ARCHAEOLOGY OF AN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY *NIKKEI* CAMP IN THE SEYMOUR VALLEY:

A Photo Essay

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Scatters of *nikkei*[1] material culture from the early twentieth century, mostly undocumented, lie on the forest floor in many coastal regions of British Columbia. Many of these sites are remnants of logging camps, including those that were occupied partly or entirely by *nikkeijin*.[2] This photo essay focuses on archaeological investigations at one such site, which began as a logging camp about 1920 but, after logging operations ceased in the area around 1924, may have continued to be occupied as a *nikkei* settlement until the evacuation of people of Japanese descent from coastal regions of the province in 1942.

This photo essay provides a glimpse into the archaeology of this camp. Images document archaeological fieldwork as well as some of the structures and artefacts revealed through excavation. Archaeology associated with the camp remains very much a work in progress. Excavations are substantially complete but analysis is preliminary and interpretations remain tentative. My primary objective in this essay is to illustrate the nature of archaeological research on the *nikkei* experience in early twentieth-century British Columbia, particularly with regard to life in camps, away from or on the margins of urban areas.

Beyond describing the camp through images and texts, I make the case that Eikichi Kagetsu, a prominent *nikkei* logging industrialist, probably established it. I further outline circumstantial evidence that, after logging in the area ceased in the mid-1920s and Kagetsu moved his operations to Vancouver Island, the camp continued to be used as a *nikkei* settlement until the forced removal of Japanese Canadians from the west coast in 1942.

[1] There are multiple ways of defining *nikkei*. Very generally, it means people of Japanese ancestry living outside of Japan. In this essay, it refers specifically to those of Japanese ancestry living in British Columbia.

[2] The Japanese term *nikkeijin* [日系人] refers to people of Japanese ancestry.

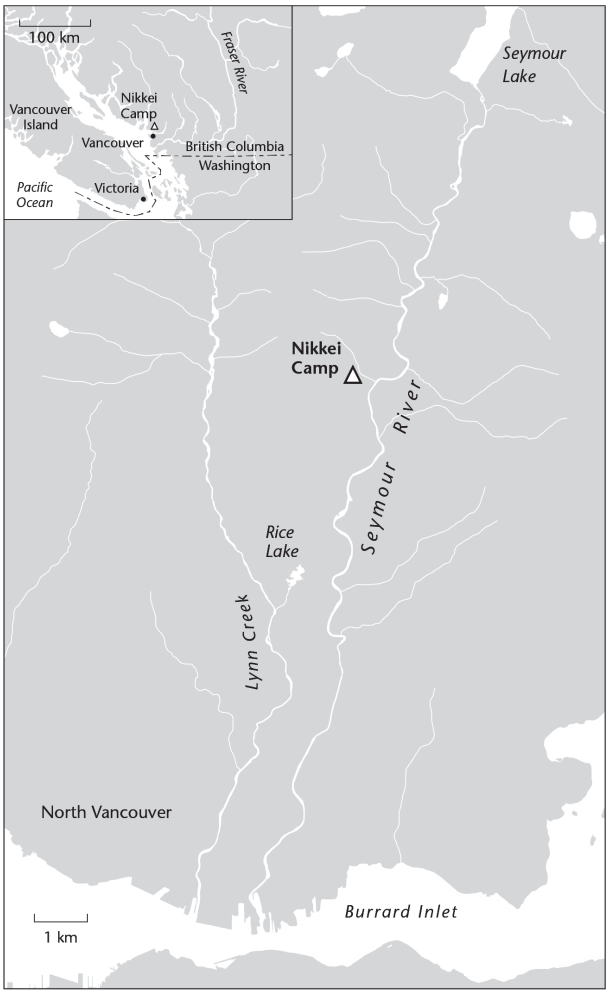

Figure 1. Location of Nikkei camp in Seymour Valley. The camp is located midway between Rice and Seymour lakes in the Seymour Valley in southwest British Columbia, north of Burrard Inlet. East of the Seymour River, I have documented other camps that indicate a *nikkei* presence in the early twentieth century. A camp of *nikkeijin* is known to have once been located close to a mill at Rice Lake, and camps with *nikkeijin* are also known to have existed in Lynn Valley. Map by Eric Leinberger.

This essay is based on the work conducted by the first systematic archaeological research project to take as its subject *nikkei* logging camps in British Columbia. While my focus here is on a single camp located in the Seymour Valley, I have directed excavations at two other logging camps, both of which show evidence of *nikkeijin*. At the conclusion of this essay I offer a broad comparison of the material culture of all three camps.

The camp that is the primary focus of this essay is located within the forests of the Seymour Valley, north of Burrard Inlet in the Greater Vancouver region. The camp is located midway between Rice and Seymour lakes (Figure 1). It is bisected by the Seymour Valley Trailway,

a ten-kilometre paved pathway for recreational use only (no motorized vehicles) that winds through the now largely second-growth forest beginning near Rice Lake and terminating near a stand of old-growth forest about one kilometre south of Seymour Lake. The trailway was completed in 2001.

BACKGROUND

The history of the Seymour Valley has been well documented by Kahrer (1989), who describes a wide variety of activities in the area since the 1880s, including logging, ranching, and mining as well as residential and recreational activities. To protect the water supply (Seymour Lake is one of the major sources of water for Metro Vancouver), logging and other commercial enterprises began to be severely restricted in the mid-1920s, and, by 1950, the entire valley between Seymour Lake and an area slightly south of Rice Lake (now known as the Lower Seymour Conservation Reserve) were totally closed to the public. They only reopened for non-motorized public access in 1987. By this time, there had been significant forest regrowth, which had reduced the visibility of much of the material remains in the forest. Low visibility of human activities, particularly with regard to structures, is also due to the deliberate destruction of shelters and the deposition of debris in the river.[3]

Kahrer (1988, 1989) provides a history of logging in the valley, which included, in addition to extracting tall timbers, a focus on cutting cedar trees for the production of cedar shingles. The valley was logged extensively in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Logging began to be severely restricted in the mid-1920s, although some sustainable logging continued in subsequent decades. Tall timbers were cut into manageable lengths and hauled by horses over skid roads, which are pathways with short logs laid a few metres apart, perpendicular to the direction of travel, allowing the larger logs being pulled by horses to effectively skid over the ground surface. Shingle-bolt logging included cutting cedar trees into sections of about four feet (1.2 metres) in length in the forest. These bolts were then loaded onto sleds and pulled by teams of horses to processing areas,

[3] In an October 2002 conversation I had with Flynn Fowler, a resident of the valley from 1928 to 1950, he related his memories of government workers burning down houses in the valley once they were purchased from homeowners, beginning in the 1930s. He also recalled dismantling rental cabins his family owned in order to retrieve some of the building materials, knowing the government would simply burn or bulldoze them. Further, observations I made along some parts of the river support the notion that workers simply pushed house debris into the river. Artefact density was much higher in and close to the riverbank than it was where the houses were likely situated.

directly to trucks, or to flumes where they would be floated to an area for processing or further transport. To enable horses to pull sleds loaded with shingle bolts, cedar-plank roads were constructed throughout the valley. Thick planks were placed side by side, providing a solid surface for the horses and sleds. There are still remnants of some of these roads throughout the valley, usually with most of the planks removed. Presumably, the planks were removed when logging had been completed in any given area and were then used for new cedar-plank roads elsewhere.

There is scant mention in published sources of *nikkeijin* living and working in the Seymour Valley in the early twentieth century. Multiple authors (e.g., Draycott 2000; Kahrer 1988, 1989; Woodward-Reynolds 1943) mention a camp of Japanese (which closed in 1911) located close to a mill at Rice Lake. Camps are also mentioned in memoirs. Ayukawa (2008, 30), for example, recalls Imada Ito working in a Japanese logging camp in the valley, cooking for twenty-seven men; and Knight and Koizumi (1976, 19) recount Ryuichi Yoshida's recollection of working at a shingle mill in the valley, noting there were two camps with Japanese – one with about twenty and the other fifty.

Eikichi Kagetsu is known to have established logging operations in the valley, but the precise locations and dates of his interests are not well known. I had substantial personal communication with his son, Tadashi Kagetsu, from 2002 to 2005, during which time Tadashi, based on his own research, indicated that his father may have had operations in the valley as early as 1916 and as recently as 1924; however, there was some uncertainty about all the locations in the valley his father logged and the location of a camp.

Although the presence of *nikkeijin* in the Seymour Valley is not particularly well known, their contributions to the lumbering industry are. Adachi (1991, 27), for example, notes that lumbering was one of the major industries that drew Japanese to Canada (following fishing and mining), with Japanese constituting about 25 percent of the workforce in 1900. Sumida (1935) reports that there were thirty-four Japanese-owned logging camps in 1910 and twenty-one in 1919. In a study of Japanese Canadians in the sawmill industry, Kobayashi and Jackson (1994) infer that one of the reasons for the large number of *nikkeijin* in the industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the demand for cheap labour, which they provided.

The structure of early twentieth-century *nikkei* logging camps was variable. Ryuichi Yoshida, for example, reports accommodations as consisting of tents at one camp, bunkhouses that could accommodate

up to forty men in a single room at others, and workers building their own shacks at still others (Knight and Koizumi 1976, 20). Olson (2004) describes a Japanese camp associated with Eikichi Kagetsu's operation at Fanny Bay on Vancouver Island as having a bunkhouse and cookhouse for unmarried males and/or those who did not bring their families and small individual dwellings constructed of split-cedar for those who did bring their families. The camp also had a communal bathhouse, water system, and lush gardens.

It wasn't unusual for *nikkeijin* working in the lumbering camps to live with their families. According to Sumida (1935, 348): "A thorough canvas in the summer of 1924 showed that 34 percent of the total number of Japanese employees had their families with them in the camp."

Planning in 1999 for the construction of the Seymour Valley Trailway revealed the location of a camp. Traversing the proposed route of the trailway, archaeologists observed surface deposits that suggested there had been a logging camp in the area (Howe 1999). The subsequent archaeological report indicates much more surface debris, including *sake* bottles, than was observed when I first visited the site in 2003. Employees of Metro Vancouver who viewed the site between 1999 and 2003 confirmed to me that there had been much more surface debris prior to my initial visit. Presumably, between the completion of the trailway in 2001 and the beginning of archaeological work at the camp in 2003, substantial looting of surface artefacts had occurred. Prior to the construction of the trailway, there were no clear hiking or biking trails close to the camp, and it had likely lain undisturbed for several decades.

Excavations conducted by members of the Capilano University archaeology field school under my direction have occurred intermittently since 2003. Approximately 15 percent of the camp has been excavated and about 95 percent of the artefacts have been recovered from excavation as opposed to surface collection. Close to nine hundred artefacts have been catalogued.

Excavation strategies have varied. Test pits, typically about thirty centimetres by thirty centimetres, have been dug with locations based on both systematic and judgmental sampling strategies. Digging test pits using systematic sampling (e.g., every ten metres) was undertaken to obtain a general sense of the camp layout. Test excavations based on judgmental sampling were conducted to confirm surface indications of subsurface deposits and to determine site boundaries. Full excavation was usually in two-metre by two-metre squares, using trowels and screening through one-quarter-inch (6.35 millimetre) mesh screens, often in the rain.

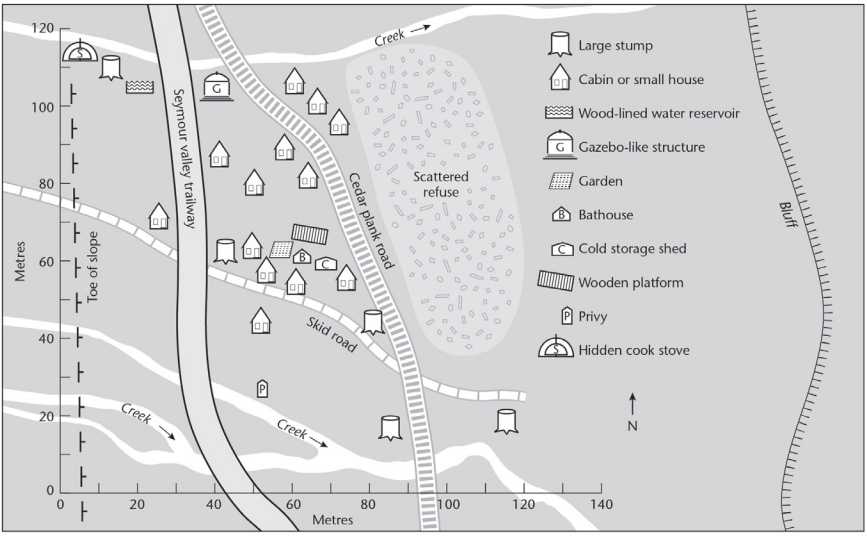

Figure 2. Sketch of *nikkei* camp in Seymour Valley. The location of cabins or small houses is based primarily on clusters of household and personal items, sometimes associated with window glass and nails, which were presumably for outside walls. Map by Eric Leinberger.

THE CAMP: ITS FEATURES AND ARTEFACTS

A sketch of the camp is provided in Figure 2. The camp measures approximately 120 metres north-south and 120 metres east-west. Three of the boundaries are fairly discrete. Unnamed creeks serve as the northern and southern boundaries of the camp, and the toe of a steep mountain slope is the western boundary. The eastern boundary is based on artefact density. There is a steep bluff, dropping about fifteen metres, approximately fifty metres beyond the eastern boundary of the site. The site slopes gently east. Several large stumps of first-growth trees are prominent at the site, surrounded by second-growth forest.

Two roads go through the camp (Figure 3). One is indicative of a skid road, with multiple branches extending up the mountain slope beyond the western boundary of the site. The other is a cedar-plank road that runs roughly north-south. The cedar-plank road can be followed beyond both the northern and southern borders of the site; however, while most of the planks have been retained within the borders of the site, they are predominantly gone from the extensions to the north and south. Both roads were evidently used for movement within the camp. Cabins or small houses are presumed to have been located on both sides of both roads.

Figure 3. Two Roads. Two roads intersect at the camp. The one on the left was a skid road, probably used for hauling timbers off the mountainside. Few of the logs that were placed along the surface in order to skid the timbers across remain, but its identity as a skid road is supported by its connection with other skid roads on the mountain slope. The road on the right is a cedar-plank road, probably used to transport sleds of shingle bolts. Cabins lined both sides of each road. Photo by the author.

Figure 4. Excavation. Small test pits and larger two-metre by two-metre units were both part of the research design. A test pit here revealed household and personal items, suggesting a cabin. This was confirmed by later excavation. Photo by Nadine Ryan.

Figure 5. Crosscut saw blade. Artefacts such as saw blades and files attest to camp uses associated with logging. Photo by the author.

In most cases, only artefacts with diagnostic information were catalogued. These have been placed into the broad categories of industrial artefacts, dishes, bottles, cans, miscellaneous household items, and personal items. Nails, window glass, broken pieces of bottles, lantern glass, and ceramics have not been catalogued unless they exhibit potentially diagnostic information that could lead to determining the artefact's function, manufacturer, or date of production.

Industrial artefacts include multiple fragments of crosscut saw blades, more than two dozen files for sharpening saws blades, and two axe heads. At least a few of the saw blades are of the kind normally used for felling trees. The axes, however, are of the type one would normally use for splitting firewood.

Tableware is plentiful at the camp and is mostly Japanese in origin. There are a few dozen complete or almost complete rice or soup bowls as well as small dishes, cups, and a teapot. Most tableware has designs indicative of Japanese origin. Some have Japanese characters on their bases, some have "Made in Japan," and others have no characters at all.

Jars used for facial creams are also plentiful. Twenty-eight jars have been identified as coming from the Ponds company. These jars are used to

Figure 6. Dishes and Ponds jars. Rice bowls, other dishes, bottles, and personal items – many inscribed with Japanese characters – are plentiful at the camp. Twenty-eight Ponds cold cream or vanishing cream jars have been recovered. Many of the dishes exhibit only minimal chipping or cracking, and many of the bottles are complete. Photo by Nadine Ryan.

contain either vanishing cream or cold cream. Similar jars, not identified according to manufacturer, may also have contained creams.

More than 150 bottles have been catalogued. Many are generic aqua-coloured bottles whose function is uncertain. There are also milk bottles,

at least one ink bottle, and a variety of alcohol and medicine bottles. The assemblages of alcohol and medicine bottles include those manufactured in Japan as well as those manufactured in North America.

Cans are plentiful, although few are complete. Identifiable cans include those used for tobacco, oil, baby powder, boot polish, and food. Miscellaneous household items include lanterns, stoves, and building hardware (such as a doorknob).

Personal items include timepieces (such as alarm clocks and pocket watches), toothbrushes, combs, and items related to clothing, including work boots and buttons. Several coins have also been recovered, dating between 1900 and 1918. Personal items also include several pieces of an Eastman-Kodak Bulls-Eye camera, manufactured between 1904 and 1913. Most of the household and personal items were found in fairly discrete clusters, suggesting that they were left behind in cabins or small houses. No wood was revealed, but window glass and nails support the inference of cabins and provide a general sense of their size: they were probably about twelve to fifteen feet square (1.1–1.4 sqare metres) and likely housed small families. Assuming about four people per cabin, the total population of the camp would have been about fifty.

Food and drink refuse, in the form of bottles and cans, by contrast, was mostly found away from the areas presumed to be cabins, especially in the eastern portion of the site. A few discrete small clusters of cans were found within the refuse area, mostly subsurface, but there was no large discrete midden of the type that one would normally expect in a camp with a single kitchen and mess hall.

In addition to the two roads, there are several identifiable features, or structures, at the camp, including a bathhouse, a water reservoir, a garden, a privy, a depression that may have been used for cold storage, a wooden platform of unknown function, and a gazebo-like structure.

A significant feature of the camp is the remnants of a Japanese bathhouse, also known as an *ofuro* (Figure 7). It is probably only the second Japanese bathhouse documented by archaeologists in British Columbia. The other bathhouse was recorded at the McLean Mill National Historic Site by Eldridge and Coates (1994).

Rectangular holes or depressions rarely occur in nature, and three were found at this site. Assuming *nikkeijin* living at the camp created them, they were excavated. They are interpreted as being a water reservoir, a privy (or outhouse), and a place for cold storage. The reservoir is located in the northeast part of the camp, at the highest elevation and beside a creek. It measures approximately three metres in length, two metres in

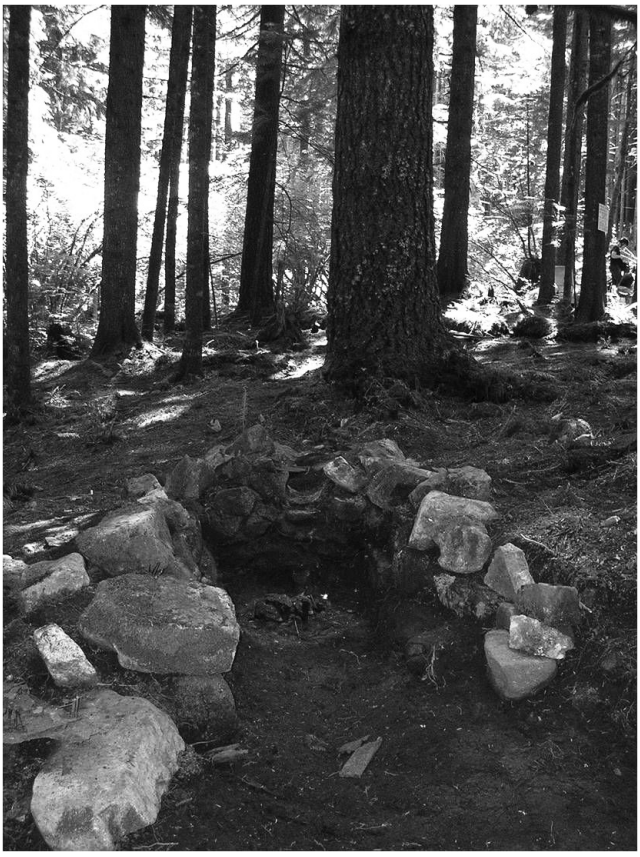

Figure 7. Foundation of a Japanese bathhouse, also known as an *ofuro*. Only the highest points of some of the rocks shown here were visible on the ground surface. Excavation revealed the complete foundation. Charred wood, remnants of a fire used to heat the tub of water, was discovered at the base of the rock foundation. The original tub was manufactured with a metal base and cedar-plank sides, and portions of the tub were found as well. The tub would have rested on this foundation, which was heated from the fire below. A wooden structure was built around the tub, with an opening to feed the fire from the outside. Several hundred nails were excavated around the perimeter of the foundation, which we identified as remnants from the walls. A gap in the rocks at the far end of the rock foundation contained the remains of a metal flue. Besides parts of the tub, the only artefacts found within the walls of the bathhouse were several pieces of an Eastman-Kodak Bulls-Eye camera. Photo by the author.

width, and two metres in depth. This depression had four corner posts and cross rails into which six-inch-wide (15.2 centimetre) cedar planks were nailed. During excavations, the lower fifty centimetres of the depression

was almost always filled with water, which rose substantially after rain. It is only a few metres from a creek, which could have been used to fill the reservoir when needed. The presence of metal pipes scattered throughout the camp, including near the bathhouse, provide further evidence of a water system at the camp.

A rectangular depression on the southern periphery of the camp, beside a creek, is interpreted as being a privy. It measures three metres in length, 1.5 metres in width, and has a depth of 1.5 metres. Twenty-eight complete, but empty, bottles were recovered from the base of this feature during excavation. That the bottles were not broken, even though all were empty and laying in various orientations, suggests a soft landing.

The depression interpreted as a cold storage area is in a central part of the camp, close to the bathhouse, a garden, and a wooden platform. The depression measures about two metres square and has a depth of one metre. Excavations revealed some wood framing near the top of the depression but no artefacts or food remains within it. Excavations around the depression revealed some nails, suggesting there was a building around it.

A structure with a rock foundation (Figure 8), immediately adjacent to the creek forming the northern boundary of the camp, is intriguing. It includes four rock walls, measuring about two metres square and sixty centimetres in height. Excavations revealed horizontally laid cedar planks placed side by side near the top of the rock wall. Aside from a few dozen nails recovered near the surface, the only artefacts found in association with the structure include three pieces of curved green glass and two strands of twisted wire, all found slightly below the surface in the southeast corner. This feature is being interpreted as the base of a gazebo-like structure, in which a green lantern may once have hung. Another possibility is that it is the base of a shrine.

Excavation within a fairly flat area close to the bathhouse is being interpreted as a garden (Figure 9). The area measures approximately four metres square. Sediments in this area include hundreds of small pieces of bone, which may have been added to increase the pH of the soils for more efficient gardening. Tests confirmed that the pH of the soils in this area is higher than that in all other areas of the camp. Other than a small cluster of nails (perhaps from a bench or other small wooden feature), few artefacts were recovered in the area. One artefact that was collected is a small piece of bevelled graphite, perhaps used as an inkstick (also known as a *sumi* stick), a common tool that the Japanese used for sketching and painting.

Figure 8. Rock structure. This feature is located at the margin of the camp, immediately beside a creek marking its northern boundary and a cedar-plank road leading to and from it. Excavation revealed that cedar planks were laid horizontally across the feature near the top of the rock walls. It is being interpreted as a gazebo-like structure with a rock wall foundation. Photo by the author.

Figure 9. A probable garden. No seeds were recovered during excavation, but its use as a garden is supported by the significantly higher pH of the soils compared to all other areas of the camp. Photo by the author.

Figure 10. Wooden platform. This platform measures about four metres by four metres and consists of ten horizontal planks laid side by side. The function is unknown. Nails of various sizes found in association with this feature suggest it was the floor of some kind of structure. Photo by the author.

In the same part of the camp as the bathhouse, garden, and presumed cold storage shed is a wooden plank feature measuring about four metres by four metres (Figure 10). The entire structure consists of wooden planks laid horizontally side by side. The planks are thicker than one would normally expect for a cabin floor but thinner than the planks used for roads. The function is unknown. Possibilities include a platform for storing wood for fires (for stoves and the bathhouse) or perhaps the floor of a tent-like structure. The planks have been charred, indicating that it was once burned.

Figures 11 through 15 illustrate some of the personal items found. Figure 11 shows what is probably a gaming piece, found within an area interpreted as a cabin. Another artefact found close by has been identified as a piece from the Japanese game known as *go*. Figure 12 depicts a work boot. Work boots are the only kind of footwear discovered at the camp, and more than a dozen have been catalogued. Two boot polish tins have also been recovered, and some boots show evidence of repair. Figure 13 shows one of several timepieces discovered at the site, including both alarm clocks and pocket watches. Figure 14 shows one of two toothpaste

Figure 11. Excavating a small metal object. The artefact held in the hand is being interpreted as a gaming piece. Photo by Emma Kimm Jones.

Figure 12. Work boot. This photo depicts a surface find, but most have been recovered during excavations in or close to areas assumed to be places where cabins or small houses once stood. Photo by Mark Galvani.

Figure 13. Clock. Several timepieces have been recovered at the camp, from areas where cabins may have been located. Photo by Tyler Hicks.

Figure 14. Toothpaste. Two toothpaste tubes have been recovered, both in areas where cabins may have been located. Photo by Tyler Hicks.

Figure 15. Shawl pin. This pin is important because it provides evidence of women at the camp and winter occupation, which can be used to support the idea that the camp was in ongoing year-round use after logging operations ceased. Photo by the author.

tubes discovered at the site. Several toothbrushes have been recovered from the camp. One tube of toothpaste and a toothbrush were discovered only a few centimetres apart.

One of the most potentially significant artefacts is a woman's shawl pin (Figure 15). When the author showed the pin to a few dozen elderly *nikkeijin*,[4] the consensus opinion was that it was a pin for a woman's shawl. Not only was it a woman's artefact, they claimed, but since this kind of artefact was only worn during winter, it was also good evidence that the camp was occupied during winter.

A KAGETSU CAMP?

A good case can be made that the camp was established by Eikichi Kagetsu, circa 1920. Relatively little is known about Eikichi Kagetsu's ventures in the Seymour Valley between 1916 and 1924 except that he did indeed have operations there, that he logged Lot 922 just to the north (and other areas unknown), and that he established a camp in the valley

[4] This pin as well as other artefacts were displayed and discussed at a presentation I gave at the Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre in Burnaby and during an onsite visit to the camp for interested members of the *nikkei* community in 2005.

(personal communication with Eikichi Kagetsu's son Tadashi between 2002 and 2005).

Land title records indicate that the camp discussed here is in District Lot 953, which was owned by the Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Company from 1902 to 1926, when it was sold to the Greater Vancouver Water District. Land title records further show that the lot immediately north of Lot 953, Lot 922, beginning about 200 metres north of the camp, was owned by Kinu Uchida from 1912 to 1926, when it, too, was sold to the Greater Vancouver Water District. Government records indicate that Eikichi Kagetsu logged Lot 922 at least in 1920 and,[5] according to Tadashi Kagetsu (personal communication), probably in other years as well, at least until 1923.

The Hastings Shingle Manufacturing Company may have initially logged Lot 953, where the camp sits, and owned the property. It is also possible that Kagetsu logged Lot 953 under contract to the Hastings company. Another possibility is that Kagetsu merely situated the camp on Lot 953 in order to effectively gain access to Lot 922. That the cedar-plank road leads directly to Lot 922 supports the inference that the camp was established by Kagetsu.

Eikichi Kagetsu is a well-known figure in *nikkei* history. According to research undertaken by his son Tadashi, he established logging operations on the Sunshine Coast, in the Seymour Valley, and on Vancouver Island. According to Tadashi, relatively little has been documented about his father's activities in the Seymour Valley, but he believes his work there most likely spanned the years between 1916 and 1923. Eikichi Kagetsu established the Deep Bay Logging Company on Vancouver Island in 1923, which he operated until he was interned during the Second World War, and he remained prominent in *nikkei* affairs following the war (Takata 1983, 84-85).

Further support for this camp being operated by Eikichi Kagetsu may be found in the similarities between it and the one for Japanese loggers established by Kagetsu at his Fanny Bay operations (1924–42). As described above, that camp had small, split-cedar houses for Japanese loggers and their families, a communal bathhouse, a water system, and lush gardens: all features that have also been found at the camp in the Seymour Valley.

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[5] Scaling and Royalties, Crown Grants, BC Forest Service, Vancouver Forest District Reports, July-December 1920, British Columbia Archives. This document identifies E. Kagetsu as logging cedar in Lot 922 during this period.

Considerable research remains to be done on the artefacts, including determining the dates of their manufacture, to provide more certainty about when the camp was occupied. A preliminary examination of the artefact collection has not revealed a single artefact that can clearly place *nikkeijin* at the camp after 1924. However, there are many artefacts, such as specific kinds of cans and bottles, that bracket the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s as well as earlier decades in the time range of their use.

EVIDENCE OF POST-LOGGING USE OF THE CAMP, 1924–42

There are several reasons to consider that the camp may have continued to be occupied after its initial use as a logging camp. The notion that this might be the case was prompted by the discovery of an expensive stove that seems to have been hidden. The site has revealed evidence of several stoves, mostly in areas determined to have been the locations of cabins. Most of these stoves are relatively inexpensive, priced as low as $3.75 in the 1917 Woodward's catalogue. One stove, however (a "Victoria Steel Range"), was discovered partially buried on the margins of the camp, behind a large first-growth stump, and nowhere close to any other household or cooking items. This stove is priced in the 1917 Woodward's catalogue at $35.75.[6] Considering that some *nikkeijin* are likely to have hidden, or cached, objects prior to their evacuation in 1942,[7] it seems reasonable that this may explain the odd location of the expensive stove. If *nikkeijin* were occupying the camp in 1942, they may have thought that any possessions they left behind would be looted and so deliberately hid some of the more valuable ones.

Further support for the idea of an ongoing occupation of the camp until 1942 comes from the patterning of artefacts found within the site. Discrete clusters of household and personal items suggest that the cabins were abandoned and that many useful items, such as lanterns, timepieces, and clothing, were left within them. Since the *nikkeijin* were severely restricted in the number of items they could take with them when they were evacuated, they may well have been forced to leave many of their household and personal items behind.

The condition of the dishes supports the idea of occupation until 1942. Several dozen dishes have been recovered, with the overwhelming majority exhibiting relatively minor chips or cracks, which may have

[6] Woodward's spring and summer catalogue, 1917, Vancouver City Archives.

[7] Multiple Japanese Canadians, who either visited the excavations or spoke with me at a Canadian History Association conference in 2016, have told me that they were aware that some objects, including household items, were hidden in preparation for internment.

occurred after abandonment. Interestingly, Eldridge and Coates (1994) make a similar argument for hiding artefacts, and for the relatively good condition of some of them, as part of preparing to abandon the McLean Mill site.

The presence of the solid cedar-plank road also supports the idea of a post-logging occupation of the camp. Once logging ceased in other areas of the valley, the cedar planks were typically removed, presumably to be used building roads elsewhere. While most of the planks remain in place within the borders of the camp, they have been removed from the road leading to and from the camp at both the northern and southern ends. It may reasonably be inferred, then, that the planks within the camp were deliberately left in place for the use of those continuing to occupy the camp while the remainder of the road was removed.

Still more support for a continued occupation comes from a master's thesis on the history of North Vancouver. Discussing the mill at Rice Lake, which ceased operation in 1911, Woodward-Reynolds (1943, 87) writes that, after the mill closed, a colony of Japanese families continued to live at the site until 1942.

There is no doubt that there was a *nikkei* camp close to the mill at Rice Lake while the mill was in operation. Considering that no other sources mention the mill as continuing to be occupied until 1942 – and that none of the people who lived in the nearby valley during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s with whom I have had personal communication recalled *nikkeijin* living at a camp by the mill during that period[8] – there may be some confusion about which camp *nikkeijin* were still occupying in 1942. It may be that they remained in the camp upon which I focus in this essay. It may be worth noting, however, that the four people with whom I had personal communications about living in the area during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s had no recollection of there ever having been Japanese in the valley.

Evidence of women and children at the camp provide some support, albeit limited, for a post-logging period occupation. As noted earlier, it was not unusual for loggers to live with their families, but it was not the norm. There is substantial evidence of women at the camp. Many Japanese Canadians have told me that the quantity and quality of the

[8] I had some personal communication with several people who lived in various parts of the valley in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. The three primary sources are George Barnard, who lived in the valley from 1920 to 1937; Flynn Fowler, who lived there from 1928 to 1950; and Carl Sparks, who lived there in the 1930s and 1940s. All were familiar with the Rice Lake area, passing close by on their way to school in Lynn Valley, but had no recollection of a camp of Japanese living there.

tableware we have excavated is indicative of the presence of women, and there are more than two dozen jars for facial cream at the camp, presumably used by women. Multiple cans identified as containers for baby powder have also been recovered, suggesting the presence of children and, thus, lending support to the idea that there was a post-logging occupation. I do recognize, however, that items marketed for use by or for women and children are not necessarily excellent evidence, in and of themselves, of the presence of women and children at the camp. Some Japanese Canadian visitors to the excavations have told me that, if men found the creams or powders useful, they would use them regardless of for whom they were marketed.

The presence of the shawl pin provides further support, albeit limited, for a post-logging occupation of the camp. Camps often closed down for the winter months due to the difficulties of logging in snow and cold. Evidence for a winter occupation can therefore be used to support a post-logging occupation.

Eikichi Kagetsu established Deep Bay Logging on Vancouver Island in 1923, and it may have been that some *nikkeijin* decided to stay in the Seymour Valley camp after the logging there ceased in the mid-1920s (Kahrer 1988). If *nikkeijin* continued to live at the camp, it seems likely that they worked elsewhere. It was feasible to do so since a walk through the forest to the closest bus stop in Lynn Valley could have been easily accomplished in about an hour.

The evidence suggests that life in the camp during post-logging years would have been good. It was remote but not so isolated as to interfere with going to work or school or grocery shopping. Logging that had occurred prior to the construction of the camp ensured that there was lots of light for most of the day and nice views to the east. Fresh water was close and abundant. Evidence suggests fresh vegetables from the garden and plentiful wood for heating stoves and the bathhouse. The camp would also, of course, have been free from the racism being experienced elsewhere in the province. And, for those wanting to retain more of the traditional Japanese way of life, the camp would have provided an opportunity to do so.

Research at this camp provides a window into the life of those Japanese living in work camps during the early twentieth century, especially in logging camps on the margins of larger urban areas. The archaeology presented here provides evidence of the retention of Japanese culture amidst an industrial landscape and illustrates different ways of adapting to similar conditions. Other *nikkei* camps I have excavated nearby, for example, exhibit none of the features described here.

Besides the Seymour Valley camp, the camp upon which I focus in this essay, I have directed excavations at two other camps, both of which provide evidence of *nikkeijin* in the valley. One of these camps is located about four kilometres to the east and also dates to about 1920. Interestingly, the material collections of this camp and the Seymour Valley camp are broadly similar in the kinds of artefacts recovered, such as types of tableware and bottles. Their layouts, however, are substantially different from one another. None of the features I describe for the Seymour Valley camp are evident at the other camp, which reveals a more typical layout for a small-scale camp, including a kitchen and mess hall, bunkhouse, and a discrete trash midden downslope from the kitchen. Beyond the tableware and bottles, there is no evidence of *nikkeijin* at this second camp. Due to the very high proportion of Japanese dishes and bottles, however, it can reasonably be inferred that only *nikkeijin* occupied it.

Nor is there any evidence of post-logging occupation beyond the early 1920s at this second camp. Indeed, the artefact assemblage supports the idea that the camp was deliberately abandoned as relatively few personal items were left behind.

The third camp I excavated, which is located several kilometres southeast of the camp discussed here, also has evidence of *nikkeijin*, but it is not clear whether it was ever solely a *nikkei* camp. Preliminary analysis suggests that this third camp had multiple uses and occupations from the late 1800s to the 1930s, mostly related to logging. It yielded considerable evidence of Japanese tableware and bottles, but not in the same high proportion as did the other two camps. It may be that *nikkeijin* were part of a multi-ethnic workforce. No evidence of Japanese culture beyond the tableware and bottles has been recovered so far.

The finds at the camp that is my primary focus in this essay are broadly comparable to those that Doug Ross (2009, 2013) located at an early twentieth-century Japanese camp associated with a fish cannery on an island in the lower Fraser River. Comparison with the dataset from his excavations has barely begun, but there are many similarities evident in the assemblages. As with the material cultural remains associated with the cannery site, the artefacts from the Seymour Valley camp indicate that most of the tableware had been imported from Japan, that cans had probably contained Western-style foods, that medicine and alcohol bottles had come from both Japanese and North American manufacturers, and that Western-style clothing had been used.

Ross (2013) suggests that the artefacts from the cannery site not only indicate a strong Japanese cultural persistence in some aspects of everyday life, especially relating to diet and eating practices, but also the adoption of Western-style goods and habits in others. The assemblage of artefacts from the Seymour Valley camp similarly supports cultural persistence relating to diet and cultural change, including the adoption of many Western-style goods. What makes the Seymour Valley camp significantly different from other early twentieth-century Japanese sites in the region, however, is the apparent persistence of non-dietary cultural practices at what appears to have been a logging camp initially occupied circa 1920. Evidence of a communal bathhouse, a garden, and a feature that may have been a gazebo or shrine at one logging camp with a Japanese presence but not at others is particularly important in illustrating the variety of ways in which Japanese Canadians adapted to local conditions.

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