

BEARING THE UNBEARABLE

The Memoir of a Japanese Pioneer Woman

by

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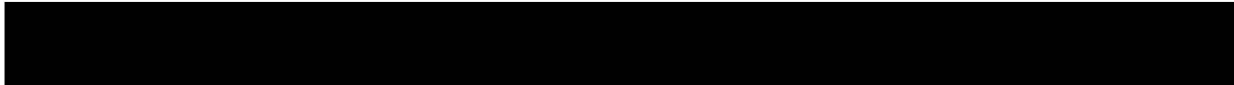
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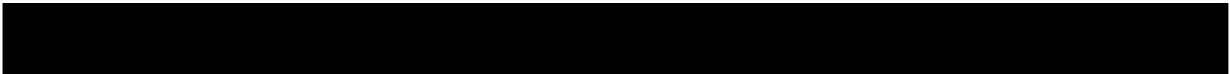
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Yours sincerely,


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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on the memoir of a pioneer Japanese woman, Mrs. Imada Ito (April 1891-November 1987), who immigrated to Canada in 1911 as a picture bride. The part of her memoir I have studied here spans the years 1941-1971. This period covers the time when Mrs. Imada and her family were evacuated from their Fraser Valley farm to a self-supporting community in Taylor Lake, the wartime interval lived in evacuation in the Cariboo, the years of recovery and reestablishment after the war spent in Kamloops, and her retirement days in Vancouver.

The memoir was originally written the way elderly Japanese Canadians and older Nisei [the second generation, Canadian born] speak today. It is a unique blend of Meiji Japanese, fractured English and a mixture of prefectural dialects. Her script was mainly hiragana [cursive syllabary] but also consisted of katakana [phonetic syllables used for foreign words] often used inappropriately (that is, for a Japanese word), kanji [Chinese ideograms or characters used in the Japanese language] which were often incorrect but were similar in appearance or sound to the correct ones. I have translated it into English and checked its contents against other sources including government files and other documents, contemporary newspapers,

interviews with individuals mentioned in the memoir and with others who lived through the events described, other autobiographical accounts, and secondary sources in both English and Japanese languages. My findings, as well as other explanatory materials have gone into the introduction, afterword, critical memoir notes, and appendices in order to enhance the memoir's usefulness to the social historians of Canada's immigrant pioneers.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in the thesis and the notes:

ALR	=	Agricultural Land Reserve
BCSC	=	British Columbia Security Commission
NAC	=	National Archives of Canada
NAJC	=	National Association of Japanese Canadians
PABC	=	Provincial Archives of British Columbia
PGE Railway	=	Pacific Great Eastern Railway
UBC	=	University of British Columbia
VLA	=	Veterans' Land Act

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work was carried out and completed with the assistance of many people.

I wish to thank Toshio and Katsumi Imada for their enthusiastic co-operation in sharing their past with me, and helping to clarify parts of their mother's memoir.

The staffs of the University of British Columbia Library Special Collections and Asian Centre, the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and the National Archives of Canada were also very helpful. There are many friends, associates, and personnel in the Department of History whom I would like to thank but dare not name individually lest I inadvertently omit some; but special mention must be made of Sean McKierahan of Pitt Meadows who searched the present land titles and locations of the Imada property and spent a day showing them to me. My mother, Misayo Ishil has always backed my academic endeavours and in this work was of much practical help in solving some linguistic puzzles.

I wish to acknowledge the generous financial support that I received from the University of Victoria in the form of the Alvin G. Poettcker Graduate Fellowship and the Holiff Family Mature Student Scholarship.

Finally, I wish to thank Dr. E. Patricia Tsurumi without whose enthusiasm and encouragement I would never have continued my studies nor realized the significance of Mrs. Imada's memoir.

INTRODUCTION

Under the Tokugawa shogunate Japan was isolated from the Western world. It was not until the chaos of the last days of that regime in late 1866 that passports to travel overseas became available to its citizens.¹ The first group of workers to go to a Western country, 141 men and six women from Tokyo and Yokohama, was recruited by Eugene Van Reed, an American merchant who served as the Hawaiian consul in Japan.² In May 1868, they left for Hawaiian sugar plantations without the permission of the newly-proclaimed Meiji government.³ They are referred to now as the gannen mono ["first year people," referring to the first year of Meiji]. This venture was a failure, at least partly, because these workers were urban people with no farming experience. A few other early attempts to send workers overseas were made but they were equally ill-conceived and badly executed.⁴

¹Alan Takeo Moriyama, Imingaisha: Japanese Emigration Companies and Hawaii (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), p. 1.

²At this time the Hawaiian Islands was "still a monarchy and known as the Hawaiian Kingdom. Then in 1893 a number of American residents staged a bloodless coup d'état and established the Hawaiian Republic. . . . Five years later in 1898, the republic became an American territory and consequently was governed by U. S. federal law beginning in June of 1900." Ibid. p. 91.

³Ibid., p. 1.

⁴A German company sent forty-two workers to Guam, and a Dutchman tried to establish a six-hundred acre silk and tea settlement in northern California. Poor planning, differences in climate and working conditions led to

From 1885, however, due to the dire need of workers in the sugar plantations of Hawaii and to the rural depression in Japan, the Hawaiian monarchy and the Japanese government co-operated to send a steady stream of workers under three-year contracts to Hawaii as dekasegi rōdō [labourers working temporarily away from home].⁵ From 1894 to 1908, Japanese private companies took over.

According to Moriyama, between 1898 and 1908, 4,048 workers were sent to Canada.⁶ There were seventeen labour-recruiting companies operating in Japan. Two companies, the Kobe Immigration Company and the Kyushu Immigration Company recruited the largest numbers to Canada. There was a decrease of such immigrants after 1898--except in 1907 when there was a final peak.⁷

failure in both cases. Ibid. p. 2.

⁵Yuji Ichioka, Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924 (New York: The Free Press, 1988), p. 40.

⁶Moriyama, Imingaisha, p. 153.

⁷The temporary decrease in "company" immigrants was because "the Japanese government suspended all emigration to Canada with the exception of three classes: returning immigrants, family members of residents in Canada and merchants and students." This action was in acknowledgement of the growing anti-Japanese agitation, but its motivation in Japan was "the need to mobilize all of her resources, including manpower, for an impending war with Russia." (Russo-Japanese War--1904-1905.) Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 43-46.

Number of Company and Non-Company Emigrants to Canada,
1898-1908

<u>Year</u>	<u>Company Emigrants</u>	<u>Non-Company Emigrants</u>
1898	1,151	--
1899	1,193	533
1900	1,425	1,285
1901	--	--
1902	--	35
1903	--	178
1904	--	159
1905	--	196
1906	--	442
1907	1,658	1,095
1908	10	591
Totals	5,437	4,514

Source: Gaimusho tsūshokyōku, Ryoken kafusu oyobi imin tōkei, [Foreign Ministry Commerce Bureau, Statistics on passports granted and emigrants], pp. 142-63 cited in Moriyama, Alan Takeo. Imingaisha, p. 153.

After the "gentleman's agreement" of 1908 between Canada and Japan, when Japan voluntarily agreed to restrict the number of passports issued to male labourers and domestic servants to an annual maximum of 400, private companies were no longer used. Modifications to this "gentleman's agreement" made in 1923 and 1928 further reduced the Japanese immigrants to an annual quota of 150 which included wives and children. This, very briefly, is the immigration history of the Japanese in Canada.

For a long time, publications regarding the experiences of immigrant Canadians from many ethnic backgrounds were scarce. In recent years--due in part to the promotion of multiculturalism and to a growing interest

in social history--serious consideration of such experiences has grown. As a result, Japanese Canadian history has received some important attention in the 1960s and 1970s.

Some of the authors who have studied Japanese Canadians are Ken Adachi,⁸ Patricia Roy,⁹ and Peter Ward.¹⁰ Adachi, working in the early seventies, was hampered by his inability to read Japanese and the inaccessibility of pertinent government documents. Roy and Ward have confined their work to English language sources. The government documents, periodical literature, and other sources these two have used provide a "white" perspective on the Japanese in Canada. Their work deals with the background, fears, and attitudes of mainstream Canadian labourers, politicians, and the public at large regarding the Japanese communities; it discusses reasons why the Japanese settlers and their descendants were ostracized, why they did not have the

⁸Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978).

⁹Patricia E. Roy, "British Columbia's Fear of Asians, 1900-1950," in A History of British Columbia (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989) and A White Man's Province: British Columbia's Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrant, 1858-1914 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989).

¹⁰W. Peter Ward, The Japanese in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982). Canada's Ethnic Groups; no. 3; White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978) and "British Columbia and the Japanese Evacuation," in British Columbia: Historical Readings (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981).

franchise, why their entry into certain professions and trades was prohibited. From the "white" perspective they also analyze the destruction of the Japanese community in the aftermath of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

The evacuation of the Japanese from the West Coast and the eradication of many fishing, logging, and farming communities scattered throughout the West Coast have been well documented in more recent work. Ann Sunahara, for example, has exposed the political expediency of the Mackenzie King government and, in particular, the personal prejudices of Ian Mackenzie (Liberal, Vancouver Centre, Minister of Pensions and Health) and his ilk.¹¹ There is no doubt that there is a need and a place for such works. Sunahara's book is especially important. She not only probed official documents, but also interviewed many individuals of Japanese descent and many Caucasians.

However, to fully understand the story of Canada's Japanese immigrants, it is necessary to peruse the Japanese language sources, to speak to the pioneers themselves, and to check their recollections against the memories of children and grandchildren. The emotional impact of the experiences of the Japanese in Canada must not be ignored. Their own words must be heard. Novels such as Joy Kogawa's Obasan, and stories such as Shizuye Takashima's A Child in

¹¹Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism (Toronto: Lorimer and Company, 1981), p. 35.

Prison Camp help us to hear some of these voices.¹² Takeo Ujo Nakano's Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of His Internment in Canada is especially worthy of note.¹³ This sensitively executed translation of Nakano's diary, which includes some of his fine poems, tells the story of Japanese-Canadian upheaval from the point of view of one who was forced to participate in it. On March 16, 1942, he was removed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) from his family in Woodfibre and was sent to a road camp in the Yellowhead area. In August when he insisted that he be allowed to join his family in Greenwood instead of working in the Slocan Valley, he was sent to an internment camp in Angler, Ontario. In order to be reunited with his family he applied for a job in Toronto and got permission to leave the camp on November 17, 1943. Nakano's love of nature, his loneliness, and his confusion regarding government decrees were recorded in a diary along with numerous short poems. Publication of his book offers a welcome addition to information on the wartime experiences of the Japanese Canadians.

The memoir of Mrs. Imada Ito I have presented in translation here is, like Nakano's account, an important

¹²Joy Kogawa, Obasan (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1981); Shizuye Takashima, A Child in Prison Camp (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1971).

¹³Takeo Ujo Nakano, Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of His Internment in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

pioneer voice. Mrs. Imada's long memoir, covering the period 1911 to 1971 offers a broad panoramic view of immigrant life, as well as a uniquely detailed history of one Japanese-Canadian family.

My third year Honours' paper on the experiences of Japanese pioneer women first introduced me to her memoir. At that time, I read many books on the lives of Japanese immigrants, researched and written in Japanese by scholars from Japan. In particular there were two books written by new Japanese immigrant women on the picture brides which were very informative.¹⁴ For the first time I realized the considerable contribution that the Issei (first generation Japanese immigrant) women had made to Japanese Canadian society and what unique people they had been. Previously, Issei women had appeared to me to be reserved, private and quiet people who were merely housekeepers and mothers. Suddenly, my picture of them was completely altered and their adventurousness, bravery and tenacity became apparent. I saw my mother and her friends, the female Japanese school teachers I had had in Vancouver, the women who had served customers on Powell Street, the women who had worked on Fraser Valley farms, and the women who had quietly, stoically raised their children in Lemon Creek, in a

¹⁴Kudo Miyoko, Shakonsai [Picture Brides] (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1983); Makabe Tomoko, Shashinkon No Tsumatachi [Wives Who Were Picture Brides] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1983).

completely different light. Their stories needed to be told--and they had to be from a female point of view and by a person who had observed them at close range for many years. So it was with this in mind that I plunged into personal interviews, oral tapes at the Special Collections at the University of British Columbia Library, and at the Provincial Archives in Victoria, and also memoirs and articles stored at the Special Collections, UBC Library.

While perusing the files at Special Collections, I stumbled across two thick folders which at first glance appeared to be copies of a diary conscientiously kept by a picture bride.¹⁵ On careful study of the many pages handwritten in Japanese, I found that it was a memoir that had been written and rewritten at different periods of time. It offered a detailed record of the life of a Japanese picture bride: her marriage in 1910, her arrival in Canada, the difficult years that followed, her experiences during the Evacuation, her final retirement years in Vancouver. This was the memoir of Mrs. Imada Ito.

It was exciting to find that what had been preserved was the life story of an "insignificant actor" in British Columbia history. Mrs. Imada noted on the final page of one section that it had been written when she was fifty-five years of age (1946-1947). She was then trying to recall her

¹⁵University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections. Japanese Canadian Collection, Box 3, Folders 12 and 12a.

experiences of the past thirty-five years. She again rewrote her memoir when she was eighty-one years old (in 1972), adding to it the events of the twenty-six ensuing years. This she clearly stated on her final page:

I will apologize in advance. This was written by an uneducated person, and since I cannot write the correct ideographs, I think this is difficult to read. This was not written just once or twice, so I think I may have written about the same thing a number of times. When I was fifty-five years old, I wrote about the experiences of thirty-five years, recalling, recalling. The later events of twenty-six years, I wrote at the age of eighty-one years, recalling and thinking, thinking and recalling and I have written at some length. However, I have not written lies or false stories. During the first ten years I walked a thorny path and suffered a great deal. However, after the war, on the other hand, I had a life of ease and joy. Everyday I am continuously thankful. If this serves any useful purpose, please use it. If not, please burn it.¹⁶

Mrs. Imada died on October 21, 1987, in her ninety-seventh year. When she died, Dr. Shimpo Mitsuru of the University of Waterloo, Kitchener, Ontario, wrote an article about her in two parts in the Japanese section of The New Canadian.¹⁷ He said that he had rented a room in her home in April 1963 and that she had written her memoir on his urging. However, Mrs. Imada herself has stated that she had

¹⁶Michiko Midge Ayukawa, "The Memoirs of Imada Ito, A Japanese Pioneer Woman" (B.A. essay, University of Victoria, 1988), pp. 5, 6.

¹⁷Shimpo Mitsuru, "Imada Ito-san no Shi ni Omou [Thoughts on the Death of Mrs. Imada Ito]," The New Canadian, 13 November, 1987, p. 7 and "Imada Ito-san no Shi ni Omou [Thoughts on the Death of Mrs. Imada Ito]," The New Canadian, 17 November, 1987, p. 7.

written it earlier. She did nevertheless revise it more than once. The copies I found in the UBC Library Special Collections differ very little in content except for statements like "you will, I know, find it hard to imagine this . . ." or "at that time, we did not have the modern conveniences like . . ." In addition there were some puzzling minor revisions in the various drafts. It is obvious that these were corrections made by Shimpo in his effort to understand the Japanese Canadian language that Mrs. Imada used.¹⁸ He apparently had great difficulty with this language, for Mrs. Imada had written the way elderly Japanese Canadians and older Nisei (the second generation, Canadian born) speak today. It is a unique blend of Meiji Japanese, fractured English and a mixture of prefectural dialects. She sometimes used kanji [Chinese characters or ideograms used in the Japanese language] which were incorrect but were similar in appearance, or in some cases had the same sounds as the correct ones. Perhaps such usage impeded Shimpo's comprehension of her writing. It was not a problem with me however, because my mother, who also came from Hiroshima prefecture but is a decade younger than Mrs. Imada, writes to me regularly in a similar script.

Some of the pages of Mrs. Imada's memoir were rather disjointed. She would mention a certain person and then would recall the first time that person had crossed her

¹⁸Ayukawa, "Memoirs," p. 7.

path. For example, she recalled that she had met Mr. Uyehara, the prime mover behind the settlement in Taylor Lake, in Ladysmith thirty years earlier. She would also write a number of times about traumatic events such as those of 1942. It is my theory that she wrote about these events repeatedly while she saw her husband through his serious operation, his convalescence, and finally death. This was a time when she was (extremely disturbed and still very angry with the Canadian government.) The tone in these drafts was quite different from that in some other sections. Probably, the latter were written much later when she had mellowed with the passing of time and comfortable (years had eased the pain and anger.)

There is no doubt that memoirs such as Mrs. Imada's are an important part of our history. Historians need to evaluate government decrees, policies and their consequences. However, (studying human lives is also important-- for its own sake and also because such studies help "flesh out" general outlines. Especially significant is the human side of the events covered in this paper--that is, the treatment of the Japanese people during World War II.)

Statistics and detailed discussions of the bigoted opinions of the politicians and the populace of British Columbia by themselves cannot elucidate the government's decision to evacuate and then sell at fire-sale prices the property of the Japanese Canadians. The way in which these

decrees affected the life of one family as recorded by Mrs. Imada suddenly forces one to realize what the powerful government actually did to a whole group of its people. Her memoir reveals heartache, desolation, panic, helplessness, and bitterness; but it also gives us a glimpse of a stubborn determination to survive and the amazing capacity of this diminutive pioneer woman to pursue life vigorously.

Another important aspect of this memoir is that it depicts the lives of a hitherto little known group of evacuees--those who participated in the so-called jiyū-idō [independent migration]. This is the group who left the coastal area with their own resources and settled temporarily wherever they were allowed to set up a small community.¹⁹ These individuals at first were barely tolerated by the general populace of the regions in which they settled; usually they lived on their savings while scratching out an existence. They had to provide schooling for their children since the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) would not do so.²⁰ At East Lillooet such evacuees built their own cabins which lacked electricity and

¹⁹Adachi makes no mention of this group. Sunahara made two brief references to it; Sunahara, Politics, pp. 65, 78. "The wealthier ... chartered special trains to move their families and friends to autonomous self-supporting communities at Christina Lake, Bridge River-Lillooet, McGillivray Falls and Minto City." Sunahara, Politics, p. 65.

²⁰M. Miyasaki, My Sixty Years in Canada (Lillooet: M. Miyasaki, 1973), p. 25.

"they clambered down the embankment of the Fraser River to scoop up bucketfuls [of water]. . ." ²¹ Their lives were in many ways more difficult than those of the people who were moved to the interior ghost towns. In fact, their hardships surely equalled those of the families who moved to the sugar beet fields of Alberta and Manitoba. ²²

Members of the Imada family went as participants in "independent migration" to Taylor Lake, which was in the Bridge River-Lillooet area. (See Map 1.) Among the files in the National Archives was one covering the period from July 11, 1942 to December 18, 1943. It consisted mainly of regular reports by the BCSC supervisor, W. A. MacBrayne, on the communities of Bridge River, McGillivary Falls, Lillooet, Minto and Taylor Lake, sent to the General Manager of the BCSC in Vancouver. ²³ A June 2, 1943 memorandum from a Mr. W. A. Eastwood to a Mr. George Collins described the difference between "self-supporting" and "self-evacuated" projects. Evidently, Taylor Lake was "half-way between" these two types. ²⁴ (See Appendix I, pp. 101-2.)

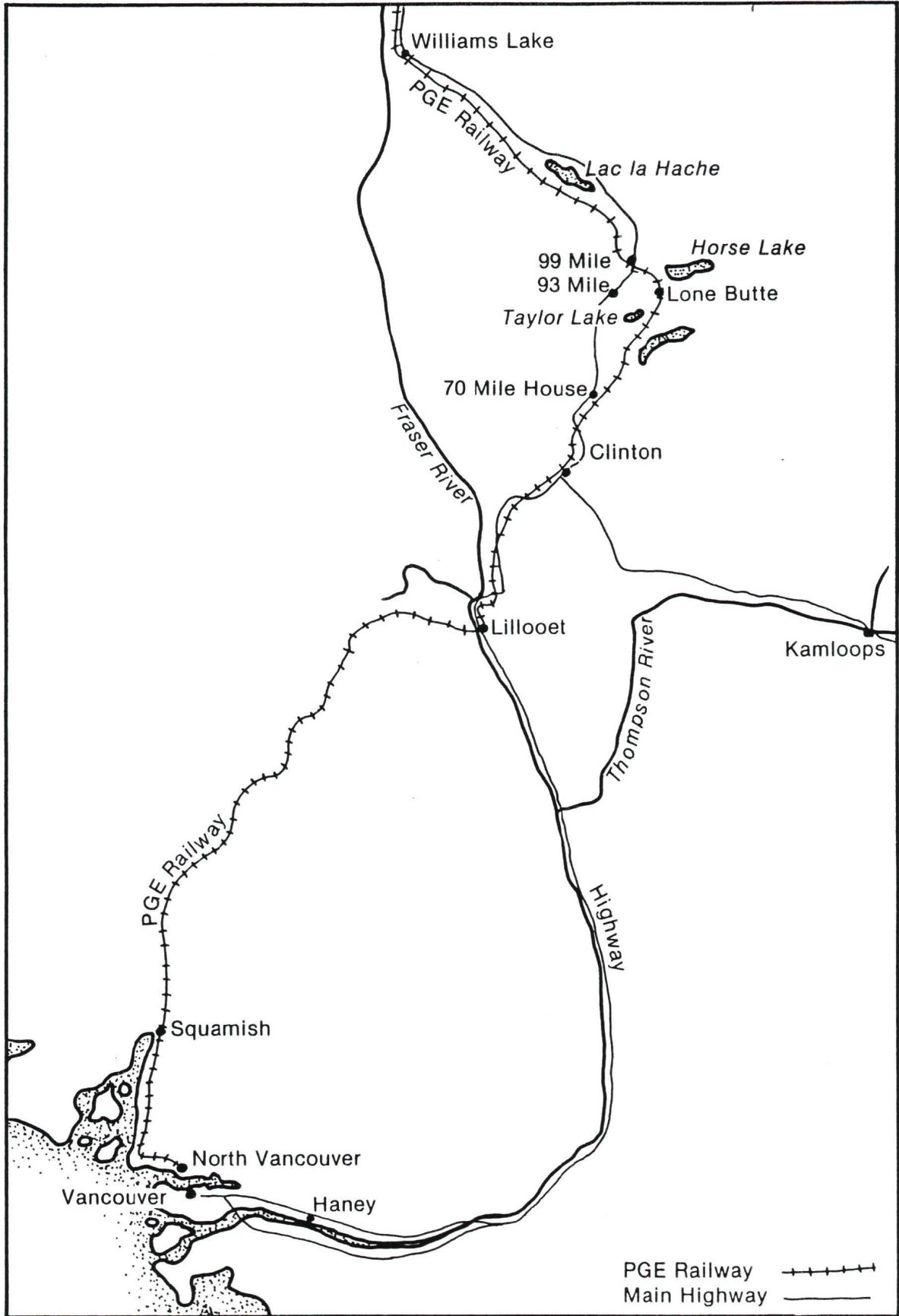
The evacuation experience of the Imada family is only

²¹Toyo Takata, Nikkei Legacy (Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1983), p. 125.

²²Adachi, Enemy, pp. 280-283.

²³There is a reference to McBrayne [sic] as the person to whom all Japanese Nationals had to report once a month. Miyasaki, Sixty Years, p. 25.

²⁴National Archives of Canada, Self-Supporting Families General, 1942-1943, RG 36/27, vol. 4, File no. 127.



MAP 1 — IMADA FAMILY Travel Routes (1942-1946)

one part of the recorded experience of Mrs. Imada. She wrote of the years after the wartime incarceration when the family reestablished themselves, and also of her later years when she was in semi-retirement.

The first part of Mrs. Imada's memoir, covering the years 1911 to the bombing of Pearl Harbor was translated and evaluated in my B.A. Honours' thesis. Mrs. Imada came to Canada as a picture bride in 1911, and like many early Japanese women immigrants, she slaved as cook and laundress for the male workers in British Columbia lumber camps and sawmills, as well as in a railway roundhouse in North Bay, Ontario. She spent many years working from dawn to dusk and she delivered her babies with only the help of her husband.

In the years following the 1913 coal miners' strike at Nanaimo, Mrs. Imada ran a fish store in Ladysmith, British Columbia, although hampered by her inability to communicate in English. Time and time again her husband took all their earnings and drank and gambled them away. She even became a labourer working as her husband's partner in the woods, chopping, sawing and hauling cedar bolts. Finally, solely through her determination, hard labour and incessant demands to settle somewhere, and the consequent neglect of their children, the couple purchased some land in Haney and moved there in March 1922.

For the next eight years Mrs. Imada did all the farm work while her absent husband worked in the woods. However,

"rather than bring in money . . . , he more often took . . . money out to the camps."²⁵ Finally he agreed to stay home and work on the farm. With the help of their maturing children, they cleared more land, purchased new land, and by 1941 had approximately sixteen acres in berries, hops, and vegetables. As prosperous farmers they were even able to take a three month trip back to Japan in 1939-40.

Their good fortune was not to last. The repercussions of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 destroyed the Japanese Canadian communities of the West Coast. A number of Japanese nationals were immediately taken into custody by the RCMP; Japanese language schools were closed; vernacular newspapers were banned.²⁶ Japanese aliens were ordered to report fortnightly to the RCMP and all fishing vessels operated by Japanese Canadians were ordered into the nearest port. On February 24, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced that all persons of Japanese ancestry were to be removed for reasons of national security. (See the notice on p. 17.) Ann Sunahara has shown that removal of the Japanese was a policy of political expediency based on what was assumed to be the strong demand of the British Columbia populace. (Japanese nationals and later naturalized and Canadian-born Japanese males were sent to road camps in British Columbia and northern Ontario.) The

²⁵Ayukawa, "Memoirs," p. 77.

²⁶Sunahara, Politics, p. 26.



NOTICE

TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGIN

Having reference to the Protected Area of British Columbia as described in an Extra of the Canada Gazette, No. 174 dated Ottawa, Monday, February 2, 1942:-

1. EVERY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE, WHILE WITHIN THE PROTECTED AREA AFORESAID, SHALL HEREAFTER BE AT HIS USUAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE EACH DAY BEFORE SUNSET AND SHALL REMAIN THEREIN UNTIL SUNRISE ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, AND NO SUCH PERSON SHALL GO OUT OF HIS USUAL PLACE OF RESIDENCE AFORESAID UPON THE STREETS OR OTHERWISE DURING THE HOURS BETWEEN SUNSET AND SUNRISE;
2. NO PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE SHALL HAVE IN HIS POSSESSION OR USE IN SUCH PROTECTED AREA ANY MOTOR VEHICLE, CAMERA, RADIO TRANSMITTER, RADIO RECEIVING SET, FIREARM, AMMUNITION OR EXPLOSIVE;
3. IT SHALL BE THE DUTY OF EVERY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE HAVING IN HIS POSSESSION OR UPON HIS PREMISES ANY ARTICLE MENTIONED IN THE NEXT PRECEDING PARAGRAPH, FORTHWITH TO CAUSE SUCH ARTICLE TO BE DELIVERED UP TO ANY JUSTICE OF THE PEACE RESIDING IN OR NEAR THE LOCALITY WHERE ANY SUCH ARTICLE IS HAD IN POSSESSION, OR TO AN OFFICER OR CONSTABLE OF THE POLICE FORCE OF THE PROVINCE OR CITY IN OR NEAR SUCH LOCALITY OR TO AN OFFICER OR CONSTABLE OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE.
4. ANY JUSTICE OF THE PEACE OR OFFICER OR CONSTABLE RECEIVING ANY ARTICLE MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THIS ORDER SHALL GIVE TO THE PERSON DELIVERING THE SAME A RECEIPT THEREFOR AND SHALL REPORT THE FACT TO THE COMMISSIONER OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE, AND SHALL RETAIN OR OTHERWISE DISPOSE OF ANY SUCH ARTICLE AS DIRECTED BY THE SAID COMMISSIONER.
5. ANY PEACE OFFICER OR ANY OFFICER OR CONSTABLE OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE HAVING POWER TO ACT AS SUCH PEACE OFFICER OR OFFICER OR CONSTABLE IN THE SAID PROTECTED AREA, IS AUTHORIZED TO SEARCH WITHOUT WARRANT THE PREMISES OR ANY PLACE OCCUPIED OR BELIEVED TO BE OCCUPIED BY ANY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE REASONABLY SUSPECTED OF HAVING IN HIS POSSESSION OR UPON HIS PREMISES ANY ARTICLE MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THIS ORDER, AND TO SEIZE ANY SUCH ARTICLE FOUND ON SUCH PREMISES;
6. EVERY PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE SHALL LEAVE THE PROTECTED AREA AFORESAID FORTHWITH;
7. NO PERSON OF THE JAPANESE RACE SHALL ENTER SUCH PROTECTED AREA EXCEPT UNDER PERMIT ISSUED BY THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE;
8. IN THIS ORDER, "PERSONS OF THE JAPANESE RACE" MEANS, AS WELL AS ANY PERSON WHOLLY OF THE JAPANESE RACE, A PERSON NOT WHOLLY OF THE JAPANESE RACE IF HIS FATHER OR MOTHER IS OF THE JAPANESE RACE AND IF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE BY NOTICE IN WRITING HAS REQUIRED OR REQUIRES HIM TO REGISTER PURSUANT TO ORDER-IN-COUNCIL P.C. 9760 OF DECEMBER 16th, 1941.

DATED AT OTTAWA THIS 26th DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1942.

Louis S. St. Laurent,
Minister of Justice

To be posted in a Conspicuous Place

British Columbia Security Commission was formed in March 1942 to uproot over twenty thousand Japanese Canadians.²⁷ Wives and children were to be sent to "ghost towns" in the interior, families (preferably from the Fraser Valley farming communities) were to be shipped as family units to sugar beet farms of Alberta and Manitoba and finally "Japanese Canadians capable of supporting themselves were to be allowed to move to locations outside the coastal area, provided they received the consent of the civil authorities of the centers chosen [emphasis mine]."²⁸ A barely legible copy of a travel permit issued to a self-supporting family was preserved at Special Collections at UBC. It stated:

This permit authorises Mr. Iwakichi Sugiyama #05162, his wife, #05161, and their four sons, Shunichi #07672, Shigeru #13043 and Shohei and Ryoji. 2704 Trinity Street, Vancouver, B. C. to travel in accordance with the provisions of Orders-in-Council Nos. P.C. 1665 and 365. to farm property situate [sic] at BARNHART VALE, B. C. (approx. 16 miles from Kamloops). They must travel by rail, leaving Vancouver by May 25th, and must not re-enter the Restricted Area. This Commission assumes no responsibility for the cost of education of children of school-age. They are to travel at their own expense, and are to be self-supporting.²⁹

It was signed by Grant MacNeil, the secretary of the BCSC.

²⁷Ibid, pp. 53-55; Adachi, Enemy, p. 217. Also, pp. 426-27 are excerpts from PC 1665 which delineates the powers of the BCSC.

²⁸Sunahara, Politics, p. 63.

²⁹UBC Library Special Collections. Japanese Canadian Collection, Box 3, Folder 3-1.

At that time, Mrs. Imada was fifty-one years old and had been living in Canada for thirty-one years. Her husband was fifty-eight and they had one daughter, thirty years old and five sons, aged twenty-seven, twenty-four and a half, twenty-one, eighteen and fifteen. The daughter who was married to a Caucasian, was living in Vancouver. She was allowed to remain on the coast.³⁰ Then the eldest, Toshio, was relocated to Taylor Lake, a self-supporting community in the Cariboo on the 27th of August 1942.³¹ (See the travel permit on p. 20.) In less than a month (September 22), Mr. and Mrs. Imada and their two youngest sons were allowed to go to Taylor Lake to join him.

The second son, who had first-aid training, worked at the Hastings Park Manning Pool, and was later moved to Lemon Creek, one of the government relocation centres in the Slocan Valley, where he served as assistant to the First-Aid Officer, Mr. Kamitakahara, the brother of Dr. Kamitakahara

³⁰Adachi noted there were ninety-four persons married to Caucasians, and about one hundred offspring. They were allowed to remain on the coast. Adachi, Enemy, p. 235.

³¹An interview with him revealed that it was just by chance that he went there. His younger brother and a friend had been stopped by an RCMP officer on Powell Street. The friend produced his papers showing that he was leaving for Taylor Lake and the younger brother said he was going there too. Since this younger brother was in fact working at Hastings Park, the elder brother went in his stead.

Form 104 10M-7-42-V.S.

RESIDENT
OF HASTINGS PARK

No 17873

NOTICE

You are hereby ordered by the British Columbia Security Commission to report at Hastings Park on the 27th day of August, 1942 at 12 noon A.M. or P.M. for the purpose of being Union S.S. evacuated from the Protected Area of British Columbia.

AUSTIN C. TAYLOR,
Chairman,

British Columbia Security Commission.

*In custody of Miss Kikida
Janice Rose*

Sugar Beet Project _____
Interior Housing _____
Work Camp _____
Special Taylor Lake.

Authority J. DeLoraine

Handed to IMADA, Toshio No. 09710-C.B.
(Name) Serial Number

on August 22, 1942

B. C. SECURITY COMMISSION

by [Signature]
Per. _____

who was the doctor in Slocan City.³² After two years, however, when there was pressure from the government to clear the young men and women from these relocation centres, he was allowed to join his family in Taylor Lake.³³

The third son, according to government files, was in Toronto on July 28, 1942. Later, he enlisted with Captain Don Mollison of British Intelligence and went to Bombay, India via London in May 1945. The men in this group were all examined for their Japanese language ability: many were found to be lacking and spent the rest of their time in the armed service learning Japanese. The arrival of the S-20 Canadian Army Japanese Language School graduates in January 1946 expedited the return to Canada of most of Mollison's group. Thus, the third son of Mr. and Mrs. Imada was discharged and allowed to join his family in Taylor Lake.³⁴

The family spent the first winter in temporary accommodations in a hunter's cabin situated on Horse Lake where they first experienced the rigours of a Cariboo winter. In the spring, they settled in Taylor Lake. All

³²I was in Lemon Creek also. As an impressionable teenager, I admired at a distance the handsome, always-smiling, friendly first-aid man.

³³The authorities were anxious to reduce the numbers in the evacuation camps and to move the Japanese east of the Rockies. Sunahara, Politics, p. 111, states that employment was denied single adults in the camps and they were ineligible for relief benefits.

³⁴Personal communication from Roy Ito, author of We Went to War (Stittsville: Canada's Wings, 1984). This information confirms Mrs. Imada's statements.

the male members of the family worked in the pulp wood industry.³⁵ For the first time in her married life, Mrs. Imada did not work outside her home. However, she filled her time with activities such as paper-flower making and teaching Japanese dancing.³⁶

Mr. Imada was diagnosed for stomach cancer in December 1945 and was operated on in Vancouver. The wartime travel restrictions on Japanese Canadians were still in force in December 1945, so to get to Vancouver involved some defiance of the RCMP and also much negotiation.³⁷ He survived long enough for the family to relocate in Kamloops. Only the eldest son stayed in the Cariboo, at Lac la Hache. He had married in August 1945.

After her husband's death in February 1947, Mrs. Imada filled her days with farm labour, Buddhist Church activities, artificial flower-making, and teaching Japanese dancing. She finally retired in Vancouver in July 1952. She bought a large house and ran a boarding house for Japanese Canadian returnees.³⁸ Later, Japanese students in

³⁵NAC, Sorg Pulp Co. RG 36/27 vol. 7, file 134.

³⁶I recall that during this period, making artificial flowers with crepe paper was a very popular pastime.

³⁷Adachi, Enemy, p. 257.

³⁸In 1946, 3,965 were deported "voluntarily" to Japan. The Canadian-born in this group were allowed re-entry soon after April 1, 1949, when the wartime restrictions were removed. Many returned, slowly, as soon as they could finance their passage. Among them were young males who would have eagerly sought out boarding-houses such as

Vancouver on education visas also stayed with her.

At the time of the evacuation there was much turmoil among the whole Japanese populace. The Japanese farmers in the Fraser Valley with land and crops were especially distraught. A few, in desperation, just abandoned their houses and lands. Others let them out to tenants, hoping that when the hostilities were over, they would be able to return to find their farms in as good condition as when they had left.

The Imadas decided to rent out their farm and property to a Mr. J. Jensen for a nominal sum. (See Appendix II, pp. 103-4.) However, on May 5, 1943, the house was completely destroyed by fire. (See newspaper report, p. 24.) Although the house had been insured and the insurance policy paid in full by the Imadas, after the fire, they received only \$51.00 from the insurance company. This was said to be compensation for the insured loss of chattels only. They were denied compensation for the house on the grounds that the property allegedly had been "sold" to the Director of the Veterans' Land Act on January 1, 1943, who claimed the insurance money paid for the house proper. The sordid details of the shoddy treatment the Imada family received are documented in Appendix III, pp. 105-8.

As can be seen in Appendix IV, pp. 109-11, Mrs. Imada had written two letters to her relatives expressing her

Mrs. Imada's. Sunahara, Politics, pp. 143-44.

FATAL FIRE AT HANEY

1 Burned to Death, 5 Escape As Ferryman's House Razed

(Special to The Vancouver Daily Province.)

NEW WESTMINSTER, May 5.—One man is dead and another is in the Royal Columbian Hospital suffering from burns, while four other persons escaped in an early-morning fire that completely destroyed a former Japanese-occupied house on a 30-acre prairie farm at Haney.

The dead man, John Hansen, 42, Norwegian, was trapped by smoke and flames on the upper floor of the seven-room dwelling.

Ivan Isak, 46, Manitoba Hotel, a Czecho-Slovakian, is in the hospital with burns about the head and neck and suffering from shock. His condition is reported as good.

Those who escaped were Dan Skakun, 42; Sam Cooty, 55; Marco Kruzo, 47, and Mrs. Pauline Cechon.

WORKED BERRY FARM.

The house and farm, formerly owned by K. Imada, Japanese, evacuated from the Coast area, had been leased by J. Jensen, 2042 Pandora, Vancouver, and those occupying the house had been engaged by him to operate the berry farm. Kruzo was engaged as foreman and Mrs. Cechon was cook.

The origin of the fire is unknown. The first alarm was given at about 4:30 a.m. by Mrs. Cechon, who slept in a downstairs room. She told Provincial Constable J. McGeachan that she smelled smoke in her room and when she opened the door she was met by a burst of flame. She fought her way out and yelled to the other occupants, who were in upstairs rooms.

The majority got out by way of the staircase but at least one had to jump through a window. Hansen is believed to have collapsed when smoke overcame him. His body was recovered in the debris of the house and removed to Saywright's Funeral Home.

Jensen had leased the same farm last year and these workers had been there about two months getting ready for this season.

anger at "the cruelty" and "the unreasonableness" of a government that cheated her and her family of what was rightfully theirs. These letters were intercepted by the authorities, translated from Japanese by the Department of National Services and reported to the Deputy Custodian of Enemy Property.³⁹ Did the authorities consider her discussion of official falsehoods and robbery to be subversive?

On July 18, 1947, the Royal Commission to Investigate Complaints of Canadian Citizens of Japanese Origin (Bird Commission) was set up to inquire into the claims of Japanese Canadian losses. According to Sunahara:

[N]o commission ever had been requested to examine so many claims on so many types of property sold under such unusual conditions and owned by people scattered across Canada. To the paradoxical difficulties were added complicated legal questions and the difficulties inherent in establishing the value of property abandoned in the turmoil of a forced uprooting and sold one to four years later.⁴⁰

The National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association was formed in September 1947 with its full-time executive secretary, George Tanaka, assuming responsibility for the organising of the claims procedure. The complete files of

³⁹Part of the directive from the Canadian Censor in Vancouver is reproduced in Adachi, Enemy, p. 267.

⁴⁰Sunahara, Politics, p. 154.

the Bird Commission are in the National Archives.⁴¹

Mrs. Imada was the first one to appear before Honourable Justice H. I. Bird, Commissioner. Her case was heard in Kamloops in December 1947.⁴² She claimed that \$7,935.00 was the real value of the Imada property and that the Imada family had only received \$3,004.46. Apparently her interpreter had difficulty understanding her and she could not understand him. This is not surprising, since the interpreter was a Caucasian apparently unfamiliar with her brand of Japanese. It is also likely that Mrs. Imada would have had trouble with the interpreter's Japanese accent. It was soon realized that help was required and Mrs. Imada's second son stepped in.

The most interesting passage in the transcript was the following:

The Commissioner: When was this property sold by the Custodian in relation to the fire, before or afterwards?

Mr. McLennan [appearing for the claimant]: Well, it was sold afterwards, my lord. This is one of the Veterans' Land Act transactions. The contract was confirmed about June 1st, 1943, but they have related them back to January 1st, 1943.

The Commissioner: So for the purpose of sale, the house was taken as if it were standing at the date of sale, is that it?⁴³

Clearly the purchase date was changed in order to

⁴¹NAC, Bird Commission RG 33/69.

⁴²NAC, Bird Commission RG 33/69 vol. 1, File case 1.

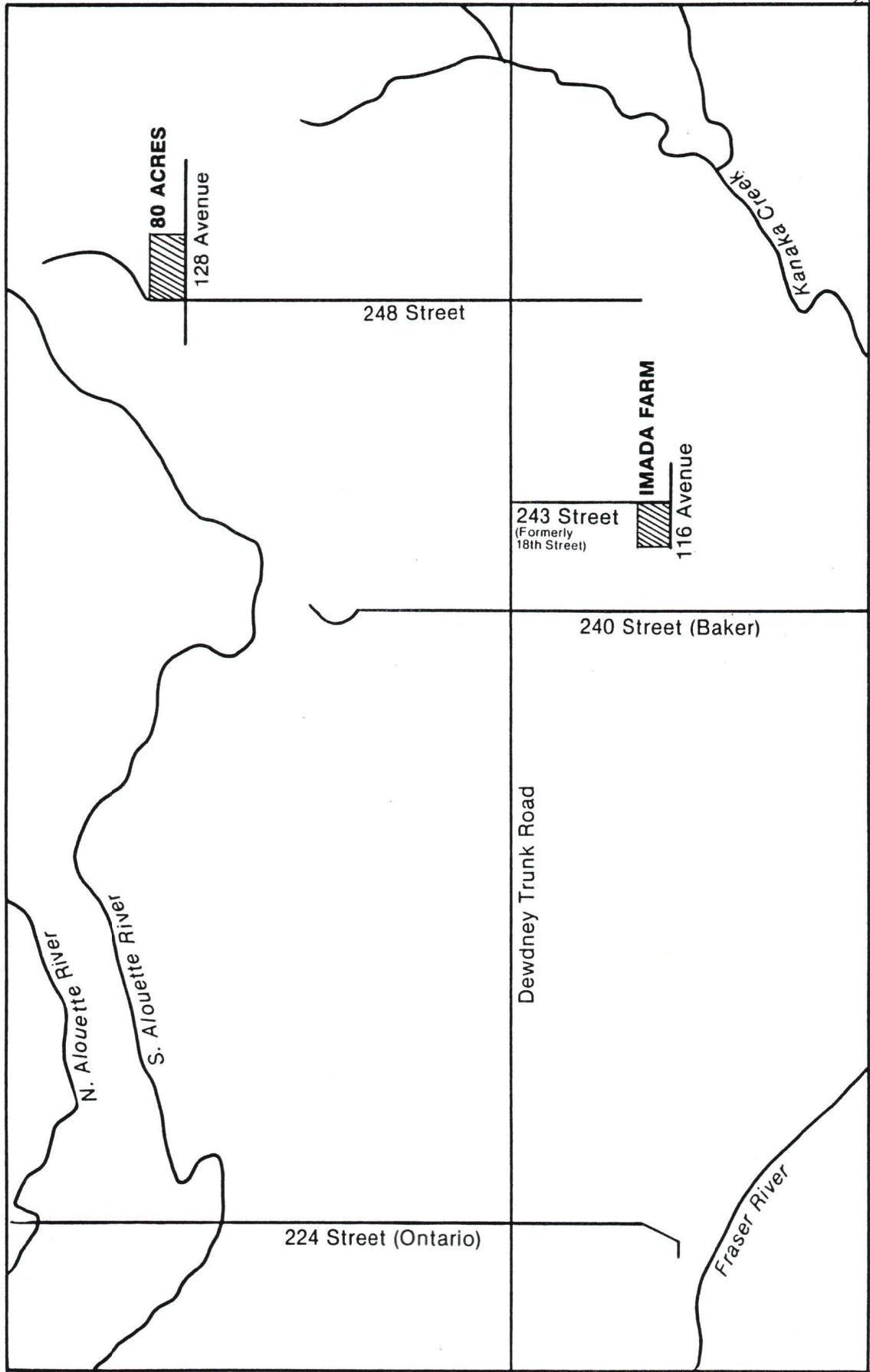
⁴³Ibid. p. 21.

allow the Director of the VLA to be recognized as the successful claimant of the insurance money, but there was no follow-up questioning on this revelation.

It took a great deal of courage for Mrs. Imada with her deep-seated resentment and disillusionment to appear before such an intimidating audience. She was fifty-six years old at the time. Adachi wrote about her case: "Mrs. Ito Imada was the first claimant to appear before Bird as the inquiry got underway in Kamloops on December 8, 1947."⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that nowhere in her memoir does she mention appearing before the Bird Commission. Of course she completed her first draft before the Commission was appointed. But even in later drafts written after Commission activities she does not mention it. One wonders if she was "blocking out" such a humiliating experience.

There was a large undeveloped piece of property of approximately eighty acres which had been bought by the Imada family in 1940 in the name of the three eldest sons. (See Map 2.) Mrs. Imada often mentioned this property in her memoir. She stated that the sons could have repurchased the land later by paying the arrears in taxes. The third son did appear before the Bird Commission on February 12, 1948, after his two older brothers signed a statement stating that on their own free will they were turning over

⁴⁴Adachi, Enemy, p. 327.



MAP 2 — MAPLE RIDGE (HANEY)

their share of the property to him. His lawyer asked that the land be sold to him as a veteran of this war, "the said lands not having been disposed of, according to his information, by the Veterans' Land Act Administration."⁴⁵ It appears that several Nisei veterans were allowed the opportunity to buy their lands back. It is unclear whether or not the third son could have been successful in doing so. If he did have the opportunity he did not pursue it for we know that the Imada brothers eventually settled for the Bird Commission recommendation of the additional sum of \$630.91.

The personal voice of Mrs. Imada as heard in her memoir tells the story of the traumatic events experienced by herself and other Japanese-Canadians more clearly and dramatically than any scholar's book or official's document can. I have endeavoured to remain as faithful as possible to her words, translating her writing as accurately as I can in the simple, straight-forward language that she herself used.

⁴⁵NAC, Bird Commission RG 33/69, File No. 76, p. 2.

MRS. IMADA'S MEMOIR, 1941-1971

1941, December 7

Japan bombed Pearl Harbor and our life changed completely. No one felt settled. Every day, every day, we wondered what would happen and we spent many miserable days. Whenever three people got together, there was wild discussion and rumours were passed around. With the New Year we heard all kinds of news--that the Japanese were all going to be moved, men eighteen to fifty-five years were to be sent to Road Camp and women didn't have to move. Then again that everyone was going to be moved without exception. From morning until night there were all sorts of terrible stories. New Year's Day 1942 came but we could not get into the spirit. It was a sad New Year's. From about February folks said, "It seems as if we all have to move. What are you going to do with your house, the strawberries, and the garden?" Everyone asked each other [such questions]. Then we heard that the Japanese school teacher, Mr. Ariga, got picked up.¹ This was a shock to all the strawberry farmers.

¹Ariga Chōkichi is mentioned in Roy Ito, We Went to War, pp. 247-48. A photo of Ariga is found on p. 249. Ariga had been in Canada since 1920 and had taught at the Japanese language school in Haney. "For some unknown reason, he was classified by the RCMP as a dangerous enemy alien and interned the day after Pearl Harbor." Ito, We Went to War, p. 247. Ariga was not the only one arrested. "Thirty-one Japanese aliens were taken into custody by the

It was terrible--we did not know what to do, for farmers had only things that they could not take [with them]. From morning until night we just worried. Everyone had to find their own buyers. The buyers flocked to the farms but none of them had much money.

With the final news that we were all to be evacuated, white people took advantage of this and every day they came and asked if we would sell our furniture, our land. Father² started to say he would never sell but would let the farm to white people. We finally agreed to rent out the household goods, the house, the farm implements and everything for a paltry sum. (See Appendix II, pp.103-5.)

On June 3, they [the RCMP] came to get my husband.³ They asked where Imada was. When my husband said, "I am Imada," they said, "Get in the car." Since he had been expecting it and had already been prepared, he got in the

RCMP. A further seven were subsequently picked up on the suggestion of unspecified Japanese Canadian leaders. The detained men were judo instructors, veterans of the Imperial Japanese Army, and minor officials in local Japanese associations." Sunahara, Politics, p. 28.

²Issei women rarely referred to their husbands by their names. They used the term uchi, literally "inside" or "home", depending on the ideogram used, or uchi no hito, literally translated as "inside or home person" to refer to them. Some referred to their husband as "papa" or "father."

³I was surprised that Mr. Imada was "loose" at this late date. My interview with the eldest son revealed that he had been "rounded up" earlier and taken to Hastings Park but had "escaped" and returned to Haney where he was in hiding.

car and left.⁴ It was like the treatment of Zionists.⁵ Then one by one my three sons had to leave and there were only three of us left [Mrs. Imada and her two youngest sons, eighteen and fifteen years old].

We stored a few precious things in the ceiling of the house. On September 2 they came to get the rest of us. At that time they took everyone in Haney and left not one. In one bus they piled the people (about thirty), and in one truck everyone's belongings and baggage. In this way we left the place where, for twenty odd years, with the help of our young children we had spilled blood and striven hard. I cannot express in words the misery of leaving behind our land and possessions. The tears would not stop flowing. This was the experience of everyone, but it was the war and could not be helped.

Hastings Park

We were taken to Hastings Park. There were several 10,000s of people there and I was shocked.⁶ It was a

⁴He was taken to Hastings Park which is rather surprising. According to Adachi, Enemy, p. 243, Japanese men unlawfully "at large" were as a rule taken to the Immigration Building and then to Angler or Petawawa, internment camps in Ontario.

⁵I think her reference here is to the treatment of the Jews in Europe in World War II.

⁶This sounds odd but in Japanese the word for 10,000 is more commonly used than thousand. According to Adachi, Enemy, p. 246, "At the peak of its habitation, on September 1, 3866 persons were living there and over 8,000 passed

very lively place. There were women there with bad habits [a person with "bad habits" usually meant a thief] and there were often commotions with people saying that their laundry had disappeared. (People like me who did not have any small children were put in the best building but people who had many children were placed in livestock stalls.) I occasionally went to the stalls and I could not stand the smell of animal urine. I really felt sorry for the people who lived there. Young women who had children were said to have had petty quarrels.

I felt like a beggar each day at mealtime when we took a plate and lined up for food. At the beginning I hated it but later I got used to it although I never grew to like it.

On September 2 when I went there, our eldest son was at Taylor Lake.⁷ The second son had an office job in Hastings Park and was working there. As for the third son, as soon as he got there [presumably, Hastings Park], he went with his own money to Toronto.⁸

Every day we were called to the office and asked where we would go. We [Mr. and Mrs. Imada and the two youngest sons in Hastings Park with them] were told to go

through the Park at one time or another."

⁷According to his travel permit, he had left for Taylor Lake on August 27th.

⁸He was evacuated on July 28 and was in Toronto long before September 2. NAC, RG 117, Reel C-9374, File 7378.

to sugar beets since we had several workers.⁹ My husband insisted that he did not want to leave British Columbia. My eldest son who had gone voluntarily to Taylor Lake told us four [Mr. and Mrs. Imada and the two youngest sons] to come right away. So we applied immediately. Since we were moving on our own they let us out of Hastings Park that day.

At that time, Dr. Uchida's eldest sister was looking after many things so when we told her about going to Taylor Lake, she said she would help us leave the Park immediately.¹⁰ So our family of four left right away. We hired a car and my husband and children went to our home in Haney to get some of our own things. We had stayed in Hastings Park eighteen days.

We stayed outside for two days to do our shopping and

⁹The beet farmers were eager to have Fraser Valley families as wartime help since they "were experienced, [and] were reputed to be cheap." Sunahara, Politics, p. 78. "Promised decent housing, a reasonable standard of living, relative freedom of movement, and placement on farms in close proximity to one another, entire Japanese communities in the Fraser Valley volunteered for beet work in Alberta and Manitoba." Ibid. p. 80.

¹⁰This was Chitose Uchida. See Miyasaki, Sixty Years, p. 60. She was the first female Japanese graduate of the University of British Columbia. She could not get a teaching position in British Columbia so she went to Alberta, but in 1931 she returned to Vancouver and taught English to Japanese immigrants. During the evacuation of the Japanese from the coastal area she worked in the office at the Hastings Park Manning Pool. Later, she moved to Taylor Lake and taught school there. After the war she stayed in the Cariboo and taught at Williams Lake Secondary School. She died on November 27, 1989 at the age of ninety-four years in Vancouver, as noted in Japanese Canadian Citizens Association Bulletin, Vol. 32, No. 1, p. 19.

went to Haney to get some necessities.¹¹ We stayed in a hotel for three nights. On September 22 we left the Park [Hastings Park] and together with our baggage we went to Taylor Lake. From Vancouver we got on a boat, then rode on a train and arrived on the morning of the 23rd at Taylor Lake around 5:00 A.M.¹² [See p. 36.] It was September but it was very frosty. When we got down all our baggage from the train, my son's boss, Mr. Uyehara, came and said, "At this moment there is no house here but if you go ten miles, there are lots of houses at a place called Horse Lake so go there." [See Map 1, p. 12.]

So, we piled our baggage on a large wagon pulled by two horses and went ten miles along a bumpy mountain road.¹³ We went together with some other [Japanese] people that we had met on the train who were also homeless. The place called Horse Lake was a large lake before but it had been dammed and was now about eight miles long and was surrounded

¹¹There was a note in another version that she was very hurt and disgusted to return to her home and find that the house was piled with garden dirt while the family Buddhist shrine had wet clothes hung there.

¹²See the Pacific Great Eastern Railway Co. schedule dated April 19, 1943. The Union Steamship left Vancouver at 9:00 AM and arrived at Squamish in time for passengers to catch the train which left the Dock at 2:10 PM. The train reached Lone Butte at 5:05 AM. There is no designated stop at Taylor Lake. (I was told that it was not on the railway line). However, Taylor Lake was before Lone Butte and it is likely that the train could be stopped on request at the closest point to one's destination.

¹³Mrs. Imada used the word ri which is equivalent to 2.4 km. but she seems to use it to mean miles.

PACIFIC GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY CO.
IN CONNECTION WITH UNION STEAMSHIPS LIMITED

TIME TABLE

EFFECTIVE APRIL 19, 1943

1		Miles	Steamer leaves and arrives in Vancouver at Union Pier	Altitude	2	
Monday Thursday	Read Down				Wednesday Saturday	Read Up
			STATIONS			
	Lv. 9.00	Lv. VANCOUVER Ar.....	Ar. 7.00	
	Lv. 2.10	0.0	SQUAMISH DOCK.....	10	Ar. 3.00	
	• 2.30	1.0	SQUAMISH.....	8	• 2.55	
	f 2.50	7.0	BRACKENDALE.....	76	f 2.27	
	f 2.59	9.3	CHEEKYE.....	160	f 2.19	
	• 3.10	11.9	CHEAKAMUS.....	189	• 2.10	
	f 3.50	20.6	WATSON.....	973	f 1.37	
	• 4.02	22.6	GARIBALDI.....	1128	• 1.30	
		28.2	BRANDYWINE FALLS.....	1536		
	f 4.35	29.8	McGUIRE.....	1632	f 1.04	
	• 5.08	37.1	ALTA LAKE.....	2100	• 12.40	
	• 5.15	38.0	RAINBOW.....	2099	• 12.30	
	f 5.27	42.2	PARKHURST.....	1927	f 12.15	
	f 5.59	62.9	TISDALL.....	1123	f 11.16	
	• 6.20	67.3	PEMBERTON.....	686	• 10.65	
	• 6.34	81.9	CHILSAMPTON.....	686	• 10.32	
	• 6.36	82.5	CREEKSIDE.....	720	• 10.30	
	• 6.43	84.4	OWL CREEK.....	884	• 10.23	
	f 6.50	86.9	SPETCH.....	1042	f 10.15	
		72.6	POOLE CREEK.....	1268		
	• 7.25	76.3	BIRKEN.....	1575	• 9.50	
	• 8.00	86.0	D'ARCY.....	850	• 9.10	
	• 8.15	91.6	McGILLIVRAY.....	872	• 8.45	
	f 8.20	93.1	MARNE.....	867	f 8.40	
	• 8.45	101.2	SETON.....	828	• 8.15	
	• 9.15	105.1	SHALALTH.....	813	• 7.50	
			(For Bridge River Mining District)			
	f 9.35	111.5	RETASKIT.....	815	f 7.26	
	Ar. 10.10				Lv. 7.00	
	Lv. 10.55	120.4	LILLOOET.....	798	Ar. 8.10	
	f 11.20	128.1	FOUNTAIN.....	1059	f 5.41	
	f 11.53	135.7	GLENFRASER.....	1666	f 5.03	
	• 12.29	140.8	PAVILION.....	2175	• 4.38	
	f 12.54	145.9	MORAN.....	2708	f 4.04	
	• 1.43	156.0	KELLY LAKE.....	3509	• 3.35	
	• 2.36	165.7	CLINTON.....	3166	• 3.00	
	f 3.16	177.4	CHASM.....	3508	f 2.20	
	• 3.36	184.7	70-MILE.....	3588	• 1.54	
	f 4.02	193.2	GRAHAM.....	3581	f 1.30	
	f 4.19	199.1	FLYING-U RANCH.....	3788	f 1.11	
		203.9	HORSE LAKE.....	3862		
	• 5.06	209.0	LONE BUTTE.....	3745	• 12.46	
	f 5.23	215.3	CANIM.....	3471	f 12.20	
	• 5.53	222.6	EXETER.....	3181	• 11.58	
	f 6.09	228.2	TATTON.....	3041	f 11.38	
		232.6	CLARK'S CROSSING.....			
	• 6.33	236.2	LAC LA HACHE.....	2761	• 11.15	
		241.0	EMERALD LODGE.....			
	f 7.01	246.1	WRIGHT.....	2660	f 10.45	
	f 7.30	256.4	ENTERPRISE.....	2500	f 10.13	
	f 7.51	263.6	ST. JOSEPH.....	2244	f 9.49	
		265.8	CARIBOO INDIAN SCHOOL.....	2155		
	f 8.06	268.1	ONWARD.....	2048	f 9.35	
	Ar. 8.40				Lv. 9.10	
	Lv. 9.36	278.7	WILLIAMS LAKE.....	1835	Ar. 8.30	
	f 9.56	289.1	WHISKEY CREEK.....	2037	f 7.52	
	• 10.23	298.6	SODA CREEK.....	1765	• 7.24	
	• 10.48	307.4	MACALISTER.....	1803	• 6.58	
	• 11.05	311.4	MARGUERITE.....	1809	• 6.47	
	f 11.38	320.8	ALEXANDRIA.....	1800	f 6.20	
	• 11.58	327.8	AUSTRALIAN.....	1743	f 5.59	
	• 12.21	334.4	KERSLEY.....	1835	• 5.40	
	f 12.35	339.2	DRAGON.....	1771	f 5.25	
	Ar. 1.00	347.0	QUESNEL.....	1549	Lv. 5.00	
	Tuesday Friday				Tuesday Friday	
	1				2	

Light-face figures denote A.M. Black-face figures denote P.M.
Stage connects with trains at Quesnel for passengers to and from Prince George and Barkerville, at Williams Lake for points to Keithley Creek, and at Shalalth for the Bridge River mining area.

DINING AND SLEEPING

TRAVEL BY TRAIN —

Source: PABC, NWp 385.07.

by woods. There were five or six log houses there. Those houses were rented in the summer by people who came to fish in the lake or to hunt in the woods. Thus, they simply had a roof and four walls. We rented the largest of the houses. The other family rented the small house next door. There was no work there so every day we just chopped firewood for the wood stove.

Before I proceed any further, I will write a bit about how it was that we went to Taylor Lake. There was a man named Uyehara Sadao.¹⁴ He was a very clever person. When it was decided that the Japanese were to be evacuated beyond the 100 mile zone, Mr. Uyehara decided he would find places where the people could go. According to some people, he looked around the Cariboo area from an airplane and saw many thousands of miles of pulp trees.¹⁵ He did not know whether government or companies owned it but he figured he would get a contract and put many people to work cutting the pulp wood and thus help many people. I think he saved

¹⁴BCSC reports on the self-supporting families, NAC, File RG 36/27 vol. 4, File 123 for 1942-1943 mention him often.

¹⁵They were jack pine. Donald MacKay, Lumberjacks, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1978), p. 58, notes that jack pine are "used . . . in production of pulp and paper, it usually grows from 40 to 60 feet high and 12 inches around, but sometimes reaches 80 feet in height and two feet in diameter."

himself also. That place was called Taylor Lake.¹⁶ My eldest son went there on his own and then suggested that we join him right away.

It is interesting to note that we had crossed paths with Uyehara Sadao before. When we were in Ladysmith and working at the fish store and the shingle camp, there was a man at the camp called Inouye Mitsujiro whose wife's two brothers were working there for us.¹⁷ The older brother, was Uyehara Sadao. Thus, thirty years before, these people had been taken care of by my husband, and thirty years later, our family was looked after by him. It is a true saying that "people help each other."

We found that the daytime temperature was about 100 degrees [Fahrenheit]. It was very hot. Then, after about three weeks, it suddenly turned cold--very, very cold--something we had never experienced before on the Coast. We had brought several jars of preserves from our home and had piled them near the stove. In the middle of the night there was a loud noise so we got up to check and found that there was a cone of ice in each jar and the jars had cracked.

The next day we saw that there was ice covering the lake in front of us and we asked the white owner what the

¹⁶The company that was formed to do this work was called the Sorg Pulp Co. There is a file in the National Archives on this company. NAC, RG 36/27 vol. 7, File 134.

¹⁷Ayukawa, "Memoirs," pp.42-43.

temperature was. He said that it was five below zero.¹⁸ Within two to three days the eight mile long lake was completely frozen to a three to four inch thickness of ice. Now, getting water was a big job. We had to break the ice with a double-headed axe. It was so cold that each time we went to get water, ice would again have formed on the hole.¹⁹ The house we had rented was for summer use and the walls were just piles of logs. The wind blew in through the spaces and it was so cold that no matter how much we heated both stoves [presumably the wood burning space heater and the cooking stove] the house would not get any warmer. We said this would never do and dug up the frozen soil, kneaded it and packed it into the spaces. Somehow we managed to survive. As for the holes in the ceiling, there was not much we could do. When we awakened in the morning, we found that our breath had frozen on our quilts.²⁰

What could you say--in the summer it was hot, in the winter it was cold! As for what we did everyday--we cut

¹⁸This would be in Fahrenheit, the temperature scale used at that time. In Celsius it would be -20 degrees.

¹⁹February 5 1943 report from the BCSC officer to Mr. W. A. Eastwood, General Manager, B.C. Security Commission notes: "The inclement weather caused the work to be suspended for over two weeks, the temperature went down to nearly 50 below." NAC, RG 36/27 vol. 4, File #127.

²⁰It is interesting to note that Mr. W.A. MacBrayne, superintendent, to the British Columbia Security Commission on November 30th wrote: "I also visited the camp at Horse Lake, 6 of the houses are occupied, they are log, but very well built, and are warm and comfortable." Ibid.

wood and burned it in the stove. Other than that there was nothing to do.

The ones who were happy about the frozen lake were my two boys [eighteen and fifteen years old] and the girl next door who all went right away to the white person's store in Lone Butte and bought ice skates. The three played happily on their skates every day.²¹ My husband and I just watched the boys skating from the window.

There was only the lake and the mountain and nowhere to go. There was just a small store five to six miles away. We had no worry about food since we had bought enough food in Vancouver to do us for six months to a year. However, there was not much enjoyment in staring at the same thing day after day. It was very difficult also to loaf every day and not work at all. No matter where you went there was only the wilderness and the lake. We came here on September 23, and in a five month period experienced extreme heat and cold.

We greeted 1943 New Year's day. When it became

²¹This particular passage was quoted and discussed at length by Shimpo Mitsuru in "Imada Ito-san no Shi ni Omou," The New Canadian, 17 November, 1987, p.7. He cited it as an example of her prose that he had such a difficult time deciphering and rewriting so others (presumably native Japanese) could understand it. The original was no problem for me. Mrs. Imada had used many English words such as lake, skate and boy, writing in katakana [phonetic syllables used for foreign words], but had also used the katakana symbols for Japanese words for ice and shoes. An additional bit of confusion was caused when she used a Chinese ideogram which had the same sound but had a different meaning entirely.

March, one night there was a loud noise which made us think a bomb had dropped somewhere. We discussed it with our neighbour and wondered whether Japan had dropped a bomb somewhere. The earth trembled and the sound was tremendous. My son went to the white owner to ask him. However, he laughed and said, "Don't you people know the sound of ice breaking up? Last night's noise was the sound of the lake ice breaking up." We all heaved a sigh of relief.

Just at that time, our eldest son came on horseback to see us and tell us that two houses had become empty in Taylor Lake, so come right away. So we told the family next door and again we [the two households] packed up, hired a white man and his horse and arranged to move. This time there was snow so we could not go with a wagon so we went on a sleigh drawn by two horses. The four of us rode on top of the baggage; the three young ones rode their bikes over ten miles of road. When we got there we saw that the houses that the white people vacated and that we were to move into were the usual log houses. They were opposite the railway tracks and so were across from where the other Japanese people lived. We settled there for a while.

About two months later one of the houses in the area where the other Japanese lived became vacant so we moved there. Our eldest son then returned from the bunkhouse to our home. The house was small, just fourteen feet by

twenty-eight feet, so we added a ten by twenty room and the three sons occupied it. We also built a bath. Then my husband and three sons contracted to cut pulp wood.

When we went to Taylor Lake I think there were twenty families that cut pulp wood. Later, I think there were forty families. In each family, four to five people cut pulp wood. A ten year old, boy or girl, could do the work and the whole family would work together. I do not think there is any tree in Japan like it. It is like a hybrid of pine.²² It is cut to four feet lengths and piled four feet high by eight feet long and called a cord.²³

My husband was a lover of sake [rice wine] so wherever he went, he always made it. In Taylor Lake we thus started the sake around August and in December we had about a hundred bottles of clear sake so with this, in October of 1944, we celebrated father's sixtieth birthday.²⁴ We

²²I had problems with this passage since she used a Chinese ideogram which does not exist in any Japanese, Chinese, or Sino-Japanese dictionary. However, her eldest son told me that the trees were jack pine and then I realized that the ideogram she had used was quite similar to the ideogram for pine.

²³This would be 128 cubic feet. MacBrayne, NAC, RG 36/27 vol. 4, #127, noted in his December 18th 1943 report that there was some controversy over cordage measurements. Some said 144 cubic feet while the company wanted 157 cubic feet. Mackay, Lumberjacks, p. 307, defines a cord as: "a stack of pulpwood four feet high, four feet wide, eight feet long, although somewhat larger in Quebec camps."

²⁴Mrs. Imada just called it kanreki which is defined as the sixtieth birthday. Birthdays are not celebrated annually by the Japanese but certain ones are considered especially important. On the sixtieth birthday of a male, a

invited all the thirty families that were there then and had a celebration. Since everyone had been missing sake, all were very happy and we had a good time.

When our family had accumulated a thousand cords, our eldest son went to Mr. Uyehara and said, "I am going to buy a truck so will you let me take over delivery of this wood?" Mr. Uyehara was very pleased and said, "Yes, I will leave everything to you," so my son immediately went to a white man's place and ordered a three-ton truck. At that time a Japanese could not buy a vehicle so he had to ask the foreman there, a white man, Mr. Anley.²⁵ My son hired two young men and hauled the pulpwood by truck to the railway station. From the fall of 1943 my eldest son worked until 1946 hauling pulpwood.

As for my second son, after he went into Hastings Park, he got an office job there and worked there until it was closed. My son had worked in a lumber camp before and knew first aid and so he worked under Dr. Kamitakahara in

party is held and he is usually outfitted with a red vest. It is said that this acknowledges that he has become a child again.

²⁵According to what her eldest son told me, Mr. Anley was the superintendent. There had to be a Caucasian above Uyehara. The son recalled that Mr. Anley had some influential friends in Vancouver and although there were "only two brand-new trucks in Vancouver, he got me one of them. I had to pay \$300 to bring it over but we had to pay only \$1900 for the truck. It was a Ford truck in army colour."

Lemon Creek.²⁶

He eventually joined us in Taylor Lake so we bought another truck. My two sons hauled out logs every day with the two trucks. People thought they must be earning a lot of money so families with young sons all said "me too" and three more people bought trucks. Then, because there were too many trucks, my second son took the truck and went to get a job at the Minto Mill in Minto.

Minto was also a place where Japanese had moved. Here the richest people from Vancouver had moved.²⁷ My second son hauled lumber for a sawmill but left later and this time he went to Kamloops.

The war ended in 1945. We cried and we rejoiced. On August 22, in Lillooet, my eldest son married the daughter of a family who had moved on their own to Bridge River. She was Mitsue, the daughter of an emigrant from Wakayama prefecture, Shiho Yasue. We had a large wedding reception in Taylor Lake. [Following Japanese custom, the groom's family were the hosts.] At that time my husband was getting thinner daily but he said, "Don't worry, there is nothing

²⁶I was there. Dr. Kamitakahara was in Slocan City. His brother, a first-aid man, was in Lemon Creek and Mrs. Imada's second son was his assistant.

²⁷Minto was also among the communities that MacBrayne covered in his reports to the British Columbia Security Commission. He also mentioned names such as Morii, and Nishio. They were well-known Vancouver business men. Adachi in Enemy, chapter eleven, often referred to Morii who apparently had a rather unsavoury reputation.

wrong anywhere." In December we took him to a doctor in Clinton. After the examination he was told that he did not have enough blood. [This was her expression. He must have been anaemic.] Our eldest son put him in the hospital and returned but within a week my husband returned by taxi. From then on he got worse each day and thinner and thinner. So, our eldest son became worried and wrote often to the Vancouver custodian [sic] saying his father needed to see a specialist.²⁸

They would not listen, but told him to go to New Denver.²⁹ When we said there is not a good doctor there, they said to go to Kamloops. They would not give permission [to go to Vancouver]. Since it could not be helped, my

²⁸It was usual for the Japanese during this period to refer to any government department as the "custodian". It is more likely that he was dealing with the RCMP since they were the ones who gave out the permits for travel. According to Adachi, Enemy, p. 257:

The original Security Commission's Order No. 36 prohibited any travel whatsoever without a permit from the RCMP or a Security Commission officer. "Less stringent" regulations, which came into effect on August 1, 1943, permitted temporary visits within certain limits and required evacuees to obtain an RCMP permit when entering (1) a "protected area" of Canada; (2) crossing any provincial boundary; (3) changing residence; and (4) travelling, "for any purpose whatsoever," a distance of more than 50 miles in British Columbia from place of residence or for a period of 30 days or more. Permits had to be surrendered to the nearest RCMP office at the end of the trip so that the RCMP always had complete records of the location of every Japanese.

²⁹There was a hospital for Japanese there. It is described in detail in Hugh McCullum and Karmel Taylor, Medical Aspects of Evacuation Days, 1942-1946 (New Denver: J. and G. Brighton, 1979).

eldest took him to Kamloops to be examined by a doctor. After he saw the X-rays, the doctor said my husband had only one month to live. My son was shocked and on the return road went to Clinton and asked a lawyer to help. Right away the lawyer phoned the custodian [sic] and that night my husband and son were on the 1:00 A.M. train for Vancouver.³⁰ On Saturday morning he got there.

At that time the evacuation rules were still in effect and there was not a single Japanese in Vancouver.³¹ There was a certain Mr. Anley who had been a foreman at Taylor Lake until the year before. [He was at this time a salesman for McCauley Maitland Real Estate in Vancouver, according to the eldest son.] So my son went to see him. He good-heartedly got involved and fortunately one of his friends was a specialist. So because of the kindness of Mr. Anley my husband was able to enter St. Paul's Hospital and on Monday he had a big operation. He had a big incision, eight inches long, eight inches wide and one foot six inches--a big operation.³² He was fine afterwards and became healthy. The eldest son stayed with him for

³⁰This information agrees with the PGE Railway schedule on p. 36.

³¹It was not until April 1, 1949 that the wartime controls on the Japanese were lifted. Adachi, Enemy, p. 344. and Sunahara, Politics, p. 149.

³²These are her dimensions. They appear rather bizarre so they may represent a slip in writing or she may be trying to describe length, width and depth.

twenty-one days and Mr. and Mrs. Anley visited him every day. We owed his life to them.

Meanwhile our third son who had been in the armed forces came back.³³ He was in Vancouver too and went to see his father every day. Then orders came from the custodian [sic] to my eldest son to return to Taylor Lake.³⁴ So, saying it could not be helped, he returned on the morning of the twenty-first day. That night, I went to Vancouver without a permit, shaking with fear. When I got off the train and went up on the escalator, two policemen stared at me.³⁵ I was scared but I stuck with the crowd and went outside and so they did not ask questions and I was relieved. At that time my daughter was married to a white person and was living on Powell Street in rented quarters, the second floor of the former Akiyama's place. So I went there right away, rented a room and from there went to St. Paul's Hospital to see my husband.

As soon as I got there I phoned the custodian [sic]

³³Ito, We Went to War, p. 303. Tamotsu Imada, Reg'tal No. B1233381 is listed with address at enlistment as Taylor Lake. According to the eldest son, Tamotsu had been overseas in Asia and had returned via New York to Vancouver. As noted earlier, this agrees with information obtained from Roy Ito.

³⁴In an interview, the son said that he had had to report every day to the RCMP during his stay.

³⁵I am rather puzzled with this statement since in travelling from Taylor Lake to Vancouver, according to the time-table, she would have transferred from the train to a steamer at Squamish and she would have arrived at Union Pier.

but I was told that I had permission to stay only three days. I immediately asked Mr. Anley for help and he said he would arrange it so that I could stay until Imada was discharged from the hospital.

I will write a bit about Mr. Anley. This man worked alongside Mr. Uyehara for three years. He was the man who helped buy two trucks for my sons. When Mr. and Mrs. Anley were going to Vancouver, it was just my son who saw them off. That was why he [Mr. Anley] was so good to us.³⁶

During my husband's stay in the hospital, the couple came often to see him. Mr. Anley also donated his blood. We feel we owe a big debt to this couple and so my eldest son always goes to see them and we can never forget this debt.

At the time I was in Vancouver there was not a single Japanese person. Even at Woodward's, many tables were covered with white cloth since there were no goods [presumably due to wartime shortages]. One day I went to a Chinese fish store. As soon as the owner saw my face, he glared at me ferociously and said, "Jap!" Another Chinese in the store said, "This person is not Japanese," but the owner said, "No, no, Japanese." The other Chinese said, "This missus is the wife of a Chinese man," so that the white man kept quiet. [Does this mean that the owner of the

³⁶The Japanese place great importance in bidding farewell properly so perhaps Mrs. Imada believed the Anleys' kindness to her family was because her son had seen them off when they left for Vancouver.

Chinese store was white or is it a slip in her writing?] I was very frightened.

The nurse said, "Imada is not getting any better because he will not eat any of the hospital food." So I cooked rice gruel or soup, put it in a thermos bottle, took it and fed him, a little at a time. After two weeks he became much stronger and after another two weeks I told my third son that his father may be able to leave soon. Thus he went to Taylor Lake to work there until we returned. From then on, my daughter and I went to the hospital every day. He improved daily. He left the hospital after a stay of over two months. He went by ambulance to the rooming house on Powell Street where we looked after him for about ten days. Then we returned [to Taylor Lake]. It was May 6, 1946, I think. We went by car to the boat, by boat to Squamish, and then we bought a bed on the train and returned. I think it took exactly twelve hours by train. My husband was very happy saying his life had been saved. From then on he got better, rejoicing that he had regained his former healthy body. However, this lasted only for a short period--only four to five months.

Our eldest son took a contract for hauling logs and left for a place about ten miles away, Lac la Hache. My second son went from Minto to Kamloops. He bought scrap wood from the sawmill and went around selling it as firewood. He wrote and asked his two younger brothers who were

at home to come right away, so the two brothers did so.³⁷

The three brothers ran a firewood business. This was a very good business, so this time they took a contract on some acreage for \$500, and the three of them worked hard in their firewood business.³⁸

However, now at Taylor Lake, all the workers in our family had moved away so Uyehara boss came and said, "The young people have all gone," implying that he would like us to leave.³⁹ Even if he had not said so, we had intended to go to my eldest son's home as soon as it was built, so we told him [Uyehara] that as soon as the house was ready we

³⁷Mrs. Imada was not clear who she meant by "two younger brothers." From my interview with the eldest son it appears that these were the third and fifth sons. The fourth son had left Taylor Lake without a permit with another Japanese Canadian to go to Lumby, near Vernon. They were disappointed with the place and decided to return to Taylor Lake. However, they were apprehended and, since they had broken the regulations, they were forced to move east of the Rockies. The fourth son thus moved to Toronto, where he has been ever since.

³⁸The eldest son told me that the second son had "bought a small 'cat'--the second smallest International. It did not even have a winch, only a small blade. They called it a farm tractor. The three of them were pulling out so many logs that the company who was buying the logs couldn't figure out how it was done." Evidently the three of them worked from dawn to dusk.

³⁹This is quite typical of the indirect manner in which Japanese people talk. It is interesting to note however, that although Mrs. Imada described this occurrence and conversation as if it was an "indirect order", her son recalled Uyehara's words as, "We are not here to look after the old. You go with your son." I found this very intriguing and feel it reveals a basic difference in the Issei and the Nisei and the way they talk. It seems to even colour their memories of conversations.

were going to be leaving.

Since leaving Haney on September 2, 1942, we had stayed here for four years until September 10, 1946. I think there were here in Taylor Lake, about thirty children of all ages.⁴⁰ It was necessary to provide schooling so we all put up money to help each other and built a large school. For the opening ceremony it was felt that something should be done and both the men and women were to be involved. Since they said Mrs. Imada was to be in charge of the entertainment, this would be left up to me. So, finally, I ended up having to take the responsibility all by myself. It was a big job. I, who knew nothing, had to take it on. So, I made up my mind, put together about twelve odori [Japanese dances] accompanied by old, old prewar records that could hardly be heard, gathered together children and young women and put on a concert, somehow. For amateurs, they were very good and everyone rejoiced. Somehow, about twelve dances and a number of songs were put together. The men were to do a play and so they practised every night. But just the night before, the big boss came to see [the rehearsal] and said there was something that the young men and women did that was not good so quit tonight. So they had to stop this play that they had struggled so

⁴⁰NAC, December 18th, 1943 report by MacBrayne notes: "Schooling, accommodation is rather cramped. The students seem to be doing well under the supervision of Miss Uchida and a few pupil teachers. The daily average is 38." NAC, RG 36/27, vol. 4, #127.

much on.⁴¹

I did not go to work in the woods in Taylor Lake.⁴² But, instead, all the firewood was sawn and chopped entirely by me. I learned something here. There was an old man from Japan who had been a flower making expert in Japan.⁴³ I learned a lot from him and it was very useful. I later taught others. When flowers were not available, whenever I made hospital visits, I would take many artificial flowers and everyone appreciated them. Nowadays a lot of pretty artificial flowers come from China and Japan so this would be nothing special but during the war there were none, so it was a big help. In April, for Hanamatsuri [Buddha's birthday festival when flowers are an integral part of the celebration] it was necessary to have flowers so I made them. This is my katami [loosely translated, "memento"] of Taylor Lake.

On September 10 our son came to get us so we packed

⁴¹There was no indication of why "the big boss" had vetoed the play. From her comment "there was something that the young men and women did that was not good" makes one wonder if it was censorship of what may have been statements or acts with sexual connotations. However, I recall that in Lemon Creek, anything that smacked of Japanese nationalism was quickly stopped.

⁴²In her earlier years she had worked in the woods. Ayukawa, "Memoirs," pp. 65-71.

⁴³She does not say what material was being used, but I assume this was the crepe paper flowers which were a popular craft in Lemon Creek.

up and moved to Lac la Hache.⁴⁴ We went to our eldest son's place and looked around. It was in the woods, in a lovely spot. In the front was a small lake. Beside it was a railway line. Once a day, or once in two days, we saw the tops of the trains. That was all. As for people, there were only two or three houses of mill-workers. It was a very very lonely place. My husband was just recovering from his illness and seemed to be more lonely. Almost every day he said that he wanted to go to Kamloops.

Just as my husband was saying, "This is useless," our second son came to borrow some money. My husband took this opportunity to go to Kamloops saying that when he found a house he would come and get me.

About a week later, on a cold, cold day, when it was twenty or thirty below zero [Fahrenheit, which is -27 to -34 degrees Celsius], my son grumblingly came to fetch me. He said that papa had told him to go and get his mother even though it was so cold. It was mid-November 1946. There was

⁴⁴According to the son, Toshio, he was at Lac la Hache for eight months. He took his own truck and was supplied with gas by Mr. ___ for whom he hauled logs. However, he was never paid, so he left. Many years later, an acquaintance told him that Mr. ___ had never intended to pay him. Mr. ___ believed that because Toshio was working illegally on Crown Land he would never have to be paid. He was wrong. Under the B.C. Crown Timber Act of 1913, it had been illegal for Orientals to work on Crown Land. However, that act had been suspended in February 1943, so Toshio was not working illegally. (Adachi, Enemy, p. 261) When the British Columbia Department of Lands and Forests tried to reinstate the Act on January 21, 1948, this was vehemently protested from all sides. The Act was officially abolished on April 21, 1948. (Adachi, Enemy, p. 344).

a great deal of snow and he had not been able to find the mountain road. [Obviously snow on the road had not been cleared so it would have been impossible to determine the exact location of the road itself.] The truck had slipped into a ditch; he had been forced to walk five to six miles to reach the house. He appeared to have had a hard time [the Japanese term used, tsurakatta, conveys a sense of bitterness] and he just sat quietly for an hour without saying a word. I looked at him and felt very sorry for him. I felt like crying but I held it back and packed and waited. Then the two brothers went to pull out the truck. I felt guilty. I felt that I had caused a great deal of trouble. They did not return for a long time and I was very worried. I packed a lunch to eat later and went to meet them. After I walked about half a mile, I heard the faint noise of a truck so I was very relieved and happy. I waited there and they came. Then we went back to the house, ate a late meal, piled in the baggage and drove through the blizzard.

On the way to Kamloops, in the middle of the woods, where there were no houses or anything, the truck stalled and the headlights went out. The snow was still falling heavily but what could be done? My son went outside and in the total darkness, with the snow falling so heavily that one could not see ahead and with a strong wind blowing, he fixed the truck with only the light of a small flashlight. In this cold, somehow, he fixed it. Experiencing a parent's

pain, I could hardly stand the pity that I felt for him.

After a long difficult trip of sixty to seventy miles through the woods, I think we finally limped into Kamloops at 1:00 or 2:00 A.M. It appeared that my son was very angry and until he reached the house--through all those long hours, he did not say a word. I really felt sorry for him. Because of my husband's selfishness we caused the two sons a great deal of hardship on that cold day. Even when I think of it now my heart aches.⁴⁵

When we reached our destination, I saw that there were two log houses. It was an auto camp--what we call a motel nowadays. Two houses had been rented. My three sons were living in the larger one and my husband was in the smaller one. The rent was very expensive. The larger one was \$3.50 per day and the smaller \$2.50. There was nothing except an empty bed. We decided that we had to find a house as quickly as possible. But at that time there was not a single house for sale. Even if one wanted to build, lumber was not available. Then, one white person said that his mother had died and as he was returning to her home and he would sell us his. So we bought it.

It could hardly be called a house for it was only partially completed. There were no windows or doors. It

⁴⁵Mrs. Imada may not have been fair to her husband with regard to this incident. In an interview with her eldest son, he offered the opinion that his father felt that it was necessary to remove his mother from his [the eldest son's] home since Mrs. Imada was a difficult mother-in-law.

just looked like an upside-down box. Everywhere there were only boards. Due to the war, boards, nails, tar paper and such materials were unavailable. My sons went from store to store, from this sawmill to that sawmill and gathering together lumber, fixed up the inside bit by bit. They could not buy any windows so they tried to provide sunlight by using clear plastic. There were no nails to be bought so they just banged a few in here and there. The three boys worked all day and then they worked on the house at night. We managed to get some doors and finally on December 3, 1946, we moved into the house.

After we had left our home in Haney on September 2, 1942, we had moved seven times--Hastings Park, Taylor Lake, Horse Lake, again back to Taylor Lake for four years, then Lac la Hache, then Kamloops. Every time we moved we left behind our dōgu [generally, this means tools but here it must refer to household effects] and wherever we went we had to replace them.

After we moved into our house, my husband and I relaxed but it was just for a short time. It seemed as if the worry and the cold had affected my husband. I thought he had lost some energy but he said there was nothing wrong. He ate well. Christmas was coming so we went to town together to shop and every day we were happy. We could celebrate Christmas in our own house, the Japanese evacuation was over, and we could go wherever we wanted so

everyone was able to welcome a happy New Year.⁴⁶

One day when I went to a nearby white person's store to buy ingredients for New Year's dishes, I was surprised and pleased to find some tuna for sale. I bought some and it was such a treat to eat sashimi [fillet of raw fish, a gourmet appetizer] and the five of us had a happy New Year's.⁴⁷ My husband was very happy and ate a huge amount. Several days later he told me to go and buy it again. I did and he again ate a great deal. This was the last time he was able to enjoy his food. From then on he gradually ate less and less and from January 20 he hardly ate anything. This sickness called cancer seems to be a disease where even if you do not eat anything you are not hungry. For two weeks he did not eat anything and he did not even try to eat. He said he did not want anything at all to eat. My eldest son called the former surgeon in Vancouver, Dr. Appleby. However, the doctor's reply was that he had estimated that my husband would have only three to six months and that it was amazing that he had lasted nine months.⁴⁸ There was nothing that could be done and we were told to resign ourselves to that fact.

⁴⁶Not so. Japanese could not go to the coast until April 1 1949.

⁴⁷New Year is celebrated by Japanese with special rituals, foodstuffs.

⁴⁸Mrs. Imada does not mention whether they had been told right after the operation the survival chances of Mr. Imada.

We immediately hospitalized my husband [in Kamloops] and had him fed intravenously. When he started to feel better he begged to return home and asked us to please tell the doctor this. When we spoke to the doctor he said that it was not advisable. About a week before he died, my husband wanted to return home but he finally resigned himself to the fact that he could not.

My children and I stayed with him throughout the night of February 23 and on the morning of the 24th at 6:00 A.M., my husband passed away peacefully in his sleep.⁴⁹ According to some people, this disease called cancer causes much suffering but from the beginning to the end my husband did not have any pain. Food just did not pass through his throat. From when he had his first operation to the second time he became bedridden up until his death, he was never in pain. It was also fortunate for me who was beside him. Until he died he could hear well, he could see well. His death was like a candle that had burned out and died. Since he did not suffer, even when he was at home after he got sick, he never complained. During my husband's stay in the hospital, I went to the hospital everyday at 1:00 P.M. and stayed until 6:00 P.M. and later went back until midnight so my husband said suman. [Literally, "it will never end"]

⁴⁹In an Interview Toshio, the eldest son, recalled that the night before his father died, he said, "Hurry, hurry, let's pick the strawberries. It's going to rain." His father had finally become a farmer at heart.

meaning the debt will never be repaid; that is, "thank you very much."] He appreciated my caring.

It seemed as if he was quite sensitive to the condition of his body and in January he often said that when February came he would be able to note his body's condition and, if it seemed as if he was going to get better, he was going to buy a plot of land and grow tomatoes. But since he died he could not do that. It was unfortunate.

Since it was only a short time since we had moved to Kamloops, we did not know many people. But many people came to the wake and the funeral and helped us a great deal. The wake was held at home and the funeral at a white funeral parlour in town. Thanks to everyone we were able to send him off in style.⁵⁰ The next day, my sons had him cremated in Vancouver. In Kamloops at that time there was no Buddhist Church or any Japanese organization but thanks to everyone he had a good funeral service.

Thus, on February 24, 1947 I became indebted to everyone. It was exactly thirty-five years since we had got married. My husband was sixty-three, I was fifty-five. During our marriage of thirty-five years, my husband had worked for years in the woods. It was only for a short period of twelve to thirteen years that he lived happily on our farm in Haney, working with all his strength. In 1941,

⁵⁰Mrs. Imada used a Japanese expression which was quite colloquial. I needed the help of my mother who has a background similar to Mrs. Imada to sense what she meant.

we had a total acreage of ninety-two acres in Haney.⁵¹ We also had four sons who had almost reached maturity. I think that was the height of my husband's prosperity. Just when we thought we would succeed in everything, the war started and that was the end of it all.

After we had my husband's forty-ninth day service, farm work became available and someone asked me if I would go to work.⁵² I went to work at a Chinese tomato farm every day for ten to twelve hours. If I returned home, I was lonely so even if it was one hour more, I wanted to be out. Also, from the time of my youth I liked to work. As long as I know the work, I don't have to think about it so I am happy. I think I work not for the money but because I like to work. I still love work but there is no work for me now. [That is, 1971, when she was eighty years old.]

The Japanese who had settled in Kamloops were hired by Chinese, Hindus [sic, she is referring to Sikhs] and white farmers who had thirty to forty acre farms and grew tomatoes, onions, cucumbers, potatoes, carrots and various other vegetables. After working two to three years, the Japanese learned how to grow many things and they then

⁵¹Actually, according to government records, the family owned closer to ninety-six acres.

⁵²"The prescribed time of mourning appears since ancient times...to have been divided into seven-day units. The maximum period was seven times seven, or forty-nine days." Yanagida Kunio, trans. Charles S. Terry, Japanese Manners and Customs in the Meiji Era (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1969), p. 185.

leased land and started farming. After they made some money they returned to their former [prewar] occupations. For instance, former fishermen returned to fishing. What I thought was different was that some people who had kept rooming houses in town [she is likely referring to Vancouver] became farmers while some like us who had big farms ended up living in the city. There are quite a few who exchanged places.

The heat of summer in Kamloops is the same as in the Cariboo. I am not exaggerating--in July and August it gets as high as 103, 104, 105 degrees [Fahrenheit]. But men and women work between the heat of the sun and the soil as if stuck between sheets of hot metal. Even in that heat everyone had to work. Since it was so hot, no one talked. We just worked hard, perspiring. It is so hot in Kamloops that tomato growing is most prevalent but there were different farm jobs available up to mid-November. Then there was the job of removing the feathers of turkeys. They used to say you just earned enough to pay for a Christmas tree.⁵³

Just as long as you went, there were many such jobs so men and women all worked hard. I too worked from April 1947 to the end of 1952 with ten to twenty people on the farms. I really enjoyed it. There was nothing I could not

⁵³My interpretation is that it was a job available just before Christmas and she means that the amount earned was so little that it was barely enough to buy a Christmas tree.

do. No matter which farm I went to, the boss would say that Mrs. Imada was a good worker and would praise me. That was not surprising since among the twenty Japanese workers there were many who had lived in the city and had neither used farm tools nor done any farm work.

In 1948, my eldest son moved out of the Cariboo. At that time three of my sons were in the firewood business. My sons got together and bought sawmill equipment and started up in 1948. My third son bought two chain saws. He used one himself and hired another man. Those two cut down the trees. My second son had a big truck and a bulldozer. He used the bulldozer to build a road. He hauled the huge logs cut down by my third son to his truck and took them to his elder brother's mill. The eldest cut the big logs into boards and delivered them to a big mill in town. So in that way, they had a big business. There were eight or nine employees. Thus the three brothers co-operated and worked together and did very well.

Meanwhile my fifth son moved to Vancouver and together with his elder sister started a drycleaning business.

Kamloops

From 1947, movement of Japanese was allowed so from the woods and from the rural areas Japanese moved to

Kamloops and the number of Japanese increased.⁵⁴ Thus, it was thought that a Japanese organization should be formed. First a Buddhist church, then a woman's group was formed. Since the war was over, it was decided to have a New Year's gathering. The Buddhist congregation's contribution to the entertainment was agreed to be a Kabuki-type play.

The teacher was a person who before the war had a watch store. He was the president of the Buddhist church. The samisen [Japanese lute] player was Mrs. Wakita, an old lady. This person had been trained in Japan and when on stage appeared to be a completely different person from her normal self. She had a great voice. Both have passed away now. They were good in acting too.

They asked the ladies' organization to put something on too and asked me to organize it. But I had no talents and I thought I didn't know anything. Nevertheless from here and there I borrowed old records from which you could barely hear the songs and I arranged Japanese dances by figuring out arm and leg movements. I gathered together about ten children of approximately ten years of age and taught them. Then I asked older girls and women to also dance and taught them. Then I thought I would have some slightly different dancers perform and picked women fifty to sixty years old. When I asked them, they were very very

⁵⁴ Movement back to the coastal area however, was not permitted until April 1, 1949.

happy and every day each of them came and asked when she could start practice. So it was decided to start practising from mid-December.

At the beginning I taught small children to dance to--[indecipherable] then I taught a dance to young ladies. Finally I taught the older women to dance to--[indecipherable]. But since they were older, their hands and feet did not move well so it was very difficult. Yet these older people were trying so hard that I could not quit. Finally eight women learned three dances. They were happy but they started to say they were shy. They said, "Mrs. Imada, can we wear a tenugui [thin cotton towel] and hide our faces?" Because I did not want to let them do that I really thought about the matter. I made origami flowers like kanzan [late-blooming cherry blossom species] and pinned them in their hair. Then I applied make-up and told them to look at themselves in the mirror. They saw themselves and were surprised. Each said, "Mrs. Imada, I won't wear a towel." They were very happy. It seemed as if they had recalled their former selves of long ago. There were also young ladies' practices. In total there were about ten dances. I didn't worry about the little children or the young ladies, but I prayed that the older people would not make mistakes. However, everyone tried hard and danced very well. They were very glad. In order to go in the dance, the ladies made their kimono and their obi [sashes]. They told me

almost daily that I had made them the happiest they had ever been since birth. In the farm fields, during any little rest period, they would stand up and dance right away asking was it this way, was it that way. They happily talked and danced. Every year I was asked to handle the Japanese dances. I always made them flowers for decorating the stage. During December, January and February when there was no farm work, I taught flower making. For the April Hanamatsuri [Flower Festival] when flowers were required, everything was decorated with flowers so everyone was happy and so was I.⁵⁵ I also made and donated flowers for the bazaars and the white people gladly bought them. Every day in the fields I was called dance teacher and we laughed.

The Women's club was organized in 1948 and from the start I was put on the executive. Although I did not know anything I held different executive positions.

At times, people who were not members of the Buddhist church would come to Kamloops and would die in the hospital. Most of them did not have relatives. The Buddhist church would be notified about their funerals. At such times there was no money. The church leaders would come and discuss it

⁵⁵"Hanamatsuri is the celebration of the birth of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni. In most of Japan it is observed on April 8, although some districts celebrate on May 8, to approximate the original lunar date. Temples set up a Flower Hall, a small pavilion roofed in gay flowers. Inside is a miniature statue of the Buddha as an infant. . . ." Ekiguchi Kunio and Ruth S. McCreery, A Japanese Touch for the Seasons (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1987), p. 13.

saying the costs had to be kept down so I would make the flower wreaths. I think I made about three or four.

I moved to Kamloops in the fall of 1946 and lived there until I moved to Vancouver on February 20, 1952. Although my husband had died and I was lonely I had a happy life.

During that period, my home [in Kamloops], both inside and outside, was completely finished. Water was put in as well as electricity and everything was finished. In January 1952, I was teaching Japanese dancing again for a concert at the Buddhist church when I caught a cold. I did not let it bother me and eagerly taught dancing. Then my eldest son came to see me and said, "Mama, you're very sick and are being very stupid. The doctor is coming now so you had better get checked over." The doctor came and rushed me to the hospital. He said that I was getting pleurisy. I was shocked. The concert was to be in three days. To me, the dances were more important than my sickness and I was really and truly disappointed. But it could not be helped. After the concert, they [the dancers] all visited me to humour me and told me that they had all danced well without making a mistake, so I was happy. The Buddhist priest came and told me that everything had gone smoothly so I was content. In this way, while I was in the hospital I had visitors every day and the nurses asked me why I had so many visitors. I told them that I did not know. I left after

two weeks but visitors still dropped by my house. They said, "I guess you can't work this year." I said, "Sure I can," but they said, "If you had pleurisy you can't work for a year." Since they said that and I loved to work, I felt that the world had become a dark place and decided to go to Vancouver to loaf. So, on February 20 I went to Vancouver.

I went by train to where my daughter had a drycleaning business. For my own enjoyment I did alterations.⁵⁶ I also went to movies and went to pick strawberries in the country. Then July came. My daughter said the shop was to be closed from July 1st to 7th so I said, "Well, I think I'll go home," but my youngest son said, "Mama, instead of going back there, why don't you live in Vancouver?" My daughter said the same thing. Thus, I said I thought this was a good idea. Let me go home, clear up my affairs and bring back whatever I need, I suggested. So, the four of us [it is likely to have been Mrs. Imada, her daughter and husband and the fifth son] went back to Kamloops. When we were clearing things up a neighbour spotted us and the story spread that Mrs. Imada was moving to Vancouver. The Buddhist church and the Women's Society together rented a huge hall in town and held a big farewell party for me. I was so overwhelmed that they had gone to such trouble that I

⁵⁶Many prewar Japanese drycleaning businesses offered repairs and alterations for a nominal sum when clothes were brought in for drycleaning. Presumably, her daughter and son were doing the same.

could not thank them adequately nor bid them a proper farewell. Within a week I left with just my personal belongings in the car. I asked my third son to look after the rest. My third son was building his own house then so he was going to live in my house until his was ready. A year later he sold the house for me.

I pulled up stakes from Kamloops on July 10, 1952. After I moved to Vancouver I rented an apartment from a Chinese person on Cordova Street right away and lived there until I could find a house. That was from July to November.

I expected to work in the fish cannery but after I worked seven days, there was a strike. Every day I loafed and got bored just going to see English movies and wandering around town. At first it was interesting since it was new, but then I became bored and I did not want to see anything. I often thought of returning to Kamloops. I do not know how many times I discussed it with my son and daughter. They said, "How can you return after they even gave you a farewell party?" I agreed with that but I still thought I had done a foolish thing. I thought this would never do so I got my son to look for a house. But it was after the war and he said it was hard to find one for sale. There was no work so I commuted to Steveston for about ten days picking raspberries and helped my daughter. [That is, did alterations.] I stayed in the apartment on Cordova Street for five months.

In November I heard there was to be a service at the old Buddhist temple on Cordova Street and since it was nearby I went. However, after the service, someone asked if all the women would stay behind. Since I did not have anything special that I had to do, I stayed as asked. They wanted to organize a Fujinkai [Women's organization]. There were less than ten of us. An executive was elected and I was on it.

At that time in Vancouver also, there were very few houses for sale so it was hard to find a house. But finally on November 5th this house that I am living in now was found. We quickly went to see it, and after a discussion with my daughter and son, we reluctantly made arrangements to buy it. The price was high but there was no other house available. Exactly one month later on December 5th I moved here but right away someone appeared and asked for room and board and after New Year's, Nisei who returned from Japan came one after the other and asked for board.⁵⁷ So for about five years I had boarders.

From October 1957 I stopped [taking in boarders] and until this day I just rent out rooms and do the cleaning and

⁵⁷The government policy "announced in August, 1944 [which proceeded in the spring of 1945] to launch a programme to disperse Japanese throughout the country, to segregate the 'loyal' from the 'disloyal' and to 'repatriate' the latter to Japan" led to "immense misery and tragedy . . ." Adachi, Enemy, p. 297. "[F]ive ships left for Japan. The 3,965 people on those ships ostensibly went voluntarily." Sunahara, Politics, p. 143.

the laundry for about four or five persons. From 1953-4 to 1965-6 most of the roomers were those who had been deported in 1946--young people eighteen, nineteen to twenty-four, twenty-five. Others were people called back to Canada by parents.⁵⁸ It was fine for me since I don't know any English. They usually stayed two to three years. From about 1967 most were new Japanese immigrants with technical skills. There were also those who came as students or visitors and were able to get good jobs and stay. There were all sorts. In total I have had about one hundred people. Although they were all Japanese, they were all very different.

Most of these young people were tall and well built. Three out of five were five feet seven or eight inches. The ones who returned after the war and the Meiji ones were the smallest I think. I myself am a small woman of not even five feet, but I was never surpassed by anyone as far as working is concerned. Regretfully though, in reading and writing I am "zero".

One day last summer [1970] a person called Tsumura came to Vancouver and was brought to my place by a friend. He asked if I would arrange a marriage for his daughter.⁵⁹

⁵⁸These would be citizens who had been in Japan either living with their grandparents, working, or studying and had been unable to return when the war started.

⁵⁹Although the custom of arranged marriages is unusual in present day Japanese Canadian society, occasionally, when parents become anxious due to the advancing age of their

After we chatted about a number of things, we found that we had known each other fifty years before. He had been the person in Ladysmith who had asked us to buy his strawberries.⁶⁰ I once had eaten a meal at his place and I felt nostalgic. The world appears to be very big but it is really a small place.

In the early fifties, during my daughter's vacation from the store, the three of us, my daughter, her husband and I went to Seattle by car. For about five days we had an enjoyable time there. In 1956 there was a group tour to Japan so I went to Japan in March. For three months I travelled around enjoyably and returned in May. In 1958 there was a tour to Hawaii so again my daughter and I and friends--four of us--went and enjoyed ourselves for two weeks.⁶¹ In 1962 I went to my son's in Toronto, visited here and there for one month and then returned. In 1968, I went on another tour to San Francisco and Los Angeles for five enjoyable days and in July with five friends I went to Victoria.

offspring, they resort to this custom. A go-between searches for a good mate, and helps make all the arrangements. There is very little direct contact or discussion between the families. The go-between does all the negotiating. After marriage, he/she is also the confidante and troubleshooter for the newlyweds.

⁶⁰Ayukawa, "Memoirs," pp. 48-50.

⁶¹There is a very detailed diary of this trip written by Mrs. Imada in the Special Collections at UBC, Japanese Canadian Collection, Box 3, Folders 12 and 12a.

When I was young I used to think that I was the unluckiest person in Canada. Yet thanks to having been given long life, I rejoice that now I am the most fortunate and happiest person in Canada.

In the olden days they used to say that suffering was the source of happiness. I agree that my suffering in the past planted the seeds for my present enjoyment. I give thanks every day for all my blessings. My one daughter and my five sons call me "mama" and are very good to me. My four daughters-in-law are all number one in the world. I often think about this. I marvel every day that a person like me became so lucky in my old age and I am very thankful.

Sons

On March 10 1956, when I had been in Japan about a week I think, my second son lost a leg in an accident on the bulldozer. One day when I was going to Hiroshima, there was a crowd in front of the train station. When I approached, I saw that it was a fortune-teller. As soon as he saw me he said, "Show it to me," [her palm?] and when I had him look at it, he said, "You have a son don't you?" abruptly. He said that my son had met with a very bad accident and had bled a great deal--that his life was in danger. I was startled momentarily but I thought, "It cannot be." However when I returned to Canada I found that it had not been a

fabrication. I was surprised that this person had been absolutely correct. I puzzled over the fact that in Japan so many thousand miles away from British Columbia, the fortune-teller had known it. My daughter informed me that since I was having such a good time she thought it would have been a pity to tell me.

After being in the Vancouver hospital until the end of May, my son had returned to Kamloops. I was told that he was going to be coming back soon to have an artificial leg fitted. So, unable to go to Kamloops, I waited. In July, my son and his wife with their two children came to Vancouver. I think he stayed for about a month at the place where they fitted artificial legs. He was still young, just thirty-nine years old, but he had lost a leg. When I, as a parent, first saw him I could not bear it. But there was nothing I could do. I felt sorry for him but only cried in my heart. If my daughter-in-law had not been there, I think I would have sobbed aloud. One could say it was fate but I thought the mischief of the Buddha was terrible too. My second son could not work in the woods with only one leg so he quit and got a job in the village.

At about that time North Kamloops opened up. First a gas station was opened and then many businesses. From around 1960 many families started to sell their land. By 1965 or 1966 farm land disappeared. Houses, apartments, motels, shopping centres, many stores, big schools were

built everywhere. In the fifteen to sixteen year period after I left Kamloops for Vancouver, open land has disappeared completely. I am not certain but I think Japanese who had a lot of land became rich. I think there was someone who owned twenty-four or twenty-five houses. The government bought land for schools, parks, churches, etc. For all these buildings my second son did the levelling, dug the ditches, made the roads, put in the gas, water and sewage lines. He also dug house basements. He had a great deal of work, and he said the loss of one leg was not going to defeat him. He worked every day for twelve hours and when the daylight hours were long, for fourteen hours.⁶²

However, people with bad luck always get bad luck. Exactly three years later, when he was forty-two, his wife died. His daughter was nine years old, his son was seven. His wife was pregnant and when she was nine months the mother became unconscious [I was told that she had a stroke and was in a coma] so they delivered the baby girl.⁶³ She was about four pounds and the hospital looked after her until she was five pounds and then she was brought home and

⁶²This was confirmed in my interview. He maintained all his equipment himself and did all the repairs himself in the evenings.

⁶³The Meiji Japanese seem to calculate the term of pregnancy differently from us. They claim that full term is ten months so a baby born at nine months gestation would be premature.

the brother and sister looked after her until she was five and a half pounds.⁶⁴ It was decided that my daughter who lives in Vancouver would raise her so my second son brought her to Vancouver. Then my daughter took over and this August [1971] she is fifteen years old. That happened fifteen years ago but my son is still doing the same work with the bulldozer. He says that he may have lost a leg but he will not be outdone by others. He says he feels sorry for his children so he has still not remarried.⁶⁵

Now the third son married on November 1950 and for about five years worked with his older brother cutting trees in the woods. In his free time he built his own house. He says he just drew up the plans himself and built the house but it is a very very magnificent big house. White people and Japanese people came to look at it. Soon he had many requests to build houses. He had enjoyed it so he finally left the woods and became a builder. I think it all started when my husband bought the partly built house and they completed it. So he was a builder for fourteen or fifteen years and last year [1970] at the end of February, he started a big hardware store. As for his wife, last summer

⁶⁴This is hard to believe since they were still children. However, Katsumi, Mrs. Imada's second son, said that after his wife's death, his young daughter took over the household tasks. I also do know another case where an equally young girl did the same in the late forties.

⁶⁵Presumably, he felt that the children would be happier without a mother than with a step-mother.

she started a women's clothing store so now both husband and wife are in business. My son says he has not stopped his home-building. When he has requests he still hires people and does it.

My eldest son says that he inherited the urge to work from his parents and that until he dies he cannot stop. Even now he has a mill where he has seven workers and he works. The fourth son went to Toronto in 1944. He went back to Kamloops once but returned to Toronto in 1952. He is married and has a drycleaning business. He comes to Vancouver on holidays almost every year to see me. He is planning to sell his business and to move to Vancouver this year.⁶⁶ My fifth son quit working in the woods in 1948, moved to Vancouver and worked at my daughter's business but after my daughter's business closed, he became an apprentice at a radio repair shop and now he has a business that sells radios and other things. He married in 1956. My daughter married before the war in 1941 and she lives in Vancouver.

I have a total of sixteen grandchildren, six boys and ten girls. At present four of them are going to university. Because I don't know English, it doesn't make any difference how many grandchildren I have. When they are small, they take to you, saying, "Grandma, grandma." But when they get a little bigger and go to kindergarten and primary school,

⁶⁶According to his brother he is still in Toronto and is still talking about moving West.

they no longer come around since we cannot understand each other. Grandchildren withdraw and although they are my grandchildren I too become reserved. I feel sorry for both the old people and the grandchildren. While they say "Baachan, baachan," [Granny] and take to you, affection flows and they are sweet, but now it is a sad thing. Whenever old people get together they always chatter about this. (Fifty to sixty years ago people like us all thought that when we earned money we would return to Japan,) so we did not think we had to learn English. Also there was no opportunity. We lived year after year as wataridori [birds of passage] so it was worse.⁶⁷

(With regards to the children, we did not educate them properly, only raised them.) But I think it is a wonder that, although from the time they were five to six years old the five boys were told to do many difficult jobs, not once did they say they did not want to, nor did they refuse, nor did they say that they hated work. I would tell them that if mother can do it, they should be able to do it. So each and every child willingly did the work. I am thankful that I did not have even one child that did not like work. They are all hard workers. As bachelors they worked under people but after they were married, each and every one took on

⁶⁷I think she is being hard on herself. The consensus among Japanese Canadians now is that the immigrants were so busy working that they had no time to study English. Their daily contacts were almost exclusively Japanese so neither the opportunity nor the necessity existed.

contracts on their own. As a parent I am very happy and satisfied regarding my sons and am always thankful.

Evacuation

In 1941 we were going to get a bride for my eldest son since he was of marriageable age.⁶⁸ We therefore decided to fix the house from top to bottom.⁶⁹ We hired a carpenter and a paperhanger and we bought the best quality furniture for the livingroom, diningroom, everywhere. But the confusion caused by the war reached into our lives and our world became a turmoil.

At the end of March, 1941, my son had told us to buy a larger truck to haul the strawberries so we had bought a three-ton vehicle and had been happy. But in 1942, the custodian sent letters almost daily, saying, "Bring the truck." [See notice, p. 15] My eldest son said that if we took it to the custodian we would not get any money for it and that it would be better to sell it to someone for monthly instalments. So we arranged to sell it to a white man. We could not return the new furniture to Vancouver so we arranged to lend it to a neighbour. This neighbour said, "It must be hard for you people to trust us with these

⁶⁸Following Japanese custom, many families still arranged marriages for their children in those days.

⁶⁹They were preparing the house for a daughter-in-law, since he was the eldest son and would thus be living in his parents' home with the bride.

articles so I will hand you all the money I have saved and when you return you can bring me the money (\$175) and I will return it to you." That was the agreement. But when the evacuation was over and the newspapers started to say that the Japanese would likely be slowly returning to the coast, that white person took all the furniture and moved to Alberta. When we went to inquire, it was said that they had even sold their land. We could not chase after them and all we could do was cry.⁷⁰

The next door neighbours, a white couple called Houghton, were always very sympathetic. They came everyday and said, "Mr. and Mrs. Imada, we really feel badly for you, so bring all your precious things to our house. We will look after them carefully and keep it for you." They say that when you are drowning you clutch at straws. We decided to have them look after our valuable articles. First of all, a machine for use with hops that we used for only one summer, which cost \$350, a large short-wave radio with which you could hear Japan, \$250, a washing machine, only twenty months old, \$175, furniture for three bedrooms, china, etc. [See Appendix V, pp.112-13.]

When our family went to get them, we were told that

⁷⁰In an interview the eldest son said that he was not aware of this arrangement. He thought that his third brother had sold the furniture. There is a misunderstanding here. Mrs. Imada may have felt that the furniture was a temporary loan while her son and these neighbours may have thought otherwise.

the government had taken them all away. My son could not bring himself to contact the custodian and all we could do was cry. It was our fault for trusting people. I think the Houghtons sold it all. What we had hidden in the attic of our house burned in the fire. [Some were auctioned.] We "rented out" (for nothing) the house--stove, tools, the whole place--to a white man called Jensen. We sold him the strawberries that were growing at that time but lent him everything else--the horse and all the equipment. We have no idea what happened to the horse or anything.⁷¹

Our house completely burned down, including our shed, garage, everything.⁷² We did not get a penny of our \$3,000 insurance either. The custodian took it all.⁷³ It is said that during the war the law was changed everyday; it was not possible to do anything.

As for the hops that we had grown--there was a large company in Surrey. They bought all the hops from about fourteen or fifteen Japanese families. Just about every time they came to see the crop, they said, "Your crop is the

⁷¹As noted on Appendix II, pp. 103-4, the lease with the Jensens is delineated in the archival records. Jensen paid \$780 for year 1942 and \$340 for 1943. The lease notes that it included payment for the horse.

⁷²See p. 17, Vancouver Province, May 5, 1943 newspaper clipping found in Imada files, NAC, RG 33/69 vol.5, file 76, #6996.

⁷³The Veterans' Land Administration took the money. They claimed that the house and property had been purchased in January, 1943. The Imadas received \$51 which represented compensation for the contents only. See *ibid.*

best so we will be sure to pay you over \$2000." So my sons and my husband and I were very happy. But when the cheque came, we saw that it was for only \$89. It was such a difference that we thought it was an error and my son wrote right away. The reply was this: "Your hops were very good but the other twelve or thirteen families' were very bad so we lost money. We had to spend much money every day transporting all the workers in a large bus and we had to subtract the costs so please excuse us." I cannot forget the bitter feeling I experienced at the time that I received that letter.⁷⁴

The final seventy-five acres of land that we bought in March, 1940 after our return from a visit to Japan, was at that time thought to be a fortunate acquisition. But happiness was only momentary. I think we paid about 2000-3000 dollars. Since my three sons had paid for it, I

⁷⁴There is no doubt that the Imada farm had a very impressive crop of hops. In Yamaga Yasutaro, Haney Nōkaishi [A History of the Haney Agricultural Association], (Tokyo: no publisher given, 1962), there is a photograph of the Imada hops farm. It must have been a showplace. The "buyer" of the hops crop would have made money on their farm. However, it is also likely that he would have not done as well with the poorer crops. Since there was no iron-clad contract, the contractor would likely have made up his losses with the bonanza on the Imada crop. It is no small wonder that the Imadas were disappointed and angry. As a young child I spent a few weeks for a number of summers picking hops in Sumas. I remember the difference in quality of hops and the time and effort that it took to pick the poorer crops.

can't remember.⁷⁵

As to this land that we bought in 1940, after the evacuation was over in 1947, about two years later, I think, we received a letter saying , "What do you want done with the land?" They said that there was \$3,000 tax due on the land and if it is paid, we could get it back.⁷⁶ At that time, my husband was gone, and the three boys said they did not have such a large amount of money. It was as if this seventy-five acres had been taken from us. If my husband had been living I think somehow we would have bought it back. This land is called Webster's Corner in Haney and whenever I go to Haney I go to see it. In the seventy-five acres, there is a road cutting through it at a slant and inside there is a large building. It is said to be a mental hospital.⁷⁷

Again I return to my five sons. We could not give

⁷⁵The three eldest sons owned it jointly according to the property evaluation report and it covered an area of 78.55 acres. In the Bird Commission transcripts, NAC, Bird Commission, RG 33/69 vol 5, case #76, Mr. McMaster (appearing for the claimant) states: "It was purchased in 1941 for about \$800.00--."

⁷⁶I cannot substantiate this. Toshio has no recollection of this.

⁷⁷The eldest son said that it was a correctional school. On a recent trip to that area, which I will be discussing in the "Afterword," I was unable to locate this land exactly. It appeared, however, that although the Alouette River Correctional Centre and the Pacific Vocational Institute were both located nearby, they were not on the land that was described in the Farm Appraisal Report as "South 1/2 of the S.W of Sec. 26, Twsp.12." NAC, RG 117 Reel C-9370, File 6929.

them much of an education. All they were taught was to work, work. When they returned from school, I gave them thirty minutes and then after they had a snack, they went out to the fields right away and worked, rain, shine or wind. However, I never made them stay away from school to work. This was always a point of disagreement with my husband since he wanted to make them stay away from school to work. Nowadays my eldest son says, "Thanks to the treatment of papa, I can go anywhere, do any job, and not get tired." All my five sons work hard, in fact they are doing better than average so I am satisfied. The four wives are also good so I am content. One son, at the age of forty-two lost his wife and has not remarried. As a parent, I am concerned. His eldest daughter graduated from university and last year in September [1970] she got married. His eldest son is in third year at university and will graduate in another year. My second son says it is more carefree to be single. His daughter, the one who was born by Caesarian section when the mother was unconscious, is being raised by my daughter. This year she is twelve. [She would be fifteen since she was born in 1956.] Time sure flies. I am eighty now [1971] and I am healthy and have never been sick and that is my number one good fortune. I am happy about it. I always thank my parents for having brought me into this world healthy and for having raised me healthy.

Due to the war, we lost all the property that for over twenty years we and our five children had worked for and it was very regretful. I think I lived a life of sorrow for thirty-five years. Yet, as the people in the past said, "Happiness has the seed of suffering," and just like that, I experienced hardship and suffered but I have also enjoyed happiness. I went to Japan three times, but once it was in pain.⁷⁸ I have enjoyed many trips to Seattle, Japan, and Hawaii. No matter where I go I don't allow myself to inconvenience the young people. [She is referring to her children.] I am leading a happy life. The seeds of suffering of the past have led to the seeds of ease of the present. I now think that because of the war all the Japanese have improved their situation. What's more, as we get older, we receive a pension. I am most appreciative and every day I am enjoying life.

⁷⁸She is referring here to her trip in 1918 alone with her three children. See Ayukawa, "Memoirs," pp. 61-64.

AFTERWORD

The wartime evacuation of the 22,000 Japanese who were living in British Columbia in 1942 disrupted their lives completely; it dispossessed them of most of their worldly goods and property. As Sunahara rightly put it, "The disposition of the Japanese Canadians was an accomplishment of Ian Mackenzie, the Minister of Pensions and Health and the Member of Parliament for Vancouver Centre."¹ As far back as April 4, 1942, he declared that he intended that "they never come back home."² The British Columbia Security Commission was created on March 4, 1942, by order-in-council PC 1665 to carry out the removal of the Japanese Canadians.³

On January 23, 1943 the cabinet passed an order-in-council under the War Measures Act that "granted the Custodian of Enemy Property the right to dispose of Japanese Canadian property in his care without the owners' consent."⁴

¹Sunahara, Politics, p. 101.

²Ibid.

³See footnote 24 in "Introduction."

⁴This completely contradicted the "promise" made earlier by the Custodian. The eldest son recalled a meeting held in the Japanese Hall in which the Custodian, or more likely, his representative, was present. When some farmers expressed the opinion that since the future was so uncertain it might be wiser to sell their farms, the Custodian countered with the statement that "Custodian" meant that the government intended to keep the farms in its custody so it

On June 23, 1943, a deal was finalized in Ottawa which allowed the Veterans' Land Act Board to not only purchase 769 Japanese farms for \$850,000, but to get included in the purchase "the \$43,000 of net income from those farms for the 1943 crop year."⁵ The municipal assessment for these properties was greater than \$1,200,000.⁶ Now, if the sale of those properties was finalized on June 23, 1943, how does one explain the letter written on June 9, 1944 from W. E. Anderson of the Farm Department of the Office of the Custodian to Mr. Imada which contained the following:

We draw to your attention . . . that as the sale of your property was made as at January 1, 1943 and as the purchaser assumed the responsibility of insurance, taxes, etc., as from that date insofar as the buildings were concerned, the amount collected from the insurance company was remitted to the purchaser.⁷

The purchaser, of course, was the Veterans' Land Act Board. There is no basis for this claim and the Imada family was justified in their complaints. A great injustice was done.

According to the Price Waterhouse report on the

was better not to sell them. If they were sold, he continued, there would be no place to which they could return.

⁵Sunahara, Politics, p. 108.

⁶Ibid. 107.

⁷See Appendix III, p. 108. NAC, RG 117, Reel C-9371, File 6996., NAC.

Economic Losses of the Japanese Canadians After 1942,
compiled in May 1986 for the National Association of
Japanese Canadians:

Many Japanese Canadians worked in farming,
particularly small fruit farming in the Fraser Valley
area near Vancouver. Their practice was to buy
farmland which included substantial uncleared land,
and clear it gradually.

The Custodian sold 741 parcels of this farmland
in 1943 to the Veteran Land Administration en bloc,
for \$836,256. The Bird Commission concluded that an
80% increase should be added to that sale price, to
compensate the Japanese Canadians.⁸

Through the Bird Commission, the Fraser Valley
farmers merely received a total of \$632,226.61, which was
just over half of the \$1,222,929.26 which Bird recommended
as total compensation.⁹

If the Imadas had not been forcibly removed, they
would be holding valuable property today. In late January
1990, with the enthusiastic assistance of a Fraser Valley
secondary school social studies teacher who recruited the
aid of another teacher and a real estate agent, I determined
the locations and the present value of the Imada property.

⁸The National Association of Japanese Canadians,
Economic Losses of Japanese Canadians After 1941, (Winnipeg:
Hignell Printing, 1985), p. 13.

⁹Adachi has discussed the Bird Commission considera-
tions in great detail. Bird found that assessment of losses
incurred in the sale of family homes, businesses, and
fishing boats was very difficult and he felt that he could
not fault the Custodian for the prices obtained. However,
as for the Fraser Valley farms sales he had "no hesitation
in finding that the claimants did not realize the fair
market value. . . ." Adachi, Enemy, p. 330.

The land on which the Imadas had grown berries and hops and had kept their laying hens is now divided into three lots. They are presently 11665, 11645 and 11629 243rd Street. According to the latest assessment roll records, the total assessed value of these lots is \$182,501. The total received from the recent sales of the three lots (sold in November 1988, February 1984 and March 1988) is \$256,500. These lots cover an area of 15.54 acres and all three are zoned as under the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR). I saw a small house on each lot and land that did not appear as if it was being used to grow any fruit or vegetables, although one property had a large poultry house on it. The value of the second eighty acre property is difficult to determine at this point.

A major crisis which Mrs. Imada fails to mention at all in her writing is the "segregation and repatriation" policy that was enforced in the spring of 1945.¹⁰ At that time the government ordered Japanese living in British Columbia either to sign up for repatriation to Japan after the war, or to move east of the Rockies. This order caused a furore in the relocation centres but it also affected the Japanese living elsewhere in British Columbia. According to the eldest son, Mr. Imada senior wanted to sign up for repatriation. He had become quite discouraged with Canada. However, his son said he talked him out of it, declaring,

¹⁰Ibid. pp. 297-98. Sunahara, Politics, pp. 118-23.

"You are crazy in the head. You won't be able to live out there with no money, no nothing." Mrs. Imada's failure to mention this is a reminder that there were some important events that were not noted in her memoir. (Memoirs, diaries, and the like do not necessarily provide complete accounts of the years they cover; nor do they necessarily tell us anything about the strongly held emotions the authors of them may have been experiencing.)

Mrs. Imada had very special physical and psychological attributes which served her well. Very healthy, energetic, intelligent and determined, she had the ability to deal with all the hardships and injustices that she encountered. At first she had to deal with her husband's gambling and drinking and later the actions of the Canadian government. Despite such daunting challenges, Mrs. Imada rose "like Phoenix from the ashes." She carried on--and on. Never did she shrink from physical labour. In her memoir she wrote, "I think I work not for the money but because I like to work."¹¹ The constant disappointments and suffering during her early years in Canada had toughened her; she was able to survive the extreme hardships of the war years. Although she was bitter and angry with the government for selling the family property, for taking the insurance money, and for all the wartime injustices, she never became demoralized. She may have felt helpless and confused at

¹¹See p. 60.

times but still she had the fight to complain. She was brave enough to appear before the Bird Commission.

Interviews with Mrs. Imada's two eldest sons revealed many qualities in Mrs. Imada which were not evident in her memoir, perhaps because her ability to write was not adequate enough to express her feelings in fine detail. She stuck with her husband through thick and thin. Although he was a wastrel who drank and gambled, he was a hard worker. He drove his sons, making great demands on them. His sons understood this, however. They told me that he had been in the Japanese army and had fought in the Russo-Japanese war before he emigrated. He treated his sons like raw army recruits. He expected his wife to serve him also, and this she did like many a properly brought up Japanese woman of the Meiji period, although often she did so grudgingly. Had she not been taught to "be subservient as a bride and self-sacrificing as a wife and mother?"¹² In her later years she took good care of him, seeing him through his final months.

The two eldest sons, whom I spent hours interviewing, had many of their mother's admirable qualities. They had been hard workers and they were "survivors". At the time I met them, they were both widowers; both had received their Redress payments. On September 22, 1988, the Canadian

¹²George De Vos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Value Attitudes toward Role Behaviour of Women in Two Japanese Villages", American Anthropologist, vol. 63, 1961, p. 1208.

government issued the official Acknowledgement of the injustices suffered by Japanese Canadians during and after World War II and announced the Redress Settlement reached with the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC). As symbolic Redress for those injustices, \$21,000 was to be paid to each Canadian of Japanese ancestry whose fundamental rights and freedoms were violated.¹³ They were both happy to reminisce with me. The eldest, who is retired, is a bit of a recluse. He spends his days fishing for trout and working in his basement workshop on lovely wood and glass cases for Japanese dolls and making other wooden objects. He showed me many coloured photographs that he had printed and enlarged himself in his basement darkroom. He stated that although his father had been very demanding and strict, he felt that he himself as the eldest son had captured a special spot in his father's heart. He told me how much he still missed his wife, who had died before his mother. Although Mrs. Imada never mentioned it, the relationship between herself and her eldest son's wife had not been very good. Evidently Mrs. Imada made heavy traditional demands on her daughter-in-law and her son, out of love for his wife, was caught in the middle and resented his mother for this.

Mrs. Imada's second son, the one who had lost his leg at the age of thirty-nine and was widowed a few years later,

¹³JCCA Bulletin, vol. 30, no. 10, October, 1988, p. 20.

was still working frequently with his huge bulldozer. He explained that he had moved most of the earth for the urbanization of the North Kamloops area. In addition he had always regularly serviced his machinery while doing this work also. His yard was filled with heavy equipment and tools. He told me that his business philosophy had been to give his customers "a little bit more" than they had contracted for and this had led to his success. To this day, he receives calls from a legion of satisfied customers and "if he feels like it" he accepts a job. He recalled experiences as a first-aid man in Lemon Creek when the first-aid workers took carloads of young children to Slocan City for tonsillectomies and brought them back the same day. It was quite an assembly-line process according to him. It made me shudder to think that I had escaped it--only because my mother dreaded anaesthetic of any sort. He had also at times accompanied Dr. Francis of Slocan City on his rounds, Dr. Francis enjoyed having a young man carrying his medical bag.¹⁴

The second son's smile and bright eyes were also those which I noticed in Mrs. Imada's photos. He recalled that in his childhood, no matter how busy his mother was, she would take the time to tell them stories.¹⁵ He said they eagerly did the dishes and odd jobs around the house so

¹⁴McCullum, Medical Aspects, p. 6.

¹⁵Ayukawa, "Memoirs," p. 75.

that they could have their very special moments with their mother, listening to her stories. I felt he was a most positive person who retained only the pleasant memories of his life. He said he had his father to thank for having forcefully made him work hard in his youth. This had given him the confidence to feel that there was no job that he could not handle. The loss of his leg or the death of his wife when his children were still very young have never daunted him. He spoke lovingly about his children and grandchildren, their frequent visits and his relationship with them. He showed me his expensive camera and laughingly told me that he had telephoned his daughter to ask her if he could spend some of her inheritance to buy it!

The interviews with the sons helped clarify some puzzling place names and names of Caucasian people. Some statements made by Mrs. Imada were refuted by her eldest son when he expressed his version of certain events. These discrepancies have been discussed in footnotes.

In the later pages of her memoir, written in 1971 when she was eighty years old, she mused about her wartime experiences, but appeared to have resigned herself to her economic losses. She expressed satisfaction with her sons' successes, praised their wives and took pride in the university education all her grandchildren were acquiring. Her only real regret was her sense of alienation from grandchildren she could not easily communicate with because

of her limited English.

Mrs. Imada died in October 1987 when she was ninety-six years old. The Canadian government's apology to the Japanese Canadian community came a year later. It is interesting to speculate on how Mrs. Imada might have reacted to this announcement. Undoubtedly she would have shed a few tears recalling the wartime years: the anxiety she felt when leaving her property, the shock of hearing that it had all been sold without consultation, the horror of the news that her home had been destroyed by fire and her bitter discovery that the family would not receive the insurance money. Nevertheless, her positive spirit surely would have prevailed. Probably she would have placed her cheque in front of her family altar, reporting to her husband that the government had apologized at last. She would likely have done what my own mother has done--spent some of the Redress money to brighten her own life before giving the rest away to her grandchildren and to worthy causes.

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APPENDIX I
SELF_SUPPORTING, SELF_EVACUATED PROJECTS

101

Date 2nd June 1943.

MEMORANDUM

From the desk of MR. W.A. EASTWOOD

To MR. GEORGE COLLINS

Subject: _____

Re: DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN SELF-SUPPORTING
AND SELF-EVACUATED PROJECTS IN B.C.

Your memorandum of May 31st on the above subject. These two types of project are classified as being separate and distinct, one from the other.

The self-supporting projects are Christina Lake, MacGillivray Falls, Minto, Bridge River Townsite and Lillooet. We accept a portion of the responsibility for the maintenance and up-keep of these projects in the way of education and rental of their community sites. We paid transportation of personnel and baggage and freight into these points.

The self-evacuated groups are at Grand Forks, Chase, Westwold, Blind Bay, Celista, Magna Bay, Notch Hill etc. These are farming communities and the Japanese families went forward to farm placements with Occidental and in some instances Japanese farmers. Our responsibility ended when we gave them permits to go forward at their own expense. We accept no responsibility in the way of rentals or education.

There is however the district of Grand Forks, where a great many Japanese went forward with our approval and where the agricultural project did not turn out as successful as we had anticipated. We have given some assistance in the way of education and relief to these people, but insofar as all other self-evacuated points are concerned, we have not been asked for assistance, but have always felt that if these people required maintenance we would be willing to help them. We understand that the Japanese children in these districts, because there are very few of them, are going to the Occidental schools, but would not say for sure.

There is another group, consisting only of the one project at Taylor Lake, which is half-way between the self-evacuated and the self-supporting groups. These people were taken out by the Sorg Pulp Company who provided them with homes for which they are charging \$10.00 per month per family. They

MEMORANDUM

Date _____

From the desk of _____

To _____

Subject: _____

- 2 -

have their own schools and are using Provincial correspondence courses, Elementary courses and a proportion of the text-books being provided by the Commission on the same basis as in the self-supporting projects. We paid transportation into Taylor Lake but are giving them no other assistance with the exception of the above-mentioned Elementary correspondence courses and text-books. They are gainfully employed in cutting pulp-wood and from my survey the other day I would say that they will be there for an indefinite period.

To your memorandum of May 31st you attached a letter from a Japanese named S. ARAKAWA of Falkland, B.C. Falkland is in the Westwold district, on the cut-off between Kamloops and Vernon. These people are working for ranchers and farmers in this district and we have heard very little of them. To all intents and purposes they are earning sufficient to take care of their requirements and their children are no doubt attending the Occidental schools.

FILE #215

WAE/EG

W.A. EASTWOOD.

Source: NAC, RG 36/27, vol. 4, File #127.

APPENDIX II
LEASE AGREEMENT

Extract from Lease.

File No.

Lessor: Wright 1941.

Lessee: John M. JENSEN.

Date: 19th May, 1942.

Term: 9 months from 1st May, 1942, with option to extend lease for 1943 under arrangement with Maple Ridge Co-op. Produce Exchange.

Consideration: \$700.00, paid, which includes price of 1 horse. Rental for 1943 and subsequent years to be \$100.

Property: Blocks 19, 20 & 21 of N.W. 1/4 of Section 15 Township 11, Municipality of Maple Ridge, N.W.D.

Houses: Included, also buildings, except part of barn converted to chicken house.

Chattels: Live stock and farm implements.

P.A.C. 1340

*Chattel attached to
Lease*

*Lease held against
farm to SSC
and 4/11*

*Term extended by Coll. Agr. Act
to Oct 31st 1943*

200 July 15/43

6798

OFFICE OF THE CUSTOMS
JAPANESE SECTION
RECEIVED
MAY 20 1942

I YASUJI IMADA of WASHINGTON, D.C.
Block 19, 20 and 21 of the North West Quarter of
Town of property _____
Section 18, Twp. 18.
_____ in the Dominion of

Empire of Japan
I hereby agree to let the
JOHN L. JONES for the sum of \$750.00 (which amount
includes payment in full for one horse) for the year
1942 and \$345.00 for 1943 and subsequent years with
my return.
giving him the right to carry on work immediately on my farm described
above.

This agreement is in protest both parties against the legal rights of
either as owner of the said lands and the now company carrying on it
concerning the way through and not to be construed as interfering with
the legal rights of the Custodian of Japanese property if and when such
property becomes his legal guardianship.

This is the essence of this agreement.

K Imada

[Signature]

APPENDIX III
FIRE INSURANCE CLAIM

6996

7th July, 1943.

Mr. Kaichi IMADA,
Registration No. 13674,
c/o Borg Pulp Company,
Taylor Lake,
FAIR P.O., B.C.

Dear Sir:-

Re: Fire Loss

We have received a letter from your Son, T. Imada, dated June 30th inquiring as to settlement in connection with fire damage on property belonging to yourself. On May 28th I wrote giving you information available up to that date and wish to advise that since that time the Adjuster has completed his work and claim papers now have been forwarded to both Insurance Companies, under which we are claiming for you a total of \$2,066.22 covering damage to your house and \$51.00 to cover damage to some few articles of yours in the house at the time the fire occurred.

The money covering this claim, when paid by the Insurance Company, will be credited to your account in this office.

Yours truly,

S.M. Gibson,
Insurance Department

SMG:PM

Source: NAC, RG 117, Reel C-9371, File 6996.
[This letter originated in the Custodian of Enemy Property office.]

6996

June 9, 1944.

Mr. Kaichi IMADA,
Registration No. 13674,
c/o Sorg Pulp Company Ltd.,
Taylor Lake, B. C.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of June 6th, we appreciate your misunderstanding regarding the fire loss on your property sold to the Director of the Veterans' Land Act. We would draw to your attention, however, that as the sale of your property was made as at January 1, 1943 and as the purchaser assumed the responsibility of insurance, taxes, etc., as from that date insofar as the buildings were concerned, the amount collected from the insurance company was remitted to the purchaser.

The insurance loss covering chattels, however, was credited to your account in the amount of \$51.00 on July 19, 1943.

We trust this clears up the misunderstanding.

Yours truly,

R. E. Anderson,
Farm Department.

WEA/EG

Source: NAC, RG 117, Reel C-9371, File 6996.
[This letter originated in the Custodian of
Enemy Property office.]

6796

10th December, 1949.

REGISTERED

Mr. Knight IMADA,
Reg. No. 13764,
Taylor Lake,
Farm P.S., B.C.

Dear Sir:

We wish to acknowledge your letter of the 5th December, in which you request that the sum of \$2205.12 be forwarded to you from your account at this office.

Your file has now been completely reviewed, and we take this opportunity of giving you a brief summary of our administration of your affairs.

You registered with the Custodian on the 30th April, 1942, and at that time real property registered in your name at Nancy, became vested in the Custodian. Prior to your evacuation, you entered into an Agreement to lease your property, with the exception of the hop acreage, to J.M. Jensen for nine months until the 31st January, 1943. The consideration of this lease was \$780.00, which sum also included the purchase price of your horse. \$140.00 of this consideration was collected by yourself at the time and the balance, which was given you in the form of a Pacific Co-operative Union post-dated cheque, was sent to this office, and upon collection was credited to your account here. The hop acreage was included in a bulk lease given by the Western Canada Hop Co-operative, of which you were a member, to the John I. Haas Hop Company of Sardis, and under this agreement, the sum of \$87.90 was paid in to this office to your credit. Details of this were sent to you on the 2nd March, 1943.

No further revenue accrued to your credit at this office from your property, as in accordance with the Canadian Government's policy of liquidation, it was sold on the 1st January, 1943, to the Director of Veterans' Land Act. Full details of the property sale were sent to you on the 30th May, 1944, although since that time, legal fees in the amount of \$15.00 in connection with the conveyance of your property have been charged to your account.

Prior to your evacuation you held fire insurance covering your dwelling and contents, totalling \$2400.00 on the dwelling and \$600.00 on the contents. On the 9th May, 1943, the dwelling and all contents in same were destroyed by fire, and after considerable negotiation, the Insurance Company made settlement of loss of \$2066.22 on the dwelling and \$51.00 on the contents. You were fully advised regarding this matter by our Insurance Department but it is noted that they did not inform you of the property sale as of the 1st January, 1943, and did at that time inform you that the Insurance Company settlement would be credited to you. This was not correct. The purchaser of your property paid in to this office to your credit the full purchase price which had been agreed upon prior to the fire, and under adjustments had refunded to your credit the

Mr. Naichi HADA

- 2 -

10th December, 1945.

sum of \$27.46, being unexpired portion of the insurance premium after the sale date. The insurance loss was paid to them with the exception of the \$51.00 covering the chattels which was credited to you.

When registering with the Custodian, you declared a number of chattels which included two chesterfields, dining-room suite, electric iron, gas sprayer and a quantity of logging equipment. These items had, however, apparently been disposed of prior to the evacuation of yourself and family as they were not on the property when your chattels were inventoried by our representative.

The only chattels of any sale value that were not destroyed by fire were the plough, harrow and cultivator, which were removed to auction and sold in accordance with the attached itemized auction sheet. The net proceeds from this sale totalling \$6.88 have been credited to you.

You declared the sum of \$85.70 as being owing to you by Mr. S. Costa but you acknowledged having received payment of this direct in your letter of the 16th July, 1945. At a later date you also made claim for the sum of \$49.00 covering wages owing by Mr. Jensen. Collection of \$41.00 was made by the Custodian in this account, as you agreed to an \$8.00 reduction for wood purchased. The amount of this account was paid to your daughter upon your request of 14th February, 1944.

You declared you were the holder of \$100.00 in Victory bonds and \$15.00 in War Savings Certificates, and also stated that you had a bank account and safety deposit box at the Bank of Montreal at Haney. None of these were brought under control by the Custodian.

You declared a \$200.00 share interest in the Maple Ridge Co-operative Union. This Co-operative is being liquidated under instructions from the Custodian, and upon completion of this liquidation you will be entitled to your portion of the proceeds.

According to the records of the Western Canada Hop Co-operative Union, you are the holder of a number of its shares. No action has been taken by the Custodian regarding this Co-operative.

Attached hereto is a complete statement of your account at this office and you will notice that your credit balance is \$3073.24. We are enclosing a cheque in the amount of \$2000.00 from these funds, the balance of which will be sent to you upon your requesting it.

It would appear that we have accounted for all the property of every kind left by you in the Protected Area which vested in the Custodian, and in order that you may confirm this and acknowledge the cheque, we are enclosing a stamped addressed envelope for your convenience in replying.

Yours truly,

W.E. Anderson,
Administration Department.

WIASHA

Source: NAC, RG 117, Reel C-9371, File 6996
[This letter originated in the Custodian of Enemy Property office.]

APPENDIX IV

CENSORSHIP

109

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DEPUTY MINISTER OF LABOUR

CANADA

Ottawa, July 18, 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. E. H. Coleman,
Deputy Custodian of Enemy Property,
Dept. of the Secretary of State,
West Block,
O t t a w a.

Dear Dr. Coleman:

I enclose copies of extracts from intercepted letters which are believed to refer to the same case of sale of property formerly owned by a Japanese, and complaining about fire insurance being assigned to the purchaser for liability.

Yours very truly,

A. MacNamara.

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COPY

Record No. CAN. 6635/44
Page 1 of 1 Pages

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

FROM: (no name)

TO: Mrs. B. Hayden,
221 W. 5th Ave.,
Vancouver, B.C.

LIST: None

LIST: None

POLITICAL

Re: Japanese properties

Letter presumed from mother:

"About the property at Nancy. Those fellows of the Custodians wrote that it was sold at the beginning of June. The price was so low that it is not worth mentioning. Two thousand odd dollars I believe. And the insurance money of two thousand dollars has to be handed over to the buyer for liability they say and they can only give us fifty-one dollars, the insurance money for the furniture. What do you think? Do you think the Custodians are magnanimous administrators? I consider them terrible thieves. Not doing the things they were asked to do they have continuously done the things they should not have done. To think what your father and I have built up through hard toil is taken right away from the root breaks my heart. I shall never forgive this. It was a great misfortune to have lost our home through fire and I thought the land would be sold at market price and then to give the buyer the insurance money for a fire that occurred a year before the land was sold because there was liability to the buyer is something I cannot understand. Is this the present law? I am sure it is not. My heart is sore, very sore."

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COPY

Record No. CAN. 6634/44
Page 1 of 1 Pages

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: "Ito,"

TO: Mrs. Y. Imada,
c/o Roy Harris,
Taber, Alberta,
CANADADATE OF POSTMARK
PRIN, B.C.
June 23, 1944.POLITICALRe: Japanese properties

Presumably to relative:

"I am going to write about the affair of our house and land. Last year, on May 5th. when our house was burnt down, the Custodians wrote that they would give us the two thousand dollars insurance money, fifty-one dollars from the six hundred dollars furniture insurance and two hundred and fifty dollars for the cement in the basement. From the three thousand dollars insurance money they said they would give us two thousand fifty-one dollars. It appears they said the land on June 13th, for about three thousand dollars and after deducting expenses they said they would give us two thousand odd dollars with the fifty-one dollars of the insurance on the furniture. As this is two thousand dollars less than they said they would give we wrote immediately. The reply was that as the two thousand dollars insurance money has to be given to the buyer on account of liability, it cannot be given to us. The actions of the Custodians are cruel. Our house was burnt down in May of last year and the land was sold in June of this year. A whole year has elapsed between the time of the fire and the sale of the land, and to give the insurance money to the buyer is so astounding and beyond words. Though it may be war time I consider the Custodians actions very severe. Papa is very disheartened and does not feel like working any more. It is not unreasonable. Toshio's land was sold for the amount of the taxes he has paid up to date."

Source: NAC, RG 117, Reel C-9372, File 7142.

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APPENDIX V--PROPERTY EVALUATION
 REPORT
 ON EVACUATED JAPANESE PROPERTY

File No. _____

MUNICIPALITY: Maple Ridge. Date: June 5th, 1948.

NAME: IMADA, Kaichi, REGISTRATION NO. 13674.

ADDRESS: 41, 18th Ave. Haney, B.C. (Beginning of 18th. Ave)

PROPERTY:

ACREAGE: 15¹/₂.

KIND OF CROPS: Strawberries, Raspbys, Aspqus, Fhbrb, Potatos, Peas, Hops. 100 Fruit trees.

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF EACH: s. 3. h. t. h. h. h. h. 7

HOUSE: VACANT: OCCUPIED Yes, by Mrs. IMADA & Son, not evacuated yet.

DESCRIPTION 2 story wooden frame house. ROOF: Shingle. To be occupied by Jensen.

SIZE: 28 x 54. NO. OF ROOMS 7.

CONDITION: Good.

OTHER BUILDINGS: Barn, Chicken house, Garage.

NAME OF LESSEE OR RENTOR: John M. Jensen, Through Pacific Co-op. Union for

TERMS: \$700.00 Cash \$440.00, Balance \$340.00 Sept. 1st, 1948. 8 Months from May 1st, 1948

WATER: Well. ON: OFF:

LIGHT: ON: Yes. OFF:

REMARKS: Hops sold to Haas Hop Co. Gardie, B.C. by IMADA. Terms consisted of \$600.00 for crop \$100.00 for Horse & \$80.00 Rent for house, lease includes other buildings.

INVENTORY OF CHATELS LEFT ON PROPERTY

- Located in the house.
- 9 Kitchen chairs.
- 3 piece dining room set. (Dining table, Buffet, & 6 chairs)
- 4 Beds complete.
- Beatty washing machine.
- Box Kitchen ut. sils.
- Gas powered spray pump.
- Hand plow.
- Harrow.
- Hand cultivator.
- Quantity of garden tools.
- Trunk.
- Cedar chest.
- Dresser.
- 2 Stone crocks. 10 & 6 Gal.
- Wardrobe.
- Mantle clock.
- 3 Benches.
- Day bed.
- Cabinet photographs & Records.

*Sub to be checked.
 7/16/48*

Signature: _____

J. S. Marshall.

REPORT
OF EVACUATED JAPANESE PROPERTY

File No. _____

MUNICIPALITY: MAPLE RIDGE Date: Feb. 9th, 1945
 NAME: IMADA, Kaichi REGISTRATION NO. 15674
 ADDRESS: 41 18th. Ave. Haney, B.C.

PROPERTY: 13 3/4 acres
 ACREAGE: App. 8 acres cleared
 KIND OF CROPS: Hops, Straws, Raspas, Rhubarb, Fruit trees
 All covered with snow 34
 APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF EACH:

HOUSE: 1 1/2 Storey VACANT: OCCUPIED: Yes
 DESCRIPTION: Frame ROOF: Shingle
 SIZE: 26 x 36 NO. OF ROOMS: 7 & 1 in basement
 CONDITION: Fair

OTHER BUILDINGS: Washed 20 x 22, Barn 42 x 44,
 Chicken house 20 x 54, Garage 14 x 16.

NAME OF LESSEE OR RENTOR: John M. JENSEN (Vancouver B.C.)
 TERMS: \$780.00 Throug. P.C.U.

WATER: Well ON: OFF:
 LIGHT: Electric ON: Yes OFF:

REMARKS: DOWNSTAIRS

INVENTORY OF CHATELS LEFT ON PROPERTY:
IN HOUSE
 1 6gal & 1 10gal. crocks
 2 Crtns. of books
 1 Tin of dishes
 1 Crtn. of clothes
 1 Chest of pers. effects & Dishes
 1 Comforter wrapped
 Few utensils & water troughs
 1 Loose screen door
 3 Beds complete
 1 Folding wash stand
 1 Folding cot
 3 H.M. Tables
 1 Roll Linoleum (old)
 1 Cupboard & 1 Gramophone case
 2 Suit cases, 1 Tin of Gramophone records
 1 Old hand pump
 1 Chair & 5 Mattresses

Linoleum on Floor
 12 Chairs
 1 Heater
 1 Old Havenport
 1 Bed complete & 1 Bunk
 1 Dresser with mirror
 2 Blinds & 5 Curtains
 1 Enamel sink

BARN
 35 Picker trays
 Few garden tools
 1 Drag harrow
 1 Horse cultivator
 1 Plow
 1 Mounted Chevrolet motor
 1 Box of car parts & Old Fish nets

OUTSIDE
 large quan. of hopp poles & Wire
 " " " Raspas " "
 1 Old hand pump

Appraisal Value : \$68. 0
 BASEMENT: 5 Old H.M. Tables Signed:
 2 Heaters (1 Drum) & 1 Old Range.

Source: NAC, RG 117,
 Reel C-9371,
 File 6996.

[Handwritten Signature]

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Title of Thesis: BEARING THE UNBEARABLE: THE MEMOIR OF A
JAPANESE PIONEER WOMAN

Author



(Signature)

MICHIKO MIDGE AYUKAWA

April 10/90

(Date)