

A University at War: Japanese Canadians at UBC During World War II

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The September 1939 school session at the University of British Columbia coincided with the outbreak of World War II. It was not yet known how the war would affect life on campus. President L. S. Klinck in an address to the freshmen assured them that the university would "carry on" but that there would not be a policy of "business as usual." Dr. Klinck pledged the manpower, brains and research potential of the university to the service of the country. Outlining the policy of the university during World War I, Dr. Klinck tried to prepare the students for a mobilization of all the resources of the university for the war effort. The details of this mobilization would be revealed progressively as the war continued.

Beyond pledges of support for the war effort, the changes the war would bring to the university were not immediately apparent. Much of this would depend on government policy, in light of the duration and demands of the war. One measure the war's effect on the university was the student newspaper *The Ubysey*. The first edition of the session, 22 September 1939, contained President Klinck's address to freshmen students on what the war would mean for the university. Other than this lead article, there was not much else on the war. References to the war were notably absent from the editorial pages.

For the remainder of 1939 the daily orders of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps, UBC Contingent, were published in *The Ubysey* along with the occasional article about parades, the growth and other activities of the COTC. Since the government had not yet passed the National Resources Mobilization Act, the COTC was still an entirely voluntary organization. Though growing at an accelerated rate, with the war, it was still not the focus of student activity it would become later. The COTC was still something that could be joked about by students. *The Ubysey* editorial of 13 October 1939 commented on some of the "jesting" about uniformed students by their fellow students on campus. Though making the point that a uniform was not to be ridiculed, *The Ubysey* lightly

chastised the “officer cadets” for their lack of gentleman-like manners in leaving their hats on while eating.

The war was still the “phoney war,” and this was reflected in the attitudes on campus. The major battles of the war had yet to be fought. France had not fallen and Germany had not attacked the Soviet Union. The campus attitude corresponded to that of the community as a whole. The war needs and discipline had not yet taken hold nor had they permeated all activities in society. One further aspect of the war’s growing influence was the social life on the campus. Even as late as 1940 the emphasis in social gatherings was not, as it was to be later, war charity and Red Cross work.

The 9 January 1940 editorial in *The Ubysey*, while applauding the expansion of the COTC, makes a number of interesting observations. There was a two-to-one ratio of graduate students to undergraduate students in the COTC. This tended to underline the limited demands of the war on the campus by this date. The editorial goes on to point out: “There must, however, be no pressure brought to bear upon the people who have not joined the corps in order to force them to enroll.” Later in 1940 the King government would pass the National Resources Mobilization Act. For universities the NRMA would mean compulsory military training on campus.

While considering the impact of the war, it is necessary to note the history of race relations in B.C. since the social climate determined the response to the outside threat. Anti-oriental sentiment among the whites of B.C. dates back to 1858 and the arrival of Chinese and a few Japanese with the gold rush on the Fraser.¹ The Japanese first came in large numbers in 1890. The census of 1901 recorded only 4,738 Japanese living in Canada.² When in 1902 the Privy Council upheld an 1895 provincial Act disqualifying the Japanese from the vote, both native-born and naturalized Japanese Canadians were disfranchised.³ Disfranchisement also meant exclusion from certain professions, such as law, medicine, pharmacy, and much of the civil service since admission to these professions required that the applicant be listed on the voters’ list.

Though not permitted to vote, Canadians of Japanese descent were Canadian citizens and British subjects, and as such were bound by all the obligations of citizenship including military service, when required. At the

¹ Forrest E. LaViolette, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II: A Sociological and Psychological Account* (Toronto, 1948), p. 3.

² Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was* (Toronto, 1976), p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

time of the Boer War, in 1900, Japanese Canadians in Vancouver had offered to raise and equip their own fighting unit, but had been turned down by the Laurier government.⁴ In the First World War 196 Japanese immigrants fought in Europe. These Vancouver volunteers had to travel to Calgary in order to enlist. The surviving veterans, 143 in number, were granted the franchise in April of 1931.⁵ This concession to barely 150 of the Japanese was won after a decade's long struggle. The fact that military service in wartime was identified with the granting of the franchise explains the opposition towards Japanese Canadians serving in the armed forces during the opening years of the Second World War.

By the outbreak of the Second World War there were about 24,000 persons of Japanese descent living in Canada.⁶ The vast majority of these — approximately 21,000 — were resident in Vancouver and the lower mainland.⁷ With the largest number of persons of Japanese descent in Vancouver, it is understandable that the University of British Columbia had the highest number of Japanese Canadian students of any university in Canada. It had been growing gradually since the 1930s until it reached a peak of seventy-six registering for the winter session of 1941-42.⁸ In the previous session of 1940-41 ten Japanese Canadian students received degrees and forty-three were listed as undergraduates.⁹

The session of 1940-41 differed in a number of ways from the first wartime session. Characteristically, *The Ubysey* opened its volume with a reference to the military uniform as the new fashion on campus. With the fall of France and the evacuation at Dunkirk, the war had become more serious and this new, grimmer attitude permeated the campus. The universities contributed to the NRMA by setting six hours of compulsory military training on campus; students were enrolled in either the COTC proper, or the "Basic Group." The "Basic Group" trained for six hours a week; the "COTC Group," on the other hand, meant extra hours and was considered to be "officer training."

With the establishment of this compulsory military training the Japanese Canadians on campus were able to enter the COTC. This stands in marked contrast to the treatment of Japanese Canadians off campus. *The New Canadian*, a newspaper of the Vancouver Japanese community,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁶ LaViolette, *op. cit.*, p. v.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸ Appendix A.

⁹ Adachi, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

reported that a number of Japanese Canadians received their orders to report for a physical, under the NRMA, but after successful completion of the medical were never called to enlist. A number attempted to enlist at recruitment offices in Vancouver and Victoria but were refused. With the Canadian government's announcement that Japanese Canadians would not be called upon to take military training in January of 1941,¹⁰ the university continued its exceptional policy of including Japanese Canadian students in its military program. President Klinck stated: "The UBC Senate has made the ruling that all able students must take training and until that ruling is changed Japanese students will continue to take the training."¹¹ As *The Ubysey* noted on 14 January 1941, "The universities of Canada are the only places where Japanese are taking training. This is the only university where Japanese are being trained in large numbers."

By the fall session of 1941-42 the war had clearly become the focus of attention in *The Ubysey*. With the compulsory military training on campus, the war was becoming a fact of life for all students. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and Canada's entry into the war against Japan occurred at the beginning of the Christmas break. There was no coverage of the declaration in the student press, which had shut down for the break. When Japanese Canadian students arrived back at school in January, they were asked to turn in their uniforms. The COTC daily orders for 7 January 1942 "Struck off Strength" (released from service) forty-three Japanese Canadians enrolled in the Basic Group and the six enrolled in the COTC Group. The decision to discharge the trainees was made by the university Senate's Committee on Military Education, which was the body that had governed the training and military affairs on campus.

In their meeting of Friday, 2 January 1942, the members of the committee passed a motion which read, in part, "That the University Committee on Military Education instruct the Commanding Officers to advise Japanese students that they will not be permitted to take military training at the University as from January 5, 1942." Included on the committee were the president, the chancellor, the commanding officer of the COTC, and the president of the Students' Council.¹² President Klinck, in explaining the move, stated: "It's for their own protection as well as ours. Feeling runs high down in the business sections and Japanese in uniform

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹¹ *The Ubysey*, 14 January 1941.

¹² Appendix B.

would be an unfortunate sight.”¹³ Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon M. Shrum, officer commanding the COTC, stated: “It is a ticklish situation and the problem had to be solved. Action has been taken and now criticism cannot be levelled at the university.”¹⁴

The decision to release these students from training, like the previous decision to include Japanese Canadian students in their training program, was made entirely by the university and specifically by the Senate Committee on Military Education. The reason for the move is clear in the statements of both President Klinck and Lt.-Col. Shrum. The university was responding to the pressures of popular feeling they felt to be imminent.

The Japanese Canadian students’ reaction to their military discharge was shock. Many of them felt that the past liberalism of the university, in allowing them military training, would in some way insulate them from the revival of anti-Japanese sentiment. Hajime Kagetsu, 5th year forestry engineer and president of the university Japanese Students’ Club, commented: “I didn’t think the university would do a thing like that.”¹⁵ Peter Yamada, a 5th year Arts and Commerce student, expressed the same sentiment in stating: “It’s the last thing I thought the university would do.”¹⁶

In light of the previous actions of the university the shock of the Japanese Canadian students is understandable. Physically and socially isolated from the rest of Vancouver, the Point Grey academic community had offered the Japanese Canadian students a greater degree of acceptance than the larger community of Vancouver. This acceptance was demonstrated in the decision to include the Japanese Canadians in the university’s military training program. In some ways this lulled the Japanese Canadians into believing that they would be exempted from or sheltered from future trouble.

As a first response to their dismissal from the military program the Japanese Students’ Club sent a letter to the editor of *The Ubysey*, pledging their continued allegiance to Canada and denying charges that they had engaged in “fifth column” activities. The letter further pointed out the contradictory position in which the Japanese Canadian students found themselves. To protest against their dismissal would place them in opposition to the administration and government and could be viewed as being

¹³ *The Vancouver News-Herald*, 7 January 1942, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *The New Canadian*, 7 January 1942.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

at least troublesome and even possibly disloyal. Yet to quietly submit to such a move would give the appearance of agreement. The dilemma was resolved by the agreement of the students to accept the university Senate's decision and in addition to place a letter from the Japanese Students' Association explaining their position — "a protest on principle, if only for purposes of record" — in *The Ubyyssey*.¹⁷ Hajime Kagetsu, president of the JSA, stated in his letter to *The Ubyyssey*: "To some things we raise little objection because we realize that although unfavourable to us certain precautions must be taken."¹⁸ Kagetsu did not, in fact, condemn the university for its decision.

This stands in marked contrast to the position taken by *The New Canadian* in its editorial of 7 January 1942.

Personally, for the first time since becoming a part of the University, the editor of this paper is ashamed of the institution which once commanded all his honour and respect. One can forgive the aged Galileo, in fear of torture and eternal damnation, bending low in his recantation. But can one forgive the University, symbol of truth and enlightenment, thus cravenly prostrating itself before the fear of an untested "downtown" criticism?

It is a sorry day indeed for all of us, thus to see fear, even at the University, so warp the wheel of British justice that not only are the accused now convicted unless they are able to prove themselves innocent. They are not even given a chance to prove themselves not guilty!

The editorial in *The New Canadian*, as could be expected, was the strongest condemnation of the university's decision. The Japanese Canadians on campus, the victims of this policy, could hardly be expected to defend themselves or to challenge the administration on this policy without appearing to be unco-operative and running the risk of further isolating themselves on the campus.

The same was not true of *The Ubyyssey*. In the 9 January 1942 edition, with a front-page picture of Michiyoshi Symiya, a first-year arts student in the COTC, returning his uniform, *The Ubyyssey* carried, besides the statement by the JSA, a "One Man's Opinion" column on the question and an editorial. The caption under the picture headed by "Uniform Goes Back" referred to the Japanese cadets as "comrades-in-arms" of the other trainees in the COTC. The article connected with the picture sympathetically states that the Japanese have "worn the Canadian army uniform for the last time. For a year and a half they have drilled with their friends of the white race. Now it has ended." It further quotes the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *The Ubyyssey*, 9 January 1942, p. 2.

Japanese students as stating: "We are loyal. We want to take our place by the side of our Canadian friends in the defence of Canada."¹⁹ Though clearly a sympathetic article, it is interesting to note that the students are referred to as "Japanese," not as "Japanese Canadians." Again, though sympathetic in tone, the article plainly indicates that they are a "race" that is not "white." Finally, the identification of the "Japanese" at the conclusion of the article is interesting since it neglects the fact that the students are Canadians and that they wish to take their place by the side of their "fellow" Canadians. These minor details reveal the context of the debate about the "Japanese student problem." Whatever their citizenship the Japanese Canadians were regarded as aliens.

A further defence of the Japanese Canadian students came from *The Ubysey's* news editor Andy Snaddon, who wrote an opinion piece published in the 9 January 1942 *Ubysey*. In this article Snaddon describes his position:

Coming from a prairie city where the "Yellow Peril" consists of a mere handful of brown people who spend most of their time minding their own business, we were just a little surprised to find that people on the coast had such strong feelings.

Snaddon noted the statement of Vancouver Alderman Halford D. Wilson, one of the leading proponents of the evacuation of all Japanese from the coast:

Why not move residents of Japanese origin from coastal points to internment camps in the east, preferably east of the Rockies. The Japanese thus treated would be investigated to test their loyalty, then if found loyal they would be released to do farm work and road work and such like as long as they did not enter the coastal area of British Columbia.

Snaddon rejected Wilson's suggestion and then proceeded to make the case for leaving the question to the "proper constitutional authorities [who] are in a better position to handle the situation than a Vancouver City Alderman."

Dealing with the question of possible relocation to Alberta, Snaddon concludes with an ambiguous statement which does not make it clear whether his sympathy is for the Japanese internee or the Albertan recipient.

Finally, how about Alberta? We feel that there would be a good deal of resentment if large groups of Japanese were suddenly turned loose in their

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

midst to fend for themselves. Keeping aliens in internment camps is one thing. Providing for unfortunates who have been torn away from their means of livelihood because British Columbia folks got excited is another.

Though it would be correct to state that this article, like the one preceding it, was clearly sympathetic to the plight of the Japanese Canadian, again there are a few interesting points worth noting. Most obvious is Snaddon's condemnation of the great British Columbia bogey man, "the Yellow Peril." Though he finds it quite incomprehensible, he also states that Alberta would be most unreceptive to resettlement of large numbers of Japanese. He clearly makes a very weak case against forced removal. Snaddon's strongest argument against the relocation proposal is based on what he sees as the danger.

The danger as we see it is not in curbing those Japanese who may be planning to extend a welcome to invaders, but it lies in the possibility of creating new enemies from the ranks of those now loyal, but who will resent being pushed around.

All of the preceding articles were in the Friday edition of *The Ubysey*. The following edition of Tuesday January 12 contained two responses to the Friday edition's opinions on the Japanese-Canadian question. The first was a letter to the editor which is reprinted in its entirety below.

Dear Sir:

I read with profound interest your recent article on the Japanese situation and I would like to ask you a simple question which in the course of time may become a grave danger. What would the Japanese of British Columbia do if an army of fifty thousand Japs landed on our coast? Would they link arms with the Canadians and Chinese to repel the invaders or would they stab us in the back?

Before you answer this question read back on the history of the countries Germany and Italy have overrun. What did the German and Italian nationalists do? Did they fight off the invading hordes or did they stab the country of their adoption in the back?

Yours truly,

C. Woodward.

The second was a reply to Snaddon's article of Friday. This article was written by Jack Ferry, who was listed as an associate editor of *The Ubysey*. It is important to note that the debate is not one between the student paper and a few individuals but in fact is a debate within the editorial staff of the newspaper, which, when compared with the city papers of the same period, reflects the very real debate within the uni-

versity and Vancouver itself. Ferry, in putting forward his position, states that he had hoped that *The Ubyyssey* would "remain aloof from the squabble." In Ferry's opinion "in-so-much as Japanese [*sic*] had been removed from the COTC, we were content for the present while Ottawa thought over the situation."

In taking up Snaddon's arguments, Ferry notes that Snaddon, by his own admission, "is in no place to criticize many of the people of B.C. for their stand." He points out the contradiction between Snaddon's mocking of anti-Oriental prejudice in B.C. and Snaddon's own statement about not wanting large numbers of Japanese in Alberta. The bulk of Ferry's criticism, which is quoted below, refers to *The Ubyyssey* editorial of January 9 written by Les Bewley.

Mr Bewley's editorial is more serious. It took the step of inserting the collective nose of the students of UBC into the discussion now taking place between representatives of B.C. and the Dominion government.

I read the editorial "What Japanese Problem?" with amazement. Then I read it again and when I had done so I wondered why it was not titled "What Japanese?" or "What Fifth Column," or "What War?"

He takes the view that the Japanese in B.C. have full allegiance to Canada. He prefers not to think of them as having any connections with other Japs, the naughty Japs, in other parts of the world. For this reason, it seems, he says we have nothing to fear and should be thoroughly ashamed of ourselves for mistrusting any of them.

This is strange when compared to the record.

THE RECORD

For more than thirty years now we have had a considerable Japanese population here. By lowering living standards the Japs managed to work their way into many key industries, especially the coast fisheries. They multiplied rapidly. Their sons and daughters were sent to this country's schools, and also to their own schools where they studied texts supplied by the Government of Imperial Japan. Many of the first Japanese to arrive still speak only the native tongue. Many younger Nipponese were sent back to Japan in the last ten years to study at Japanese universities, where also for the past ten years has [*sic*] been taught the doctrine of Nippon as Ruler of the world.

They settled on the coast, especially near defense posts. Many of the Japanese ardently took up the study of short-wave radio and out-door photography. Innocence of defense regulations brought them into unfortunate and embarrassing scenes with the authorities. All this time they maintained dual citizenship—in Japan and in this country—but always with the assurance that this was merely for sentimental reasons. When members of the Japanese royal families passed through this city, their many compatriots of all generations turned out as one man to yell "Banzai!" and to wave tiny flags of both Japan and our country.

Ferry provided a full summary of the case in favour of evacuation. He was content for the moment to accept the dismissal of the Japanese Canadians from the COTC on campus, but it is quite evident that he expected them to be imprisoned eventually.

There was only one more contribution to the pages of *The Ubysey* on this question and that appears in the 20 January 1942 edition. This letter, signed by J. F. Currie, demands the evacuation of the Japanese from the coast. He feels the danger of "fifth columnism" is a reality because "the loyal Japanese have never separated themselves from their own fascisti [*sic*] factions." "Moreover," he goes on to state, "fascists are in control of a great many Japanese organizations." Currie makes the point that they should not be put in "concentration camps" but "put to some useful work." He also makes the point that "students who are moved must be given educational facilities."

With these seven items from *The Ubysey* we have the case for and against the dismissal of the Japanese Canadian students from the COTC at UBC. Though the decision was made by the administration it was clearly acting under pressure from "the business sections," to use the words of President Klinck. Further, it was an action that was not significantly opposed by faculty or students. The comments of Mr. Ferry and Mr. Woodward support the view that there was also pressure from within the university for some action. It was not just pressure to deal with what Lt.-Col. Shrum termed "a ticklish situation" which "had to be solved." It was pressure reflecting the demands of the Lower Mainland community as a whole for the complete evacuation of the Japanese Canadians. This sentiment clearly had its champions on campus.

In 1940, when the university decided to include all physically able men twenty-one years of age and older in its military training program, it became an exception to the general government policy toward the Japanese Canadians. When Mackenzie King announced the decision not to call on Japanese Canadians for military service the position of UBC became even more exceptional. Both the smaller number of people involved — fifty Japanese Canadian students — and the fact that war had not yet broken out with Japan allowed such temporary benevolence by the university. But with the outbreak of war and the growing anti-Japanese hysteria on the west coast the university took quick action to end its experiment. As for the defenders of the Japanese Canadians on campus, there were no more editorials or comments in *The Ubysey* about the military dismissals.

But the plight of the Japanese Canadians on campus or elsewhere was

not resolved. With the outbreak of war against Japan, thirty-eight Japanese nationals had been arrested. On January 14 the government announced a policy for removing all enemy aliens from defined protected areas in B.C. The date given for completion of this partial evacuation was 1 April 1942. This affected only three members of the UBC Japanese students as the overwhelming majority — sixty-nine — were Japanese Canadians, with one or two Japanese Americans. But a later announcement, made on 24 February 1942, ordered the evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the protected zones, an area 100 miles wide extending along the coastline of B.C. The committee in charge of supervising the move was the British Columbia Security Commission. There was no policy of special treatment for any occupational group, so the students at UBC could be called away at any time to go to road camps or relocation sites in the interior.

Some of the provisions of the order-in-council demanding the total "Japanese" evacuation of the coast created particular hardships for UBC students. The curfew imposed on all persons of Japanese race, demanding their return to their usual place of residence each day before sunset to remain there till sunrise, imposed a hardship on those who commuted to the university.²⁰ As UBC has been, and still is, largely a commuters' university, the order-in-council forbidding the possession of any motor vehicle by persons of the Japanese race living within the protected area, coupled with the curfew, increased the hardship of Japanese students.

Having ended the debate on what to do about the "Japanese problem" in January of 1942, *The Ubysey* did not even announce the Mackenzie King government's decision to order total evacuation. After the January 20 letter demanding the evacuation of the "Japanese" the question was dropped completely. Most important of all, there was no further editorializing either for or against moves affecting the Japanese Canadians.

The next reference to the Japanese students on campus is a *Ubysey* article on the Japanese Students' Club's February 14 St. Valentine's Dance. Attended by more than 100 couples, the dance raised \$50 for the War Aid Fund. Hajimi Kagetsu, president of the club, is quoted as stating that "by endeavours such as these, the Japanese Students' Club hopes to be able to prove its loyalty to the war effort." This was to be the last large social event for the club for the remainder of the war.

On 6 March 1942 *The Ubysey* announced: "At least two Japanese students, both unnaturalized [*sic*], have had to leave the university under

²⁰ LaViolette, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

the Dominion Government's regulations providing for evacuation of B.C. Nipponese." The next paragraph in *The Ubysssey* article is most cryptic: "These two, both males, are leaving through the natural course of events and, contrary to the belief felt in some quarters, have not received any special considerations as university students." What is meant by "the natural course of events" in a period of most unusual events is anyone's guess. What is quite interesting is the reference to "special considerations as university students." Clearly there is some motion in "certain quarters" against special consideration for Japanese university students. Of course, what is meant by "special considerations" is undefined. It could mean deferments until the end of classes and exams, but more likely it means help in transferring to another university. The article ends with a statement about students being able to write their final examinations at any other university in Canada. It goes on to assure the reader that "this is a customary procedure for students unable to write their exams during the regular UBC schedule."

The next reference to the plight of the Japanese Canadian students at UBC appears two weeks after the evacuation order. The International Student Service committee of the War Aid Council offered its services to the B.C. Security Commission to aid "in dealing with the problem of Japanese students at present attending university."²¹ Working with the registrar, C. B. Wood, the committee prepared a report on the seventy-two remaining "Japanese" students at UBC. Though seventy-six had registered for the 1941-42 session, four, all Japanese born, had withdrawn early in the second term. Of the three remaining Japanese nationals, two had left and a third was making preparation to leave before the term ended.

The Ubysssey reported that the president of the ISS committee, Ted Scott, sent a letter to the B.C. Security Commission pointing out the fact that removing students immediately would cause them great inconvenience in writing the final exams, only six weeks away. Scott's letter went on to state:

We feel that if it is not contrary to the existing regulations and would not hinder the work of the commission, provision might be made in the order in which evacuation is undertaken for students to remain undisturbed for several weeks needed to complete their present year's work at the university.

Assurance that they might reasonably expect to remain for their examinations here could do much to quiet their present fears and uncertainties, and

²¹ *The Ubysssey*, 13 March, 1942.

allow them to proceed with these last important weeks of work with much greater effectiveness.

The Ubysey article went on to state:

In the event that this provision could not be made, the ISS at UBC is prepared to assist the Commission in locating the Japanese students at other university centres so that the contribution which many of them are preparing to make to Canadian life might not be lost.

Though exact details of the arrangement are unknown, the students did get deferments. Of the fourteen Japanese Canadian students who graduated that year from UBC all but one, Fred Sasaki, stayed at UBC to complete classes and write their exams. Sasaki moved to Calgary and wrote his exams there.

As it turned out for one unfortunate student, even moving could be a dangerous alternative. Saburo Takahashi, a mechanical engineering student at UBC, decided to transfer to the University of Alberta in Edmonton in order to continue his studies. Because of the restriction on Japanese possessing motor vehicles in the restricted area he had to solicit the aid of a friend to drive his car to Boston Bar and so get beyond the 100-mile restricted area. Takahashi had in his possession a map given to him by a fellow UBC student showing that student's home in Trail, B.C. RCMP officers stopped Takahashi in Trail, found the map in his possession and prepared to imprison him on "charges of possible sabotage for possessing maps of restricted areas in that district."²² The police eventually dropped all charges against Takahashi, and he was returned to Hastings Park, where he awaited evacuation under the general plan.

The Ubysey covered this incident in its March 27 edition, including an editorial entitled "Jap Jitters." The editorial saw the incident as reflecting two prevailing conditions in B.C. The highly commendable condition was the preparedness of the RCMP, who, "entrusted with the task of guarding against enemy action from within, are so alert on their job." The "dangerous" and "harmful" condition, on the other hand, was the dastardly practice of condemning every person of Japanese origin on sight and screaming "Jap, Jap" whenever some dark figure is seen in the night (as happened this week when some patriot swore he saw a Jap breaking into a building and it turned out to be the caretaker who had forgotten his key) is an excellent example of the effect of war on human psychology.

The editorial ended with a plea. "If the public and press would just

²² *The New Canadian*, 28 March 1942.

leave the matter of the Japanese up to the officials assigned to that job, the B.C. Security Commission and the RCMP, all these fantastic stories which create so much unrest would never circulate.”

It is quite appropriate that this was the last mention of Japanese Canadian students in *The Ubyyssey* and the last *Ubyyssey* in the stormy 1941-42 session. The policy put forward in this editorial — “to leave the matter of the Japanese up to the officials assigned to that job” — was in fact the position that the university had taken. The fact that few others were willing to let things be until the total evacuation did not cause the university to alter its position.

With fourteen of the seventy-two enrolled Japanese Canadian students at UBC graduating in the 1941-42 session, the problem for the remaining fifty-eight undergraduates was to try and transfer to other campuses outside the protected area in order to complete their education. Some preparations were made for the eventual return of Japanese Canadian students to UBC. At the end of the 1941-42 session, it was proposed that the Japanese Students' Club executive for that session remain in office until “such time as a return to normal conditions will permit the freedom of club activities.”²³ The usual Japanese Students' Club annual graduation banquet was dispensed with. It was not practical to conduct such an event in the Hastings Park confinement area. The balance of the club treasury was donated to the Greater Vancouver Welfare Federation, Japanese Branch. *The New Canadian* ran a list of the graduating students and those who had completed their courses.²⁴

For Japanese Canadian students hoping to continue their education, getting into other universities elsewhere in Canada was no simple task. The problems were generally twofold: getting permission to go to the university and getting permission to live in the city in which the university was located. A further problem was that of financing their education. Needless to say, with the confiscation of all the evacuated persons' property, money to send someone to college was hard to come by. Added to this was the public hostility to “Japanese” going to college while Canadian boys were off fighting for their country. The fact that Japanese Canadians were not permitted to enlist did little to moderate hostility and in fact contributed to the common belief that the “Japanese” were disloyal and not to be trusted.

McGill University, on the basis of security, refused admission to

²³ *The New Canadian*, 14 May 1942.

²⁴ Appendix D.

Japanese Canadians until the spring of 1945.²⁵ It seems that, due to federal government regulations, Japanese Canadian students could not be admitted to buildings where vital war research was being carried on. This would restrict Japanese Canadian attendance, but certainly was not a sufficient cause for total exclusion. A movement developed both on and off the campus asking for a more liberal policy.²⁶

In spite of the hesitation of the City of Edmonton, two B.C. Japanese were able to enroll at the University of Alberta in the 1942-43 session and about five in the 1943-44 session.²⁷

At the University of Saskatchewan two students were granted residential accommodation at the university. This was essential for attendance at the University of Saskatchewan as Japanese students were not permitted to reside in Saskatoon. A few students entered Sir George Williams in Montreal and McMaster at Hamilton, Ontario.

At the insistence of the Ontario government students at first were not accepted at the University of Toronto or at Queen's University in Kingston. Six students, in fact, had received written permission to begin their fall term at Queen's. On arriving in Kingston these students were told their enrolment was "under consideration" and they were subsequently denied enrolment.²⁸ The situation at the University of Toronto was challenged by the affiliated colleges. When faced with a revolt by affiliated colleges demanding their right to control admissions and threatening a lawsuit, the board of governors backed down on its total exclusion policy.

With the Japanese Canadian students going to different universities the question of the COTC once again arose. Though generally excluded from the COTC, there were instances of Japanese Canadian students being required to take the military training without being officially enrolled. But in most cases they were simply given deferments from the military training.²⁹

The end of the war did not signal the end of the wartime restrictions on the Japanese Canadians. There was a long drawn-out process which did not see the removal of the last of the federal government's restrictions until 1 April 1949, four years after the war had ended and seven years after they had been imposed. Japanese Canadian students did not return

²⁵ La Violette, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁸ Adachi, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

²⁹ LaViolette, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

to UBC until 1948. In the fall term of that year fifteen Japanese Canadians obtained permits to study at UBC.³⁰

It is a sad comment on our age that we still deal with man-made catastrophes such as war as at best undesirable and at worst inevitable. The evacuation of the Japanese from the west coast was, of course, a man-made catastrophe brought on by the war and long-standing anti-Japanese racism. In wartime and other times of grave national emergency the first victims appear to be personal freedom and civil liberties. The fact that a people, defined by race, could be dislocated and moved to internment camps in the interior and have their property confiscated would constitute an outrage in peacetime. All were assumed to be guilty until proven innocent and all were denied the opportunity to prove their innocence or loyalty.

The New Canadian, editorializing on the dismissal of the Japanese Canadians from the COTC at UBC, saw the issue in a larger context.

There is a larger issue implicit in this situation. Here at the University, was a group of Canadian-born citizens, so Canadianized in outlook and education, so aware of Canadian ideas and traditions, so deeply obligated and cognizant of their obligation to Canada, as to provide a test tube experiment in loyalty and citizenship that had no chance for failure. And thus thrown away is a splendid opportunity, not merely to secure the hands and brains of a small group of trained students zealously contributing to Canada's war, but also to rally solidly and effectively behind them the whole of the Japanese population in Canada.

But a time of war and national emergency is not a time for liberal social experiments. With Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war with Japan the university moved quickly to place itself in the mainstream of B.C. society. If this meant the abandonment of some seventy students, it was no doubt a regrettable but necessary move, in the view of the administration. The university was, after all, no longer a "symbol of truth and enlightenment" but an institution mobilized for war.

³⁰ Adachi, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

APPENDIX A

Japanese Students at UBC, 1941-42 Session

7 male students born in Japan

55 male students born in Canada or United States

14 female students born in Canada or United States

APPENDIX B

*University of British Columbia
Military Education Committee Minutes*

Meeting Friday, Jan. 2, 1942

- 1 A meeting of the Committee on Military Education was held at 5:00 p.m. on Friday, January 2nd, in the office of Chancellor R. E. McKechnie. Those present were Chancellor R. E. McKechnie chairman, President L. S. Klinck, Dean J. N. Finlayson, Mr. C. B. Wood, Mr. Edward McBride, and Lt.-Col. G. M. Shrum.

Japanese Students

- 4 After considerable discussion it was moved by Dean Finlayson and seconded by President Klinck that the University Committee on Military Education instruct the commanding Officer to advise Japanese students that they will not be permitted to take military training at the University as from January 5, 1942.

APPENDIX C

*COTC UBC Contingent Daily Orders for 7 January 1942.*5. *Strength Decrease (cont'd)*

- (e) The u/m Other Ranks are Struck Off Strength this Unit under provisions of Para 393 K.R. (Can) with effect 3-1-42. Local Headquarters Training to date as shown.

Basic Group

K577954	Cdt. Arai, K.	LHQ	3 days
K577902	Cdt. Harada, T.	"	9 days
K577135	Cdt. Hikida, H. R.	"	9 days
K576882	Cdt. Hirano, T.	"	7 days
K577923	Cdt. Ide, G. R.	"	8 days
K577672	Cdt. Ikebuchi, N. Y.	"	8 days
K577772	Cdt. Inouye, J. S.	"	9 days
K577069	Cdt. Kadota, C. H.	"	8 days
K577927	Cdt. Kagetsu, H.	"	6 days
K577007	Cdt. Kato, Y.	"	8 days
K577008	Cdt. Kawahara, H.	"	8 days
K577145	Cdt. Matsui, R.	"	8 days
K576970	Cdt. Mitsui, K.	"	7 days
K577248	Cdt. Miura, H.	"	9 days
K577935	Cdt. Namba, A.	"	8 days
K577764	Cdt. Nikaido, H. F.	"	8 days
K577472	Cdt. Nisho, N. K.	"	9 days
K577762	Cdt. Nisho, T. T.	"	9 days

K577822	Cdt. Nishioka, G.	”	9 days
K576926	Cdt. Noguchi, K.	”	9 days
K577016	Cdt. Obokata, A.	”	8 days
K577319	Cdt. Ohama, G.	”	Nil
K577832	Cdt. Okumura, S.	”	7 days
K577710	Cdt. Oshiro, R.	”	9 days
K576843	Cdt. Otsuki, J.	”	9 days
K577708	Cdt. Ozaki, T. T.	”	9 days
K576931	Cdt. Sasaki, F. Y.	”	9 days
K577618	Cdt. Sasaki, M.	”	10 days
K577153	Cdt. Shigei, H.	”	9 days
K577626	Cdt. Shimo-Takahara, L. H.	”	9 days
K577181	Cdt. Shinobu, R.	”	9 days
K576607	Cdt. Shiozaki, D. F.	”	8 days
K577260	Cdt. Shoji, H. N.	”	9 days
K577599	Cdt. Sumiya, M.	”	9 days
K577485	Cdt. Suzuki, G.	”	9 days
K577906	Cdt. Tabata, M.	”	8 days
K576985	Cdt. Takahashi, S.	”	8 days
K577914	Cdt. Toguri, S. G. T.	”	8 days
K577907	Cdt. Uyeno, T. J.	”	9 days
K577912	Cdt. Watanabe, S.	”	8 days
K577685	Cdt. Yamashita, T. I.	”	9 days
K577631	Cdt. Yano, F. S.	”	9 days
K577760	Cdt. Yoshioka, E. S.	”	9 days

C.O.T.C. Group

K576530	Cdt. Mizuhara, S. J.	”	6 days
K576601	Cdt. Okuno, S.	”	9 days
K576095	Cdt. Sanmiya, T.	”	1 day
K576610	Cdt. Takahashi, Y.	”	9 days
K576611	Cdt. Tsujimura, K.	”	8 days
K576555	Cdt. Yamada, F.	”	Nil

APPENDIX D

Arts and Science

Conferring the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours,
 Kimimichi Arai, first class honours in physics and chemistry; Roy Royohei
 Shinobu, second class honours in chemistry; Kimiko Takimoto, second class
 honours in French.

Conferring the Degree of Bachelor of Arts
 Class II General Course
 Kiichi Noguchi, Katherine S. Shimo-Takahara
 Passed: Peter F. Yamada

Commerce

Conferring the Degree of Bachelor of Commerce

Class I

Fredrick Y. Sasaki

Class II

Akira Namba

Passed: Shigekazu Okuno, David F. Shiogaki, Peter F. Yamada, George S. Yamashita, Roy Nose

Completed the work of the winter session

Class II

Kiyoshi Kato

Applied Science

Conferring the Degree of Master of Applied Science

Forest Engineering Class II

Hajime Kagetsu

Applied Science Sixth Year Nursing Class II

Michiyo A. Uyede

Arts and Science Third Year

Class I — Shigayuki Otsuki

Class II Passed: Toshio Hirano, Mariko Uyeda

Commerce

Class II Passed with supplementals: Hideo Kawahara, Hideo Shigei

Arts and Science Second Year

Class I — Edward S. Yoshioka

Class II — Akiko Kagetsu, Takako Nikaido, Samuel G. Toguri

Passed: Richard Matsui, Shinbo M. Nagata, George Nishioka, Arthur Obokata

Passed with supplementals: Hideaki R. Hikida, Lily Y. Uyeda

Passed in certain subjects: L. Y. Shimo-Takahara, Thomas I. Yamashita.

Commerce

Class II — Teruo Harada

Passed with supplementals: Tomitaro Nishio

Arts and Science First Year

Class II — Alice C. Kudo, Mitsuo G. Nakashiba, Henry Y. Okada, Shigeharu Okumura, Roy Oshiro, Mitsuru Sasaki, Lloyd H. Shimo-Takahara, Fumiharu R. Shiozaki, Michiyoshi Sumiya, Fred S. Yano.

Passed: Lucy M. Ikata, Fusako R. Nagata

Passed with supplementals: Hisatoshi Moriyama, Norikazu Nishio

Passed in certain subjects: George R. Ide

Arts and Science Social Work

Completed the work of the winter session
Class II — Kiyoshi Kato

Applied Science

Chemical Engineering Class II — Minoru Tabata, Koichi Tsujimura
Mechanical Engineering Class II — Koei Mitsui, Yoshito Takahashi
Examinations deferred: Saburo Takahashi

Applied Science Third Year

Passed with supplementals: Yoichi Kato

Applied Science Second Year

Honours: Hideo J. Miura
Class II — Henry N. Shoji, Saburo Watanabe, George K. Wate

Agriculture

Passed: Norman Ikebuchi, Teiso J. Uyeno