# LIFTING THE VEIL ON NANAIMO'S NIKKEI COMMUNITY:

From Settlement to Return

MASAKO FUKAWA\*

A SANSEI (third-generation Japanese Canadian) who has lived in Nanaimo for thirty years and whose family engaged in the fishing industry, I was curious about the history of the Nikkei (members of the Japanese diaspora) in Nanaimo. Coincidentally, in 2016, a Nanaimo Community Archives report concluded that, with census data as "virtually" the only archival source, the community "remained largely veiled."<sup>1</sup> Thus, this article is an attempt to lift the veil and to reveal the history of Nanaimo's Nikkei community, from early settlement to its growth and pivotal role in the fishery, to its forced removal in 1942 and, finally, to its rebirth many years later.<sup>2</sup> Building on previous discussions of the Japanese Canadian presence in the city, I consulted interviews with present and former Japanese and non-Japanese residents, several of whom are now deceased, as well as census data, newspapers, government documents, and other sources to recapture the story of a once vibrant community.<sup>3</sup>

This history also reveals an ugly side of Nanaimo: like other communities in British Columbia, its residents called for the expulsion of Japanese Canadians. Because few Japanese Canadians returned to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nanaimo Community Archives, *The Japanese in Nanaimo: Preliminary Report on Sources and Findings*, compiled by Nanaimo Archives, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Ian Baird, "Anti-Racism Methodology: The Native Sons and Daughters and Racism against Asians in Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada," *Canadian Geographer/Le Geographe canadien* 62, no. 3 (2018): 300–13; and Ian Baird, "Developing an Anti-Racism Methodology: Considering Japanese and White Canadian Fishing Family Relations in Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 51, no. 2 (2019): 107–30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Bill Merilees, Newcastle Island: A Place of Discovery (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1998); Jan Peterson, Black Diamond City: Nanaimo – The Victorian Era (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2000); Jan Peterson, Hub City: Nanaimo 1886–1920 (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2003); Jan Peterson, Harbour City: Nanaimo in Transition, 1920–1967 (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2006).

Nanaimo after the Second World War, the stories of those who did are even more significant with regard to ending the silencing of this past. Their lived experiences and the scale of their dispossession suggest that what occurred in Nanaimo and elsewhere was more than a human rights violation – that in fact it constituted an episode of ethnic cleansing, the effects of which continue today. By exploring historic racism perpetrated against the Japanese, my hope is that individuals will not be silent bystanders to present-day racism. I define racism as an exercise of white power (or "white supremacy") over Indigenous peoples and the marginalized Japanese newcomers.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the ideology of "white supremacy" was well established in popular attitudes and public policy in North America, including in British Columbia.<sup>4</sup> Prior to joining Canada, British Columbia's colonial government dispossessed Indigenous peoples of their lands. This included the local Snuneymuxw of the Coast Salish nation, who have lived on the east coast of Vancouver Island for thousands of years.<sup>5</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century, when the Japanese arrived, the Snuneymuxw lived on "250 acres" on four reserves along the Nanaimo River and two small sections of land on Gabriola Island.<sup>6</sup> Their potlatch celebrations had been outlawed and their children forced into the residential school system. The younger children attended an Indian day school, and the older students were sent to Indian residential school on Kuper Island near Chemainus. After joining Canada in 1871, British Columbia disfranchised Indigenous and Chinese people and, in 1895, added Japanese Canadians to this list.<sup>7</sup> The provincial government also endeavoured to halt immigration from Asia, including Japan, and restricted the employment opportunities of those already in the province.<sup>8</sup> Local papers repeatedly perpetrated disparaging stereotypes, fear of unfair economic competition, and the anti-Japanese rhetoric of exclusionists in the trade union movement and generations of local politicians.9 The Japanese did not believe themselves to be of a lower

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and White Policy toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See the Snuneymuxw Nation's website at https://www.snuneymuxw.ca/welcome; Peterson, Black Diamond City, chap. 3; Merilees, Newcastle Island, chap. 3; and Cole Harris, Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 30–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Snuneymuxw First Nation website documentation at https://www.snuneymuxw.ca/ nation/territory/reserves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Charles Young and Helen Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939), 10, 95, 118, 141, 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858–1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Young and Reid, Japanese Canadians, 161–82;; Ward, White Canada Forever, 168.

class: they believed themselves to be at least equal to Europeans in dignity and respect, and they endured the burden of racism without breaking.

#### NEWCOMERS TO NANAIMO

The first documented Japanese to reach the Nanaimo area were temporary workers recruited by Japanese immigration agencies as muchdesired cheap labour in British Columbia's industries.<sup>10</sup> The 1901 census lists ninety-seven young, single males, born in Japan, who drifted from job to job. These sojourners intended to save their money and return to Japan. The 1911 and 1921 censuses reveal that many of them had stayed. Moreover, the number of Japanese women and children had increased substantially.<sup>11</sup> This phenomenon was common among the Nikkei in British Columbia. Because the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 strictly limited male, but not female, emigration from Japan to Canada, most new arrivals were wives and picture brides.<sup>12</sup> Their presence made the community more diverse and stable as the Issei (first generation of Japanese migrants) began to view Canada as their adopted home. In this vein, Tomekichi Homma, a naturalized Canadian Issei, unsuccessfully went to court in 1900 to have his name put on the voters list. Issei men enlisted in the Canadian army in the First World War to gain the right to vote promised to all veterans, but they were denied this right until the 1930s. They became "model" citizens who paid their debts, supported their own indigents, and had an "astonishingly low" crime rate.<sup>13</sup>

Nikkei settled in three distinct locations in the Nanaimo area. North of Departure Bay, in Hammond Bay, also known as Kujira (Whale) Bay for the whaling station on its north shore, a transient commune appeared on Shack Island, which was reachable by foot at low tide. It was a way station for salmon and cod fishers travelling north. The fishers who stopped here shared ancestral and occupational connections to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The 1911 census lists 78 Japanese names: 62 male and 16 female. Sixty-seven were Issei, eleven were Nisei born in Canada. The 1921 census covers the "Mountain" district and lists 24 Japanese, including three women. Of the adults, seven were nisei. The names and numbers of "residency districts/regions" in the censuses differ, making comparisons difficult.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The picture bride system, adapted from traditional arranged marriages in Japan, involved asking parents and relatives in Japan to find a suitable woman and to initiate negotiations with her parents. Canada and Japan concluded the Gentlemen's Agreement, or Hayashi Lemieux Agreement, in 1908 after the 1907 anti-Asian riot in Vancouver. Revisions halted almost all immigration from Japan after 1928.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Adachi, *The Enemy That Never* Was, 132.

Nikkei of Nanaimo.<sup>14</sup> A second seasonal site was the herring camps, and salteries could be found clustered on islands around Departure Bay and on Newcastle Island. The largest and permanent settlement, "Japan Town," was on the foreshore of Nanaimo in the Brechin area, with Stewart Avenue at its centre.

## THE SALTERIES

The Issei who inhabited the Departure Bay area were entrepreneurs who came from Japan with knowledge of shipbuilding, fishing, and curing methods.<sup>15</sup> They established herring salteries, opened international markets, and made Nanaimo a "herring capital." Arichika Ikeda was one of the first to see potential in the herring industry. On reaching Nanaimo in 1903, he witnessed mounds of dead herring on the shores of Departure Bay and farmers hauling away wagonfuls to fertilize their fields.<sup>16</sup> Recognizing a business opportunity, he added a reduction plant to the saltery he had bought from three Japanese partners. The reduction plant manufactured fish meal for the local fertilizer market and extracted fish oil for export to Japan.<sup>17</sup>

His success caused hostility in the white community.<sup>18</sup> Though not proven, arson was suspected when fire destroyed his year-old plant. Ikeda rebuilt a larger factory. Fires, their origin unproven, continued to ravage the salteries. In 1910, six canneries "mysteriously" burned to the ground, and in 1912 four plants on Newcastle Island suffered the same fate.<sup>19</sup> The fires occurred in summer when only watchmen remained in the camps.<sup>20</sup>

Soon after rebuilding, Ikeda was forced to close again. A provincial commission investigating the fishery declared that herring was food and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Yokichi Ishida, my grandfather, a cod fisher, recalled his visit to the area in the 1970s. He lived in Steveston. When Yoshiharu Shinde, my father, returned to fishing in 1951, he stopped at the Malaspina Hotel on his trips north and to the west coast of Vancouver Island from his home in Steveston. See also Mitsuo Yesaki, *Sutebuston: A Japanese Village on the British Columbia Coast* (Vancouver: Peninsula, 2003), 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Peterson, *Hub City*, 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gordon G. Nakayama, *Issei, Stories of Japanese Canadian Pioneers* (Toronto: Britannia Printers Ltd., 1983), 2; Dan Hawthorne, *The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Entrepreneur in the British Columbia Fishing Industry*, unpublished research paper, 4 April 1989, p. 2, cites an interview with Randy Thompson, Nanaimo, π February 1989 (author's collection).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Yesaki, *Sutebuston*, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jinshiro Nakayama, Kanada no Hoko [The affluent country of Canada] (Tokyo: Privately printed, 1921), quoted in Mitsuo Shimpo to J.W. Gillings, π March 1980. Thank you to Bill Merilees for giving me a copy of this letter, hereafter cited as Shimpo letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Merilees, Newcastle Island, 86; Nakayama, Kanada no Hoko, 735–815. Peterson, Hub City, 171–72; Nanaimo Daily Free Press, 16 July 1912.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The 1911 census lists five watchmen.

that reducing it to fish meal was "useless waste."<sup>21</sup> Undaunted, Ikeda converted his reduction plant into a saltery and expanded his market to Formosa, Shanghai, and Manchuria. Expecting unlimited demand for Nanaimo herring, he planned to expand further and employ more people. His employees were all Japanese.<sup>22</sup>

News that "the coast was for two miles knee-deep with herring" enticed more Nikkei to enter the industry. <sup>23</sup> Rikimatsu Tabata built his saltery on Jessie Island. In 1907, five more plants (four Japanese, one Chinese) were established on Newcastle Island. A further five were added on nearby Protection Island. In 1909, fourteen salteries operated along the waterfront on Stewart Avenue from just north of Townsite Road to just south of St. George Street.<sup>24</sup> In 1923, forty-three camps were in operation, with a total investment of \$215,000.<sup>25</sup>

Salt herring became an important export to Asia and a significant contributor to the local and provincial economy. In 1915, Japan was the major market, but, by 1927,<sup>26</sup> exports to China accounted for 76 percent of the total production, of which the Nikkei produced 69.4 percent.<sup>27</sup> In 1927, the catch amounted to 1,724,246 Cwt, with a market value of \$1,867.429.<sup>28</sup> Once known as "coal town," Nanaimo by the 1920s described itself as the "herring capital of the world." With rising demand and higher prices, Japanese owners formed the Canada Salted Herring Export Sales Company in 1934 and, the next year, the Japanese Salmon Producers Association.<sup>29</sup>

Working in the saltery provided income during the winter when it was not possible to fish. A good example is Etsusaburo Uyeyama, one of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Albert L. Tester, "The Herring Fishery of British Columbia – Past and Present," *Bulletin of the Biological Board of Canada* 47, Ottawa, 1935, 26–27, http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/Library/35081. pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> E. Blanche Norcross, *Nanaimo Retrospective: The First Century* (Victoria: Morriss Printing, 1979), 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> British Columbia Fisheries Commission, *Report and Recommendations*, as cited in Tester, "Herring Fishery of British Columbia," 216. See also Peterson, *Hub City*, 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Nanaimo Community Archives, *The Japanese in Nanaimo: Preliminary Report on Sources and Findings*, 1909 Fire Insurance Map, 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Peterson, *Hub City*, 169–71. Two Caucasian operations employed thirty people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Shimpo letter; C.F. Richie, "The Archaeology and Documentation of Heritage Resources at Site DhRyQQ4, Saltery Beach, Newcastle Island, BC: A Japanese Fishing Station and Boat Yard, 1850–1945," 2016, p. 36 (author's collection).

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 27}\,$  Shimpo letter, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> China's large imports are explained by a scarcity of salt and its heavy taxation. Salt herring was not taxed. See E. Blanche Norcross, ed., *Nanaimo Retrospective: The 1st Century* (Nanaimo: Nanaimo Historical Society, 1979), 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Fukawa, Spirit of the Nikkei Fleet, 56.

first Issei to settle with his family in Nanaimo.<sup>30</sup> Born in Wakayama, Etsusaburo arrived in Steveston in 1900 at age twenty-two and started fishing. During the off-season, he sought work in the United States. His picture bride arrived in 1912. Three years later, he relocated to Nanaimo in 1915 with his wife and their year-old first-born son, Takeshi.<sup>31</sup> In the summer he gillnetted for salmon and in the winter he worked at the Tabata saltery – but it was not all work. When workers from Steveston and Vancouver were in the camps, he built a large wrestling ring and sponsored sumo (Japanese wrestling) tournaments. During the offseason, the family visited friends and relatives in Steveston and Powell Street in Vancouver, the largest Japanese Canadian community.<sup>32</sup> In the spring, a favourite pastime was taking obento (picnic lunch) to Entrance Island, where they picked nori (seaweed). In the fall, they hunted for matsutake (pine mushrooms) on Gabriola Island and in Chemainus. Life was full and comfortable for the Uyeyama family.

As well as providing direct employment, the salteries enabled the establishment of Nanaimo Shipyards Limited in 1918. T. Matsuyama,<sup>33</sup> a successful Vancouver businessman, invested the then considerable sum of \$200,000 to lease 1.69 hectares of land from the Canadian Pacific Railway, the owners of Newcastle Island. There he built a boatworks with four marine ways, a machine shop, a bunkhouse, and a kitchen. The campground had a freshwater well, a small orchard, and a vegetable garden. The enterprise grew to around thirty workers: eight carpenters who worked year-round,<sup>34</sup> plus three or four more during the busy season; twelve painters and labourers; three kitchen workers; and three Caucasian machinists/mechanics. For recreation, there was ping-pong, fishing, swimming, and chess in the evening. On Saturday nights, workers rowed across the bay into town.<sup>35</sup>

Caucasian fishers and politicians repeatedly called for a halt to the alleged "unfair" competition of the Japanese. This led to the introduction

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Takeshi Uyeyama, interviewed by the author and Stanley Fukawa in the 1990s and 2000s. See also Nikkei Fishermen's Book Committee, Masako Fukawa, editor and project manager, *Nikkei Fishermen on the BC Coast* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2007), 180–81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> In 191, there were 1,173 Nisei in Canada. See *Report of the Survey of the Second Generation Japanese in British Columbia* (Vancouver: ] Committee for the Survey of Second Generation Japanese in British Columbia, Canadian Japanese Association, 1935).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Nanaimo was a regular stop for sales representatives from Omura, Fujiya, Aishodo, and other Powell Street merchants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Jim Sawada and Jitaro Sawada to Bill Munn, Regional Master Planner for Nanaimo, 7 March 1980 (author's collection).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Jirokichi Arimoto and Jitaro Sawada were boat designers and builders. Arimoto was legendary for not taking any measurements, "He could go just by eye."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> George S. Hamagami was a nineteen-year-old apprentice mechanic engineer in 1939–41. Geroge Hamagami to Bill Munn, 8 March 1980 (author's collection).

of a policy designed "to eliminate all Orientals" from the industry and replace them with "whites and Indians." Beginning in 1922, the number of fishing licences issued to the Nikkei was drastically reduced,<sup>36</sup> and they were limited to fishing in certain areas.<sup>37</sup> In the herring salteries, crews were to consist of 50 percent resident whites and Indigenous people until the Japanese were completely replaced. In addition, a strictly enforced quota was placed on the production of salted fish.<sup>38</sup> The Nikkei on the local supervisory board were outnumbered and thus obliged to accept the ruling.<sup>39</sup>

The legislated reduction in the Japanese workforce provided employment for Indigenous people and Caucasians in the salteries. Two Caucasian men remembered getting along well with their Japanese colleagues. Randy Thompson, who worked at the Tanaka camp during the 1922–23 and 1923–24 seasons, sang Japanese songs while hauling in the herring nets and played pranks on the inspectors who monitored the 50 percent rule. He and a white friend stood at the front of the line when the inspector started his count but moved quickly to the end of the line to be counted twice!<sup>40</sup> Is it possible that Thompson was showing his disdain for the "rule" while maintaining a good relationship with other "whites" and the authorities? In 1942, he bought the confiscated the *Nishihama*, renamed it the *Sarah J*, and had a notable fishing career.

John Allan, a Nanaimo pioneer, worked at the Ode Camp, where a crew of twenty-five to thirty, including some white women, was supplemented at busy times by workers ferried in by boat. They were paid forty-five cents an hour and, unlike other fish camps, had ten-minute coffee breaks in the morning and the afternoon.<sup>41</sup> The white workers praised Takejiro Ode's management and his treatment of them.<sup>42</sup> The Ode compound included the saltery building; net loft sheds; five bunkhouses for male Nikkei and Chinese workers; a room for Indigenous workers; a women's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Fukawa, Spirit of the Nikkei Fleet, 110–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Nikkei fishing licences restricted them to one of five districts. Other fishers could fish in all districts. Licences also banned them from fishing in some of the most lucrative areas of Vancouver Island unless they were residents there. Tofino and Ucluelet limited the number of Nikkei to fifty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Nanaimo Free Press, 11 November, 1932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Kishizo Kimura, "The Natural Products Marketing Act Applied Upon Dry Herring and Dry Salmon Industries," unpublished paper written in Japanese, 1971, quoted in Shimpo letter (author's collection).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Thompson worked for the Tanaka brothers on Newcastle during the 1923–24 season. He remembers herring so plentiful that at low tide sometimes there was a pile of fish two to three feet deep. See interview by Stanley Fukawa, 24 February 1989.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Merilees, Newcastle Island, 88.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

quarters; homes for the watchmen and the owner; a store; an office; a garden with apple trees; and, most important, an ofuro – a deep Japanese bath – to keep the crew happy. Once the herring season ended, only the watchmen remained on-site.<sup>43</sup>

## BRECHIN: A VIBRANT COMMUNITY

A permanent Nikkei community developed in the Brechin area on Nanaimo's foreshore centred on Stewart Avenue. Most of its forty-plus families were fishers who owned and operated gillnetters, seiners, trollers, packers, and cod boats. Salmon industry restrictions on Japanese Canadian fishers caused some to turn to the cod fishery. Nikkei cod fishers from Nanaimo and other parts of the coast banded together with Indigenous and Caucasian fishers to form the province's first racially integrated fisheries association.<sup>44</sup> Among the fishers of Nanaimo was the Shimozawa family who arrived in 1930 and operated a salmon-trolling vessel. Jutaro emigrated from Kumamoto in southern Japan in the early 1900s and became a fisher for Phoenix Cannery in Steveston.<sup>45</sup> His son Kazuichi, born in 1902, was sent to Japan for his education.<sup>46</sup> On his return, he followed in his father's footsteps and became a commercial fisher in 1918. When government regulations reduced the number of Nikkei fishing licences, Jutaro returned to Japan. In 1930, Kazuichi, his wife, and their four children moved to 1040 Stewart Avenue.

As well as fishers, Brechin was home to millwrights and sawmill workers (Shikatani and sons), truck drivers (George and Nao-san Uesugi, who also worked for Beban), and teachers of Japanese. Among approximately twenty-five shop owners were a grocer (Y. Nakatsu),<sup>47</sup> a fishmonger (Canadian Fishing Co.), and a tofu maker. There were shoe stores: two in the Brechin area (Kunamoto and Maruno Sameshima) and several in "downtown" Nanaimo.<sup>48</sup> Walter Shimozawa recollects that they sold ladies' "high heels," but the bestsellers were workboots for miners, loggers, and sawmill workers. The largest year-round Nikkei enterprise was Frank Koyama and Co., a seafood wholesaler established in 1918. It had a wharf, a cold storage shed, an ice-manufacturing plant,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> 1911 census.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Fukawa, Spirit of the Nikkei Fleet, 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Walter Shimozawa, interviewed by the author and Stanley Fukawa several times since the 1980s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The first *nisei* was born in 1889 in Vancouver. Of the five thousand Japanese living in Canada in 1901, very few were Nisei and all were children. See *Survey of Second Generation Japanese*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> City directories of 1920,1935, and 1939.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Saichi Sameshima, 25 Victoria Crescent, Nanaimo City Directory, 1920.

and a general store. Koyama owned two fish packers to pick up the daily catch from sixteen boats engaged in cod and salmon fishing in the Strait of Georgia. In 1940, the *Nanaimo Free Press* reported that the company handled approximately 250,000 pounds of cod and salmon, of which about 100,000 pounds were sold in Nanaimo and district. All supplies were purchased locally, as were all ship repairs.<sup>49</sup>

In the 1930s, the size of the Nisei and Sansei population warranted the building of a Japanese language school. The Issei wanted their children to learn the Japanese language and culture in order to maintain communication and discipline and to preserve their customs and values. Furthermore, since the Nisei often depended on Japanese companies for employment, they needed to be able to speak the language. Japanese carpenters, including Kash Uyeyama, built the school on Juniper Street near Stewart Avenue. <sup>50</sup> Its one large room housed thirty students of all ages who were taught by one teacher. The children studied Japanese language and history for two hours daily after public school. The monthly tuition fee in 1941 was \$1.50 for the first child and fifty cents for siblings. Children entered the school at age seven and received a diploma upon graduation eight years later.<sup>51</sup> The school building was also used as a centre for community events, including funerals.

The world of the Canadian-born Nisei and Sansei was a blend of two cultures. The one at home was inherited from their parents and grandparents and was steeped in the values and traditions brought from the Old World. It was was authoritarian, patriarchal, honour-bound, and group-oriented. In contrast, at public school, the children learned the Canadian values of individualism and British "fair play."<sup>52</sup> The children had a sense of belonging in both cultures and at elementary school enjoyed, for the most part, harmonious and pleasant contact with their Caucasian classmates. But as they entered their teens and adulthood, social constraints and legal barriers coalesced to create a world of "us" and "them." Recreational facilities were segregated or completely closed. In movie theatres, their hakujin ("white") friends could sit anywhere, but, as Japanese Canadians, they were relegated to the upper balcony

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Frank Koyama Located Plant in Nanaimo in 1918," *Nanaimo Free Press*, 1940, Industrial Edition, 1915–1940. The Japanese on Gabriola Island were two fish buyers, Susumu Koyama and "Bebe kame" (baby turtle) Morishita; and a boatbuilder, Is-san Mayede. The occupation of Kobu-san Mayede, named for a bump (*kobu*) on his back, is unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Walter Shimozawa, interviews by the author, 1986–2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Roy Ito, Stories of My People: A Japanese Canadian Journal (Hamilton, ON: Promark Printing, 1994), 196–99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, chap. 7. See Anne Dore, "Transnational Communities, Japanese Canadians of the Fraser Valley, 1904–1984," *BC Studies* 134 (Summer 2002): 38.

of Nanaimo's Capitol Theatre.<sup>53</sup> Swimming pools were open only when white patrons were not occupying them. Only a short drive away, the bowling alley in Duncan displayed a sign: "No Orientals Allowed." Some cafés did not serve non-whites.

## DISCRIMINATION

On reaching adulthood the Nisei encountered the greatest barrier – the denial of the right to vote.<sup>54</sup> Being on the voters list was a requirement to practise law, to be a pharmacist, to be hired for public service, or to hold elected office. Hence, such occupations were closed to the Nikkei. Upward mobility, both economically and socially, was restricted and, with civil rights denied, the Nisei remained aliens and second-class citizens in the land of their birth.<sup>55</sup>

In 1936, a delegation from the Vancouver-based Japanese Canadian Citizens League (JCCL) went to Ottawa to seek the franchise. The Nanaimo chapter of the Native Daughters of British Columbia fundraised to oppose Asian enfranchisement and circulated a pamphlet, *Argument Advanced by Native Sons of British Columbia in Opposition to Granting of Oriental Franchise*.<sup>56</sup> The Native Daughters and Sons need not have worried: racist members of the parliamentary committee tasked with amending the Elections Act rejected the JCCL request.

Such fearmongering, especially by politicians, became more common in the late 1930s as the prospect of war with Japan increased and rumours circulated of untold numbers of illegal Japanese immigrants infiltrating the province. The *Nanaimo Free Press* frequently reported claims such as those of Captain MacGregor Macintosh, a Conservative MLA, who asserted that the Japanese were "a race which cannot be assimilated with ours" and that "different standard of living" made their intense competition "unfair."<sup>57</sup>

When Canada declared war on Germany in 1939, many Nisei wanted to enlist in the Canadian military and demonstrate their loyalty to their country. They were rejected. In the fall of 1940, when the government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Peterson, *Hub City*, 140

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> British Columbia Elections Act, 1895, S.B.C. 1895, c. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ward, White Canada Forever, 12; Roy Ito, We Went to War (Stittsville, ON: Canadian Wings, Inc., 1984), 72–75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Native Daughters of BC, Post No. 1, Vancouver to Native Daughters of BC, Post No. 2, Nanaimo, 27 October 1937. Thank you to Ian Baird for providing a copy of the document, Argument Advanced by Native Sons of British Columbia in Opposition to Granting of Oriental Franchise, Native Sons of BC (New Westminster: Jackson Printing Co., 1937).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Nanaimo Free Press, 9 February 1938.

began calling up Chinese and Japanese Canadians for home defence service, Mayor V.B. Harrison of Nanaimo told the minister of national defence that, if enlisted in the military, the Japanese would be in a "very strong position to obtain voting privileges and full equality." If that happened, he believed, "in the next war one Ichi Moto will be the Minister of National Defence." When Premier T. Dufferin Pattullo and others expressed similar opinions, the federal government agreed not to call up Asians for military service.<sup>58</sup>

#### THE UPROOTING OF NANAIMO'S JAPANESE COMMUNITY

Within twenty-four hours of the outbreak of the Pacific War on 7 December 1941, all fishing boats owned by Japanese Canadians were ordered into the nearest port, where they were impounded, searched, and escorted to assembly points at Prince Rupert, Nanaimo, and New Westminster. Of the 1,137 vessels confiscated, at least sixty-six were owned by Japanese Canadian fishers living in Nanaimo.<sup>59</sup> Deprived of their boats and licences, Nikkei men were unable to support their families.<sup>60</sup> Nanaimo MP Alan Chambers demanded that the government "keep men of Japanese origin out of fisheries forever," revealing a disturbing race hatred that would propel further measures amounting to ethnic cleansing.<sup>61</sup>

Thus began the destruction of Nanaimo's Nikkei community. Although Frank Koyama reported that more white friends than usual had visited over the Christmas holiday and wished him "nothing but the best," what the Nikkei experienced was not "the best." Already, on 16 December 1941, the Nikkei residing between Qualicum and Ladysmith, regardless of citizenship, were ordered to re-register at the Provincial Police Office in Nanaimo.<sup>62</sup> With mounting fears of at least a "nuisance raid" on the coast by Japan's military forces, <sup>63</sup> pressure mounted on the federal government to remove the Japanese from the coast. The Nanaimo City Council unanimously called for the internment of all adult Japanese for the duration of the war.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Quoted in Ito, *We Went to War*, 111–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> See appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The Nanaimo Free Press, 5 January 1942, agreed with removing the Japanese from the fishery but warned that "people cannot be deprived of a livelihood without providing [them with] an alternative mode of employment."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Victoria Daily Times, 29 December 1941.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Peterson, *Harbour City*, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Nanaimo Free Press, 27 and 31 December 1941.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Nanaimo Free Press, 6 January 1942; New Canadian, 9 January 1942, 1.

Nanaimo was only one of the many places in British Columbia to pass such resolutions. Bowing to such pressure, in mid-January, the government of Canada announced that, for "national security," Japanese and other enemy aliens must leave the coastal defence areas by I April 1942, that no Japanese would be permitted to fish for the duration, and that Japanese-owned fishing vessels would be sold. That did not satisfy many British Columbians who pressed for the removal of all Japanese from the coast, if not from the entire province. One BC MLA privately admitted that "war with Japan had been a heaven-sent opportunity to rid the province of the economic menace forever."<sup>65</sup> Despite the advice of the RCMP and the Department of National Defence, both of whom argued that mass removal was unnecessary, the federal cabinet decided on 24 February 1942 that, whether or not they were Canadian nationals, all Nikkei men, women, and children had to leave the "protected area," which stretched one hundred miles (160 kilometres) from the coast.<sup>66</sup>

Nanaimo, already the hub of transportation and distribution of goods on central and northern Vancouver Island, became the hub for the removal of thirty-three hundred Nikkei from Vancouver Island.<sup>67</sup> After being registered at the Port Alberni police station, "evacuees" from Clayoquot, Tofino, Ucluelet, Bamfield, Kildonan, San Mateo, Red Gap, and Port Alberni were put on special Canadian National Railway trains to Nanaimo before being transferred to the steamship *Maquinna*, which took them to Vancouver where they were held in the livestock buildings at Hastings Park until they were moved inland.<sup>68</sup>

With so much removal-related activity in Nanaimo, it is disheartening that local people took so little notice of it. After expressing a hope that the Nisei would be loyal to Canada,<sup>69</sup> the *Nanaimo Free Press* did not cover the departure of the Japanese, nor did histories of Nanaimo record outrage or sympathy over the confiscation of fishing vessels and the removal of residents. That "silence" is surprising because the Nikkei

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Adachi, Enemy That Never Was, 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Major sources include Adachi, Enemy That Never Was; Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981); and Patricia E. Roy, The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese ad Chinese in Canada, 1941-67 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> They represented 15 percent of the total Japanese Canadian population. See Toyo Takata, "Vancouver Island Communities," in *Homecoming 92, Where the Heart Is*, ed. Randy Enomoto (Vancouver: NRC Publishing, National Association of Japanese Canadians, 1993), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> W.J. Woods, *Re: A Brief Outline of the General Situation of the Remaining Japanese Residents on Vancouver Island*, 20 April 1942 (author's collection courtesy of Bill Merilees, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Vancouver C.I.B. Detachment, re: Alien Enemies in Protected Areas [JAPANESE] [Vancouver Island – Nanaimo-Victoria District] 24 April 1942).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Nanaimo Free Press, 8 December 1941.

were not strangers but friends, neighbours, classmates, and workmates. Although disappointing, perhaps it is understandable since to display any form of disapproval was to run the risk of becoming an outcast as well as being considered "unpatriotic." Or perhaps people thought that any action would be ineffective. This feeling was shared by the victimized Japanese. My parents rationalized that these racist acts were inevitable, "shikataganai" (it can't be helped), and that compliance was a demonstration of their "loyalty." Furthermore, any protest was accompanied by a threat of imprisonment. Not until the 1980s did white residents publicly relate that they had had concerns at the time. In an interview with Stanley Fukawa, Barbara Stannard explained how it was hard "to forget the expressions and emotions of grandparents leading little children onto the boats that took them away to the mainland" and seeing "French Canadian soldiers with bayonets escorting the Japanese away from their homes and salteries." In nearby Ladysmith, a teacher vividly remembered how, as a Grade 1 student, she played hooky to go to the wharf to see a classmate loaded onto a ship and taken away. It was the only time that she was absent in twelve years of schooling.<sup>70</sup>

Once they left Hastings Park, the Nanaimo Japanese were scattered. Some went to old mining towns in the West Kootenay, some to the purpose-built camp at Tashme, 22.5 kilometres east of Hope, and others to sugar beet farms in Alberta. Kash Uyeyama was relocated to a camp in the Slocan Valley. He had lived in Nanaimo for twenty-eight years, had fished for nine of those years, and was proud owner of the now confiscated salmon troller *Sea Patrol*. While incarcerated in Hastings Park, the family was separated. Kash, the eldest of nine children, was responsible for his parents' welfare and relocated with them to Slocan. Noboru, his younger brother, was sent to the prisoner-of-war camp in Angler, Ontario. He and his fellow Nisei inmates had committed minor infractions, such as being out after curfew, not carrying their alien registration card, or protesting the separation of families.<sup>71</sup>

In order to stay together, the family of fifteen-year-old Walt Shimozawa went to a sugar beet farm in Alberta. Unlike their stable life in Nanaimo, they now faced anxiety and impermanence. They moved from farm to farm ever few years – from Sterling to Barnwell to Taber, eventually settling in Lethbridge.<sup>72</sup> In January 1943, while the Nikkei

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Batty Gammie, interview by author, 1980.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Robert K. Okazaki, *The Nisei Mass Evacuation Group and POW Camp "ror" Angler Ontario* (Scarborough, ON: Markham Litho Ltd., 1996), nominal roll of Japanese POWs, A-39. Noboru became prisoner #179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Walter Shimozawa, interview by author, 1990 (author's collection).

were in exile, the government of Canada began to sell their businesses, shops, farms, homes, and other possessions without their consent. Protests were ignored. Tsuneziro Mizuyabu, having had his cod boat confiscated, wrote to the Custodian objecting to the sale of his house on 238 Chelsea Street. His house was occupied by a renter, and, according to Mizuyabu: "I have been paying tax for my house ever since the war." The response from the Custodian was terse: "the sale was on the instruction from Ottawa for an orderly liquidation of coast properties." Mizuyabu's house was sold without his consent.<sup>73</sup> He no longer had a home. This forced dispossession of almost all Japanese Canadian private property was the harbinger of further measures in an ethnic purge.

Amidst the triple shock of the uprooting, the detention, and the selling off of properties and possessions, Japanese Canadians were given the "choice" of voluntary "repatriation" to Japan or relocation "east of the Rockies." "Repatriation" came with the incentives of free passage to Japan and funds equivalent to the value of their capital in Canada.<sup>74</sup> For the Uyeyamas, separated by thousands of kilometres, consultation was difficult. Kash's parents "repatriated" on the first boat for Japan. When they did not hear from them, their Canadian family worried. Feeling duty bound to care for his parents, Kash booked passage on the second to last boat that left in October 1946.75 Along with his wife, Marge (who was three-months pregnant with their second child) and their one-year-old son, Kash arrived in war-torn Japan.<sup>76</sup> The reunited family sustained itself by collecting and selling salt from the ocean while Marge sold cloth remnants at a local stall. On the black market, they sold saccharine sent from relatives in Canada. After eking out a living at various jobs, Kash, who was not only a skilled carpenter but also bilingual, found work with the US Armed Forces.

For those who remained in Canada, the end of the war did not bring the expected end to restrictions and dispossession. It was only on I April 1949 that all restrictions were lifted and they were allowed to return to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Tsuneziro Mizuyabu, Lemon Creek, BC, letters to and from the Office of the Custodian, Vancouver, 29 September 1944 and 3 October 1944, National Nikkei Museum and Cultural Centre, Burnaby.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Sunahara, *Politics of Racism*, 119. Those without funds received \$200 per adult and \$50 per child.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Four thousand Japanese Canadians, half of them Canadian-born, were deported to a land most had not seen, where they were also treated as aliens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Marge recalled: "When the ship docked in Yokohama, I saw workers pick over the garbage unloaded from the ship. They were competing with seagulls for scraps. On a special train for ex-pats, heading to Mio, windows were broken by beggars who jumped into the cars and stole our goods. As we travelled through the countryside, we saw devastation everywhere." Marge Uyeyama, interview by author, 2003.

the coast, though none did so until years later. Little evidence of the community remained. The once thriving herring salteries on Newcastle Island had been neglected and reduced to rubble.<sup>77</sup> Matsuyama's Nanaimo Shipyard had been taken over by the Canadian Navy and his entire holdings, including his fleet of nineteen ships, confiscated and sold. At war's end, the shipyard was sold to non-Japanese on condition that it be dismantled and that unsaleable items be burned.<sup>78</sup> The "homes" on Shack Island had become summertime cottages for holiday makers. At one time a marker noted that Japanese Canadian fishers had built the shacks, but even that was removed.<sup>79</sup> The Japanese language school became a private residence. The once vibrant, cohesive community no longer existed. And, despite the war's end, hostility to the Japanese in Nanaimo remained. The local chapter of the Native Sons of British Columbia declared that it was "strongly opposed to the Japanese seeking Rights to Return to the Coast of British Columbia" and to "Asiatics" owning properties or industries.<sup>80</sup>

#### REBUILDING AND REDRESS

For most former residents, the uprooting, dispossession, and ongoing hostility in Nanaimo were reason enough never to return. Why then did Kash and Noboru Uyeyama, Tokuko Yoshida, and Walter Shimozawa choose to return years later? For them, Nanaimo was still "home": it was where they had left their hearts. They returned looking for a new beginning. Kash Uyeyama was probably the first to return. His father had died within a year of arriving in Japan and his mother in 1956. That same year, a younger brother who had remained in Canada sent the return fare for him but not for his wife and two sons. It took three years to save the money for their passage and for the family to be re-united in Nanaimo.<sup>81</sup> Kash's younger brother Noboru returned from Japan in 1964. Both re-entered the fishery.

Tokuko "Toko" Yoshida returned to Nanaimo in 1958 with her husband Akira, and their son, Vern, who recalls that "Dad knocked on a lot of doors until Johnny Rowan of Western Marine, Nanaimo Shipyard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Darrell Ohs, "The Japanese on Newcastle Island: Years of Salt and Herring, Islander," *Times Colonist*, 23 March 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Merilees, Newcastle Island, 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Nanaimo Free Press photo, 8 August 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Henry Reifel to Native Sons of British Columbia, Vancouver, 28 February 1947, Nanaimo Archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Takeshi Uyeyama and Marge Uyeyama, interview by author, 2003.

offered him a job."<sup>82</sup> Vern's school days did not start out well. "I got a lot of flack. I was called 'chow mein,' Jap,' and other names and it hurt. I'd go home and tell my dad. One day he said, 'I'll show you something – some moves – but you must use it only when needed." Vern was in Grade I and the bullies were in Grade 3. He tried the judo moves on them and made them cry. As expected, he was called into the principal's office at Princess Anne Elementary. "Mr. Harrison sat me down and listened to my story. He said 'You shouldn't do that but neither should they. Here's what we'll do. I will make some loud noise (I think he picked up a ruler), and I want you to cry out loud like you are getting the strap.' The bullies were upset that they were beaten by a little (I was small) grade one kid but they thought I was punished for it. I never got bullied again."<sup>83</sup> The Yoshida family became owner/operators of the upscale Grotto Restaurant and the McDonald's in Nanaimo.

Walter Shimozawa had wanted to bring his wife and family to Nanaimo, but they were anxious and apprehensive. He came alone to Vancouver Island in 1967, found a job in Port McNeil, and phoned Audrey to join him. They visited Port Alice, her birthplace, paid their respects at the cemetery where her relatives were buried, and returned to Alberta for the summer. They decided to give Nanaimo a try, saying: "If we don't like it, we'll move back." Walter found work repairing auto bodies and Audrey, a skilled seamstress, was hired by a dry cleaner. Their children made a smooth transition to school. It was a new beginning. The one unfinished piece of business was finding his father's boat. He contacted Bob Wilson on the Nanoose Reserve. Wilson had bought his father's boat, *Two Sisters*, before the government sale and cared for it well. It was a happy reunion and a fond farewell to his father's beloved boat.<sup>84</sup>

For the most part, the Japanese Canadian fishers of Nanaimo disappeared, their existence known only by old-timers like Takeshi Uyeyama and Walter Shimozawa. Gradually, other Japanese Canadians moved to Nanaimo, including my family. In 1977, the centennial of the arrival of the first Japanese to Canada, my husband and I conducted a telephone survey of all the Japanese-sounding names in the Nanaimo telephone directory. Among the thirty-two families we located were four members of prewar families. The others were second-, third-, and fourth-generation Canadian-born and were returning or were born during the nine-year enforced exile. Postwar immigrants from Japan,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Phone interview with Vern Yoshida, Nanaimo, 25 March 2018; e-mail from Reverend Edward Yoshida, cousin to the Yoshidas, Toronto, 24 February 2018.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Stanley Fukawa with Walter Shimozawa, interview by author, 1990s.

the Shin-Issei (literally, new first generation) added to the community. Several Nikkei had intermarried with non-Japanese.

As well as the traditional occupations of the prewar period, various professions were now represented: school teachers, college instructors, a dentist, marine biologists, and civil servants. No longer concentrated in one area, their residences were dispersed. Although a diverse population, shortly after the centennial celebration a few like-minded Nikkei came together to connect, share common experiences and heritage, and rebuild a sense of "community." We established the Mid-Island Japanese Canadian Society, which came to be affectionately known as the Seven Potatoes Society, named after the Japanese translation of *nana* (seven) and *imo* (potato). For many in the community, it became the "heart" of the postwar Nikkei community.<sup>85</sup>

In the 1980s, during the redress campaign, Nikkei communities on Vancouver Island could not agree about political action. Stanley Fukawa, the founding president of the Seven Potatoes Society, asked members for their views. They voted to remain a socio-cultural organization. Some feared that becoming "too visible" might engender a backlash from other Canadians. Others mistrusted politicians and governments. Still others found the past "too painful" and preferred to remain silent. The multiple traumas - being labelled "enemy aliens," being removed from their homes, being deprived of family possessions and heirlooms, and being exiled to foreign places - may have faded over time, but feelings of hurt, weariness, and misgiving lingered. However, those of us in Nanaimo who believed that the injustices perpetrated by the government must be acknowledged and redressed joined like-minded Nikkei in the Victoria area and formed the Vancouver Island Japanese Canadian Society to work for redress. Some non-Nikkei in Nanaimo supported us, but others made anonymous phone calls and sent unsigned hate mail. After many years of lobbying and negotiating, and with the vocal and visible support from Canadians of all ethnic, religious, artistic, and political groups, redress for Japanese Canadians was achieved in September 1988.86

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Mid-Island Vancouver Island Society: Stanley Fukawa served as its founding president, while Kay Bottomley has served as chair of the "Ladies Circle" from its inception to the present.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Roy Miki, *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2005).

## REFLECTION

Many Canadians are unaware that Canada was founded upon acts of resettlement and dispossession.<sup>87</sup> Most Nikkei settlers were unaware that they were living on Indigenous lands. Their children did not question the absence of Indigenous students at the public school.<sup>88</sup> Silence was the norm then and, as the Nanaimo Community Archives report concluded, silence has continued to shroud the history of the Japanese Canadian community of Nanaimo.

The statistics on returnees to Vancouver Island reflect the thoroughness of the eradication of the Japanese Canadian communities. Of the over three thousand Japanese Canadians who lived on Vancouver Island and the Gulf Islands in 1941, only 150, or about 5 percent, ever returned.<sup>89</sup> In contrast, approximately 70 percent of Japanese Americans returned to the Pacific coast by 1971 and 35 percent of Japanese Canadians to elsewhere on the BC coast.<sup>90</sup>

I have characterized the uprooting, dispossession, and exile of Japanese Canadians as an example of ethnic cleansing. Though not legally precise, the term derives from a United Nations Commission of Experts who defined it as "rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area."<sup>91</sup> This term captures the scope and depth of the injustice that befell Japanese Canadians. It will help educators and archivists locate this history in the pantheon of social injustices.

In recent years, it has been recognized that most of us carry into adulthood the knowledge and attitudes we learned in school. There is also a desire to be more inclusive in telling our histories. Serious steps are now being taken. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission called for Canada to implement Indigenous language courses at postsecondary institutions. The BC Ministry of Education has mandated integration of courses on the traditions and history of various Indigenous peoples.<sup>92</sup> Just as learning about Indigenous peoples provides another set of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Susan Neylan, "Colonialism and Resettling British Columbia: Canadian Aboriginal Historiography, 1992–2012," *History Compass* 11, no. 10 (2013): 833.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Between 1850 and 1970, some 150,000 Indigenous children attended residential schools operated by Christian missionaries. See http://www.trc.ca/about-us/trc-findings.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> These figures are based on research conducted by the Asian Canadians on Vancouver Island project (John Price, director) and communicated in correspondence, June 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Roger Daniels, "The Japanese Experience in North America: An Essay in Comparative Racism," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 9, no. 2 (1977): 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> As articulated by the United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Asian Canadians, https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/ethnic-cleansing.shtml.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/education/kindergarten-to-grade-12/teach/teaching-tools/ aboriginal-education/shared\_learning.pdf.

lenses through which to view Canada's history, to challenge long-held beliefs and stereotypes, and to remedy past wrongs, so too unveiling the dispossession and ethnic cleansing of Japanese Canadians can help provide a better understanding of the history of British Columbia. It provides the impetus to change social norms so that racism is no longer tolerated and interdependence and diversity is embraced. This will enable British Columbians of the present and the future to embody the best of humanity and to live and work together in harmony and prosperity.<sup>93</sup>

#### APPENDIX

Seizure and disposal of sixty-nine vessels owned by Nikkei fishers and companies in Nanaimo.

*Sources:* Fishing Boat Ledger, Kishizo Kimura Fonds, 1942, consists of a ledger of confiscated fishing vessels, Nikkei National Museum, 2010-4-4-1-4, Walter Shimozawa interviews 1980s, 1990s, and 2000.

Gillnetters: four (4) Sea Patrol #2, Takeshi Uyeyama, 1010 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Y.F., Yokichi Furumoto, Box 367, Nanaimo Y.I., 6663, Y. Inouye, 1207 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Y.O., Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver

Trollers: eleven (11) *A.H.*, Akira Hama, Box 375, Nanaimo *I.D.*, Iwao Domai, Box 156, Nanaimo *K.T.*, Kenichi Terashita, 1136 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo *T.E.*, Togobichi Domai, Box 156, Nanaimo *T.H.*, T. Hamanishi, Box 375, Nanaimo *T.M.*, Tsuneziro Mizuyabu, 238 Chelsea St., Nanaimo *Y.N.*, Yoshiyero Nishihama, Box 375, Nanaimo (3) *Y.W.*, Yoshikusu Wakita, 1207 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo *Two Sisters*, Kazuichi Shimozawa, 1040 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo

Packers: twelve (12) Brechin, F. Koyama, Box 375, Nanaimo Bay #2, Departure Bay 3, (#4 history unknown), Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver Gabriola Pass, Susumu Yokoyama, RR#1, Gabriola Kathleen, Fujikazu Koyama, Box 375, Nanaimo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Jacqueline K. Nelson, Kevin Dunn, and Yin Paradies, "Bystander Anti-Racism: A Review of the Literature," *Analysis of Social Issues and Public Policy* 2, no. 1 (2011): 263–84.

Kosuga, Tokuzo Terashita, 1136 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Summerville, Hikotao Egami, Box 375, Nanaimo Gardner, Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver Jessie Island #9, T. Matsuyama & Col Ltd., 467 Powell St., Vancouver Y.O.#6, Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver

Seiners: eighteen (18) Departure Bay, Departure Bay #5, Gigilo, Kamtchatka, Otter Bay, Merle C., Merry Chase, Bumper Catch, Yip #2 (9) registered to Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver Izumi II, III, V (3) registered to Jisaburo Kasho, 219 Dunlevy, Vancouver George Bay, Kitaka, Moresby #3, Newcastle #4, Rose City, Worthman T. (6) registered to Ryotaro Kita, 501 E. Cordova, Vancouver

Cod boats and Other: twenty-four (24) C.M., Chotaro Maekawa, 980 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Flying Spear, Takayoshi Maide, 104 St. Georgia, Nanaimo Hinomisaki, Masaharu Shin, 1228 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo I.D., Iwao Domai, Box 156, Nanaimo Jack Point, Jack Point #2, Sukeshichi Yoshida, 1150 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Kiyo S., Masajiro Shin, 1228 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Kiyo S. #3, Yoshitake Teranishi, 1212 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Mayne Island, Ishimatsu Atagi, 1130 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo M.S., Mohei Suzuki, Box 375, Nanaimo M.T., Mankichi Tanino, Nanaimo Sea Crest, Seiichi Haraguchi, 1209 Vancouver Ave., Nanaimo Sea Patrol #1, #3 and #4 Takeshi Uyeyama, 1010 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo S.U., Riyo Hamanishi, 1140 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo Unknown, Mr. Sarita, in drydock at Nanaimo for several years Swan Point, Ishimotsu Atagi, 1130 Stewart Ave., Nanaimo T.M., Takayoshi Maide, 104 Georgia St., Nanaimo T.M., Tsunejiro Mizuyabu, 238 Chelsea St., Nanaimo I.M.P., Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver R.K., Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver Y.O.#2, Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver Y.O.#5, Nanaimo Shipyard, 467 Powell St., Vancouver