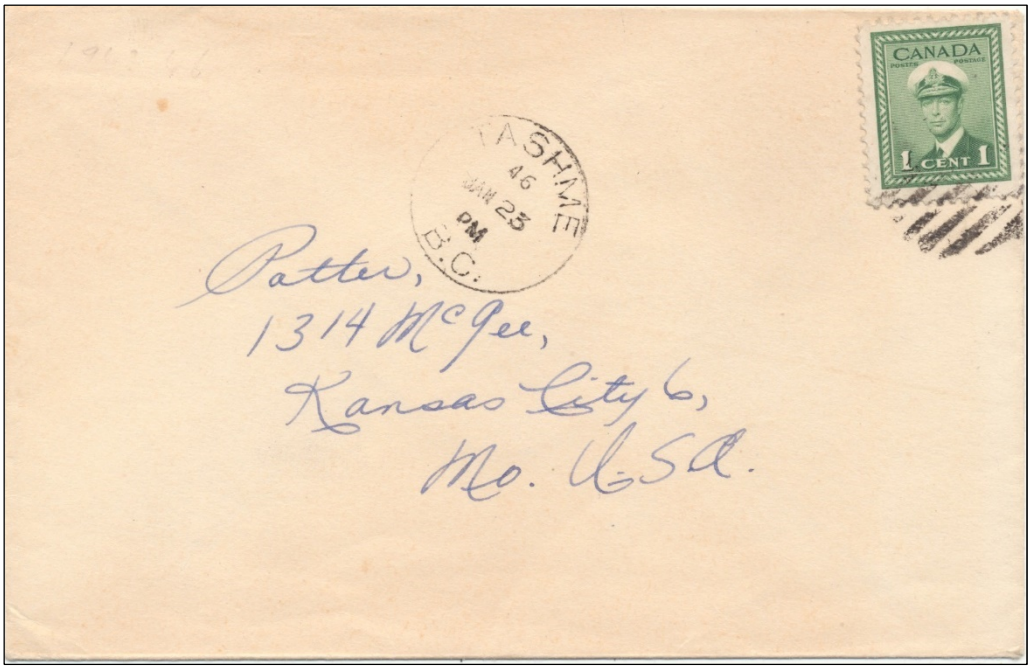


Figure 50. Cover from Tashme postmarked 46/JAN 23/PM.

The only E. Nishizawa at Tashme mentioned in *LOI* is Eichi Nishizawa (born September 25, 1929) son of Ukichi and Kane Nishizawa. The Nishizawa's lived on a five-acre farm near Pitt Meadows, producing eggs, vegetables and fruit. [They rented out the property until October 31, 1943, then it was sold for $589. At that time, Nishizawa had an unpaid balance of $430 for the property.] Ukichi was evacuated on June 9, 1942 and according to Kane's file the rest of the family was evacuated to Tashme on September 17, 1942. Possibly Ukichi was at a work camp until he too was in Tashme (by September 6, 1942). The Nishizawa family was exiled to Japan in the *S.S. Marine Angel* on May 31, 1946.

Figure 51. Cover sent to Mrs. W.N. Sage c/o her daughter, Miss Margaret Sage, at Tashme, B.C.

Fig. 51 (previous page) illustrates a cover sent *to* Tashme in 1946. It was mailed at Toronto on May 23, 1946 by Dr. Walter Noble Sage (1888–1963), professor of history at the University of British Columbia (UBC), to his wife Nelda at Point Roberts, Washington. It was redirected to Vancouver and again to Tashme, B.C. care of his daughter Margaret Sage. Margaret was a social worker—Welfare Manager, Japanese Division, Federal Dept. of Labour—at Tashme from September 1945 to August 1946. In 1956, Margaret married Lloyd Douglas Hayward, my professor of organic chemistry at UBC in the 1953–1954 term. Margaret served at Tashme during the critical period when internees were faced with the decision of repatriation (exile to Japan) or dispersal (moving east). University of BC Archives has a web file [https://www.memorybc.ca/margaret-sage-fonds] containing 91 photographs Margaret took at Tashme while she was there. Especially important are the photographs she took of internees leaving Tashme on May 31, 1946 to board a ship—the *S.S. Marine Angel*—in Vancouver for their exile to Japan.

The first Japanese Canadians arrived at Tashme from Hastings Park in July 1942. In 1946, Tashme was one of three camps that Japanese Canadians were sent to wait for the ships that would take them from Vancouver to Japan (rather than moving to Eastern Canada). [The other two camps were Slocan City and New Denver.] Although Tashme camp was officially closed on August 26, 1946, the last few residents left in November 1946. The nearby Hope-Princeton Highway did not open until December 1949.

Three interesting references give additional information and comment about Tashme. The extensive *Tashme Historical Project* material online [tashme.ca] tells what it was like in the words of Tashme survivors. There are explanations of the organization and governance of the community, as well as tales of everyday life. Constable W.R. Cooper, the RCMP officer in charge at Tashme from May 1945, has presented his contemporary views of

the community[15]. He not only describes the village and his varied duties but also relates some of his experiences as an arbiter. Margaret Sage wrote that she helped Constable Cooper as a ghost writer. Winifred Awmack taught high school courses at Tashme for two years from the summer of 1944. She describes the difficult decisions that her students had to make after the war ended—whether to stay in Canada or to go to Japan[16].

Mid-War Repatriation

The Swedish motorship *Gripsholm*—chartered by the U.S. State Department—made two Word War II Japan–United States exchange voyages, meeting enemy ships and swapping Japanese interned in the Americas for Allied citizens interned in Japan-occupied countries[17]. The voyages also exchanged relief supplies and mail. Planning for the first *Gripsholm* exchange trip was done quickly. Both sides drew up lists of the people they wanted back home. *LOI* says there were 42 Japanese diplomatic and consular officials and their dependents and 19 Japanese nationals of non-official status [61 people in total] going to Japan. The ship arrived in New York harbour on June 9, 1942 and departed from New York (actually from Jersey City) on June 18th. The exchange was on July 22nd at the neutral port of Lourenço Marques, Portuguese East Africa, with passengers from the Japanese steamship *Asama Maru* (from Yokohama via Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Saigon) and the Italian steamship *Conte Verde* (from Shanghai). The *Conte Verde* brought mail from POWs in Shanghai. The *Gripsholm* returned to New York on August 25, 1942, after calling at Rio de Janiero on August 10th. Aboard were 248 Canadians, including 28 Canadian diplomats and their families. There were teachers, students, nurses, medical doctors, and businessmen and their families. They were carried by buses to Montreal. Canadian mail reached the censorship office in Ottawa on August 27, 1942.

For the second exchange voyage, planning started before the *Gripsholm* arrived back from the first trip. *LOI* contains great detail about these plans. A mid-August 1942 letter says that between 50 and 100 from Canada could be accommodated in the second voyage of the *Gripsholm*. A September 2, 1942 letter prepared by the Immigration Branch of the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources in Ottawa estimated that there would be about 70 going from Canada: one third from Vancouver [*i.e., British Columbia*], some from Angler, Ontario and some from Montreal. The general policy was to repatriate from Canada persons who were asked for by Japan via the Spanish Consul General. However, negotiations were very slow, and the sailing date was changed numerous times. Five repatriates were moved to a Montreal-area hotel in September 1943 in preparation for the exchange. [Montreal was considered as the clearing place, as it had been for those going from Canada on first voyage of the *Gripsholm*.] Eventually (on August 20, 1943) the State Department notified the Canadian government that the *Gripsholm* would sail on September 2nd. Starting August 24th, repatriates were gathered in a temporary camp using the reconditioned Immigration Building in Winnipeg as a depot. They were transported from Winnipeg to New York by train. An August 27, 1943 memo lists the 61 Japanese to be repatriated (with their internment locations; 48 were from B.C.). They were immunized in Winnipeg against cholera, smallpox and typhoid; remaining injections were given aboard ship. The *Gripsholm* left New York on September 2, 1943, stopping briefly in Brazil and Uruguay. The exchange took place on October 15, 1943 at Mormugao, India (in Goa) with the *Teia Maru*, which had left Kobe on September 16. The *Gripsholm* reached Rio de Janiero on November 15th and New York on December 2nd. There were 217 returning Canadians on board.

Fig. 51 shows a cover from Gibson's Landing, B.C. mailed on October 23, 1943 to Rio de Janiero, Brazil to meet a Canadian passenger coming

home on the second voyage of the *Gripsholm*[18]. Note the endorsement "RETURNING ON GRIPSHOLM" at the lower left. The addressee, Mrs. S.V. Logan, had been the housekeeper at the Repulse Bay Hotel in Hong Kong; many residents were sheltered there during the Battle of Hong Kong.

Figure 51. Cover sent in October 1943 to meet the *Gripsholm* at Rio de Janiero.

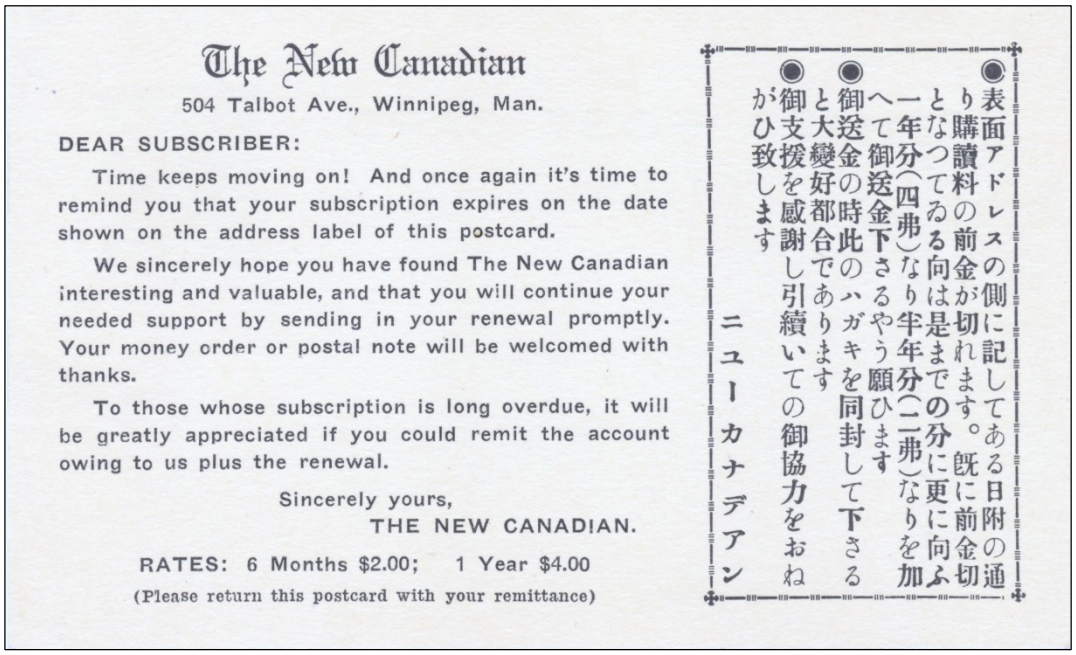
The New Canadian Newspaper

In an earlier section, I have described the pre-war Japanese-language newspapers that ceased publishing in December 1941. In contrast, *The New Canadian* was a long-lasting English-language newspaper that was (for 63 years) the voice of Japanese Canadians. It started in Vancouver in

1938, with sporadic publication, with the motto "The Voice of the Second Generation." After a third issue, it became a semi-monthly and in September 1939, a weekly. Peter Shinobu Higashi (a 1937 University of British Columbia [UBC] graduate with a Bachelor of Arts with English honours) was the first editor. Higashi went to Manchuria in 1939. Tome Kunito (Tom) Shoyama [1916–2006; UBC Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Commerce 1937/1938] started as a co-editor and became editor in 1939 when Higashi left. In the *Appendix of the Suspicious Japanese Report* (quoted in *LOI*), Tom Shoyama is called "... one of the most dangerous influences among the Japanese in British Columbia". In Stephenson's *Report on Japanese Activities in British Columbia*, the derogatory report on Shoyama is long. Most of it comprises quotes of his editorials in *The New Canadian*. However, Shoyama was a Canadian loyalist and a famous Canadian, becoming an Officer of the Order of Canada and receiving several other top awards. He served in the Intelligence Corps of the Canadian Army during 1945 and 1946. He then went to work for the government of Saskatchewan as a research economist and later as economic advisor to the premier. In this position, he designed the hospital and medical care plan now used nationally. In 1964, he went to Ottawa to the Department of Finance and then Industry, Mines and Resources, and then became Deputy Minister of Finance.

The New Canadian became bilingual in 1942; Takaichi Umezuki was hired to be Japanese editor and eventually became its publisher. All stories were censored by the government before their publication. In October 1942, the offices moved to Kaslo, and in July 1945 they moved to Winnipeg. When Tom Shoyama volunteered to join the Canadian Army in 1945, Kasey Oyama became editor. The newspaper moved in 1948 to Toronto, with Toyo Tokata as editor. It ceased publication in 2001.

Fortunately, a number of postal history items related to *The New Canadian* have survived. I will show a number of them here. A few have already been described above. Many are related to changes of address or subscription renewals. Fig. 52 (next page) shows the message side of an unused advertising card (P66) ready to be sent from *The New Canadian* office at 504 Talbot Ave. in Winnipeg. Its message encourages a subscriber to renew a subscription. The subscription rate listed is $2.00 for 6 months or $4.00 for a year.



The New Canadian

504 Talbot Ave., Winnipeg, Man.

DEAR SUBSCRIBER:

Time keeps moving on! And once again it's time to remind you that your subscription expires on the date shown on the address label of this postcard.

We sincerely hope you have found The New Canadian interesting and valuable, and that you will continue your needed support by sending in your renewal promptly. Your money order or postal note will be welcomed with thanks.

To those whose subscription is long overdue, it will be greatly appreciated if you could remit the account owing to us plus the renewal.

Sincerely yours,
THE NEW CANADIAN.

RATES: 6 Months $2.00; 1 Year $4.00

(Please return this postcard with your remittance)

◉表面アドレスの側に記してある日附の通り購讀料の前金が切れます。既に前金切となつてゐる向は是までの分に更に向ふ一年分(四弗)なり半年分(二弗)なりを加へて御送金下さるやう願ひます

◉御送金の時此のハガキを同封して下さると大變好都合であります

◉御支援を感謝し引續いての御協力をおねがひ致します

ニューカナデアン

Figure 52. Unused advertising card for *The New Canadian* (1945—1948).

Fig. 53 is a British Columbia Security Commission cover addressed to Editor T. K. [Tome Konito] Shoyama, Kaslo, B.C. The address includes his Japanese registration number, 00072. The cover bears an unnumbered OFFICIAL / LETTER / Dept. of Labour / Japanese Division / TREASURY DEPT. triangular mark in blue. It was postmarked August 20, 1945 in Vancouver with a blackout machine cancel. The envelope was readdressed from Kaslo to the Winnipeg office of *The New Canadian* using a printed label.

This is my favourite cover in the collection, illustrating the official corner card, the triangular handstamp, and evidence of the move of the newspaper and bearing the name of a famous addressee.

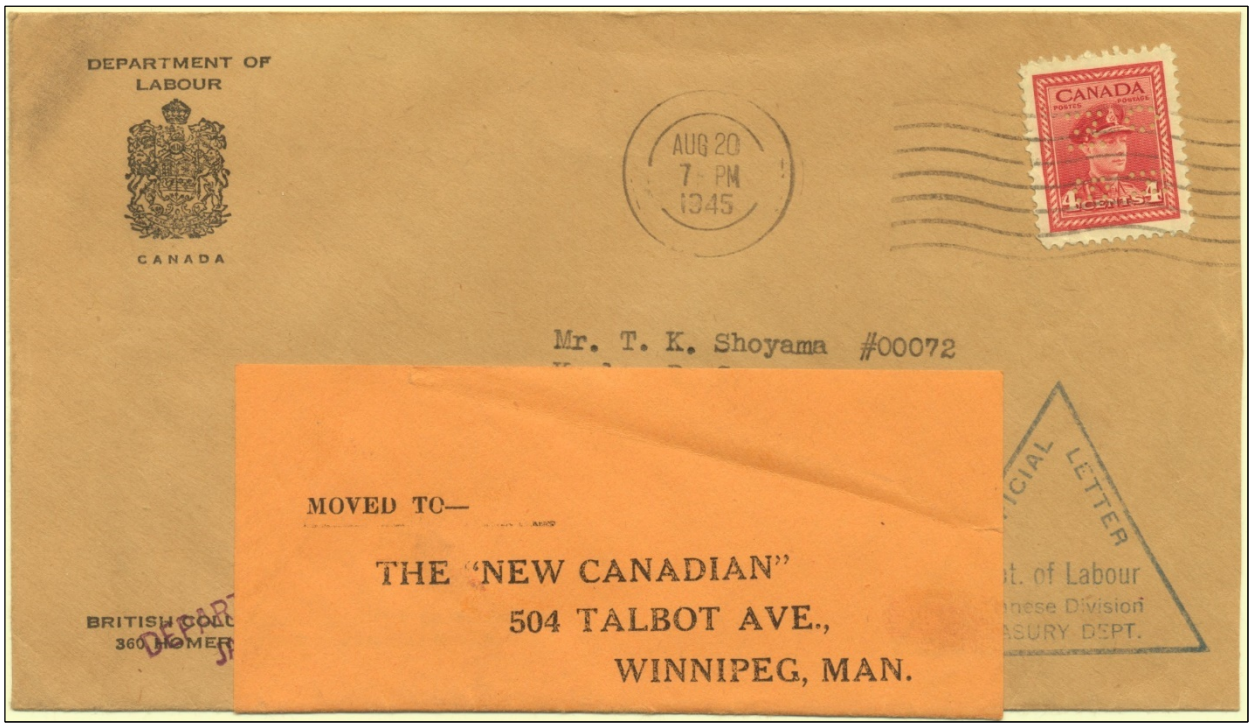


Figure 53. BCSC cover addressed to Tom Shoyama, editor of *The New Canadian.*

Fig. 54 illustrates a cover from Barnwell, Alberta (April 7, 1945) addressed to Noji Murase (1925–2016), a member of *The New Canadian* staff, at P.O. Drawer A, Kaslo, B.C. Its letter was censored in Vancouver by Censor 158. It was received in Kaslo on April 16th. Barnwell is east of Lethbridge, near Taber. It is a farming community, producing mainly sugar beets, grains and potatoes. There is no indication of the name of the writer. Japanese Canadians moved to this area of Alberta to work on sugar-beet farms.

Figure 54. Cover to Koji Murase at *The New Canadian*, Kaslo.

The next figure (Fig. 55, next page) shows a cover from Oakville, Manitoba to *The New Canadian* offices at 504 Talbot Avenue in Winnipeg. It was mailed at Portage La Prairie on July 30, 1945 and the letter was censored at Ottawa. The writer was Shikazo Osato, c/o Tully Brothers, Box 19, Oakville, Manitoba. Osato and his son Masaru became millworkers with Tully Brothers. Shizako had owned a raspberry farm at Haney, B.C. The Osato family had gone on April 11, 1942 with 23 other families from Haney by special train to Manitoba to grow sugar beets. The Osato family was exiled to Japan in the S.S. *General Meigs* on June 17, 1946. At that time, Osato was sent a cheque for $2973.40 from his account.

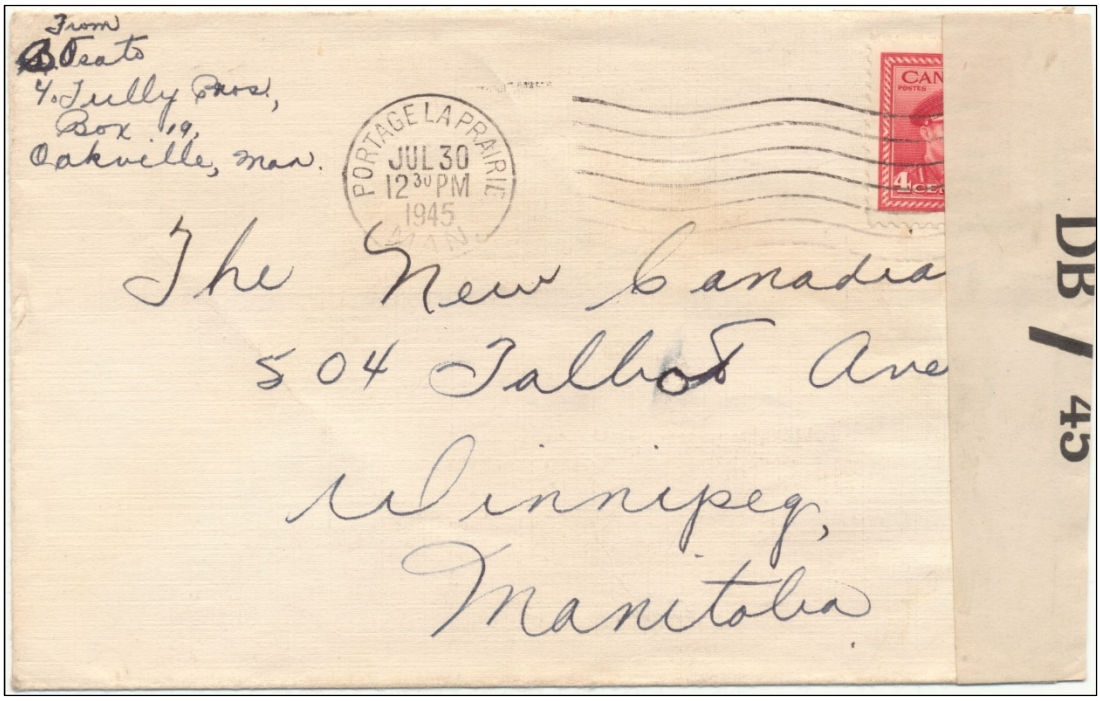


Figure 55. Cover from Oakville, Manitoba (mailed at Portage La Prairie) sent to *The New Canadian* office in Winnipeg.

Few items mailed by *The New Canadian* are known. An example is shown in Fig. 56 (next page). It is a Canada Post Card mailed post-war at Winnipeg on June 3, 1946. The addressee—Miss Aomoto—was not at the address, so the card was returned to the newspaper. The message is asking the addressee to phone the newspaper to check her records. The card is signed by the editor, Kasey Oyama.

There is only one Aomoto family listed in *LOI*, that of Ichiji Aomoto and his wife Niwa Aomoto. They had two children, a son Kiyoshi and a daughter, Sayoko (born October 3, 1929)—the addressee of this card. Before the uprooting to East Lillooet, they lived on a 10-acre farm near Haney, B.C. (on property adjacent to the farm of the Osato family; cf. the previous cover).

Figure 56. Card sent by Kasey Oyama of *The New Canadian*.

During and after the war, *The New Canadian* played an important role documenting Japanese Canadian experiences. Although all its contents were censored, it spoke out as clearly as it could against racism and unfair government policies. I'll show next how—using its subscription files—it acted as an address directory, assisting Japanese Canadians to keep in touch.

Japanese Canadians in the Army

This section describes a correspondence that shows that *The New Canadian* newspaper office forwarded Canadian mail. Some 25 years ago, Robert Toombs purchased a group of covers sent from Japan to Canada in 1946 and 1947. All but one of the covers were sent to Winnipeg to *The New Canadian*. From there, the opened covers and their letters were remailed to family members in a resettlement camp in British Columbia. The writer, Sgt. Tadashi "Tad" Ode (1923–2011), was one of a very few Canadian citizens of Japanese extraction allowed to join the Canadian armed forces in World War II. He served in the Military Intelligence Corps of the Canadian Army, in the Asian Far East just after the end of the war.

Tad Ode was born in Vancouver when his family was living at 453 Powell Street. In 1937, during the Depression, the family went to Japan. Most of the family returned to Canada in 1940; however, a sister and a brother remained in Japan. The period in Japan allowed Tad to become fluent in Japanese.

The Ode family had been residing at 378 East Cordova Street in Vancouver when Tadashi's father and mother were evacuated on October 15, 1942 to Slocan Extension. The Ode family's address in October 1944 was Popoff Ranch, Slocan. By December 1946, their address was House No. 173 (a resettlement cabin), New Denver. Tadashi's older brother Yukio was sent to Griffin Lake road camp on June 8, 1942. Yukio later resettled in Vernon, B.C., Kitchener, Ontario, and Toronto.

In 1942, Tadashi was a student. He was evacuated from Vancouver on July 3, 1942. After April 1943, his address was in Ancaster, Ontario. In January 1945, the Canadian Government allowed Japanese Canadians to enlist in the Canadian Army to serve as translators and interpreters in the Far East. Tadashi enlisted in early 1945 and took basic training from March through June 1945 at Brantford, Ontario[6]. From July to September 1945, he attended the Canadian Army Language School located near Vancouver Technical School. He was deployed to the Far East in September 1945, and

served in Tokyo with the Occupation Force Headquarters, and returned to Western Canada in July 1947. Ode was the only Canadian posted to the Japanese War Crimes Tribunal at Tokyo, which lasted from late April 1946 to November 1948. His main job was to check translations done by Japanese translators of documents needed for the war crimes trials.

The Ode Correspondence contains covers mailed by Sgt. Ode between May 1946 and April 1947. All the covers bear in the return address "I.P.S., G.H.Q., S.C.A.P." [International Prosecution Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers]. This group was part of the post-war military government operated by the U.S. Eighth Army and the Supreme Commander, General Douglas MacArthur.

The earliest cover in the group, postmarked May 3, 1946, is shown in Fig. 57 (next page). Franked 8¢, it was mailed to New Denver, B.C. at U.S. A.P.O. 500 in Tokyo, which opened there in February 1946. The cover was flown by the U.S. A.P.O. military air service trans-Pacific from Japan to San Francisco and then by domestic air to Canada. It is addressed to Sgt. Ode's father, Mr. S. Ode, 407 Harris Ranch, New Denver, B.C. The rest of the correspondence is addressed to The New Canadian, Winnipeg. The existence of the cover to Sgt. Ode's father indicates that the ultimate destination of the remaining mail was the Ode family. The U.S. internal domestic airmail rate was 8¢ (per ounce) from March 26, 1944, and dropped to 5¢ (per ounce) on October 1, 1946[19]. The U.S.-to-Canada domestic airmail rates followed step[20]. The Ode correspondence exhibits these rates. Immediately after the end of World War II, one could not send any regular mail between Japan and Canada. Sgt. Ode used a United States Army Post Office (A.P.O.) because there was no other way for him to send this letter to Canada. Because he served in the Canadian military and was seconded to the American military, he was entitled to use the U.S. Army Post Office service and had access to U.S. envelopes and postal stationery and its postage rates. Surface mail between Japan and Canada started in early 1947.

Figure 57. Cover Tokyo from Sgt. Ode to his father, at Harris Ranch, New Denver, B.C.; readdressed at New Denver. [Courtesy of Robert Toombs.]

Figure 58. Cover from Sgt. T. Ode to Takaichi Umezuki, Editor of the Japanese section of *The New Canadian*.

The cover in Fig. 58 (previous page) was mailed December 31, 1946 addressed to Mr. T. Umezuki, the Editor of the Japanese Section of *The New Canadian* at the paper's Winnipeg office on Talbot Avenue. Note that this is an example of the 5¢ air-mail rate (the 6¢ envelope was overprinted REVALUED 5¢). This cover probably contained news for the Japanese section of *The New Canadian* as well as a letter for Tadashi's family.

Another example of mail from Sgt. Ode in Japan to *The New Canadian* is shown in Fig. 59. The postage on this cover is 10¢, indicating that it was double weight. It was postmarked FEB 24, 1947 at U.S. A.P.O. 500.

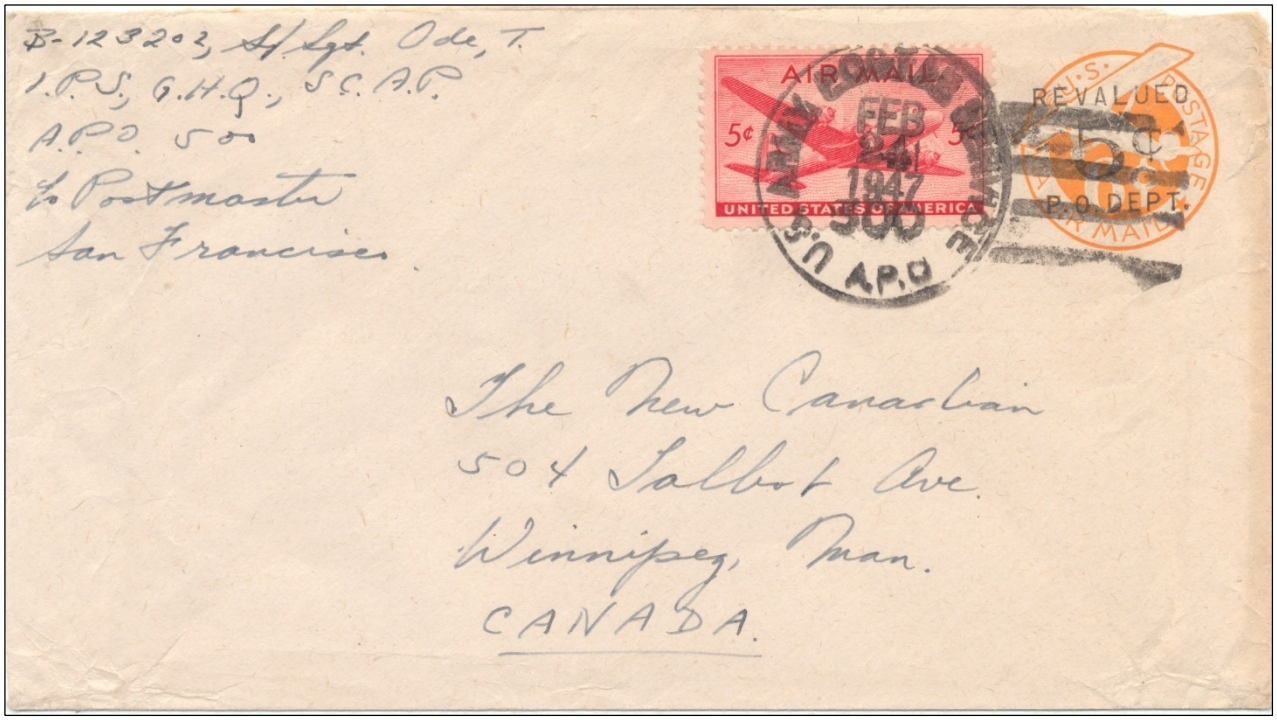


Figure 59. Double-weight cover from Tad Ode to *The New Canadian*.

The lack of redirection markings on the covers from Japan to Winnipeg indicates that the newspaper forwarded them under separate cover (i.e., in ambulance covers).

Tad Ode is mentioned three times in 1947 in English section of *The New Canadian*. In May, there are two reports regarding activities of Japanese

Canadians serving in Asia, and on July 12th there is a note that he had passed through Winnipeg on his way to New Denver.

Another cover from a Japanese Canadian soldier mailed to *The New Canadian* in Winnipeg is presented in Fig. 60. It was sent by Sgt. Roy Ito, who was the English language editor of *The New Canadian* in 1942–1943. He served with the same Canadian Intelligence Corps as his classmate Tad Ode, but in India and South East Asia, as a translator and interpreter. The cover—bearing the crest of the Beaver Club, London—is postmarked S.C.7 at Canadian Military Headquarters in London, England on January 4, 1946, sent while Ito was going to India.

Figure 60. Cover sent from London, England on January 4 (1946) by Sgt. Roy Ito to editor Takaichi Umezuki at the offices of *The New Canadian.* [Courtesy of Robert Toombs.]

Roy Ryoichi Ito (1918–2000) was born in British Columbia. He and his family were forcibly removed to a sugar beet farm in Alberta. He then went to Kaslo, where he worked on *The New Canadian*. Next, after starting studies at McMaster University in Hamilton in 1943, he served in the Canadian Army in Southeast Asia. After his Army service, he completed his university studies and became a teacher and was employed for 25 years as a school principal. He retired in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1984. He was the author of several major books about Japanese Canadians.

Over 200 Japanese Canadians volunteered for the Canadian Army in World War I. By showing their loyalty to Canada, in 1931 the B.C. Legislature granted the right to vote to the First World War veterans of Japanese origin. In World War II, some Japanese Canadians enlisted before Pearl Harbor. However, between 1942 and 1945, they were banned from the Canadian military. In 1945, Australia and Britain needed Japanese-speaking translators in Southeast Asia, and Canada was the only country in the British Empire with a Japanese-speaking population that could supply them. Canada reluctantly sought Japanese Canadians to fulfill this need.

A Confidential Memorandum from the Cabinet Defence Committee dated February 11, 1945 discusses enlistment of Canadian-born Japanese into the Canadian Army:

> *The War Committee then agreed that suitable Canadians of Japanese race, to a maximum of 100 for the present, might be accepted for enlistment in the Canadian Army and for subsequent loan to the Australian government for special duty.* ***They further agreed that no publicity should be given to this decision****. [My emphasis; kgs.]*

Recruits received basic training in Brantford, Ontario then went to Greater Vancouver to the S-20 school for Japanese-language training. Their jobs included interrogating surrendered Japanese soldiers (to determine who had committed war crimes), psychological warfare, broadcasting of radio messages, and translating and interpreting documents.

Post-War Repatriation

Order-in-Council P.C. 7355 (December 15, 1945) authorized the Minister of Labour to make arrangements for sending to Japan people who have made a request for "repatriation". This provided Japanese Canadians with two distinct choices: resettle in Canada east of British Columbia and Alberta (dispersal) or accept voluntary repatriation to Japan (repatriation). The term "voluntary repatriation" was used in government documents, even though many Japanese Canadians had never been to Japan. Instead, *LOI* substitutes the word "exile". Though seeming officially neutral, the Canadian government devised policies that were designed to pressure Japanese Canadians to give up their status as British subjects and leave the country.

At first, the government mandated the exile of those who were disloyal. Sunahara[21] remarks that the main problem lay in defining the term *disloyal*. She notes people termed "disloyal" were people interned at Angler or people who had protested their loss of civil rights. A loyalty survey was taken to see who would choose repatriation (exile) to Japan. Initially, 6,884 (with 3,503 dependents) chose exile to Japan. They too were called disloyal. However, by April 1946, 4,527 changed their minds and applied to remain in Canada. The opinion of the Canadian public had begun to oppose deportation of Japanese Canadians. From early 1946, Ian Mackenzie's influence waned. The Supreme Court ruled against deporting of unwilling dependents of male deportees. The government cancelled its repatriation plan in January 1947 but not before almost 4,000 people had been exiled. I will first describe transportation from Canada to Japan, then consider the fate of those Japanese Canadians who remained in Canada.

There are many files in *LOI* about the transportation of Japanese from Canada to Japan in 1946. Initially, it was assumed that they would gather in Vancouver and then go to Seattle for boarding U.S. troopships. Even as late as September 1946, there was a plan to send repatriates from Vancouver to a ship departing from San Francisco. Fortunately, all the ships used came to Vancouver. The costs of transportation (including baggage) to Japan were borne by the Department of Labour. Passengers were required to supply bedding and blankets. There were five 1946 repatriation sailings[22]:

May 31	S.S. *Marine Angel*	668 persons
June 16	S.S. *General Meigs*	1,106 persons
August 2	S.S. *General Meigs*	1,377 persons
October 2	S.S. *Marine Falcon*	523 persons
December 24	S.S. *Marine Falcon*	290 persons
	Total:	3,964 persons

Below, using the data in *LOI*, I have summarized the source of the passengers of these sailings.

The S.S. *Marine Angel* was a C4 type transport vessel (an all-purpose cargo ship) built as an 11,758 gross ton troopship in 1945 (see Fig. 61). As a troopship, she could carry 2,407 passengers. She made one trip with repatriates from Canada to Japan, departing Vancouver on May 31, 1946. Of the 668 passengers, 522 were from Tashme; they had taken a special Canadian National Railway (CNR) train from Hope. Much of the balance came from Angler, Ontario. The freight on board weighed 198,000 pounds. The *Marine Angel* arrived at Yokohama on June 12th.

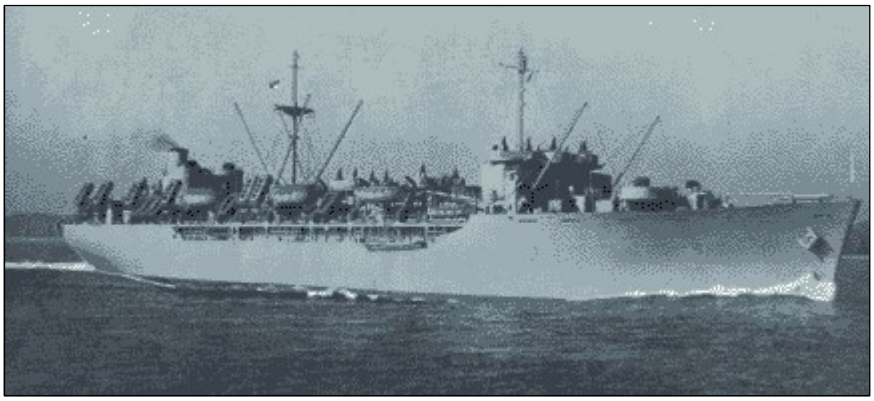


Figure 61 shows a typical C4 type transport ship.

The *General M.C. Meigs* (Fig. 62) was a P2 type ship (a passenger ship that could easily be converted to a fast troopship) of 17,833 gross tons, built in 1943. As a troopship, she could carry 5,342 passengers.

Figure 62. The *S.S. General M.C. Meigs.* U.S. Navy photo 80-G-235158 (Public domain).

The *General Meigs* made two trips with repatriates: June 16 and August 2, 1946. On the first trip, the *General Meigs* arrived on June 28th at Uraga, Japan [site of a U.S. Army Repatriation Centre] to debark repatriates. She then went to Yokohama. She carried 377 from Slocan City, 278 from Lemon Creek and 159 from Greenwood. They had ridden a special Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR; Kettle Valley line) train to Vancouver.

On her second voyage, the *S.S. General Meigs* arrived at Uraga to debark repatriates on August 13, 1946 with a reported 1301 repatriated Japanese (but she left with 963 adults, 384 half-fare, 30 infants for a total of

1377). Commissioner T.B. Pickersgill in Vancouver made this comment: "We are wondering why the figure 1301 is used and not 1377. We hope that 76 of those on board did not leap off the ship in mid-Pacific. Do you think it should be brought to the attention of our Military officials in Japan that 1377 sailed on the GENERAL MEIGS?" Two special CPR trains from the Slocan Valley had brought 847 repatriating Japanese (539 from Lemon Creek and 296 from Slocan City). There were either 399 or 453 from Tashme via Hope and the CNR.

The third ship, the S.S. *Marine Falcon*, made the final two voyages. Like the *Marine Angel*, she was a C4 type troop transport built in 1945. She was 12,420 gross tons and had a capacity as a troopship of 3,485 passengers. She left CPR Pier A in Vancouver on October 2, 1946 and arrived at Yokohama on October 15th with 542 repatriates. Her sailing was delayed to wait for 320 people from Seattle, where there was a strike of longshoremen. A 14-car CPR extra train had brought 380 people from Slocan, Grand Forks and Greenwood. There were 17 people from Moose Jaw, 4 from Shalalth, 28 from Kelowna, 22 from Vernon, 13 from Lethbridge, Alberta and 18 from Neys, Ontario. Others came from Toronto [22] and Geraldton, Ontario. There had been the possibility of these repatriates having to go to Seattle to board, but the routing of the *Marine Falcon* was altered to avoid Seattle.

The final repatriation sailing took place when the *Marine Falcon* left Vancouver on December 24, 1946. Her 290 passengers from Canada landed at Yokohama on January 7, 1947. On January 10, 1947, the Canadian ambassador to the U.S. wrote to Ottawa, "It is not anticipated that there will be any additional substantial movement of voluntary repatriates from Canada to Japan, partly because reports of conditions in Japan have discouraged applications for repatriation."

A Department of Labour report says that 34% of the repatriates were Japanese aliens, 15% were naturalized Japanese Canadians, and 51% were

born in Canada. Over 1,300 of the 3,964 repatriates and most of the Canadian-born were children under the age of 16 years of age.

Many questions can be asked—and answered—about the process of sending so many residents of Canada to Japan. Why was it done? [Some B.C. politicians spouted violent anti-Japanese feelings. Civil-rights groups gradually helped dispel the effects of this anger.] Why was the term "voluntary repatriation" used when many who went to Japan had never been there? [This was government propaganda.] How many returned to Canada from Japan? [Roughly half eventually returned to Canada.] For almost all Japanese Canadians, 1945–1946 was the time of their second forced migratory upheaval in four years: there was the choice of Eastern Canada or Japan. A return to life in B.C. was not offered to most of them. D.J. Timmins, in an MA thesis[22], has presented a careful analysis of the post-war exile. The Canadian government had described repatriates as being disloyal, to prevent their return to Canada. The war damage in Japan was far greater than was generally realized. There was inflation and a shortage of food in Japan. The exiles from Canada were not welcomed there. Many went to Japan to live with relatives from which they had been separated; some found that those relatives had died. A minority successfully adapted to their new country. Above all else, the Canadian federal government had succeeded in moving vast numbers of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia.

Removal to Eastern Canada or Remaining in B.C.

Japanese Canadians in their B.C. interior housing camps had been given a choice: go to Japan or in Canada go east of the Rockies. In other words, most households faced a second upheaval (termed "dispersal"). The Prime Minister recommended that Japanese Canadians should voluntarily disperse across Canada as widely as possible. The Department of Labour published a notice on March 12, 1945 stipulating that all Japanese Canadians in B.C. remaining in Canada should vacate the province, and settle east of the

Rockies. The largest number resettled in Ontario. The Department would provide free transportation to Eastern Canada and allowances, and try to find employment for them.

There were a few exceptions to the dispersal. Families living in self-support communities could stay in B.C. and for some eventually return to the Coast. Documentation for this process was difficult to find. Here are a few related pronouncements.

A long memorandum on segregation and relocation written at the BCSC office in Vancouver on February 22, 1945 contains this statement:

> … As our programme [*relocation, kgs*] will be carried out first in the interior housing projects, those on self-supporting employment in B. C. would be left until the last. The employment opportunities in the East would first be available to those not now on self-supporting employment.

In an April 4, 1945 letter to the Japanese committee at Tashme, T.W. Pickersgill (Commissioner Japanese Placement, Department of Labour) wrote "People of Japanese origin who do not sign applications for repatriation but who are presently engaged in self-supporting employment, will not [*be*] expected to give up that employment to go East." An August 1945 memo includes a statement that the attitude of the B.C. government was to refuse acceptance of evacuated Japanese persons. A long contemporary proposal memorandum suggests that with the end of the war with Japan, the existing prohibition of entry of Japanese into the coastal protected zone in B.C. will disappear. A January 10, 1948 Secret memorandum from the Privy Council Office (Document Jap No. 11, reproduced in *LOI*) states:

> … The Department of Labour is of the opinion that if the restrictions of movement of the Japanese into the Coastal area are lifted there will be a limited movement of Japanese back into the Coastal area, but that it is probable this movement will not be in the nature of an immediate influx but will extend over a

> period of time and will not comprise a major percentage of Japanese in Canada. It is probable that the greater majority of those who do return to the Coast over a period of time will be drawn from the group now resident in the interior of British Columbia, who number approximately 6,000 persons, the greater majority of whom are in self-supporting employment… [In November 1946, the number 6,000 included about 800 people in the hospital and camps at New Denver and about 1,000 in the Slocan-region camps.]

Sunahara[21] cites an August 5, 1946 memorandum written by Pickersgill saying that "only the sick, the unemployable, the veterans, their families and those who lived in self-supporting communities were free to remain in B.C".

Order-in-Council P.C. 1943-946 was enacted when the evacuation from the coast was completed and the Department of Labour took over from the BCSC. It listed all the regulations the Department had for the management of persons of the Japanese race in Canada. An amending Order passed in March 1948 provided that P.C. 946 would be revoked in its entirety, effective April 1, 1949. Thus, all government restrictions of travel, residence or work on Japanese Canadians in the restricted coastal area were removed on that date.

Many Japanese Canadians did go East. Many made Montreal their home. An example of Japanese Canadians who went to Montreal is shown in Fig. 63 (next page). I have several 1950 and 1951 shipping cards addressed to Mr. Ippei Nishio, Import & Domestic Trading Co. Ltd. in Montreal. In Vancouver, he had been Manager, President and a share holder (nominally with two partners, Tomitaro Nishio and Sokichi Ito) of the Import and Domestic Silk Company, 543 Granville Street. The company imported and sold silk fabrics from Japan. Nishio and his wife and three children lived at 2416 West 12th Avenue; one son was in Japan. Most of them were evacuated to Bridge River on May 28, 1942 and then to Montreal. In November 1945,

Ippei had been in Montreal for about two months, and was planning to start a business. At this time, his son Tomitaro was in the Canadian military, serving in India. The Vancouver company had been liquidated, but the office of the Custodian held at least part of the funds until as late as 1948. Ippei and his son Kazuyasu started the Import & Domestic Trading Co. of Canada Ltd. in Montreal in 1947. The company later became the exclusive Canadian distributor of Mikasa products in Canada.

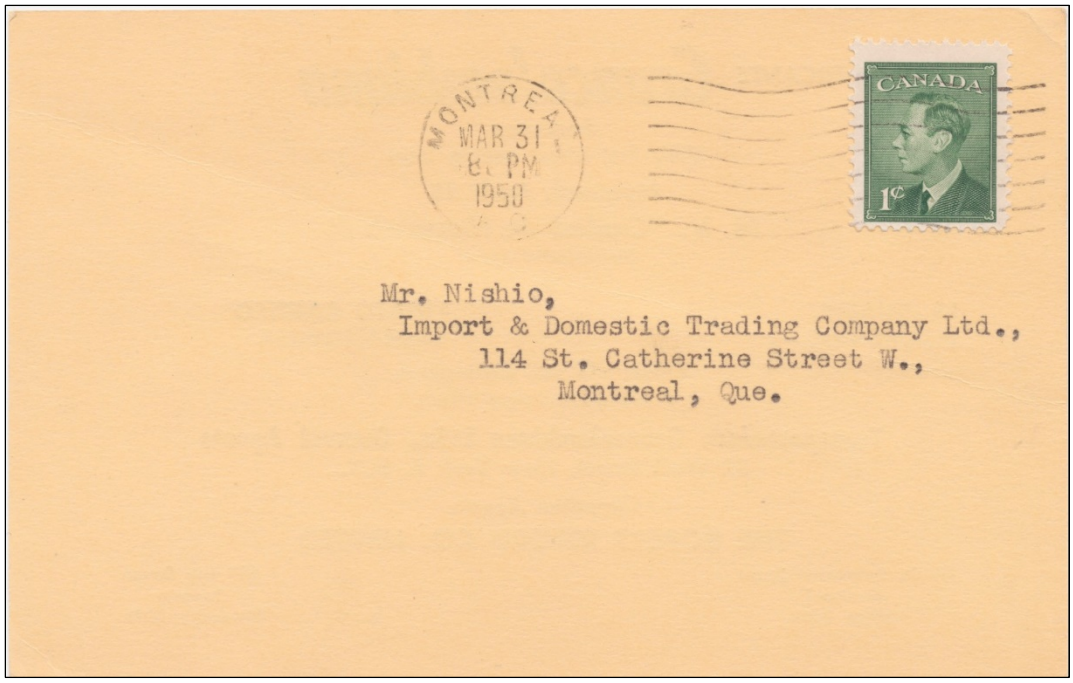


Figure 63. Post card sent to Mr. Ippei Nishio on March 31, 1950.

Some Japanese Canadians remained in the communities that had been their interior housing centres. Fig. 64 shows a cover sent by Murakami Sawmills, P.O. Box 26, Slocan, B.C. on July 31, 1960. Murakami Sawmills was owned by Minoru Mickey Murakami (1912–1990). He was born in Canada. In 1941, he was employed by L & K Lumber Co., Ltd. of North Vancouver. When first ordered to a road work camp, he hid so that he could care for his mother. He learned that he could go to a camp with his mother, so on June 29, 1942 he went to Slocan City. The Murakamis lived in a tent until November, when their house was completed. He rented his house in Vancouver (fully paid for); it was then sold without his knowledge. His mother—a widow—died on August 31, 1943. Mickey left the BCSC project house in 1943 and lived on his own in a privately-owned house in Slocan City. He developed the Murakami Sawmills, with camps in Slocan and Silverton. In 1963, the Murakami Sawmill had six employees.

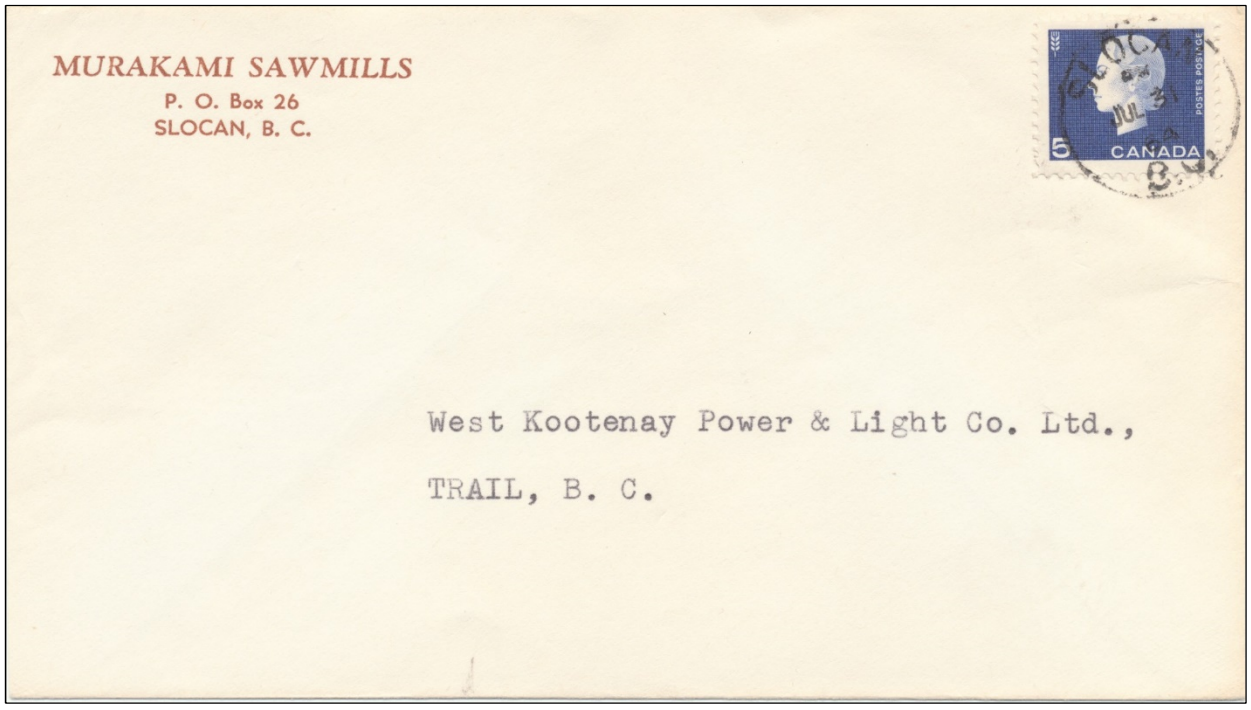


Figure 64. Cover from Murakami Sawmills, Slocan, B.C.

Fig. 65 presents another example of Japanese Canadians remaining in the community where they were interned—in this case Kaslo—with a cover mailed in 1964 at Kaslo, B.C.

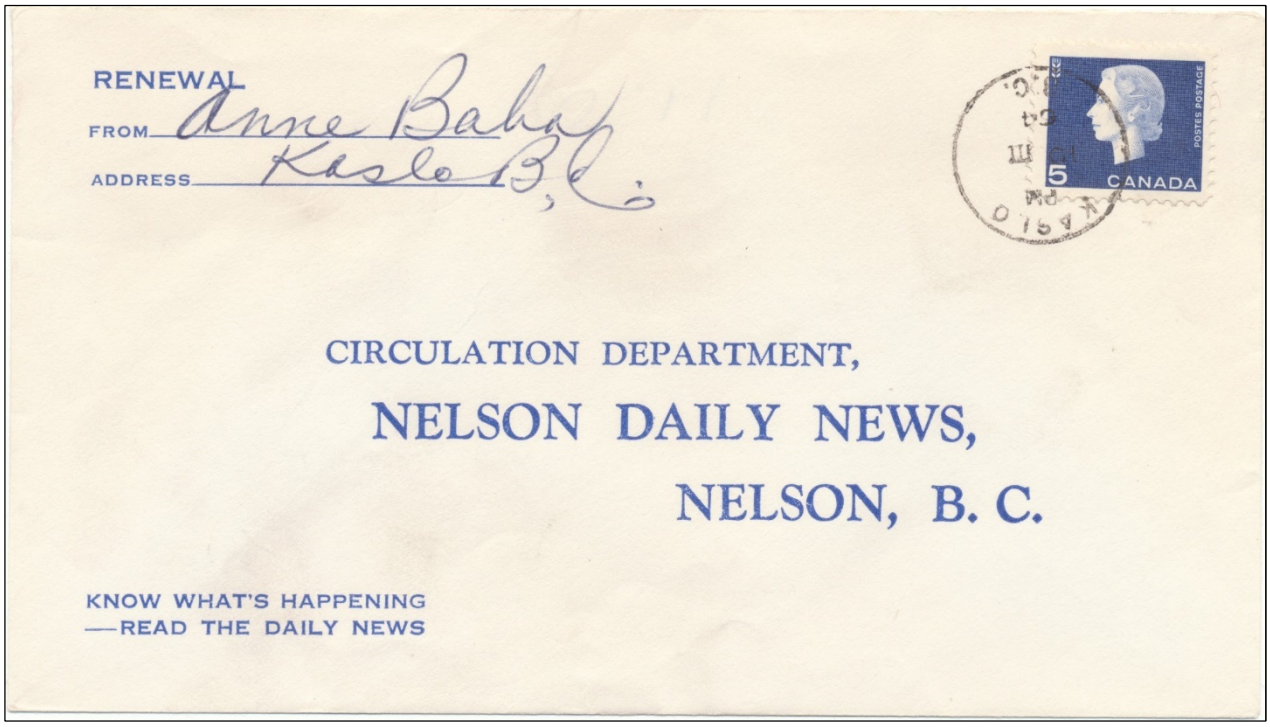


Figure 65. Cover posted at Kaslo on March 10, 1964 by Anne Baba.

This cover was written by Anne Baba, daughter of Tomio Baba (1915–2003). Tomio was born in Canada in 1915. He was a self-employed fisherman and boat builder, operating with his two brothers the Baba Brothers Boat Works of Eburne, B.C. He was evacuated to Kaslo. In Kaslo, in the early 1950s, he purchased the Langham Hotel, which had housed about 80 Japanese Canadians during the war. On the ground floor of the building, he built fishing boats that were shipped to the coast[23]. He sold the Langham building in the 1970s. The Japanese Canadian Museum is now in the former Langham Hotel.

Some Conclusions

The main conclusion is that the research team at the University of Victoria who compounded *Landscapes of Injustice (LOI)* performed a remarkable service, preserving archival information and providing a database that is extremely useful to postal historians. I have been using it for several years, but still find new-to-me useful sections.

The treatment in Canada of Japanese Canadians during World War II was drastic and unfair. Their uprooting and the sale of their homes destroyed their communities permanently. These acts were done during war times—when there were racist fears in B.C., fueled by some powerful politicians. The federal government proceeded by issuing Orders-in-Council, not through parliamentary debate.

Gradually, in the mid 1940s, civil-liberty-groups and public sentiment began to oppose the proposed actions of the government. In April 1944, a government report [RGR/LF 12.4.44 in *LOI* file lac_a201600169_2016-08-24_14-26-43] quoted the results of a Gallup Poll showing 59% of people interviewed favoured allowing Japanese Canadians to remain in Canada. Notably, this percent was not lower in B.C. than in the rest of the country. A large portion of the remaining 41% were undecided. Opposition seemed to come, therefore, from a "vociferous minority who are loudly supporting a completely unjust policy."

This editorial in the May 26, 1947 issue of the *Toronto Star* (found in *LOI*) takes the Mackenzie King government to task for its harsh treatment of Japanese Canadians.

A Case of Expropriation

> The Commons public accounts committee has received evidence concerning the disposal of properties belonging to Japanese Canadians which shows the necessity of a royal commission to probe the matter.

Government agents and committee have been allowed to deal harshly with the life savings of thousands of citizens of Japanese origin. Up to 816 per cent profit was realized by the government department on the sale of some Japanese properties, and no accounting was made to the custodian of alien properties.

The matter should be thoroughly investigated and corrected by an independent body. This is essential for the sake of this country's reputation as well as in fairness to the people concerned. The enquiry should be started at once because 400 parcels of land are still up for sale. In addition, quantities of furnishings and personal effects belonging to many evacuees have been scattered or lost.

It is shocking to think that the Japanese in Canada have, as Senator Roebuck said, been treated in the way the Nazis treated the Germans Jews. It is recalled that business properties and homes belonging to the Jews in Germany and other occupied lands were seized under special decrees by the Nazis, who sold them cheaply to party members or others at high profits. It is shocking that almost similar deeds were committed in Canada against a minority group.

In a recent report, the dominion labor department showed that nearly four out of five of the 20,558 Japanese in Canada are Canadian citizens, and two out of three are Canadian-born.

The way the Japanese have been dealt with to date is contrary to the policy the prime minister announced on August 4, 1944. He stated in the House of Commons that care would be taken to "treat fairly and justly those (Japanese) found loyal to Canada during the war."

On that date Mr. King apparently had information which caused him to declare that most of the Japanese in Canada deserved to be treated as loyal people. He said they did not constitute a menace to the security of the country. He emphasized the point:

"Account should be taken of the fact that for the most part, the people of the Japanese race in the country have remained loyal and have refrained from sabotage and obstruction during the war."

Mr. King promised that only those Japanese found to be disloyal would be deported; the loyal ones would be treated fairly and justly. On this point the prime minister gave the assurance:

"Surely it is not to be expected that the government will do other than deal justly with those who are guilty of no crime, or even of any ill intention. For the government to act otherwise would be the acceptance of standards of our enemies and the negation of the purposes for which we are fighting."

But the opposite has happened. Japanese persons born in Canada or who became naturalized citizens, against whom there were no charges or proof of disloyalty, were in effect deported to Japan. Their properties and properties of those who remained in Canada were disposed of in heartless, ruthless fashion. These people are still being deprived of civil rights. No other group of former enemy aliens have been treated in such a way. The Germans, Italians and Austrians have at no time have been deprived of personal liberties or of their homes, business properties or personal belongings.

I was not old enough by 1942–1945 to understand what was happening or to know how it was being done. The war was over before I reached my teens. During the war, I was reading war news stories in the *Vancouver Daily Province*—but not editorial content. In Social Studies class in high school after the war, we were taught that a major difference between Chinese Canadians and Japanese Canadians was that in Vancouver many Chinese tended to gather in Chinatown but the Japanese spread throughout the city, blending in—scattered throughout the city. We were not told that before 1942 there had been a Japantown centred on Powell Street. Or that it had been systematically destroyed by the government.

Even government agencies were not fully informed. This is exemplified by the registered government cover ex Leo Beinder shown in Fig. 66 (next page). Leo described it as "a great example of the disconnect between governmental bureaucracy and the people it supposedly serves."

The cover was mailed to Steveston by a government office in Victoria on June 17, 1944 and marked there "Al[*l*] Japanese Evacuated" and it was returned to Victoria on June 25th. All Japanese Canadians had left Steveston by June 10, 1942, two years before the government sent this cover.

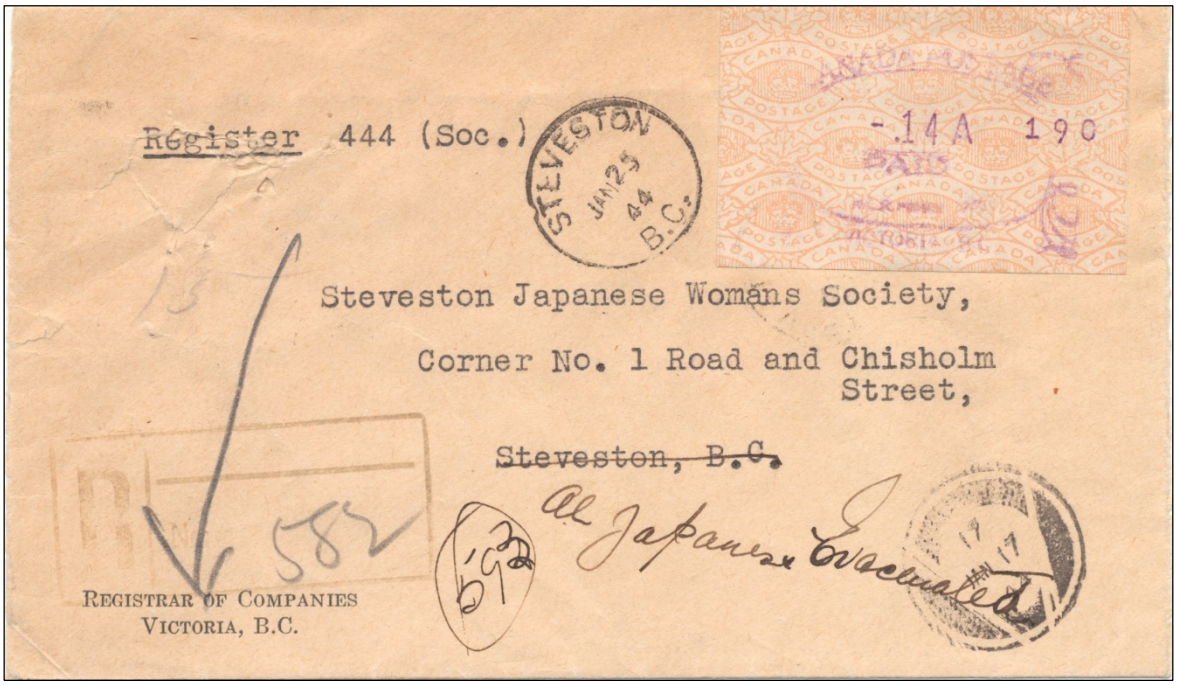


Figure 66. Registered 1944 cover from the B.C. Registrar of Companies in Victoria addressed to the Steveston Japanese Womans Society.

Japanese-Canadian real estate often was sold by the government at prices below pre-war market values. I have cited examples of this. Few sources comment on the changing real-estate values in Vancouver between 1942 and 1945. Starting in early1942, house prices quickly rose four- to five-fold from their pre-war values. The war effort performed in the Lower

Mainland had stimulated house sales. Employment levels had risen, and the Depression of the 1930s was finally over. Japanese Canadians clearly did not benefit from this increase in real-estate value.

Japanese Canadians were taken into the Army in 1945, but they still could not vote in Canada. Finally, in 1948, Japanese Canadians were granted the right to vote federally. In March 1949, Japanese Canadians were granted the right to vote provincially in British Columbia.

Ian Mackenzie maintained his concept of exclusion of Japanese from B.C. His power in cabinet decreased as his drinking increased[24]. In January 1948, he resigned from Cabinet and was shunted off to the Senate. He passed away on September 2, 1949.

Journalist Kay Alsop prepared a biography of Glenn McPherson—*The Man from Under Undercover: the Untold Story of Glenn McPherson*—but it was not published. Draft material is deposited at the UBC Library Rare Books and Special Collections and has been copied into *LOI*. The outline of Chapter 10 says:

> The years since the evacuation have brought mainly criticism of the way the federal government treated Japanese-Canadians. The Custodian's office has been pilloried for disposing of their assets at prices seemed now to have been ridiculously low. But Glenn claims the circumstances warranted what happened.

In 1948, McPherson was appointed government counsel to the Bird Commission. After the war, he worked in the private sector.

In 1947, public pressure forced the federal government (by Order-in-Council P.C. 1810) to establish a royal commission on Japanese claims—the Bird Commission[25]. Headed by Justice Henry Irvine Bird, the Commission was to investigate claims by Japanese Canadians of property sales by the Custodian at less than fair market value, and if merited to provide compensation. The Commission considered over 1,400 claims. The individual testimonies are preserved at *LOI*. At the outset, the government

assumed that the general policy of dispossession was fair but there might have been exceptions to it. Initially, proceedings were complex and terribly slow. The government defined loss narrowly, restricting it to real estate, boat and automobile sales. Real estate values were set at market values at the time of sale. Eventually, to save time, the Commission awarded standardized adjustment claims for real estate in the Greater Vancouver area 5% of the sale price and for real estate in the rural areas 10%. The conclusion of the Commission in 1950 was that the government had been fair and just. The process was unjust, but its existence attempted to clear the government of blame for this injustice.

In the 1970s, several groups of Japanese Canadians campaigned for reparations, termed "redress". The Brian Mulroney Conservative government of the 1980s was sympathetic. In September 1988, an agreement was reached with these terms: a payment of $21,000 to each surviving individual, a community fund of $24 million dollars, and funding for a Canadian Race Relations Foundation and civil rights programmes. Mulroney formally apologized in the House of Commons. In the House, on September 22, 1988 he opened his remarks with these words:

> Mr. Speaker, nearly half a century ago, in the crisis of wartime, the Government of Canada wrongfully incarcerated, seized the property, and disenfranchised thousands of citizens of Japanese ancestry. We cannot change the past. But we must, as a nation, have the courage to face up to these historical facts.
>
> The issue of Japanese-Canadian redress is one which I raised in the House of Commons more than four years ago with the Prime Minister of the day when I was Leader of the Opposition. I said then in this House: "There is a world of difference between regret and a formal apology. Canadians of

Japanese origin had their rights trampled upon. The reputation of this country was besmirched."

British Columbia—Canada's gateway to Asia—has suffered several major anti-Asian events: for example, the anti-Chinese riot of 1887, the anti-Asian riots of 1907 and the *Komagata Maru* incident of 1914. These events were based on both prejudice and labour fears of economic competition. In 1942, anti-Japanese feelings were supplemented by a war. None of these previous events lasted as long (eight years) or affected as many people (over 20,000 people).

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank those collectors who helped me with this project. Robert Toombs drew the maps and supplied several scans. He also proofread the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank Brian Copeland, Louis Fiset, Harold Krische, John Keenlyside and Brian Plain, and the dealers who provided my covers.

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